

“upwards of 20 Batteaus all in a Body made a fine Appearance coming down the River, and must be very mortifying to those Motionless at a little Distance”

Water Trails of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route
National Historic Trail in the Hudson River Valley in 1781 and 1782

A Historical Overview and Resource Inventory

Project Historian

Robert A. Selig, Ph.D.

Sponsoring Organization

Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area

Project Director

Scott Keller

Executive Director, Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area

Ellen von Karajan

Executive Director, Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route
National Historic Trail – USA

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For additions/corrections/suggestions please contact the author at

robertaselig@gmail.com

For additional copies of this report please contact:

Scott Keller
Executive Director
Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area
625 Broadway - 4th Floor
Albany, NY 12207
P: (518)473-3835
hrvg@hudsongreenway.ny.gov

The Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area is managed by the Hudson River Valley Greenway:

Hudson River Valley Greenway
625 Broadway - 4th Floor
Albany, NY 12207
P: (518)473-3835
hrvg@hudsongreenway.ny.gov

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Acknowledgements

Watching the First New York Regiment approach Dobbs Ferry in the morning of 13 August 1781, the “upwards of 20 Batteaus all in a Body made a fine Appearance coming down the River, and must be very mortifying to those Motionless at a little Distance”, wrote Sergeant-Major John Hawkins of Moses Hazen’s Canadian Regiment into his diary that day. Those “Mationless at a little distance” were a small flotilla of British naval vessels watching the arrival and debarkation of American forces and their march to the Town of Greenburgh, where Generals Washington and the comte de Rochambeau were assembling an impressive military force for the siege of New York City.

The waterway of the Hudson River as the fastest and easiest mode of transportation for large numbers of men and large amounts of material formed an integral component of the campaign planning of General Washington and Rochambeau. It could be used as an avenue of approach for surprise attacks and provide cover and concealment, it could be integrated into the allied or British defensive lines hindering the approach of the enemy, but it could also be an obstacle difficult to cross and re-cross for one’s own thousands of officers and men, their artillery pieces and hundreds of wagons and draft animals. During the War of Independence, the Hudson River fulfilled all of these functions, but never more so than in the summer of 1781.

I am grateful to Ms Ellen von Karajan, Executive Director of Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail Association for submitting a grant application to the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area for funds to study, for the first time, the crucial role the Hudson played in 1781, and for administering the grant. Researching and writing of this report would, however, have been impossible without the support of Mr. Scott Keller, Executive Director, Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area, whose office approved the application and provided the funding for this study. My thanks go also to the outside readers of the draft whose recommendations were integrated into the final draft.

Robert A. Selig, PhD.

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the 239th Anniversary of the
Victory at Yorktown

Purpose, Goals and Methodology

The purpose of the project is to compile an inventory of historical, cultural, and natural sites and resources in the Hudson River Valley between Albany and Fort Washington with a view toward their integration into the federally designated Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (WaRo). Section 5204 of Public Law 111-11, the Omnibus Public Land Management Bill, signed by President Barack Obama on 30 March 2009, amended the National Trails System Act by establishing WaRo as a National Historic Trail. The legislation defines WaRo as “a corridor of approximately 600 miles following the route taken by the armies of General George Washington and Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, between Newport, Rhode Island, and Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781 and 1782”.¹ This definition takes into consideration the fact that the deployment of allied forces to Yorktown in the summer of 1781 as well as the return of the Continental Army in December 1781, and of French forces in September 1782, occurred in an almost 700-mile long “corridor” that contained a network of interconnected land and water routes, of which the Hudson River was the most important. This report seeks to

1. link multiple heritage sites thematically and geographically through their relationship to the Campaign of 1781, and the reunion of the allied Franco-American armies in September 1782 in the Hudson River Valley. This list includes, but is not limited to, sites such as Bear Mountain State Park, Fort Montgomery State Historic Site, Knox Headquarters State Historic Site, National Purple Heart Hall of Honor, New Windsor Cantonment State Historic Site, Philipse Manor Hall State Historic Site, the Old Dutch Church at Sleepy Hollow, Stony Point Battlefield State Historic Site, West Point Museum, Van Cortlandt Manor, and Washington’s Headquarters State Historic Site.
2. lay the groundwork for encouraging recreational activities in the Hudson River Valley area through a future Revolutionary War-themed Boater’s Guide.
3. stimulate local as well as national and international tourist interest in the War of Independence, in the United States and in France, by promoting the Hudson River Valley as a tourist destination.
4. fill a gap in funding for interpretation by enabling an emphasis on identifying local and minority participation in the early phases of the Yorktown Campaign and their role in the crossing of the Hudson River in August 1781.
5. expand awareness of Hudson River Valley sites with the Google/WAZE Maps feature

¹ For the legislative history and text see <https://w3r-us.org/w3r-us/legislation-history/> , and here <http://w3r-us.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/Final-legislation.pdf> . For a delineation of the routes through the State of New York see my *The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of New York, 1781-1782. An Historical and Architectural and Survey* (New York, 2001).

This report is not meant to provide a history of the American War of Independence in the Hudson River Valley. Neither does it discuss the historical background and reasons for the presence of French forces along the Hudson River in 1781 or address the military and political importance of New York City in the war. These and similar aspects are covered in monograph such as Otto Hufeland's *Westchester County during the American Revolution*,² Barnet Schecter's, *The Battle for New York*,³ George C. Daughan's *Revolution on the Hudson*,⁴ and the masterful study by Todd W. Braisted on the "Grand Forage" of 1778.⁵ Similarly there are numerous studies on the role of the Hudson River in British war plans in 1777 which led to their defeat at Saratoga in October 1777.⁶ It is also not an inventory of all historic sites or cultural and natural resources on either side of the Hudson. Many of the sites display historical markers and information kiosks erected over year and decades. Listing all of them would go far beyond the scope of this work; markers are therefore only mentioned if they identify a site (such as a house) that is no longer in existence. Besides identifying resources this report focuses on sites with connections to the strategies developed and activities unfolding during the weeks prior to the crossing of the Hudson on multiple locations between 17 and 26 August 1781 following the decision of 14 August 1781 to deploy to Virginia. Inconspicuous disengagement from British forces in and around Greenburgh in Westchester County, a speedy crossing of the Hudson and the march into and across New Jersey constituted the most critical initial phase of the march to Yorktown.⁷

The concentration of the Continental and French armies followed by the crossing of the Hudson at multiple locations via locally-supplied boats and barges by over 6,000 Franco-American troops (along with horses, supplies, wagons, weaponry, gunpowder, ammunition, and other equipment) represents a major logistical achievement. This report addresses these accomplishments in a broad historical context: the movements of Continental Army forces on the Hudson between West Point and Albany during the early summer of 1781

² Otto Hufeland, *Westchester County during the American Revolution 1775-1783* (Westchester County Historical Society, 1926).

³ Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York. The City at the Heart of the American Revolution* (New York, 2002).

⁴ George C. Daughan, *Revolution on the Hudson. New York City and the Hudson River Valley in the American War of Independence* (W.W. Norton and Co.: New York, 2016)

⁵ Todd W. Braisted, *The Grand Forage of 1778. The Battleground around New York City* (Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, 2016)

⁶ Richard M Ketchum, *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), John S. Pancake, *1777: The Year of the Hangman* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1977), Harrison Bird, *March to Saratoga: General Burgoyne and the American Campaign, 1777* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), Michael O. Logusz, *With Musket and Tomahawk: The Saratoga Campaign and the Wilderness War Of 1777* (Philadelphia: Casemate, 2010)

⁷ On the allied encampment in Greenburgh see my *The Franco-American Encampment in the Town of Greenburgh, 6 July – 18 August 1781: A Historical Overview and Resource Inventory* (Greenburgh, NY: Town of Greenburgh, 2020) at <https://greenburghny.com/CivicAlerts.aspx?AID=570&ARC=716>.

and the crossing at Dobbs Ferry and King's Ferry in mid-August. Information specific to the waterborne ambush by Continental Army forces sailing on the Hudson River from Teller's Point to King's Ferry on 3 July is also included as a component of the historical context. Also included is the celebratory encampment of the allied armies in Peekskill during the return of Rochambeau's forces from Virginia in September 1782. Their meeting represented the culmination of Franco-American friendship and the cooperation during the American War.

While this report focuses on the crossing of the Hudson, a narrow interpretation of that focus would severely limit the chronological and geographical scope of military activities in the summer of 1781. It would only cover the area between Dobbs Ferry and Verplanck's Point, barely 20 miles of the roughly 130 miles of the Water Trail on the Hudson River from Rensselaer Riverfront Park to Fort Washington Park, and but eight of some 75 days that saw military activity in 1781. Expanding the chronological and geographical scope across the summer of 1781 assigns the river its proper place. Providing historical information on the war in the Hudson River Valley is only one of the purposes of this report. Its second purpose is to serve as a "Travel Guide" for boaters exploring the Hudson between Albany and New York City as sites are encountered from the water. That purpose requires a geographical organization of the material, but using a geography-based approach comes with its own hazards: since units used the river and/or crossed it in different directions and at different times, the chronological sequence of events is lost for a boater, viz. the crossing from Verplanck's Point to Stony Point on 22-28 August is discussed before the crossing of Hazen's Regiment from Dobbs Ferry on 18/19 August simply because Stony Point is further upstream than Dobbs Ferry and thus encountered earlier than Dobbs Ferry.

To address this issue, Chapter 3, "The Hudson River Valley in the Campaign of 1781", provides a chronological historical overview of military activities along the Hudson River before and during in the Campaign of 1781. It provides context, while Chapter 5 provides a geographically arranged "Inventory of Sites and Resources" with additional historical information and serves as a cross-reference to Chapter 3. In the inventory all sites are listed, and their importance in the events of 1781 and 1782 explained, in geographical order starting with Rensselaer Riverfront Park in Albany. The same pattern is followed in Chapter 4: The Celebratory Encampment of September 1782. Information on sites and resources is provided in Chapter 5. This approach necessarily resulted in some overlap between the chronological account and the information provided in the site descriptions, but unless it was assumed that every reader was thoroughly familiar with the Campaign of 1781 in the Hudson River Valley, simply listing information from three or four different dates in 1781 and 1782 at a site is bound to leave a reader confused rather than informed.

As the title of this report - "in the Hudson River Valley" - implies, it covers sites not just on the banks of the river itself but in a corridor a mile or more wide that encompasses sites

on either side of the river. It also includes sites that can be a few miles on either side of the river or are not in the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area, e.g. Fort Lee just south of George Washington Bridge on the New Jersey side of the river as well or Spuyten Duyvil Creek on the east side, which are included in this report since they saw military activities during the Campaign of 1781.⁸ With few exceptions such as state parks or sites such as the National Purple Heart Hall of Honor, the single most important criterion for a site to be included was its mention in a primary source. Based on these parameters this resource inventory lists 57 sites. Text and resource inventory should ideally be read parallel to each other since in most cases the inventory lists information on the site itself while the text places the site into the historical context of the campaign. The use of secondary narratives has been kept to a minimum: eyewitness accounts of participants form the basis of this report. As the modern traveler on the Hudson approaches a site, the actors themselves are called upon tell their story of what they saw, heard, and did. The report concludes with two short “Notes” on women and children and non-white soldiers in the Continental and French armies and, using an encounter of 2 December 1781 as a case study, a longer “Note on the Place of Non-White Soldiers in the New York Line Regiments and the New York Militia”,

This report is modeled on *The Official Guide to the Hudson River Greenway Water Trail. The Hudson River Water Trail Guide. 7th Edition – Now featuring the Champlain Canal* which could serve as a model for a *Boater's Guide to the Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Trail Water Route in the Hudson River Valley*.⁹ Funding for such a guide will be sought by the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail Association (W3R-US), the national partner of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (WaRo) which commemorates the alliance between the French and Continental armies during the War of Independence and the hundreds of miles they travelled from the Hudson River to Yorktown. As the nation prepares for the 250th anniversaries of the American Revolution and the War of Independence, the research and the findings presented here are meant to provide resources for a deepening of the public's understanding and appreciation of the Hudson River as a pivotal conduit for material and men during the American War of Independence. It provides resources to inform planning for reenactments and events along the Hudson River to commemorate and celebrate the upcoming anniversaries of the American Revolution and the War of Independence.

⁸ The National Park Service defines the three regions of the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area as stretching from Westchester and Rockland counties in the south to Albany and Rensselaer counties in the north. See <https://www.hudsonrivervalley.com/regions>

⁹ Ian H. Giddy, Scott Keller and The Hudson River Water Trail Association, *The Official Guide to the Hudson River Greenway Water Trail. The Hudson River Water Trail Guide. 7th Edition – Now featuring the Champlain Canal* (Hudson River Water Trail Association: New York, 2015).

For an example of a guide published by the National Park Service see *A Boater's Guide to the Captain John Smith Chesapeake National Historic Trail*. The guide is available for free download at: <https://www.nps.gov/cajo/planyourvisit/boaters-guide-to-the-john-smith-trail.htm>

The Hudson River in the Campaign of 1781

- a) Continental Army Movements on the Hudson between West Point and Albany from early March to mid-July 1781

In mid-June at the outset of the Campaign of 1781, three Continental Army regiments, the First New York Regiment, the Second New York Regiment, and Colonel Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment, were deployed to Albany and the surrounding area.¹⁰ (SITES 1 and 2) In August 1781, all three would join Washington's army on the march to Yorktown. Authorized by the Continental Congress on 25 May 1775, the Second New York Regiment was organized ten companies strong in Albany from 28 June to 4 August 1775, with soldiers recruited in Albany, Tryon, Charlotte, and Cumberland Counties. Consolidated on 26 January 1777 with the Fourth New York Regiment, it was re-designated the First New York Regiment with a strength set at eight companies. When the Continental Army was once again re-organized on 1 January 1781, New York kept its two infantry regiments and one artillery regiment under Colonel John Lamb. Concurrently the First New York Regiment, now nine companies strong following the addition of a Light Infantry Company, each company authorized at 64 Non-Commissioned Officers and privates, was merged with the Third New York Regiment into the New York Brigade in the Northern Department.¹¹

Following the consolidation of January 1781, the First New York under its Colonel Goose Van Schaick was distributed across the Upper Hudson River Valley: four companies under Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius Van Dyck, including the Light Infantry Company, were sent to Saratoga, one company under Captain Cornelius Jansen went to Fort Edward, while the remaining four companies were quartered in the barracks in Albany. (SITE 3) On 4 March 1781, four companies of the First New York arrived from Albany at West Point (SITE 20) where they were housed in the barracks at Fort Clinton, (SITE 26) which caused a re-distribution of the detachment posted at Saratoga.¹² On 28 April, Captain Leonard Bleecker's Light Infantry Company arrived in West Point; when Captain Charles Parson's company joined them a few days later on 2 May, all six companies Washington had requested on 16 February had finally arrived.¹³ In anticipation of renewed incursions of

¹⁰ Hazen was promoted to Brevet Brigadier General on 29 June 1781.

¹¹ This overview is based on <https://revolutionarywar.us/continental-army/newyork/>. See also Robert K. Wright Jr., *The Continental Army* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 2006), p. 248. On the army reforms of 1781 see *ibid.* pp. 152, but see the recent article by Philip D. Weaver, "William Dickens, John Rose, and William Turnbull: Soldiers of the 1st New York Regiment". *Journal of the American Revolution* posted on-line on 5 August 2020.

¹² T.W. Egly, *History of the First New York Regiment 1775-1783* (Hampton, NH: Peter E. Randall, 1981), p. 184 and p. 189.

¹³ On 27 May 1778, the Continental Congress re-organized the Continental Army into eighty infantry regiments and added a ninth company of Light Infantry to each regiment.

British regulars, American Loyalists, and their Native-American allies into the Mohawk River Valley, these six companies, while stationed in West Point (SITE 20), received orders on 28 May 1781 get ready to move “on the Shortest notice” as soon as vessels are available and to prepare to return to Albany.

Without mentioning the New York companies, James Gamble on 9 June 1781, informed Colonel Charles Stewart, Commissary General of Issues, from Albany that he “expect[ed] Coll Hazens Regt here shortly”.¹⁴ Four days later, on 13 June, Gamble informed Stewart of the arrival of Van Schaick’s First New York Regiment and Hazen’s regiment.¹⁵ For the next few weeks, the soldiers patrolled the area around Albany and westward into the Mohawk River Valley. They encountered numerous small Indian scouts, but the feared large-scale British attack out of Canada never materialized. On 30 June, the Continental Army had left winter quarters and was encamped in Peekskill already, (SITE 29) Washington ordered Brigadier General James Clinton to “instantly put the three Regts of Continental Troops, under your command, in motion for West Point.” Clinton recalled the detached companies of the First New York and Moses Hazen’s Regiment, and on 6 July informed Washington from Albany that “Col^o Hazen’s, and the first York Regiments arrived in this City yesterday and will sail for West Point the next Tide.”¹⁶

The origins of Brigadier General Moses Hazen’s Canadian (Congress’ Own) Regiment also date to 1 January 1781, when the First Canadian Regiment was disbanded, and its Canadian members integrated into the Second Canadian Regiment, which was now re-designated the Canadian (Congress Own) Regiment. Authorized by Congress on 20 January 1776 with a strength of four battalions of five companies each, the only oversized regiment in the Continental Army, it was to be recruited in the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Valleys, and commanded by Moses Hazen. In July 1776, the regiment fought at Fort Ticonderoga and wintered in Fishkill. (SITE 13) In 1777, it fought at Brandywine and Germantown and spent most of 1778 posted along the Hudson. Having spent much of 1779 in New Hampshire, the

Unless otherwise indicated correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of the Washington Papers at <https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/> or the Founders Archive website at <https://founders.archives.gov/>, search by date.

¹⁴ Allan Seymour Everest, *Moses Hazen and the Canadian Refugees in the American Revolution*. (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1977), p. 93, records the arrival of the regiment for 5 June already. A brief historical overview of the regiment can be found in Wright, *Continental Army*, p. 317, and at <https://www.nps.gov/york/learn/historyculture/2dcanadian.htm>.

¹⁵ Colonel Charles Stewart Papers. Fenimore Art Museum Research Library, Cooperstown, NY.

¹⁶ See also the “Journal of Samuel Tallmadge” in Almon W. Lauber, ed. *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780 and The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783* (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1932), pp. 739-786, p. 754. Tallmadge, a Captain in the Second New York Regiment, was in Albany when he wrote for “Friday, July 6th 1781 Col^o V Schoicks Regiment Imbarked” for West Point.

unit was ordered to Peekskill in October 1779, and wintered in Morristown, New Jersey. The regiment spent the summer of 1780 at King's Ferry (SITES 31, 32, 33, 34) before moving to Nelson's Point, present-day Garrison (SITE 23) across the Hudson from West Point in the fall, and entered winter quarters at Fishkill in November. "Nelson Ferry" was conducted by Caleb Nelson during and after the Revolutionary War, and the main point of crossing the Hudson to and from West Point. (SITE 20)

In the reorganization of the Continental Army on 1 January 1781, the regiment was strengthened by the addition of the mostly French-speaking Catholic Canadian members of the First Canadian Regiment. Authorized on 19 November 1775 and raised by Colonel James Livingston for service with the Americans, approximately 300 Canadians and 50 Americans of the First Canadian Regiment fought at St. John's and were instrumental in the fall of Fort Chambly on 20 October 1775. Like Hazen's regiment, Livingston's men spent the next few years in Upstate New York and New England and fought at Saratoga in 1777 and Rhode Island in 1778, but mostly did garrison duty along the Hudson around Fishkill.¹⁷

On 1 May 1781, the men were ordered to West Point where General Orders of 30 May announced that "Col^o Hazens Regiment to hold itself in readiness to march on the Shortest Notice."¹⁸ Orders to embark "tomorrow morning at Fish kill Landing (SITES 11 and 12) where Transports are provided for them" were issued from headquarters in New Windsor (SITE 16) on 5 June. Regimental orders of the same day precisified these orders: "The Regiment will hold themselves in Readiness to move to morrow morning at 8 oClock to Fish kill Landing where Transports are provided to convey them to Albany." The four vessels that took the unit to Albany were the sloops *Hudson* and *Liberty* and the smaller *Swallow* and *Charming Polly*. In the morning of 7 June, the vessels cast off and arrived in Albany by 13 June at the latest.¹⁹ The new arrivals further strained the supply situation in Albany. On 7 June, Gamble told Colonel Stewart that "The issues Increase daily and in addition to our numbers there are three hundred Indians that draw the principle part of their supplies from us." By 9 June, Gamble reported that flour and beef had become so scarce that French flour has been seized by order of Governor Clinton and General Washington.²⁰ On 15 June, General James Clinton informed Washington that he had kept

¹⁷ On 14 April, Captain Anthony Selin's Company was incorporated into Hazen's regiment.

¹⁸ Orderly Book, Canadian Regiment. Call No. 8175, Manuscripts and Special Collections, New York State Library, Albany, New York. The Orderly Book is unpaginated and organized chronologically with orders issued from headquarters entered under the date when they arrived at the regiment. It ends on 16 August 1781.

¹⁹ It is unknown where the regiment stopped for the nights; the Orderly Book contains no entries between 8 and 13 June. See also Everest, *Moses Hazen*, p. 93 et passim.

²⁰ On 13 June he informed Stewart that "that General Schuyler is rumored to have purchased 1,000 barrels of flour on his own credit for public use, and that 400 barrels have already been sent to West Point". The correspondence is in the Charles Stewart Papers.

two of Van Schaick's companies in Albany and sent the rest on to Saratoga. One of Van Cortlandt's companies was at Schoharie, the others at German Flats. A detachment of Hazen's regiment consisting of a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants and 40 privates were deployed to Schenectady while the remainder of the regiment received orders on 17 June to be ready "to march tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock or as soon after as Carriages can be procured to carry the baggage" for "Cognawaga".²¹

Throughout its existence the men serving in the Canadian Regiment were accompanied by a train of wives and children who, with their husbands, had fled their homes when the American invasion of Canada ended in failure in 1776. The men, women and children spent the next few years mostly in New York State. When the regiment departed for Albany, an unknown number of wives and children accompanied their husbands, who on 17 June 1781 received the option of remaining behind in Albany. "The sick, (and such women as Chuse to Remain at this Place) are put under the Care and Superintendency of Lieut. Lee". The next day the detachment left for "Cognawaga" where it arrived on 21 June.²² The following day, 22 June, an entry in the Orderly Book warned the men that "the Regiment is liable at this time to be encroached upon by the Savages who in a cowardly manner hidden behind a bush want an Opportunity to murder a single man unarmed and off his Guard." No one was to move alone more than 400 yards from camp. That same day a detachment was ordered to march to Johnstown. Deployment into the Mohawk River Valley was however of short duration only. On 20 June, Washington received intelligence from General Clinton in Albany that no British forces had landed at Crown Point, "In Consequence, the Continental Troops to the No[rth]ward were ordered to be in readiness to join the army on the shortest notice".²³ On 29 June, orders arrived at Hazen's regiment to load their baggage onto boats and be ready "to march at a minutes notice" to Schenectady. On 4 July, the unit marched out of Caughnawaga and arrived Schenectady later that day. Following arrival in Albany, the regiment embarked for West Point on the *Charlotte* and the *Tryon* on 6 July. On 7 July,

²¹ That same day Rochambeau informed Washington from Providence that he would set out for New York with the Regiment Bourbonnois on Monday, 18 June. The spelling of French regimental names is that of the eighteenth century, viz. Bourbonnois, not Bourbonnais &c.

²² Caughnawaga Indian Village Site (also known as the "Veeder" site) is an archaeological site just west of Fonda in Montgomery County, New York. Dutch colonists had formed a settlement near the present village of Fonda and called it Caughnawaga. In 1793, the town of Caughnawaga was divided into the towns of Amsterdam, and Broadalbin, Johnstown, and Mayfield in Fulton County.

²³ Clinton had provided the information in a letter dated 15 June. Clinton was apparently reluctant to release the regiments for fear of opening the frontier to raids. To alleviate these fears, Washington in "an interview with Gov. Clinton, Lieut. Govr. Courtlandt, & Generals Schuyler & Tenbrook" at Peekskill on 25 June "pressed the necessity of my recalling the Continental Regiments from Albany & the Posts above" and suggested the troops be replaced with militia. Concurrently he ordered General John Stark to Saratoga to take command of forces on the northern and western frontier. He also ordered General Clinton "in pointed terms" to have the New York and Hazen's regiments "in the most perfect readiness to join the Army." Stark arrived in Albany on 9 August.

Hazen's regiment and Van Schaick's First New York Regiment were on their way to West Point, where they arrived on 10 July.

Private John Hudson's reminiscences not only confirm this sequence of events but also provide a rare glimpse into the experiences of one of the war's many "Boy Soldiers".²⁴ John Hudson served in Colonel Goose Van Schaick's First New York Regiment and had been living in Cincinnati, Ohio, since late 1831, when he wrote his "Narrative of John Hudson, A Revolutionary Soldier, and now resident in Cincinnati" for publication in *Cist's Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper published by Charles Cist.²⁵

"I was born in Westchester, New York, on the 12th June 1768, and am now, of course, nearly seventy-eight years of age. In April, 1781, there was a levy raised for the defence of the state from domestic enemies, to enable the regular troops of the New York line to march to such points as might be required. In this levy I enlisted, in what was then called King's district Albany county, and is now Canaan, in Columbia county, marched to Saratoga [a distance of about 60 miles], where having been drilled one week as a soldier, I enlisted in the Continental service, in which I remained to the end of the War of Independence. Let me state the cause of my enlistment in the regular service.²⁶

The levies mounted guard with the regular troops, and one morning just after being relieved at the usual hour, I had gone into our quarters and was sitting on the ground with my gun between my knees, when it went off accidentally and apparently without cause, the ball passing out of the hovel, but injuring no one. However, it was an offence punishable with one hundred lashes, and the corporal of the quarter immediately came in with a file of men and took me to the guard house. Here a conversation took place between the sergeant major and quartermaster sergeant, and one of them remarked with an oath, that it was a shame to give a boy like this an hundred lashes for what was notoriously an accident. This was said, purposely loud enough for me to hear. Then turning to me he added - "Come my lad, the best way for you to get out of this, will be to enlist - come along with us." I jumped up immediately, and had my name entered on the muster roll of the company, which was that of Captain Austin and now I was fairly entered for the campaign. I remained at

²⁴ See Caroline Cox, *Boy Soldiers of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

²⁵ Part 1 of Hudson's "Narrative" was published in *Gist's Advertiser* vol. 3, no. 3, 28 January 1846. The final installment, Part 5, was published in vol. 3, no. 15, 22 April 1846.

²⁶ Hudson probably refers to "ACT to raise troops for the immediate defence of the State" of 10 March 1781. For a detailed analysis see below "A Note on the Place of Non-White Soldiers in the New York Line Regiments and the New York Militia."

Saratoga until the middle of July, 1781, when Col. Van Schayck's regiment, to which I belonged, was directed to join the combined armies at Dobbs Ferry.”²⁷

The First New York and Hazen’s regiment were already on their way when Washington on 6 July ordered Clinton to keep in Albany “such of the Troops as shall not have been sent off” already. Upon receipt of the letter on 10 July, Clinton told Washington that he had only been able “to countermand the Embarkation of the 2^d [New York] Regt agreeable to your Direction, the rest of the Troops haveing previously sailed. This Regiment will now encamp in this place and the Transports shall be kept in perfect readiness to receive them on the shortest Notice.” That same day Clinton also had to inform the Commander in Chief that the First New York had been “necessarily detain’d, previous to their embarking, in this place one night which abounds with disaffected Characters, and being influenc’d with Liqueur, unanimously refused to march in the morning without Pay. Evry gentle measure was try’d, but without Effect; I was at length obliged to have recourse to coercive means; and after a short Conflict in which one or two was dangerously wounded, about twelve of the principles were secured in Irons, and the others reduced to order — In the Morning the Embarkation took place without Difficulty, but thirteen men missing amongst whom are three Serjeants. I have sent L^t Colonel [Robert] Cockran with a small party into the Grants²⁸ after them as I am informed they took that rout, and flatter myself the greater part of them may be found, as I have produced a Pardon to all such as will join their Corps by the 20th of this month having sent down enough to exhibit as Examples.”²⁹

The Second New York Regiment, authorized by Congress on 25 May 1775 as the Fourth New York Regiment and organized from 28 June to 4 August 1775, was to consist of ten companies recruited in Westchester, Dutchess, Kings, Queens, and Richmond Counties. In April 1776 it was re-organized and re-designated the Third New York Regiment. It became the Second New York Regiment on 26 January 1777, eight companies strong, and was consolidated on 1 January 1781 with the Fourth and Fifth New York Regiments and the same strength as the First New York Regiment. Like the First New York Regiment, it was

²⁷ The muster roll of Captain Aaron Austin’s company of the First New York Regiment gives Hudson’s enlistment date as 25 May 1781. On 15 May 1818, Hudson filed Pension Application Number S 41665. Revolutionary War Pension applications can be accessed via Fold3. Hudson, like many contemporaries, spelled his captain’s last name as “Austin” but Hudson service record and other contemporary sources spell it as “Aorson”.

²⁸ The “Grants” refers to an area between Lake Champlain and the Connecticut River disputed between New Hampshire and New York to which both colonies issued competing land grants. On 15 January 1777, the settlers in the New Hampshire Grants severed all bonds with New York and declared themselves an independent state which eventually became the State of Vermont.

²⁹ Clinton’s letter, which mentions only the delay of the First New York Regiment, implies that Hazen’s regiment departed the day before. The Orderly Book for Hazen’s regiment does not provide a departure date beyond an entry date for 7 July “On board the Tryon” at “10 oClock this Morning”.

assigned to the New York Brigade in the Northern Department.³⁰ The regiment had spent the winter 1780/81 and the following spring in Fort Schuyler (Stanwix). When most of the fort, already severely damaged by rain and floods, burned on 14 May, George Washington ordered the site destroyed and abandoned. On 1 June, the Second New York was ordered to remove the artillery and stores to Fort Herkimer and to demolish the fort. The task completed on 9 June, the unit moved to Fort Herkimer, today's German Flats. Here it remained until early July when it received orders to march to Albany.³¹

On 9 July, the day before Clinton informed Washington of the mutiny in Van Schaick's regiment, the Second New York Regiment marched into Albany, too late to join the First New York and Hazen's Regiment for the journey to West Point. Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt recalled in his *Revolutionary War Memoir*, how following the demolition of Fort Schuyler "I was ordered to repair to Albany and call in all my officers and Men from different stations. Viz. Fort Plain Stone Arabia, John Town, Schoharry, &c. &c. leaving Capts. [Peter] Elsworth, & [Andrew] Moody at Herkimer.³² [...] All my Regiment having joined at and Near Schenectady [on 8 July] I marched and Incamped on the Patroons Flats. (SITE 4) I had then the largest and most healthy Regt. in America not Excepting French, English or Germans and a fine Band of Musick. Here [in Albany] I had to remain for the completing of 34 Boats now building there for the purpose as reported to take our army from Elizabeth Town to Staten Island as soon as the French Fleet should appear off Sandy Hook in order to take New York."³³ On 13 July, Captain Samuel Tallmadge of the Second New York Regiment confirms his colonel's account when he recorded in his diary that "the Regiment struck Camp and Marchd the upper end of town and Encamped."³⁴

On 20 July, Washington asked Clinton to "consider whether you can spare the light Company and have a sufficient number of Men left to bring down the remainder of the Boats which are building under the direction of Genl Schuyler—In that case you will send the Company immediately down and Major Fish with it. If you cannot, you will let the Light Company man the next Boats that are ready." The rest of the Second New York Regiment remained in Albany until 22 July, when its Second Battalion received orders to embark for

³⁰ Wright, *Continental Army*, p. 248.

³¹ A brief history of the fort can be found at <https://www.nps.gov/fost/learn/historyculture/fort-stanwix-in-the-american-revolution.htm>

³² Captain Andrew Moody commanded a company of artillery of Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Artillery Regiment. Captain Peter Elsworth served in the New York State Levies.

³³ *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* Jacob Judd, comp. and ed., (Tarrytown: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, 1976), p. 58.

³⁴ *Tallmadge Journal*, p. 755. On 10 July Washington entered into his diary: "Hazen's, and the 1st. York Regimt. who had been ordered to West point arrived there, but not till the latter had mutinied on acct. of their pay & several had deserted. The other York Regiment were detained at Albany to bring down the Boats & boards."

West Point. On 30 July, Clinton informed Washington that upon instructions of 15 and 20 July, he “immediately detached four Companies of the 2d Regiment under the Command of Lieut. Col. [Robert] Cochran with forty Boats, being all that were, at the time, finished. In Consequence of the latter I have put the light Company in Motion, who will embark tomorrow morning in twelve Boats, and I have directed Major Fish to proceed with out Delay to West-Point, there to wait your Excellency’s Orders.”³⁵ The following day the four companies “struck tents and Embarked in the Battows about 4 OClock P.M. for west point” where it arrived on 26 July.³⁶ Since hostile incursions were continuing, the First Battalion around 10:00 p.m. on 27 July 1781, sent a detachment “for Schoharry the Indian being in that Quarter.” They had “killed three men” but withdrawn before the arrival of the Continentals, and 24 hours later the detachment was back in Albany. On 31 July, the regimental Light Infantry Company set out for West Point, where it arrived on 3 August. Bowing to pressure from General Clinton, who had pointed out the “fears of the People that they should be under the necessity of abandoning that part of the Country” if all Continental forces were withdrawn, Washington on 4 August had agreed “to suffer the 4 Companies [of the First Battalion] of Courtlandts Regiment (now at Albany) to remain in that Quarter till the Militia did come in.”

The feared incursions from the northward did not materialize and following the decision to include both New York regiments in the army that was to march to Virginia, Washington recalled the remainder of Van Courtlandt’s regiment from Albany. On Monday, 20 August, “our troops”, meaning the First Battalion of the Second New York Regiment, “Embarked about 8 OClock and proceeded down the river in Battows”. As the battalion sailed downstream toward West Point, Tallmadge provides the stopping points for the vessels. On the first night, 20/21 August, they “halted one mile below Clavorack.”³⁷ (SITE 5) Tallmadge continued in his *Journal* that in the evening of 21 August, the troops “put up at Ryenbeck Landing”. (SITE 6) At 5:00 a.m. on 22 August, Tallmadge and his battalion re-embarked and continued downriver to Poughkeepsie, where it spent the night. (SITES 7, 8 and 10) The next evening, “about five OClock” on 23 August, the men disembarked at West Point and joined the Second Battalion, which had been “exercising and training the men till 23rd August, when the first Battalion also arrives in flat boats from Albany.”³⁸

³⁵ On 15 July, Washington instructed Clinton from Dobbs’ Ferry “I have now to request that you will order exactly a sufficient number of men, properly officered from the 2nd New York Regt to bring these Boats immediately down the River; the Boats will be delivered to [...] Major Genl McDougall.”

³⁶ *Tallmadge Journal*, p. 756, estimated arrival date. On 29 July, Washington wrote in his diary: “Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen. Schuyler, & were finished. The light Infantry Company of the Regiment were ordered down with the next Boats & the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done.”

³⁷ *Tallmadge Journal*, pp. 756 and 757; the arrival date is estimated.

³⁸ “Diary of Barnardus Swartwout Jr., Ensign, Second New York Regiment.” New-York Historical Society, New York.

b) Concentration of Allied Forces in Greenburgh and Early Acquisition of Watercraft

On 29 July, Washington had recorded in his *Diary* that "Part of the Second York Regiment [i.e. the four companies of its Second Battalion] came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen. Schuyler, & were finished. The light Infantry Company of the Regiment were ordered down with the next Boats & the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done." Washington's mention of the boats the Yorkers brought with them points to a crucial component of any military activity in the Hudson River Valley: boats were indispensable, their availability a *sine qua none* for the desperately needed successful campaign in the summer of 1781.

The Continental Army had spent a difficult winter around Morristown and in the Hudson Highlands. On 1 January 1781, the Pennsylvania Line finally had had enough and mutinied in Morristown, New Jersey. 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 near-by Pompton. This time the rebellion was put down by force. Two men were executed on 27 January 1781. As winter turned into spring, the Continental Army barely maintained its strength while Crown forces were marching almost at will across the southern states. Despairingly Washington wrote on 9 April 1781: "We are at the end of our tether, and ... now or never our deliverance must come". The campaign of 1781 had to produce results. In late June, the Continental Army quartered around Newburgh, (SITES 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) was getting ready to lay siege to New York City, the un-announced yet generally assumed target of the 1781 campaign. New York City was the center of British military and political power, its capture, it was hoped, would force Britain to the negotiating table. But there was a personal component to this plan as well: Washington had never forgotten his rather ignominious defeat in the Battle of White Plains and subsequent flight across New Jersey in the summer and fall of 1776. The assistance of a French land forces under the *comte* de Rochambeau and a powerful fleet under the *comte* de Grasse blocking New York harbor at last opened up the possibility of removing that stain on Washington's military career.

The re-positioning of Continental Army units to West Point and from there to White Plains constituted but one aspect of Washington's preparations for the campaign. In their conference at Wethersfield in late May, Washington and Rochambeau had decided to join their forces on the North River for an attack on New York City. Following his return to Newburgh in the evening of 25 May, preparations for the campaign began in earnest. Washington on 16 June issued orders "that a Camp be marked out by the Chief Engineers & Q. M. Genl. Near Peekskill (SITE 29) to assemble the Troops on."³⁹

³⁹ On the Wethersfield Conference see my *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*

On 18 June, he entered into his diary:

Brigaded the Troops, and made an arrangement of the Army, which is to March for the New Camp in three divisions--the 1st. on Thursday the 21st.--the 2d. on the 23d. and the 3d. on the 24th. Instt. To strengthen the detachment intended for the Garrison of West point, I had previously called upon the State of Connecticut for 800 Militia.⁴⁰

The General Orders for the day read:

Head Quarters, New Windsor, Monday, June 18, 1781.

The Troops at Westpoint and in the vicinity of it will be Brigaded as follows and are to Encamp in that order when they remove to Peekskill, 'till then no alterations will be made in the Present disposition of them: Right Wing: Majr. Genl. Heath: -- Olney, R. I. R[egt.]; Butler, 4 C[onn.]; Swift, 2 C. Brigr. Genl. Huntington--Webb's, 3 C.; Sherman, 5 C.; Durkee, 1 C. Left Wing: Major Genl. Lord Stirling: Brigadr. Genl. Glover--Vose, 1 M[ass.]; Brooks, 7 M.; Sheppard, 4 M. Brigr. Genl. Patterson--Sproat, 2 M.; M. Jackson, 8 M.; Putnam, 5 M. Second Line: Major Genl. Parsons--Howe. Scammell, 1 N[ew] H[ampshire]; Read, 2 N.H.; Tupper, 10 M. Genl. Knox--Park of Artillery. Genl. Duportail--Engineers and Sapprs. and Minrs. Major Genl. Lincoln--Howe. Greaton, 3 M.; Henry Jackson, 9 M.; Smith, 6. M.

When the Troops assemble at Peekskill General McDougall is to take command of the Post of Westpoint and its dependencies and will remain there 'till the army commences its operations when he will be relieved.

General Orders of 19 June contained the marching orders for the Continental Army.

Head Quarters, New Windsor, Tuesday, June 19, 1781.

The Army will march for its encampment in the Vicinity of Peekskill in the following order, and on the days named if the Weather will permit. First The division commanded by Major General Parsons (agreeably to the arrangement of yesterday) on thursday the 21St. next., General Lincoln's Division on the 22d.

1781. Rochambeau's Conferences in Hartford and Wethersfield. Historic and Architectural Survey. (Hartford, Connecticut: Connecticut Historical Commission, 2000) available on-line at <https://w3r-us.org/history-by-state/> under the drop-down menu: Connecticut.

⁴⁰ There are no diary entries for 19, 21, 22, and 23 June. The dates for the march in Washington's diary, 21, 23 and 24 June, conflict with those given in the General Orders for 18 June, i.e. 21, 22, and 23 June. The departure of Continental Army forces followed the schedule given in General Orders.

then. General Howe's on the 23d.

The Quarter Master General will point out the ground.

The Officers commanding these divisions are to make the necessary arrangements with the Quarter Master General for removing the troops to their ground, providing them with tents &ca.

The Detachments intended to Garrison West Point and its dependencies are to repair to the Barracks on the Point as their divisions respectively march.

General Knox will furnish such field Pieces to each division when it marches, as he can conveniently man without interrupting the important work he has on hand.

The Corps of Sappers and Miners may move when General Du Portail (who will have respect to the business they are now engaged in) shall order.

A Captain, five subs, six serjeants and one hundred rank and file of the best Oars men in the Army are to be drawn from the line at large, in as equal proportion as such men can be had and placed under the command of Major Darby who is to receive all the boats ordered to Westpoint and will put them in the best order he can.

Major Darby will consult with the Quarter master General and give every aid in his power to collect the boats in the river to a point and will determine what repairs it may be in his power to bestow on them that measures may be taken accordingly.

The difficulty of transportation must be too obvious to the army to need exposition, but were the Case otherwise the operations of the Campaign will more than probably, be of such a nature as to render it not only advisable but indispensably necessary to encumber the field as little as possible with Baggage. The Commander in Chief does therefore in most pointed terms recommend to officers of every rank commanding Corps to divest themselves of every species of Baggage that they can possibly do without, and will see that all others under their respective orders do the like; if this timely admonition is disregarded they must abide the consequences.

No Women will be suffered to ride in waggons or walk in the ranks this Campaign unless there are very particular reasons for it, of which the General Officer or officer commanding the Division or brigade to which they belong is to be the judge; a written permission only will avail; without this the officers of the day or police are not only authorized to turn them out, but requested to inflict instant punishment upon those who shall be found transgressors of this order.

Every Mess must carry its own Camp Kettle unless otherwise directed in General Orders; officers of every rank are to consider themselves as responsible

for the orders of this day so far as respects the corps they command and to report delinquencies in others.

Captain Lieutenant Gilliland, of the corps of Sappers and Miners, is promoted to the rank of Captain in the same, vice McMurray resign'd the 1st. June 1781, and Captain Lieutenant Bushnell of the same Corps is promoted to the rank of Captain vice Bæbe, resigned 8 June 1781.

Jonathan Lawrence, Esqr, Lieutenant in late Malcolms regiment is appointed to the rank of Captain in the Corps of Sappers and Miners, his Commission to bear date from the 12th. June 1781.

A Return to be made to the Adjutant General by Thursday next from each regiment of all the men, by name, that are acquainted with the use of rifles.

These orders contain two pieces of information particularly relevant to this report. The Hudson River constituted the easiest and fastest transportation route for men and materiel, and Washington acknowledged that fact by establishing what might be called a “naval” component under Major Samuel Darby of Lieutenant Colonel John Brooks’s Seventh Massachusetts Regiment:

A Captain, five subs, six serjeants and one hundred rank and file of the best Oars men in the Army are to be drawn from the line at large, in as equal proportion as such men can be had and placed under the command of Major Darby who is to receive all the boats ordered to Westpoint and will put them in the best order he can.

Major Darby will consult with the Quarter master General and give every aid in his power to collect the boats in the river to a point and will determine what repairs it may be in his power to bestow on them that measures may be taken accordingly.⁴¹

Captain John Hutchinson Buell of the First Connecticut Regiment may have been the “Captain” Washington had requested. Buell recorded in his diary that on “20 June I was orderd on Command with a party of Boatmen Majr Darby had the Command, we first went to West Point and sent two Subbord on to Wappings Crick.”⁴² (SITE 9) With the boats in place, the first crossing of the Hudson by the Continental Army of 1781 could proceed. Dr. James Thacher of the Light Infantry recorded in his *Military Journal* under 20 June: “It is directed in general orders that [...] One of the three divisions of the army is to pass the Hudson each day, till all have crossed. 22d. – our division of the army crossed the Hudson

⁴¹ See however below the pension applications of Henry Christian and Godfrey Vought and of Benjamin Acker about the ferry service between Verplanck’s Point and Stony Point.

⁴² Diary of John Hutchinson Buell, 1780-1783. MSS L2013F229 M, Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC. The unpaginated diary consists of 37 pages. It begins on 6 June 1780.

at West Point landing yesterday and reached Peekskill (SITE 29) at night.”⁴³ Collection, repair, and new construction had begun weeks earlier, however. On 13 June, Washington had entered in his diary: “To facilitate the building, and repairing of Boats, a number of Carpenters was ordered from the line of the army to the Q[uar]ter]. M[aster]. G[eneral]. to aid the artificers of his department in this important business and Major Darby with a Captain 5 Sub[altern]s & 6 Serg[ean]ts. And 100 Rank & file were drawn from the army in order to collect and take care of the public Boats.”

On 28 June, Washington wrote to Major Darby from Headquarters in Peekskill that Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering had informed him that “there are now 24 Boats completely repaired at Wappings Creek. be pleased to send a party to bring these instantly to Peekskill Creek.⁴⁴ Let these Boats, and every Batteau at West Point, that is fit for Service (including all those now used as ferry Boats, and on every other duty) be hurried to Peekskill with all possible expedition.

The work must not cease, or the Men rest a Moment day or night, until 35 or 40 Batteaus are got down the River – I expect this number will be here by tomorrow Night, or the next day Morning without fail.

P.S. Heavy Flat Bottomed Boats or those not in good repair may be given to the Ferry & to the other necessary Services from whence good Batteaux are taken.”⁴⁵

The next day, 29 June, Darby informed Colonel David Humphrey, one of Washington’s aides-de-camp, from West Point, that upon receipt of his letter of the same date he had dispatched “a Boat to Fishkill for all the muffled oars at that place.” The boats from Wappinger’s Creek had not yet arrived but he expected them any moment and would forward them immediately. On the cover is a note “before I sealed my letter 22 boats have arived from Wappings Creek.” Boats came from as far north as Albany, a good 100 miles north of West Point, 110 miles north of Peekskill and 135 miles north of Dobbs Ferry. On 20 June 1781, Philip Schuyler informed Washington that he would superintend the construction of 100 bateaux at Albany for the projected campaign against New York, at an estimated price of \$35 to \$40 per vessel. Washington was referring to these boats when he entered into his diary on 10 July: “The Boats undertaken by General Schuyler, are, by his letters, in a promising way”. On 6 July, Washington had told General Alexander McDougall

⁴³ James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution* (Hurlbut, Williams & Co.: Hartford, 1862), p. 263. Thacher had served in Colonel Michael Jackson’s Eighth Massachusetts Regiment until his transfer to Scammell’s Light Infantry Battalion on 17 July 1781.

⁴⁴ Peekskill Creek runs into the Hudson just north of Peekskill.

⁴⁵ An excellent overview is John U. Rees, *The uses and conveniences of different kinds of Water Craft” Continental Army Vessels on Inland Waterways, 1775-1782* (2014), available on-line as a pdf at https://www.academia.edu/14013932/The_uses_and_conveniences_of_different_kinds_of_Water_Craft_Continental_Army_Vessels_on_Inland_Waterways_1775-1782

from “Head Quarters, near Dobb’s Ferry” that “The two new whale boats at Wapping’s Creek, & the one at New-borough in the charge of Mr Brooks Depty Cloathier, are much wanted here; I wish you to send a party for them, have muffled Oars provided, & forward’d to King’s ferry or Tarry Town, to the order of Majr Darby. the party of Men that conduct the boats will return to West point, after delivering them to Majr Darby.” A few days later on 10 July, Washington had to admit to himself that the boats constructed “at Wappings Creek” were well along in their construction but there was no delivery date.⁴⁶ Upon further inquiry Schuyler informed Washington from Albany on 21 July, that 84 bateaux were virtually completed and at least half were ready to be sent forward to the army. From the day that the campaign began, the availability of watercraft was critical for success.

So were Rochambeau’s French forces. On 11 July 1780, the French fleet carrying four regiments of infantry – Bourbonnois, Soissonnois, Saintonge and Royal Deux-Ponts, a re-enforced battalion of the Auxonne Artillery Regiment and the 600-man strong Lauzun’s Legion, altogether approximately 450 officers and 5,300 men - dropped anchor in Narragansett Bay off Newport, Rhode Island.⁴⁷ With many of the troops suffering from scurvy and without enough time left in the year to embark on a campaign, French infantry forces entered winter quarters in and around Newport in November while the hussars of Lauzun’s Legion moved to Lebanon in Connecticut.⁴⁸ On 10 June 1781, Rochambeau’s forces began to embark in Newport for the sea journey to Providence, their start-off point for the campaign. Jean François Louis, comte de Clermont-Crèveœur, recorded that since “several of them ran aground most of the troops spent the night aboard these little craft, many without food. It was only the next day [12 June] with the help of the tide that the boats got up the river. All the troops disembarked on the 12th and camped beyond the town of Providence, where the army spent several days.”⁴⁹ On 18 June, the first of Rochambeau’s four infantry divisions – each regiment with its staff, campaign artillery and wagon train formed a division; Lauzun’s Legion following its own route from Lebanon to New York formed a fifth division - set out from Providence for Waterman’s Tavern, their first stop on the way to Westchester County and the Hudson River.

⁴⁶ Wappinger Creek flows into the Hudson from the east at New Hamburg, about 55 miles south of Murderers Creek (SITE 9), eight miles north of Beacon, and 45 miles north of Dobbs Ferry.

⁴⁷ For more details see my *The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the Commonwealth of Rhode Island, 1781 - 1783. An Historical and Architectural Survey*. (Providence, Rhode Island: Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 2015), available on-line at <https://w3r-us.org/history-by-state/> under Rhode Island.

⁴⁸ On Lauzun’s Legion see my *Hussars in Lebanon! A Connecticut Town and Lauzun’s Legion during the American Revolution, 1780-1781* (Lebanon, Lebanon Historical Society, 2004).

⁴⁹ Jean François Louis *comte de Clermont-Crèveœur* had entered the Auxonne Artillery in 1769. His account of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence: Princeton University Press, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 15-100, the quote is from p. 27.

c) The role of the Hudson River in the Ambush of Loyalist forces on 3 July 1781

Washington's General Orders of 19 June had stipulated that "The Quarter Master General will point out the ground" for the encampment in Peekskill, but it did not identify the route the troops were to take to get there. Based on research conducted by Robert Hutchinson of the Philipstown Greenway Committee, the route taken by the Continental Army once it had crossed the Hudson ran from Eagles Rest Road → Snake Hill Road → Route 9D → Route 403 → Old West Point Road East → Route 9 → Old West Point Road East → Old Albany Post Road → Sprout Brook Road → Gallows Hill Road → Oregon Road toward Peekskill.⁵⁰ Entering the town on North Division Street to South Street, part of the Post Road in 1781, the camp was situated along the south side of South Street and Crompond Road (NYSR 202) and east of Washington Street. From 23 June onwards, the Continental Army occupied (from West/Peekskill Bay to East) Drum Hill overlooking South Street, Oak Hill, site of the hanging of convicted spy Daniel Strang in 1777, and location of Peekskill High School, and the Villa Loretto Hills along Crompond Road.⁵¹ Washington joined his army in Peekskill, a tiny community of "five or eight houses" on 25 June, the same day that the Bourbonnois, Rochambeau's lead regiment, set up camp in Farmington in Connecticut.⁵² Anxious for military action, Washington on 28 June entered into his diary that

"Having determined to attempt to surprize the Enemys Posts at the No. end of Yk. Island, if the prospt. of success continued favourable, & having fixed upon the Night of the 2d. of July for this purpose and having moreover combined with it an attempt to cut off Delancy's

⁵⁰ I am very grateful to Mr. Hutchinson for sending me his almost 3,500 word-long "Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route: Resource Study and Environmental Assessment Resource Study and Environmental Assessment: Public Comment Period. Project Comment for PEPC Web Site Regarding the Correct Location of the W3R in Philipstown, New York", which is dated 18 April 2007. Though he discussed the march of the Continental Army from West Point to Peekskill on 26/27 October 1782, the description is just as valid for the march in June 1781.

⁵¹ The identification of the campsite is based on Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 186, based on a note written on a map of the 1782 Peekskill camp drawn by Rochambeau's aide-de-camp Marie François Joseph Maxime Cromot du Bourg. See also John Curran, *The Attack at Peekskill by the British in 1777* (Peekskill, 1998), pp. 91-93, and Chester A. Smith, *Peekskill, A Friendly Town: Its Historic Sites and Shrines: A Pictorial History of the City from 1654 to 1952* (Peekskill, 1952), pp. 46, 125, and 148. See also See W.H.H. MacKellar, "Peekskill's Part in the Drama of the American Revolution." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 7 no. 4, (October 1931), pp. 152-161.

⁵² Interview with James Mandeville, 23 Sept. 1845. John McLeod McDonald Papers vol. 2, p. 57/164 stamped, 29 handwritten. Westchester County Historical Society, Elmsford, NY. For an explanation for these different paginations see William S. Haddaway, "The Author of the McDonald Papers" *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* Vol. 5, No. 1 (January 1929), pp. 5-7.

Robert Erskine's "Surveys in New York & Connecticut for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778" in the New-York Historical Society identifies eleven buildings along today's South Street in Peekskill.

And other light Corps without Kingsbridge (SITE 53) and fixed upon Genl. Lincoln to Commd. the first detachment & the Duke de Lauzen the 2d. every thing was put in train for it and the Count de Rochambeau requested to file off from Ridgebury to Bedford & hasten his March--while the Duke de Lauzen was to do the same & to assemble his command (which was to consist of abt. 3 or 400 Connecticut State Troops under the Command of Genl. Waterbury--abt. 100 York Troops under Captn. Sacket⁵³ --Sheldons Legion of 200, & his own proper Corps.). Genl. Lincolns command was to consist of Scammells light Troops and other detachments to the amt. of 800 Rank & file properly officerd--150 watermen and 60 artillerists."

"150 watermen" and their boats were needed to transport Benjamin Lincoln's men down the Hudson, and once again Captain Buell and his men were called upon. Under "29 June" he recorded in his diary that "we was orderd to Peekskills with 30 Boats and was joind by Capt. [Stephen] Billings [Second Connecticut Regiment] and two Officers and 50 Men." On 1 July, the Continental Army encamped in Peekskill received orders "to march this morning at the hour & in the order prescribed in yesterdays orders taking their route from Peekskill down the old post or river road to the New Bridge over Croton river.⁵⁴ When the army approached the bridge, it will halt half an hour to refresh, at the most convenient ground on this side the bridge. It will then again take up its line march, & proceed to Tarrytown, (SITE 42) where it will rest & wait the orders of the Commander in Chief."⁵⁵ Washington's orders were for the bulk of the army to wait at Tarrytown and be ready, if necessary, "to cover the detached Troops and improve any advantages which might be gained by them."

The "detached Troops" were the water-borne command under Lincoln and the combined Franco-American force under the Armand Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun, which were "to attempt to surprize the Enemys Posts at the No. end of Yk. Island [during] the Night of the 2d. of July". On 30 June, Washington had asked Rochambeau "to put your First Brigade under march tomorrow Morning, the remaining Troops to follow as quick as possible, and

⁵³ On Captain Richard Sackett see again below "A Note on the Place of Non-White Soldiers in the New York Line Regiments and the New York Militia". In his Pension Application (S 23051) Godfrey Vought of Sackett's company mentioned that he had been in the fire-fight of 2/3 July 1781 and had "carried the wounded and dead back, after a hard engagement with the Hessians".

⁵⁴ The "New Bridge over Croton" formed part of the Old Albany Post Road and crossed the Croton just north of Paradise Island. It is about eight miles from the Peekskill encampment to the bridge.

⁵⁵ Lord Stirling Papers, Microfilm 19.061, 270:43, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. It is about nine miles from the bridge to the center of Tarrytown and 13.5 miles to Dobbs Ferry.

The Orderly Book for General Benjamin Lincoln's Brigade 1781 (Codex Eng 67, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI), has this entry: "Camp Peekskill 1 July: The Army will march tomorrow morning at three o'clock. the General will beat at two, the Assemble at half after two, and it is hoped the March will commence punctually at three in order to avoid the heat of the day; the Route and order of March will be furnished by the Quarter Master General."

endeavor to reach Bedford by the evening of the 2d. of July." Washington's letter reached Rochambeau in Ridgebury across the state line in Connecticut in the evening of 1 July; the next morning the First Brigade marched to Bedford via Pound Ridge and set up its campsite near the lake in the triangle formed by Seminary, Court, and Poundridge Roads in Bedford. The Second Brigade joined in the early afternoon of 3 July 1781. Here they remained until their departure to White Plains in a single column on 6 July 1781. While enjoying a ball in Monroe/New Stratford in the evening of 30 June the *duc* received orders from Washington via his aide Lieutenant-Colonel David Cobb to march immediately to Bedford via Ridgefield where Washington expected him in the evening of 2 July for an attack on Morrisania Manor. (SITE 56) In the evening of 2 July, Lauzun's Legion rested briefly in Bedford before setting out on a night march to meet up with Lincoln. Lauzun's troops were late in reaching Morrisania, the estate of General Lewis Morris and occupied by the loyalists of James DeLancey, known interchangeably as De Lancey's Brigade, De Lancey's Volunteers, De Lancey's Corps, De Lancey's Provincial Corps, De Lancey's Refugees, or simply as the "Cowboys" or "Cow-boys", near the juncture of the Harlem and East Rivers on the north side of the Third Avenue Bridge and Bruckner Boulevard in the morning of 3 July.

Benjamin Lincoln's detachment, as recorded by Washington in his diary on 2 July, "embarked last Night after dark, at or near Tellers point; and as his operations were to be the movement of two Nights he was desired to repair to Fort Lee (SITE 55) this day & reconnoitre the enemy's Works-Position and strength as well as he possibly could & take his ultimate determination from appearances--that is to attempt the surprize if the prospect was favourable or to relinquish it if it was not, and in the latter case to land above the Mouth of Spikendevil (SITE 54) & cover the Duke in his operation on Delancys Corps."⁵⁶ Eyewitness accounts by participants and spy reports sent into New York City add color and valuable detail to the events on the Hudson River during those two nights hidden behind Washington's terse prose. Captain Buell wrote in his diary:

30th June 1781 (illeg) at night we went with the Boats to Tollows point (SITE 38)
1st July we conseed our Boats till Dark when Colo Scammells detechment Came down and imbarkd we went down to Dobbs ferry whar we arived about sun rise in the Morning (Site 43)
2d we coverd up our Boats with Bushes and conseed our Men in the Woods whar we remaind till dark, when we imbarck the Men sposed to be about 1200 Genl. Lincoln had the Command we prinded (?) down the river and about 2 oclock landed⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Though the entry is dated 2 July, the "sunrise" referred to 3 July. Having departed at 3:00 a.m. on 2 July, Washington halted at Tarrytown until dusk and marched through the night of 2/3 July.

⁵⁷ For a brief history of Dobbs Ferry during the war see William S. Hadaway, "'Dobbs Ferry' in the Revolution" *Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 3, (July 1932), pp. 114-121. For a brief history see Margaret J. Lane, "They say 'Dobbs Ain't Melodius.'" *Ibid.*, vol. 49

3d in the morning of the 3d we landed the Troops below Philips's House (SITE 51) and Spiting Devil, (SITE 54) and returnd immediately with the Boats to Tarrytown, the detachment went immediately a crost to Kingsbridg (SITE 53) they fell in with the Enemy had some smart skirmishes but no Genl. Action.

Nathan Jacques of Narragansett had enlisted in Captain William Greene's Company of the Rhode Island Regiment on 8 January 1781, and also participated in the ill-fated enterprise. Writing in the Third Person he told in his *Memoirs* how in May 1781 "An officer and 24 men, were drafted from it to form a select corps of Light Infantry, formed under Col. Scammel. Jacques was in this detachment, they embarked at Peekskill, and passed down on the west side of the Hudson, and landed in the evening at Phillip's house 5 miles above Kings' Bridge; marched that night to a position" [rest of line missing]. On 1 October 1846, Augustus Cregier supplied the location when he told McDonald that it was "Major Samuel Lawrence, who owned the place next (south) of Thomas Ludlow's, [who] piloted Lincoln along by Courtland's house (SITE 52) close to his door to a spot near Fort Independence (SITE 57) on the 3d of July, 1781."⁵⁸ Jacques continued that at "day break were attacked by the Yagers and other Hessian troops. After a smart skirmish their enemies fled. The battalion remained drawn up on the edge of a marsh, on the further side of which to the west, there were bushes two hundred yards in front. Jacques observed a smoke rise from a bush, and at that instant he received a ball in his breast, which went through his body and was afterwards cut out under the shoulder blade. An officer, seeing he was wounded, directed him to retire; he placed his musket against a fence, at their backs, got over and walked up the road, and in a short time met General Washington with some officers. The General asked him if he was wounded, he said he was he then told him to walk on slowly, and he would soon meet wagons coming down for the wounded. He got into one, and was finally carried to the hospital at Robinson's farm, (SITE 24) in the Highlands, and thence removed in the fall to New Windsor (SITE 16). He was wounded on the 3d July, 1784 [sic; should read 1781], and was not fit for duty till Christmas following, when he joined the regiment at Philadelphia."⁵⁹

Asa Redington in Colonel Alexander Scammell's regiment wrote that "On the 2nd day of July, the Regiment moved from their quarters to the Hudson River, and in the evening embarked on board of flat boats at Tellers Point, (SITE 38) about 30 miles above New York.

no. 4, (Fall 1973), pp. 77-81, and Alice Munro Haagensen, "The Blockhouse defending Dobbs Ferry in Rockland." *Ibid.*, vol. 19 no. 4, (October 1975), pp. 10-17.

⁵⁸ John McLeod McDonald Papers vol. 4 pp. 136/530 stamped, p. 51 handwritten.

⁵⁹ The *Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of Nathan Jacques, of Rhode Island* were published as "BIOGRAPHY of an AMERICAN SOLDIER AND SAILOR" in *The PALLADIUM Weekly Advertiser*, vol. I no. 29, Wednesday, 13 January 1836. The paper is included in his Pension Application N 26,667, where he is listed as Nathan Jaquays/Jaquay/Jacqurs under Rhode Island. He died on 7 March 1829.

We rowed down the river to near Dobbs Ferry, where we landed under the side of a mountain on the Jersey side of the River, cut green bushes and covered the boats to avoid discovery, went up the side of the mountain, and there remained through the day covered by thick woods (SITES 47, 48, 49) --- we were not allowed to make any fires or cook any food. [...] About nine o'clock in the morning we again embarked and fell down the river, a number of miles, and landed about two o'clock in the morning of the 3rd of July on the east side of the river about 2 ½ miles above Kingsbridge," (SITE 53) i.e. in the area around the College of Mount Saint Vincent.⁶⁰

Redington finished his sentence with "and apparently undiscovered." But nothing could be further from the truth: Sir Henry Clinton in New York City and James DeLancey had known about the planned raid well before Redington or most of the officers. Though Major John André had been hanged on 2 October 1780, his spy network had survived. In the summer of 1781, it was run Captain Ludwig August Marquard of the Hessian Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode. Marquard, an aide-de-camp of General Wilhelm *Reichsfreiherr* von Innhausen und Knyphausen, began running a spy operation out of Morrisania in February 1781, and together with the Loyalist Adjutant General Major Oliver DeLancey kept Sir Henry Clinton well informed of American activities. On 2 July, a certain "Gould" informed Clinton that Colonel Elias Dayton of the Second New Jersey Regiment was seeking information about "the situation and strength of the different posts at Kingsbridge, Fort Washington and its vicinity." The next day, DeLancey received information that "the Rebels are collecting all the shipping together, whaleboats and flatboats to [come] down the East River with a view of landing on Morrisania Point, and from thence to Haerlem."⁶¹ That gave James DeLancey and his Cowboys enough time to prepare for the arrival of Lincoln's forces coming down on the Hudson. In the morning of 3 July, they were waiting for the Americans. Augustus Cregier told McDonald in 1846 that "In July 1781, General Lincoln, or rather Captain Jonathan Lawrence, landed on the farm of Isaac (Lawrence?) about two miles north of Kingsbridge where Thomas Ludlow now lives, and marched to Tetard's hill where a severe skirmish ensued. Scannell's brigade was piloted by William Green from Hoghill down to General Lincoln, and his (Greene's) horse was shot on Hoghill, by Emmerick's party who were there that night. Emmerick gained the bank of the river at Phillips's house, where he probably had staid all night, and retreated to Spitend[uyvil]. Creek."⁶²

⁶⁰ Redington's "Reminiscences", which he wrote down in 1838, are held as MISC 383 in Special Collections at Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

⁶¹As usual the British side was informed of American activities. On 4 July, Captain Marquard told DeLancey: "The boats in which the Rebel Detachm' came down, went up the North River yesterday morning [i.e. 3 July] about 4 o'clock." "Sir Henry Clinton's Original Secret Record of Private Daily Intelligence. Contributed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett. With an Introduction and Notes by Edward F. DeLancey." *Magazine of American History* vol. 11 (January-June 1884) No. 6 (June 1884) pp. 533 - 544, p. 537. The content covers information received from 17 June to 6 July 1781.

⁶² McDonald Papers vol. 3 stamped pp. 145/374, handwritten p. 32.

On 2 July, Washington had entered into his diary that Lincoln “was desired to repair to Fort Lee this day & reconnoitre the enemy's Works-Position”⁶³ (SITE 55) Lincoln's reconnoitering had not gone undetected. On 3 July, Oliver Delancey received a letter from George Beckwith, a captain in the 37th Regiment of Foot but tasked with intelligence work. One of his informants had told him that “yesterday an officer came from East side of Hudson's River, and landed at Kloster-dock. (SITE 50) They told him at first that he was a General, but upon more particular enquiry he found he was only a Colonel, but could not learn his name. This officer viewed the ground about the Liberty pole: he had a party of Dragoons with him. The inhabitants gave out, that the chief object was to scour the country in order to secure the grain and forage[.]”⁶⁴ That officer had been General Lincoln, whose reconnaissance from the New Jersey shore confirmed DeLancey's information from other sources that a Franco-American enterprise against his positions was planned. James DeLancey's Loyalists were waiting for Lincoln's men and with Lauzun's detachment being delayed, the surprise attack on British posts ended in failure.⁶⁵ Following a brief but bloody encounter Lincoln withdrew to William's Bridge where Lauzun caught up with him.⁶⁶

Washington had moved his forces into the Bronx as well. He wrote in his diary: “At three o'clock this Morning”, i.e. on 2 July, “I commenced my March with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached Troops and improve any advantages which might be gained by them. Made a small halt at the New bridge over Croton abt. 9 Miles from Peekskill--another at the Church by Tarry Town (SITES 37, 40) till Dusk (9 Miles more) and compleated the remaining part of the March in the Night--arriving at Valentines Hill (at Mile square⁶⁷) about Sun rise. Our Baggage & Tents were left standing at the Camp at Peekskill.”⁶⁸

⁶³ Fort Lee, or Fort Constitution, was located on the west side of the Hudson River across from Fort Washington at Jeffery's Hook. Fort Lee Historic Park in Fort Lee, NJ, just south of the George Washington Bridge is part of Palisades Interstate Park. <https://www.njpalisades.org/fortlee.html>

⁶⁴ “Daily Intelligence”, p. 535.

⁶⁵ 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 Evelyn M. Acomb, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), p. 89 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. was moved to its current location in 1965.

⁶⁶ Corsa told McDonald that “The last I saw of Lincoln's army on the 3d. of July 1781 they were in a wood by the right side of the road from Mile Square to Williams's Bridge.”

⁶⁷ “Mile Square” was a one square mile tract of land created out of Philipsburg Manor in 1693 south of Valentine Hill bordering on the Bronx River on the east and stretching west between roughly Cross County Parkway and Yonkers Avenue toward Philips Manor. Mile Square Road leading to Valentine Hill from the south-east recalls the neighborhood.

⁶⁸ “From Capt. Marquard to Majr [Oliver] DeLancey. Morris's house, 6th July 1781. ¼ past 3. P. M.

Encountering Lincoln's retreating troops, Washington called off the project, and while "disappointed in both objects [...] I did not care to fatigued the Troops any more but suffered them to remain on their Arms while I spent good part of the day [3 July] in reconnoitering the Enemy's works." Nathan Beers of Colonel Samuel B. Webb's Third Connecticut Regiment had been in Washington's column and recorded:

July 2^d Monday at 4 O'Clock morning army marched from Peekskill from the Right by the rout of Tarrytown. 1 O'Clock halted at Tarrytown for our repose in the Church Yard. One hour after Sunset continued our march. (SITE 40)

3^d Tuesday at Sunrise halted at Valentines Hill⁶⁹ action with Scammell's detachment and the Enemy – Excellency Guard severely handled Number of them killed Seventeed Wounded Lieut Colefax and the latter in three parts of his Body Encamped on Vol^{ts} Hill" ⁷⁰

"In the afternoon", continued Washington in his diary, "we retired to Valentines Hill & lay upon our Arms. Duke Laufen & Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunx [Bronx] river on the East Chester road. Our loss in this days skirmishing was as follows--viz.--[...]"

4th. Marched & took a position a little to the left of Dobbs ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left. Duke Laufen Marched to the Whitepl[ai]n & Waterbury to Horseneck." Nathan Beers simply wrote: "4 Wednesday Marched and Encamped Phillips-Burgh 2 Miles from Dobbs ferry." At "Phillips-Burgh" they joined the remainder of the Continental Army in camp. Two days later, on 6 July, the rest of Rochambeau's forces joined them there as well.

It had been a costly failure. Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin of Waltham, Massachusetts, who served as Adjutant in Colonel Alexander Scammell's Light Infantry Regiment also participated in the raid. Benjamin had spent the winter of 1780/81 in and around West Point but deployed to Peekskill on 1 June. There he remained until "June 20. March from

"Lieut. Col. Wurmb has received information, that the Enemy's Army was in motion; whether back, or forwards, he dont know. When the Rebels left Peekskill, they left their tents pitched, under a Camp Guard; whether they have followed the army, or not he could not learn." "Daily Intelligence" p. 541.

⁶⁹ Valentine's Hill is today the site of St. Joseph's Seminary between Yonkers Avenue, Seminary Avenue and Cross-Country Parkway. A historical marker on Seminary Avenue commemorates the Valentine Homestead where Washington often made his headquarters during the war. Valentine Hill also was the place of rendezvous between the French and American forces in the early morning of Sunday, 22 July 1781, in preparation of the reconnaissance of the defenses around New York City.

⁷⁰ Nathan Beers, "Journal, 1777-1782". Microfilm 19.061, reel 1, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Peekskill to within two miles of Pier's Bridge, [i.e. Pine's Bridge] and encamped on the ground." On 1 July, he marched "from Crumford [i.e. Crompond, today's Yorktown Heights] to Taller's Point, and embarked and went to Dobb's Ferry."⁷¹ The next day, 2 July, at Dobb's Ferry "Embarked and landed about one mile below Phillippy,⁷² (SITE 51) and march to Fort Independence.⁷³ (SITE 57) There we were attacked about sunrise the third day ([i.e. 3 July], Captain [Noah] Allen and Lieutenant [Jonathan] Libby wounded, and Ensign Hardin [Amos Harden] killed and left on the ground. The number of men killed and wounded: one captain wounded, one lieutenant wounded, one ensign killed, one sergeant wounded, thirty rank and file wounded, and five killed. One volunteer wounded."⁷⁴ Captain Marquard told Oliver DeLancey in a letter of 4 July that "Two Officers and 17 rebels have been buried near Fort Independence, and two more have been found dead this morning. Four prisoners, badly wounded, are sent this morning to New York."⁷⁵

The total number of Continental Army forces deployed was between 650 and 700 officers and rank and file (r&f). The Light Infantry suffered the highest losses followed by the Second Battalion of Colonel Ebenezer Sprout's Second Massachusetts Regiment. Major John Porter commanded the First Battalion of the Second Massachusetts Regiment. The fact that the Life-Guard had 16 men wounded shows how close Washington had been to the action.

Redington described the sufferings and fate of some of the wounded of the failed ambush who were not as fortunate as Jacques. "The next morning, 4th of July, those that were so badly wounded as to be unable to ride in wagons, were carried in biers on the men's shoulders, as the army marched that day up the river about 8 miles, and took post at Dobb's

⁷¹ Mary Louise Benjamin, *A Genealogy of the Family of Lieut. Samuel Benjamin and Tabitha Livermore, his wife* (n.p., 1900), pp. 24-38, p. 29. "Crumford" refers to Crompond, today's Yorktown Heights. "Taller's", or Teller's, Point is at the end of Croton Point Avenue at the southern tip of Croton Point Park in Croton-on-Hudson opposite Hook Mountain.

⁷² "Phillippy" refers to Philipse Manor Hall at 29 Warburton Avenue in Yonkers. (SITE 51)

⁷³ The British had begun to raze most of their forts around King's Bridge in August 1779; in July 1781, Fort Independence, razed on 12 September 1779, lay in ruins. Fort No. 8 and Prince Charles Redoubt remained the only British fortifications beyond the Harlem River. See Julius Lopez, "The History and Archeology of Fort Independence on Tedar's Hill, Bronx County, New York" *The Bulletin and Journal of Archeology for New York State* No. 73 (July 1978) and Julius Lopez, "Fort Independence - Regimental Data" *ibid.*, No. 87 (Summer 1983).

⁷⁴ Noah Allen of the First Massachusetts Regiment is listed in muster rolls for July 1781-March 1782 as "wounded at Robinson's House". Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution. vol. I-XVII*. Boston, 1896), vol. 1 (1896), p. 180; Ensign Amos Harden is listed in vol. 7 (1900), p. 251 as killed on 3 July 1781. "Lieutenant Libby" has not been identified; a Lieutenant Jonathan Libby of the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment requested a discharge from Washington on 16 March 1780, and is last listed in Massachusetts muster rolls in West Point in vol. 10 (1902), p. 778.

⁷⁵ "Daily Intelligence", p. 537.

Ferry. About 12 men were assigned to carry one man, and relieve each other at intervals. I assisted in moving one poor fellow who was shot through the body. He was a young man, appeared to be a fine fellow, and belonged to Gen. Washington's Life Guard, most of whom took part in the action. The day was very warm, and we had to rest him often, under the shade, and fan him with small bushes. He greatly lamented his fate, belonged to New Jersey, said that if he had minded his mother he should not have been in that dreadful situation. A number died on the march, and were slightly buried by the roadside, being told that such a one had died, he said, "it will be my turn next." He, however, lived through the day, but I understood he afterwards died. What a dreadful thing is War !!" Timothy Pickering wrote from "Camp Philipsburgh July 12th 1781. After the late Skirmish of General Lincoln with the enemy I Observed that Litters were exceedingly wanted for the wounded Men. It was like putting them to the Rack to carry them in Carts or Waggon in this rocky country."⁷⁶

As the Continental Army was marching north to their encampment in Greenburgh, the remainder of the Continental Army was waiting near Tarrytown for their tents and baggage to be transported to Tarrytown.⁷⁷ Once again, Major Darby and the Hudson offered themselves as the most convenient mode of transportation. On 3 July, Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering informed Colonel Steward from "Camp Valentine's Hill":

"The army will march to morrow to some convenient ground near Tarrytown. I am desired to communicate to you the General's wish that you will have a sufficiency of provisions transported thither accordingly. For the means of conveyance please to apply to Major Cogswell. Tho as he will have the tents and baggage of the army to transport at the same time, I should wish the provisions might be carried down by water to Tarrytown, from whence the conveyance to the troops would be easy. Major Durley [i.e. Darby] will doubtless be able to furnish boats to ursmen for the purpose. I shall write to him by this Express to have his boats ready."

On 4 July Washington took up quarters in Joseph Appleby House; on 5 July he visited Rochambeau's forces encamped in North Castle, where the French infantry rested on 4 and 5 July 1781. On July 6, Rochambeau's troops set out for the 17-mile march to join up with the Continental Army. Rochambeau took up quarters with the Widow Sarah Bates on Ridge Road which her husband Gilbert had purchased in 1760.

⁷⁶ Timothy Pickering to Col. Hughes, 12 July 1781, Numbered Record Books Concerning Military Operations and Service, Pay and Settlement Accounts, &c. Collection of Revolutionary War Records, National Archives Microfilm Publication M853, (Washington, D.C., 1973) Letters sent by Timothy Pickering, Quartermaster General. May 10-Dec. 21, 1781, vol. 127, reel 26, p. 133 1/2.

⁷⁷ The allied encampment was located in today's Town of Greenburgh. Contemporaries identified the location interchangeably as White Plains, near Dobb's Ferry, Phillipsburg &c.

Strength of the French Army upon Arrival in Greenburgh

UNIT	PRESENT on 10 July 1781	LOSSES	REPLACEMENTS FROM FRANCE ⁷⁸	PRESENT & UNDER ARMS	DETACHED	SICK IN HOSPITALS ALONG THE ROUTE	TOTAL on 10 July 1781
Bourbonnois	910	4	122	811	156	63	1,030
Soissonnois	985	16	85	901	111	42	1,054
Saintonge	897	2	117	853	115	44	1,012
Royal Deux-Ponts	926	5	102	831	153	39	1,023
Artillerie	408	2	105	381	100	30	511
Mineurs	23				23	-	23
Workers (<i>ouvriers</i>)	26		10	33	-	3	36
Lauzun's Legion	581	2	33	581	25	6	612
TOTAL	4,756	31	574	4,393	683	227	5,301

Rochambeau's force was small by European standards. This review of 10 July 1781 showsy 4,393 NCOs and enlisted men and 279 company-grade officers in Greenburgh. Most of the detached infantry (402) were with the artillery in Newport (34) and Providence (66) as were all the *mineurs*; 25 hussars were still in Lebanon, Connecticut and 118 soldiers at various places along the route. The sick were distributed in hospitals from Boston (79) to Providence (92), Newport (10), Hartford (15), North Castle (22) and along the road in places such as Newtown (3), Lebanon (2) and in Philipsburg (4). Fourteen of the losses were deserters, mostly from the Soissonnois (9) and Royal Deux-Ponts (9). Of the total of 302 company-grade officers, 12 officers and a *porte-drapeau* of the Soissonnois were in Newport; one sick officer of unknown rank, one lieutenant and the officers of one company of the Auxonne artillery, i.e. one captain and three lieutenants, were in Providence; one artillery officer was in Boston. One captain and one lieutenant of the *mineurs* also had remained behind in Providence. *Sous-lieutenant* Louis Deseutre of the artillery company in Lauzun's Legion had stayed behind in Lebanon.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ On 11 June 1781, a convoy of eight vessels accompanied by the 50-gun ship *Le Sagittaire* carrying 592 infantry replacements and two companies, 68 men, of artillery, arrived in Boston from France. These replacements had been drawn from the regiments of Auvergne (71 healthy plus 7 sick) and Neustrie (19 plus 28) for the Bourbonnois; Languedoc (80 plus 6) for the Soissonnois; Boulonnois (112 plus 36) for Saintonge; Anhalt (46 plus 4) and La Marck (39 plus 36) for the Royal Deux-Ponts; and Barrois (31 plus 17) for Lauzun's Legion. The 398 healthy men joined their units, the 262 sick joined the garrison in Newport under Brigadier Claude Gabriel de Choisy. 35 men of the Languedoc for the Bourbonnois and 25 for the Saintonge are identified as "non arrivé" but joined their units after a few days. Rochambeau's infantry embarked in Newport for the journey to Providence on 10 June 1781. Rochambeau Papers, vol. 9, Letterbook 1, p. 131, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

⁷⁹ The table is based on National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Military Service Records, Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783. M246, Roll 136: Returns of the French Army Under Count Rochambeau, 1781-82 (six returns), Washington, DC.

Strength of the Continental Army at the time of the Encampment in Greenburgh in July and August 1781

Regiment	Commanding officer	Strength
First Connecticut Regiment	Col. John Durkee	250 officers and men
Third Connecticut Regiment	Col. Samuel B. Webb	256 officers and men
Fifth Connecticut Regiment	Lt. Col. Isaac Sherman	220 officers and men
Second Connecticut Regiment	Col. Herman Swift	239 officers and men
Fourth Connecticut Regiment	Col. Zebulon Butler	233 officers and men
Rhode Island Regiment	Lt. Col. Jeremiah Olney	298 officers and men
First Massachusetts Regiment	Col. Joseph Vose	200 officers and men
Fourth Massachusetts Regiment	Col. William Shepard	193 officers and men
Seventh Massachusetts Regiment	Lt. Col. John Brooks	192 officers and men
Second Massachusetts Regiment	Lt. Col. Ebenezer Sprout	215 officers and men
Fifth Massachusetts Regiment	Col. Rufus Putnam	185 officers and men
Eighth Massachusetts Regiment	Col. Michael Jackson	233 officers and men
Third Massachusetts Regiment	Col. John Greaton	193 officers and men
Sixth Massachusetts Regiment	Lt. Col. Calvin Smith	207 officers and men
Ninth Massachusetts Regiment	Col. Henry Jackson	223 officers and men
First New Hampshire Regiment	Col. Alexander Scammell	214 officers and men
Second New Hampshire Regt.	Lt. Col. George Reid	212 officers and men
Tenth Massachusetts Regiment	Col. Benjamin Tupper	203 officers and men
1 st Bn., Conn. State Brig.	Maj. Edward Shipman	220 officers and men
2 nd Bn., Conn. State Brig.	Maj. Elijah Humphreys	186 officers and men
Cavalry:		
Second Cont'l	Col. Elisha Sheldon	234 officers and men
Artillery:		
Second	Col. John Lamb	163 officers and men
Third	Col. John Crane	205 officers and men
Corps of Sappers and Miners	Brig. Gen. Presle Duportail	46 officers and men
Total:		5,020 officers and men

These units joined the main army during July and August or lay encamped across the river in New Jersey: 23 officers and 398 NCOs and enlisted men strong, "which had not all arrived from Albany before we left King's Ferry." (SITES 31, 32, 33, 34)

First New Jersey Regiment	Col. Mathias Ogden	185 officers and men
Second New York Regiment	Col. Philip van Cortlandt	421 officers and men
Second New Jersey Regiment	Col. Elias Dayton	226 officers and men
First New York Regiment	Col. Goose Van Schaick	438 officers and men
Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own)	Brig. Gen. Moses Hazen	263 officers and men

1,533 officers and men

Total: 6,553 officers and men

Crown forces under Sir Henry Clinton in New York City on 15 August 1781

Corps	Fit for duty			Effectives			Want[in]g
	S	D	R&F	S	D	R&F	R&F
1st Grenadiers	23	17	440	26	20	478	
2ed Do	24	16	409	27	25	474	
22ed Regt	20	16	381	24	16	448	8
37 th	20	16	367	24	16	466	
38 th	21	11	355	24	16	464	
42ed	33	16	560	40	18	640	168
54 th	18	16	386	24	16	453	3
57 th	24	13	369	24	16	447	9
17th Drag[oon]s	13	6	270	18	8	385	23
Artillery	24	14	363	42	26	938	176
Linsing	40	20	301	44	20	388	32
Lengerke	43	20	380	44	20	397	23
Loewenstein	42	19	325	44	20	391	29
Graff	43	20	375	44	20	402	18
Du Corps	59	21	480	60	22	504	21
Landgrave	57	20	485	60	20	501	24
P[rince] Charles	59	20	480	60	22	507	18
Donop	60	21	450	60	22	497	28
Knyphau[se]n	26	8	341	28	8	384	
Losberg	59	22	461	60	22	497	28
Bunau	57	29	440	60	22	488	37
Jagers	80	22	750	102	26	1014	74
Artillery	24	1	300	26	2	302	
3d Delancey's	22	6	271	23	7	357	173
1st N.J. Vol[unteers]:	22	9	262	24	9	400	130
3rd N.J. Vol[unteers]:	22	10	224	23	10	398	132
Loy[a]l Amer[ican]s	13	6	170	20	7	292	238
K[ing]s Am: Dra[goon]s	7	3	137	7	3	145	
Amer[ican]: Leg[io]n	8	8	150	8	8	171	
Guides & pion[eers]	7	2	93	12	2	177	
Hussars	3	1	45	3	1	50	6
Det[a]chm[en]ts	26	2	268	33	2	352	
Total	999	419	11088	1118	472	13807	1398

S= sergeants D = drummers R&F = rank and file

The Diary of Frederick Mackenzie (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 588. In an e-mail to the author, Todd Braisted wrote: "In the Andrew Elliot Papers at the New York State Library, is an undated document, but probably around 1780 showing the adult civilian population of New York City: Male Inhabitants: 4, 686, Female Inhabitants: 5,771, Blacks, Male & Female: 1,951, Total: 12,408 above the age of fourteen. This does not include the Army, the Navy, sailors and thousands of refugees, for a total of around 20,000. It gave the number of dwelling houses and stores in the city as 3,200, and the militia on Staten and Long Islands and Manhattan as 7,900 officers and men."

d) Naval activity on the Hudson River, 6 July – 16 August 1781

By 6 July, most of the allied armies were encamped on either side of Ridge Road in the Town of Greenburgh. As they settled down to camp life, they enjoyed, or endured, reviews and welcomed important visitors. French Ambassador de la Luzerne arrived 7 July and reviewed French forces the following day. On 9 July, Washington reviewed Rochambeau's army in the morning and Rochambeau returned the favor in the afternoon. But mostly the armies spent their time foraging in an area that had been gone over multiple times already. There were the occasional skirmishes with DeLancey's Cowboys, but large-scale military activity occurred primarily on the Hudson River.

Around 11 p.m. on Friday, 3 August, British and American guard boats met near Dobbs Ferry. Considerable firing ensued, leaving one Continental mortally wounded. British casualties are not known.⁸⁰ Baron Ludwig von Closen, one of Rochambeau's aides-de-camp, recorded that in the evening of 8 July "two English corvettes sailed up the North River, and during the night we heard several cannon shots from that direction."⁸¹ That same day 8 July Washington wrote in his diary: "Began a Work at Dobbs's ferry with a view to establish a communication there for the transportation of provision and Stores from Pennsylvania".⁸² (SITE 43) The fortifications on the left bank had been constructed under the direction of Louis Le Bègue Duportail. Work on fortifications at Sneedens Landing (SITE 48) on the right bank, "for the transportation of provision and Stores from Pennsylvania" was to be supervised by Jean Baptiste Gouvion, a French engineer who held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army, as Washington announced in General Orders of 8 July.⁸³

In the summer of 1781, the Continental Navy had ceased to exist, and the Royal Navy cruised the Hudson River almost at will. Yet despite these dangers, the allies continued to use the river as a conduit for moving men and materiel as Washington concentrated his forces around Greenburgh. On 13 July, a convoy with artillery supplies under Captain-Lieutenant John Miles of the Second Continental Artillery departed from West Point for Dobbs Ferry and ran into enemy vessels. The *New Jersey Gazette* of 8 August reported that in the evening of 15 July, "two sloops going down the river, laden with cannon, powder &c" encountered a flotilla consisting of "two sloops of war, two tenders and one galley, all British", sailing up the Hudson "with intention, as is supposed, to destroy the stores then

⁸⁰ William Heath, *Memoirs of Major-General William Heath*. William Abbatt, ed., (New York: William Abbatt, 1901) p. 273.

⁸¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 91.

⁸² There is a historical marker at the intersection of Broadway and Livingston Avenue to identify the position of Sheldon's dragoons and the earthwork.

⁸³ On Sneedens Landing see Lewis F. Owen, "The Town that was Robbed." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* Vol. 81 No. 3 (1963), pp. 164-180.

moving from West-Point to the army.” As usual the British intelligence system had found out about the move and decided to take action. The Americans ran the two vessels aground at Tarrytown, but the small guard of a sergeant and 12 men infantry of the Soissonnois Regiment and two 18-lb cannon kept the British from landing.⁸⁴ By the time a 12-man detachment of Sheldon’s dragoons had arrived to assist in unloading the vessels, the British vessels had opened a heavy cannonade and sent two gun boats and four barges to destroy the vessels. Washington described the incident in his diary thus:

“15th. The Savage Sloop of War of 16 Guns--the Ship Genl. Washington, lately taken by the Enemy--a row Galley and two other small armed Vessels passed our post at Dobbs Ferry (which was not in a condition to oppose them). At the same time three or four river Vessels with 4 Eighteen pounders--stores &ca. had just arrivd at Tarry town and with infinite difficulty, & by great exertion of Colo. Sheldon, Captn. Hurlbut, (who got wounded) - -Captn. Lieutt. Miles of the artillery & Lt. Shayler were prevented falling into the hands of the Enemy as they got a ground 100 yards from the Dock and were set fire to by the Enemy but extinguished by the extraordinary activity & spirit of the above Gentn. Two of the Carriages however were a good deal damaged by the fire. The Enemy however by sending their armed Boats up the River took the Vessel of a Captn. [William] Dobbs laden with Bread for the French Army--Cloathing for Sheldons Regiment & some passengers. This was done in the Night--it being after Sunset before the Vessels passed the Post at Dobs ferry.”

The next day, 16 July, Washington wrote that: “The Cannon & Stores were got out of the Vessels & every thing being removed from Tarry town, two french twelve pounders, & one of our 18 prs. wer[e] brought to bear upon the Ships which lay of Tarry town, distant about

⁸⁴ Cromot du Bourg recorded that during the night British ships "captured a small vessel, laden with flour and clothing for Sheldon's Dragoons, and they had put nearly all their crews into their boats to attempt a descent and carry off the rest of the supplies which were at Tarrytown; but a sergeant of the Regiment of Soissonnois who was there with twelve men kept up so brisk a fire that he prevented the landing; a half hour later the Americans arrived, who lost a sergeant and had one of their officers severely wounded. On our arrival the Americans placed two eighteen pounders on the right of Tarrytown, and we placed ours on the left." Marie-François Baron Cromot du Bourg, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (June 1880), pp. 293-308, p. 300.

Once again Godfrey Vought and Sackett’s company were involved. Vought deposed in his pension application “That another engagement took place at ‘Dobbs Ferry’ on the North River as the British shipping went down the River after having been up the river and while they were up the River we built a fort a little below Tarry Town at Dobbs Ferry.” New York clearly defined service “for the immediate defence of the State” as the title of the 10 March 1781 law stated and under which Vought had enlisted stated in the broadest possible terms.

Hufeland, *Westchester County*, p. 392, writes that on 15 July the two American sloops “at once made for the shore and ran aground in the shallow waters of Tarrytown Harbor, at a point which has since been filled in by the railroad company.” A historical marker of 1899 commemorating the naval engagement in front of Tarrytown train station (east of tracks) on south end (left) of turn-around in Tarrytown has lately been moved stands in front of Tarrytown Village Hall.

a Mile, and obliged them to remove lower down & move over to the West shore.” As recorded in Washington’s diary, Rochambeau had deployed an additional detachment of 40 men artillery to Dobbs Ferry to re-enforce the artillery already there and constructed another battery as close as possible to the last anchorage of the Royal Navy sloop near Dobbs Ferry. On 22 July 1781, the garrison at Dobbs Ferry consisted of 1 Major, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants and 2 ensigns plus 10 sergeants, four fife and drums plus 267 rank and file fit for duty for a total of 296 men. The breakdown of these forces shows them to consist of 100 infantry under Major [Theodore] Woodbridge,⁸⁵ a detachment of 70 infantry from New Jersey under Captain Cleps, 30 whale boat Men, and 42 French and 25 American artillery men “Commanded by a French Officer”.⁸⁶ Within the next few days Rochambeau detached another 98 artillerists plus an unknown number of officers to Dobbs Ferry, bringing the total to 140 French artillerists or close to 400 men.⁸⁷

Rochambeau’s nephew the 21-year-old nephew Louis François Bertrand Dupont d’Aubevoye, *comte de Lauberdière*, a captain in the Saintonge infantry and one of Rochambeau’s aides-de-camp, also recorded the deployment. In the “morning of the 16th Mr. de Rochambeau sent four 12-pounders to Tarrytown under the command of the Chevalier de Neurisse. They were in the battery by 10 o’clock and fired on the frigate which was sailing away” and “moved above Tarrytown and anchored at Haverstraw Bay”, about five miles south of Stony Point (SITE 34) and nine miles from Peekskill (SITE 29), upstream toward Haverstraw Bay. As a farewell “our gunners fired a dozen balls at her.”⁸⁸ George Washington recorded similarly that on the “17th. The Vessels being again fired at in the position they took yesterday run up the River to Tellers point.”

Waiting for the wind to turn and a favorable tide, the British used the time to wreak more havoc on the locals. “The 18th, the enemy landed some men near Haverstraw Bay. Unable to create any more havoc, they pillaged and, in their usual manner, destroyed a few houses and then re-boarded”, or to quote Washington’s diary for 17 July: “came to burning

⁸⁵ Theodore Woodbridge served in the Second Connecticut Regiment. His papers are in the Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT.

⁸⁶ Return of Officers & Men in the American Camp, under the Command of Major Gen^l Lord Stirling 22nd July 1781. Antoine Charles du Houx, baron de Vioménil Papers LB0074, fol. 133. Académie François Bourdon, Le Creusot, France.

⁸⁷ The 140-man artillery detachment at Dobbs Ferry is first listed separately in the French strength report for 1 August 1781. NARA Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783. M246, Roll 136 “Returns of the French Army”.

⁸⁸ Lauberdiere continued: “We should not be surprised to see a frigate cruising like this in a river. It is thus in America with almost all those that empty into the ocean. The North or Hudson, often three quarters of a league wide, is very deep everywhere so a vessel of 50 guns can sail it as far as Albany.” *Journal de l’Armée aux ordres de Monsieur de Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l’Amérique septentrionale* Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelle Acquisitions Françaises, 17691, Paris, France.

the House of the Widow Noy<e>ll.” [sic] But the allies had not remained idle either. Lauberdiere recorded that “The 20th, the British frigate which came up to Haverstraw Bay went downriver. M. Washington, when making camp, foresaw what the enemy might do. He had a fort constructed at Dobbs Ferry where he placed several cannons. The river being more narrow at this location, it provided a good field to fire to advantage. M. de Rochambeau consequently had mortars brought over, under the command of M. de Verton [Philippe-Louis Verton de Richeval], Lieutenant of Artillery and the pieces of the Chevalier [Bernard] de Neurisse which had already fired on her. The frigate was perfectly saluted as she passed. She was at good cannon range. The mortars ignited her twice. The frightened crew immediately released their prisoners. The unfortunate ones, profiting from the confusion on the vessel, dove into the water and swam to shore but only two of about 20 were fortunate enough to attain it and to give us some details.”

Lauberdière’s chronology is off by a day but the facts are correct. It was in the morning of 19 July that “The Enemys Shipping run down the river, and left the Navigation of it above once more free for us. In passing our Battery at Dobbs's where were 2 Eighteen & 2 twelve pounders and two Howitzers, they recd. considerable damage; especially the Savage Sloop of War which was frequently hulled, and once set on fire; occasioning several of her people, and one of our own (taken in Dobbes Sloop, and) who gives the Acct. to jump over board. Several people he says were killed & the ship pierced through both her sides in many places and in such a manner as to render all their pumps necessary to free the Water.”⁸⁹

In the evening of 16 July, cannon and musket fire from the Hudson caused a general alarm in the French camp. Rochambeau called off the alarm, and “[as] we heard nothing more, we went back to our quarters. We had just returned, when one of General Washington’s aides-de-camp came to tell us that these English ships had fired on 3 little covered boats laden with bread for our army”.⁹⁰ The French had built ovens in Peekskill and maintained one or more warehouses “2 miles from Tarrytown.” Closen reported that the British captured 1,000 rations of bread on board the small vessel commanded by William Dobbs alone, and the loss of three more vessels.⁹¹ A four-day supply of bread was lost, and “the soldiers were reduced to 4 oz. of bread” per day.⁹² The capture of Dobb’s vessel with bread, followed by additional losses the next day, had impacted the supply of

⁸⁹ The incident is mentioned in great detail in the *Massachusetts Spy* of 2 August 1781.

⁹⁰ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 95.

⁹¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 96.

⁹² Jane A. Baum, Hans-Peter Baum, Jesko Graf zu Dohna, eds. *Die Abenteuer des Grafen Friedrich Reinhard von Rechteren-Limpurg im Mittelmeer und im Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg 1770 bis 1782/The adventures of Friedrich Reinhard count of Rechteren-Limpurg in the Mediterranean and the American War of Independence 1770-1782* (bi-lingual), Mainfränkische Hefte 115 (Würzburg, 2016), p. 99.

bread for the French army. Rochambeau decided that it would be safer to transport the bread on land. On 18 July, his aide-de-camp Mathieu Dumas went to “Pines-Bridge to mark and have repaired the road by which the bread convoys were to arrive hereafter.”⁹³

The combat on 15 July and the presence of Royal Navy vessels north of Dobbs Ferry in Haverstraw Bay delayed the arrival of the remainder of Colonel John Lamb’s Second Continental Artillery Regiment in Dobbs Ferry, which had set sail from West Point earlier that day. The army organization of January 1781 had reduced the Continental artillery establishment to four artillery regiments at 10 companies each, and each company with an authorized strength of 39 men. One of these regiments was the regiment under Colonel John Lamb assigned to the State of New York. In mid-July Washington wanted to bring nine of these ten companies from Albany and West Point to the main camp in Philipsburg.

The Orderly Book of the companies departing from West Point provides a detailed description of the mechanics of a militarily-organized re-deployment on the Hudson in the summer of 1781 not found anywhere else.⁹⁴

Sailing Orders, July 15th /81

Lieut. Col. Stevens will hoist a Blue Silk jack on board the Sloop Liberty – two drums and Fifes the best for duty from each Regiment to be sent immediately on board the Flag Sloop, to communicate the Signals –

The follg Signals will be observed.

On beating the General, the Anchors will be hauled a Pak – on beating the Long Roll the whole will get under way – on beating the Granadier March an Officer will be sent from each Vessel on board the Flag Sloop for Orders.

On lowring the Jack to the Mast-head the whole will come to in as close order as possible, and drop Anchor –

The Flag boat will lead the Van, and the Privateer on board of which Cap^t. Donnell embarks, will ring up the rear. No boat will go in front of the Flag Sloop, and Cap^t. Donnell will please to bring up the rear of the whole –

No Men to be allowed to go on Shore, but upon some pressing Occasion, of which the Eldest Officer in every Vessel will be the Judge.

⁹³ *La Marche sur Yorktown. Le Journal de Mathieu Dumas (16 Juin – 6 Octobre 1781)*. Bertrand van Rymbeke and Iris de Rode, eds., (Editions Jean-Jaques Wuillaume, 2018), p. 83.

⁹⁴ The (unpaginated) Orderly Book of Colonel Lamb's Second Continental Artillery has survived in two versions (6/20 - 10/21/81 and 8/4 - 10/27/81) in the New-York Historical Society and is available on microfilm #143, reel 14, and N-YHS microfilm #118.1, reel 12. The quotes used in this report are from microfilm # 143.

A Gill of Rum will be drawn immediately for every Man and the Weekly Allowance to the Officers.

The Commanding Officers on board the Vessells towing Scows and loaded boats will take them in Charge and see that they are trailed out, and that a number of Men are attached to them, sufficient to manage them in case they shou'd break loose.

The landing site of the artillery regiment for 15 July is unknown as the Orderly Book does not provide a departure time or place, but it was most likely between Peekskill and Stony Point.⁹⁵ Here the regiment stayed, since the move of the British vessels up-stream as far as Teller's Point and into Haverstraw Bay had not gone undetected. Baron Closen recorded in his journal that "As night fell on the 16th, we learned that five sails had passed Dobbs Ferry and had ascended the river as far as Tarrytown, six miles in our rear."⁹⁶ (SITE 42) Once the British vessels fell down the river again, the Second Continental Artillery, after having been help up for three days, could finally continue its journey. In the evening of Thursday, 20 July, the little flotilla was "Ankring Near Taller's Point Thursday" on the east side of the river. (SITE 38) The next day the vessels unloaded at Dobbs Ferry.

By 21 July 1781, six of the ten companies of the Second Continental Artillery were encamped in Greenburgh. Second Lieutenant Michael Wetzell's company with two eight-inch howitzers was still in West Point, and one company was still in Albany. Upon receipt of General Clinton's letter of 10 July, Washington responded on 14 July that "Whenever you come down with the 2d Regt you will collect every Man of the old Regts that you possibly can (except the Compa. of Artillery) & bring down with you." By the time he had finished the letter, Washington had changed his mind and in a postscript he added: "On Removal of so large a Quantity of Stores & Cannon [from Ft. Herkimer] as will probably be sent down to Albany, Capt. Moody's whole Company of artillery will not be wanted on the Frontier—you will therefore Order such Number as you shall find Necessary to continue—and the Remainder you will direct to join the Army below."

The artillery company in question was Captain Andrew Moody's company, which had been stationed in upstate New York during the summer, attached to Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment. It was a very small company, however. On 20 July 1781, James Clinton wrote to Washington from Albany: "Captn Moody's Company not having receiv'd any recruits this Campaign, are very inconsiderable amounting to about eighteen or twenty Men in Number". It is unknown when Clinton sent Moody's company to West Point, but a likely date is 20 August, when the Second Battalion of the Second New

⁹⁵ Sailing Orders for 16 July commence "The Signals will be continued the Same as yesterday - The Guard Sloop under Lieut. Woodward will take in tow the Scow under" but after that an unknown number of pages are missing in the Orderly Book.

⁹⁶ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 95.

York boarded vessels in Albany to take them to West Point and on to Stony Point. Moody's company did not continue on to Stony Point and ultimately to Yorktown but remained in garrison at West Point throughout the campaign.⁹⁷

For the next few days hostile encounters on the Hudson ceased, but around 2 o'clock in the morning of 7 August, Lauberdière recorded that "the army was awakened by the firing of cannon at Dobbs' Ferry; it appeared that 2 of the enemy's gun-boats had come up as high as the ferry, probably to endeavour to seize some vessels or boats." Concurrently the concentration of Continental Army forces continued unabated. On 27 July, Washington ordered the Light Infantry company of the First New York Regiment, which had arrived at West Point on 10 July, to depart and join the main army in Greenburgh. On 6 August, the Light Infantry Company of the Second New York, which had departed from Albany on 31 July and arrived at West Point on 3 August, left for the main army as well. Two days later, on 8 August, Washington recorded in his diary: "The light Company of the Second York Regiment (the first [NY] Regt having been down some days) having joined the Army, were formed with two Companies of Yk. levies into a Battn. under the Command of Lieutt. Colo. Hamilton & Major Fish & placed under the orders of Colo. Scammell as part of the light Troops of the Army."⁹⁸

It was time to leave for Moses Hazen's regiment and van Schaick's First New Yorkers as well. The diary of Sergeant-Major John Hawkins of Moses Hazen's Regiment records under 4 August: "The Troops now at this Garrison West Point are Hazen's Regt Part of the New-York Brigade – the Detachment from different Regiments of the Eastern States – and a number of Invalids lately from Philad^a. Maj^r. Gen^l. M'Dougall commands here." Following a month of garrison duty since 10 July, the regiments received orders on 10 August to depart immediately from West Point to Dobbs Ferry. On 11 August the unit was to "be ready to march on the Shortest Notice." In his diary Hawkins described the journey of the two units to Dobbs Ferry. On 12 August "Between 9 & 11 o'Clock Van Hazen's and Van Schaicks Regts left West-Point, and embarked in upwards of 30 Batteaus, with their Baggage, and proceeded down the River. The weather was hazy & dull, and a little Rain fell. The Wind and Tide were both against us; the former very much, and the Water funnelled greatly; but in all these common and natural occurrences the over-ruling Hand of Providence guided & protected Hazen's Regt to King's-Ferry (the East Side) a little before dark. Van Schaick's Regt I heard went no further that Day than Peeks Kill. (SITE 29) The Regt immediately

⁹⁷ L. Richard Pierson, *Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Regiment of Artillery in the American Revolution 1775-1784* First Draft Manuscript U.S. Army Military History Institute (March 1988), p. 204. The companies of Captain George Fleming and Captain Joseph Savage joined the regiment in Virginia." Pierson, *Lamb*, p. 207.

⁹⁸ "Diary of Sergeant-Major John Hawkins (1/1779-12/1782)" Call Number Am.0765, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The diary is unpaginated.

encamped near Verplank's Point (SITE 31)/Fort Lafayette (SITE 32) at which Time, the Rain, which threatened all Day fell much faster than before. I was very fortunate in coming in a good 16 oar'd Barge."⁹⁹

Just before we left West-Point a Soldier of Colo Van Schaick's Regt was to have been executed. A Gallows was erected for that purpose. A Chaplain attended the unhappy Culprit, but why he was not executed I haven't learned. His Crime, I understood, was Mutiny. E had been twice before been brought to the Gallows, for the same or some such heinous Crime, but pardoned."¹⁰⁰

The next day, 13 August, "About 9 o'Clock this Morning our Tents were struck and put on board the Batteaus, & our Regt embarked down the River. The Weather was still hazy & dull, and one Shower of Rain fell, after which it held up, and we all arrived (tho' Scattered) by two o'Clock at Dobb's Ferry (the East Side). ... About 3 Miles below this Ferry we seen some British Vessels lying at Anchor ; perhaps to watch our Motions. About an Hour after we landed, the Sun broke forth, when the Clouds dispersed and the Remainder of the Day was very fine. About 6 o'Clock Col. Van Schaaick's Regt arrived. * We remained until near Dark without receiving any Orders were we were to go – whether to Heads-Quarters or to cross the Hudson to the West Side." A note inserted into the original identified by the * reads: "that Regt in upwards of 20 Batteaus all in a Body made a fine Appearance coming down the River, and must be very mortifying to those Motionless at a little Distance."

On 14 August, the regiment set up its camp on the banks of the Hudson River, its location identified by its proximity to "Col. Sheldon's Dragoons [which] lays about one mile below

⁹⁹ Hawkins' entry shows that it could take/took two days to travel by boat the 35 miles from West Point to Dobbs Ferry. The exact location of the encampment site is unknown. See however William Wait, "Verplanck's Point in Revolutionary History." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 4, (October 1932), pp. 145- 159, p. 156.

¹⁰⁰ On 25 August 1781, Private Edmund Burke was executed at West Point for his part in the pay mutiny of 6 July and desertion. Washington had wanted the execution to take place before the whole regiment to increase its deterrence but for unknown reasons the execution was delayed until after the departure of the regiment. Egly, *First New York*, p. 192.

Hawkins also reports two executions in the French army just prior to departure from Greenburg: "Augt. 17. This Day a Soldier of the French Army was hanged." The soldier was 33-year-old Corporal Jean Pierre Verdier of the Bourbonnois was hanged for desertion despite 15 years of service in the regiment." Augt. 18. This Day a Man of the French Army was shot." The man was a soldier from the Royal Deux-Ponts tried to desert during the night of 17/18 August but was captured. Thanks to the intercession of his Colonel Christian de Deux-Ponts the man was spared the humiliation of hanging and shot instead.

Even on the day of the departure from Philipsburg on 18 August, Washington approved a death penalty. "At a general Court Martial held in the Jersey Brigade at Dobbs ferry August 15th. 1781 [...] William Clark, Soldier in the first Jersey regiment charged with 'Sleeping on his Post' was tried found guilty and sentenced to suffer Death [...] the Commander in Chief approves the sentence."

our present Encampment.” The following day, 15 August, Hawkins wrote that our Regt moved their Camp a little Distance on a small height from whence we have a clear Prospect of the two Rivers &c; the East River and Part of long Island to be seen in our Front, and the North River in our Rear.” Sheldon’s cavalry is shown on the elevated ground known as Villard Hill after Henry Villard, whose estate Thorwood was on that hill. Scammell’s light infantry is on the height called Echo Hill, the property of Children’s Village off of Dassern Drive.

With the arrival of the Second Continental Artillery, the First New York Regiment and Hazen’s regiment at Dobbs Ferry on 14 August, the concentration of the Continental Army was almost completed. Only the Second New York Regiment was still in West Point but could be ordered to Dobbs Ferry at a moment’s notice. In a number of reconnaissances the defensive positions around the city and their access routes had been investigated, e.g. on 18 July Washington and his Chief Engineer Presle du Portail and Rochambeau and his Chief Engineer Desandroüins had crossed the Hudson to reconnoiter the west side of Staten Island. On 21 July, Washington and Rochambeau set out for a long-planned three-day Grand Reconnaissance of British fortifications around New York City.¹⁰¹ What he saw convinced Washington that he lacked the resources to successfully conduct a siege. Between his about 5,000 Continental Army troops and the almost 4,500 troops Rochambeau had brought to Westchester County, the combined armies were still smaller than the 12,500-man British garrison fit for duty in New York City. The few thousand militia Washington was hoping for would not make a difference.

But even if the states should still provide the necessary funds, materiel and manpower, Washington also needed a fleet to close the siege ring around New York City. Only France could provide that fleet. On 29 March, Admiral de Grasse had informed Washington and Rochambeau in a letter written on the high seas that he that he had sailed from Brest on 22 March with 20 ships of the line, three frigates and 156 transports and would be in Saint Domingue by the end of June. If all went well, he could be in American waters by 15 July, and therefore needed to be appraised of campaign plans. Rochambeau had read de Grasse’s letter in Newport on 10 June and immediately forwarded it to Washington, who received it on 12 June. The campaign was about to begin. On 18 June, French forces broke their winter quarters in Rhode Island, and on 21 June the Continental Army had left theirs as well. But 15 July had come and gone without a sign of the fleet. All that Washington could do was wait. On 26 July, his private secretary Jonathan Trumbull Jr. wrote to his father Governor Jonathan Trumbull: “The Genl is exceedingly anxious & finds himself in a most perplexing &

¹⁰¹ Since the Grand Reconnaissance does not contain a water component it is not covered in any detail in this report. It is noted, however, in the Resource Inventory if the sites visited between 21 and 23 July were also visited during the water-born deployment of 2/3 July.

ridiculous scituation, not being able to determine on any fixed plan of operation, from the uncertainty of his expectations & prospects."¹⁰² On 1 August, Washington recorded that "By this date all my Boats were ready—viz.—One hundred New ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Genel. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the Qr. Mr. Genel.; besides old ones which have been repaired. My heavy ordnance & Stores from the Eastward had also come on to the North Rivr. and every thing would have been in perfect readiness to commense the operation against New York," if Admiral de Grasse had appeared off the coast and if the States had only furnished their quotas of men, funds and the needed materiel.

High-ranking officers in the Continental Army were well aware of their dilemma. General Samuel H. Parsons summed up the dire situation in a private letter written to his Brother-in-law Captain Moses Greenleaf of the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment on 1 August. "We are now Twelve Miles from King's Bridge (SITE 53) to which Place we have twice made a Visit to reconnoitre the Enemy's Situation the Strength of their posts & as preparatory to further Operations, in which Nothing of great Consequence has hapned, except in the first Visit we had about Seventy kild & wounded by the Jagers & on their Part they did not escape without being exceedingly Sore; when we last went down one Dog was wounded by DeLancey's Corps & no Man Hurt, one Serjeant had his Shirt wounded which was a Loss indeed as it will not probably be heald & the poor Lad has no other. [...]"

But to the Point we are now near Ten Thousand Men short of our promis'd Number & our other Departments greatly embarrassd; some Lines without Pay for Eighteen Months & others greatly distressd; our Country expecting the Reduction of New York without Men or Supplies & we unable to take Post nearer the Enemy. for my own part I no more expect the Reduction of that Post than I do of any Event, which is only possible, unless the States Furnish their promis'd Numbers of Men & other Supplies; of this I See very little prospect & therefore fear we shall be obligd to cover ourselves in the Mountains again another Year."¹⁰³ The Continental Congress, which bore most of the blame for the lack of funding,

¹⁰² The Trumbull Papers. Part IV. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series* vol. 3, (Boston: The Society, 1902), pp. 256-257.

¹⁰³ Capt. Moses Greenleaf of Newberryport serving in the Eleventh Massachusetts Regiment was married in 1776 to Samuel's sister Lydia. MSS.055, Series II, Box 7, Folder 119, Richard Maass Collection of Westchester and New York State 1645-1995, Fales Library and Special Collections, Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York, NY.

Rochambeau was not fooled either. In a letter of 10 June Rochambeau had told de Grasse that "I do not need to hide from you, Monsieur, that these people here are at the end of their rope, that Washington does not have half the troupes that he counted on having, and that I believe, though he covers himself about that, that he currently has not 6,000 men, that M. de la Fayette has not 1,000 men regular troops and militias to defend Virginia, and . . . that is therefore of the utmost importance that you take on board as many troops as you can, that 4 or 5 thousand men would not

seemed to agree with Parsons. On 11 August, Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris and Richard Peters of Philadelphia, Secretary of the Board of War, “arrived at Camp to fix with me the number of Men necessary for the next Campaign,” Washington wrote in his diary. The situation looked dire enough for the political leadership to already make plans “for the next Campaign.”

That same day of 11 August, however, the French frigate *Concord* arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, carrying a letter by de Grasse, written on 28 July and sent from St. Domingue. When it was opened at Rochambeau’s headquarters at the Odell House (SITE 44) around noon on Tuesday, 14 August, it completely changed the plans for the campaign. In his letter de Grasse informed Rochambeau that he would be sailing from St. Domingue for the Chesapeake on 13 August, “the place which seems to have been indicated to me by you, M. le comte, and by MM. Washington, de la Luzerne, and de Barras as the surest place to carry out the good which you propose.”¹⁰⁴ Washington confided to his diary that he wanted “to have every thing in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations in the moment of his arrival as he should be under a necessity from particular engagements with the Spaniards to be in the West Indies by the Middle of October.” When de Grasse chose his destination and the time-frame for his presence in North American waters, he also decided the Campaign of 1781. He had made the decision for Washington, who recorded the events of 14 August this way in his diary: “Matters having now come to a crisis and a decisive plan to be determined on, I was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasses. (sic) promised stay on this Coast, the apparent disinclination in their Naval Officers to force the harbour of New York and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisition for Men, hitherto, and little prospect of greater exertion in the future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; 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.”

be too many.” The English translation quoted here is from the on-line version of the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

¹⁰⁴ J. Henry Doniol, *Histoire de la participation de la France a l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* 5 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), vol. 5, p. 521. De Grasse set sail on 6 August and anchored off Cape Henry in Virginia on 31 August.

e) The crossing at Dobbs Ferry, 18/19 August 1781

When Washington decided on 14 August to deploy to Virginia, he did not know where Lord Cornwallis was. Neither did he know His Lordship's location when on 15 August he "Dispatched a Courier to the Marquis de la Fayette with information of this matter — requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second my views & to prevent if possible the retreat of Cornwallis toward Carolina ... You will be particularly careful to conceal the expected arrival of the Count, because if the enemy are not apprised of it, they will stay on board their transports in the Bay, which will be the luckiest Circumstance in the World." Only the next day, 16 August, did he receive "Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette & others, inform that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York & Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up Works on the 6th. Inst." Cornwallis had done exactly what Washington would have wanted him to do. All the allies had to do now was get to Virginia as quickly as possible – at 1.5 miles per hour or 12 to 15 miles per day, the walking speed of one of the oxen pulling the wagons in the train, viz. in September 1781, the empty French wagon train covered the distance from Georgetown to Williamsburg at about 13.5 miles per day; in July 1781, the French infantry with fully loaded wagons and equipment marched a little over 10 miles per day.

For the next three days Washington's diary is silent, provides no clues to his thinking or the preparations undertaken for the departure of the two armies. The only indication that the army might be moving is provided in General Orders of 15 August: "The Army will hold itself in the most perfect readiness to move at the shortest notice." The next day he wrote a letter to General Clinton ordering him "on the receipt of this to embark the remaining Companies of Colo. Courtland's regiment, and proceed immediately with them to King's Ferry where you may expect to receive further orders." In a post-script he added "You will be particularly Careful not to leave any Men behind except a Non commissioned officer and a small guard of your weakest Men with Genl Schuyler."

Secrecy was of the utmost importance for the successful disengagement of the allied armies from outside New York City, the crossing of the Hudson and the march into New Jersey. Only a very small number of high-ranking officers were informed of the true plans. General William Heath's aide-de-camp Henry Sewall wrote in his diary: "Saturday 18. A council of gen^l officers went into a secret and important determination which time may hereafter disclose."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ The original of Sewall's diary is in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, call no. Ms. N-905. Parts of it were published as "Diary of Captain Henry Sewall, of the Army of the Revolution, 1776-1783." *Historical Magazine*, 2d Ser., vol. 10 no. 2 (August 1871), pp. 128-137. Reprinted in *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, 11 (September 1963), pp. 75-92, covers the time period from Friday, 1 March 1776 to Thursday, 1 July 1777.

Once the decision to deploy to Virginia had been made, Washington had to decide which units to take and which to leave behind to keep an eye on Sir Henry in New York City. On 19 August recorded the list of the units selected for the march to Virginia in his diary: "The detachment from the American [Army] is composed of the light infantry under Scammell, two light companies of York to be joined by the like Number from the Connecticut line, the Remainder of the Jersey line, two Regiments of York. Hazens Regiment and the Regiment of Rhode Island, together with Lambs Regiment of Artillery with Cannon and other Ordnance for the field and Siege." In the absence of strength reports for August 1781 it is virtually impossible to compile exact numbers for the Continental Army on its march into New Jersey. The above numbers from the 26 September 1781 monthly strength reports compiled two days before the beginning of the siege of Yorktown have been chosen because they seem to best reflect the number of troops that departed in August 1781. The return for the army as a whole is undated but was compiled sometime in late July/early August 1781 as the regimental returns arrived at headquarters. But while no returns for the Commander-in-Chief's Life Guard or the Sappers and Miners and the Artificers are known to exist for September, the Second New York Regiment and the Light Infantry are also missing as separate units in the July 1781 return.¹⁰⁶ Similarly 378 r&f are listed on command from the New Jersey regiments and 156 men from the Rhode Island Regiment alone in July 1781 but it is unknown how many of these men marched to Yorktown. The New Jersey Brigade numbered 320 r&f present and fit for duty in late July with another 378 r&f "on command" yet outside Yorktown it was only 251 r&f strong with another 11 men sick present; the Rhode Island return for late July list 247 r&f present and fit for duty and another 156 "on command" yet outside Yorktown the regiment numbered 324 r&f incl. 33 "sick present". At the same time Scammell's and Alexander Hamilton's Light Infantry, not listed in the July report at all, is 533 r&f strong with 15 listed as "Sick present".

For a discussion of the various "laughable enow" schemes, to quote Trumbull p. 332, invented to mislead Sir Henry see my Greenburg report pp. 109-114, which show that Clinton was very well informed of allied troop movements. "Minutes of Occurrences respecting the Seige and Capture of York in Virginia, extracted from the Journal of Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, Secretary to the General, 1781." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* vol. 14, (April 1876), pp. 331-338, p. 332..

¹⁰⁶ A strength report of the Continental Army by Tench Tilghman dated 15 July 1781 in the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress gives these numbers:

1st New York Regiment	430 rank and file
2d New York Regiment	410 rank and file
Jersey Brigade	334 rank and file
Canadian Regiment	202 rank and file
Sappers and Miners	67 rank and file

=====

1,444 rank and file

The July strength report in Lesser, *Sinews of Independence*, p. 206, gives the 1st New York 361, the Canadian Regt 208, the Jersey Brigade 320 and the Sappers and Miners 42 r&f "present fit for duty & and on duty".

Continental Army Routes and Departure Points for Yorktown Campaign

Regiment/Unit	Commanding officer	Strength	Task/Route	Date of Departure
Washington's Life Guard	Captain Caleb Gibbs	69 rank and file	Accompanies George Washington	19 August
Rhode Island Regiment	Lt.-Col. Jeremiah Olney	291 rank and file	Partly from West Point to King's Ferry/partly with the wagon train via Crompond	20 August (?) and 22 August
First New York Regiment	Colonel Goose Van Schaick	321 rank and file	From Dobbs Ferry along the Hudson	19 August
Second New York Regiment	Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt	344 rank and file	From Albany to West Point to Verplanck	25 August
New Jersey Brigade	Colonel Mathias Ogden	251 rank and file	Most at Sneed's Landing across the Hudson since 13 July; a few men may have crossed on 18 August 1781	19 August
Canadian Regt. (Congress' Own)	Brigadier Moses Hazen	204 rank and file	Sets over from Dobbs Ferry to Sneed's Landing in the evening of 18/19 August	18 August
Light Infantry	Lt.-Col. Alexander Scammell	328 rank and file	From Dobbs Ferry along Hudson	18, 19, & 20 August ?
Light Infantry	Lt.-Col. Alexander Hamilton	205 rank and file	From Dobbs Ferry along Hudson	18, 19, & 20 August ?
2 nd Artillery Regt.	Colonel John Lamb	225 rank and file	From Dobbs Ferry along Hudson	19 August
Sappers and Miners	Captain James Gilliland	50 rank and file (?)	From Dobbs Ferry along Hudson	19 August
Artificers under Major Sebastian Baumann	Lt.-Col. Ebenezer Stevens	50-60 rank and file (?)	From New Windsor via the Clove to Pompton Plains but one detachment also leaves from Greenburgh	22 August
Total:		~ 2,350 r&f		

Charles H. Lesser, *The Sinews of Independence. Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1975), p. 208. The strength returns for July *ibid.* on pp. 206/7. Regimental officers, staff and aides-de-camp bring the total for the Continental Army to around 2,700.

If the around 170 officers and 280 Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs) of these units were added to the total strength of the units that marched from New York State to Yorktown the numbers add up to around 2,700 officers and rank and file. The number of personnel in the army staff such as the Quartermaster Department, Provost etc are unknown and a number of troops fell sick, died or deserted or were recruited along the

route as well, so that the actual number of troops that departed from New York State and from New Jersey for Yorktown was somewhere between 2,700 and 2,900 officers and men, especially since close to 100 wagon master, conductors and cooks, an unknown number of officer servants and an irregular train of camp-followers need to be added as well.

The sequence for the departures of the Continental and French armies is as follows:

- ➔ In the morning of 18 August, a “detachment” of Light Infantry of unknown strength that included Scammell’s adjutant Lieutenant Benjamin “marched from Dobbs’s Ferry about ten miles, and encamped.” A camp ten miles from Dobbs’ Ferry places Benjamin just short of Ossining. (SITE 39)
- ➔ In the early afternoon of 18 August some 325 rank and file plus their officers from the First New York Regiment march to Dobbs’ Ferry but do not cross; instead the regiment encamps at Dobbs Ferry and marches to King’s Ferry the next day. Following an overnight encampment at Sing Sing the regiment crosses on 21 August.
- ➔ In the afternoon of 18 August around at 6:00 p.m. some 200 rank and file plus their officers from the Brigadier General Moses Hazen’s Canadian (Congress Own) Regiment march to Dobbs Ferry and cross the Hudson to Sneeden’s Landing.
- ➔ In the morning of 19 August at most 825 officers and men (incl. Washington and his life-guard) set out from Dobbs Ferry and march along the Hudson to Peekskill.
- ➔ The Second Artillery Regiment departs at 7:00 a.m. on 19 August as part of Washington’s column along the Hudson to a camp at Sing Sing/Ossining (SITE 39)
- ➔ About 150 men of the Rhode Island Regiment sail on 20 August from West Point to King’s Ferry the rest departs with the Continental wagon park from Greenburgh on 22 August to Peekskill following the route of French forces.
- ➔ Around 325 officers and men of the New Jersey Brigade together with Moses Hazen’s Canadian (Congress Own) Regiment set out in the early morning on 19 August from Sneeden’s Landing to Paramus.
- ➔ Around 350 officers and men of the Second New York Regiment, encamped at Albany and West Point, depart from West Point on 24 August.
- ➔ Around 25 to 30 officers and men of the Artificer Regiment depart on 22 August from New Windsor for Pompton Plains; another company (?) had already departed with the Continental Army from Greenburgh on 19 August and crossed the Hudson on 23 August.
- ➔ The French artillery departs its camp on 18 August, French infantry follows on 19 August on three separate routes and finish crossing around midnight 25/26 August.

Marching orders had been issued to the boats needed to ferry the troops across on 17 August already. The First New York Regiment and Moses Hazen’s Canadian Regiment were to cross the Hudson from Dobbs Ferry to Sneeden’s Landing. (SITE 48) Once again, the task

fell to Major Darby and Captain John Hutchinson Buell of the Connecticut Line. Buell recorded in his diary: "17th August 1781. Major Darby was orderd to Wappings Crick after 35 new Boats I was orderd with all the Partty of Men and Boats down to Dobbs's ferry. 18 at night I Crost Colo Hazens Regt at Dobbs ferry. 19 the Army March I was Orderd back with the Boats to Verplanks we had a most severe storm".

Sergeant-Major Hawkins, whose regiment had just moved into the Continental Army camp along Heatherdell Road in Greenburgh recorded under 18 August that "This Day about Noon Orders to march at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon. Our Reg^t. did not march till about 6 o'Clock. It rained a little but that did not retard our March. About 7 o'Clock we arrived at Dobbs's Ferry, where we found the NYork Line which came with us from West-Point - they had arrived at the Ferry before us. We found but few boats. Our Reg^t. took the lead, and soon crossed the Hudson. The principal Part of the Baggage &c of our Reg^t. arrived by one o'Clock [a.m. on 19 August], the Remainder, with the Riding Horses, Teams and Oxen did not arrive till about two Hours after Day break, the 19th, when they soon after came up with the Reg^t. who had halted about half a Mile from the River. - amidst the Hurry, Bustle and Difficulty attending Troops crossing a large River in the Night, I luckily crossed about eleven o'Clock in the same large Barge I came down in from West-Point a few days ago. We had a little Star light which was somewhat favourable to us. This Morning (the 19th.) the Appearance of the Clouds indicated that we should have more rain. The Manoevre of crossing the River in the Night - Van Schaick's Regt not getting over in Time I heard marched to King's Ferry, for fear the Enemy would see them if they crossed Dobb's Ferry in the Day Time."

Hazen found "but few boats." In spite of all of Washington's prodding the boats he had ordered weeks ago were still not available. Informed that the First New York had been unable to cross the Hudson due to a lack of boats, Washington on 18 August, told Alexander McDougall, commanding officer at West Point, that "I am much disappointed in not having the Boats sent from Wapping Creek to King's Ferry, as requested by Colonel Pickering. You will be pleased, on the receipt of this, to order One hundred and fifty Men to bring thirty of the aforesaid Boats to Kings Ferry; from whence the Men may return immediately to West Point."¹⁰⁷ There was nothing left for the First New York but march north along the Hudson to Verplanck's Point. Having spent the night of 19/20 August (probably) somewhere around Ossining, the regiment reached King's Ferry that day. The following day, 19 August, Washington instructed McDougall in West Point to "hold the four Companies of Courtlands ready to move to Kings ferry the moment the others come down the River [from Albany]. Should any small detachments from Van Schaick's or Hazen's yet remain above they are to be sent to Kings ferry likewise." The next morning, 20 August, the

¹⁰⁷ "Wappinger's Creek" is about half-way/eight miles between Fishkill Landing and Poughkeepsie.

Second Battalion of the Second New York boarded vessels in Albany to take them to Stony Point. (SITES 31, 32, 33, 34)

Sergeant-Major Hawkins and his regiment were already in New Jersey: “The Jersey Line passed our Reg^t. about 1 o’Clock and about 12 o’Clock [sic] our Reg^t. proceeded on. Just at dark our Reg^t. halted and rested this night [19/20 August] in Houses & Barns in Paramus, about 2 Miles from the Church ... The Jersey Line lay about three Miles in our Front.” Few members of the New Jersey regiments ever crossed the Hudson to the allied encampment in Greenburgh, viz. written from “Head Quarters, Dobb’s ferry, July 21, 1781” to Dayton he ordered him to “this evening detach a party of 100 Men to take post upon the Heights at Fort Lee and those above it opposite to Spiten Devil and wherever their shipping may lay ... The party will move time enough this Evening to be upon the Heights before day. [...] P.S. You will send a Captain and 50 [men] to reinforce the post at Dobbs’s on this [east] side the River. They will come over this Evening.” It is unknown when they returned to the west side of the river. The rest of the unit remained on the West bank of the river patrolling the countryside and protecting communication and transportation of supplies across the state. Once Hazen’s regiment had crossed the Hudson, Colonel Elias Dayton’s New Jersey Line accompanied it across New Jersey and all the way to Yorktown. On 19 August, Washington ordered Dayton to “march immediately with the Jersey Line and Hazens Regt. to the Heights between Chatham and Springfield. You will take the most eligible position and encamp there.”

Shortly thereafter Washington set out for King’s Ferry as well. His private secretary Jonathan Trumbull wrote in his diary: “The general, with the troops, commenced his march from the camp at Philipsburg.”¹⁰⁸ P. 331. It was “About noon,” when “his Excellency Gen. Washington left the army, setting his face towards his native State, in full confidence, to use his own words, ‘with a common blessing,’ of capturing Lord Cornwallis and his army”.¹⁰⁹ Later that day he passed Singing with the American column, which had departed around 7:00 a.m. The artillery spent the night at Ossining, but Washington rode on and reached Peekskill by the evening. (SITE 30)

A look at the route assignments for the Continental Army indicates a very small American column. Including his Life-Guard Washington’s column on 19 August consisted of around 825 men: some 50 Sappers and Miners, maybe 150 (?) members of Scammell’s Light Infantry, 225 troops of Colonel Lamb’s Second Artillery and the 325 men of the First New York Regiment. On 20 August Washington wrote in his diary: “The head of the Americans arrived at Kings ferry about ten O’clock & immediately began to cross. “

¹⁰⁸ Trumbull, *Occurrences*, p. 331.

¹⁰⁹ Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 278.

f) The crossing at King's Ferry, 20 to 25 August 1781

"General Orders" on Monday, 20 August, were issued at "Head Quarters King's Ferry", indicating that Washington was present to witness the arrival of the van of his troops. Trumbull recorded on 20 August that "The American troops arrive at King's Ferry and cross the river with shoes and baggage. The General after supper crossed with his suit and finding every thing good train, goes to Col^o. Hays at the White House and takes Quarters."¹¹⁰ (SITE 36) There is no entry in the Orderly Book for the Second Continental Artillery for 17 August, but the entry for 18 August reads in part: "The Tents will be struck at 6, and the March will commence at 7 °Clock." On 19 August, orders were issued at "Head Quarters Cinksing" and stated that "The General will beat tomorrow morning at ½ past 2 OClock, the Assemble at three, and the march will commence at ½ past three". It was the first unit of the army to cross the river at Verplanck's Point, beginning at 2 AM on 20 August 1781."¹¹¹

Having crossed the Hudson during the night of 20/21 August, regimental orders given at Haverstraw "5 OClock A. M." instructed "that party that was ordered on fatigue to proceed (after they have dressed the Park) to the ferry and assist Capt Lieut Miles in landing the Howitzers now on board a vessel at that place." The two 8-inch howitzer had come down from West Point with Second Lieutenant Wetzell and formed part of the ordnance General Henry Knox was taking to Virginia.¹¹² Knox' list of 23 August included: two 12-pounders, four 3-pounders, six 6-pounders, three five-inch howitzers, all of brass, with the appropriate implements, carriages and 200 rounds of ammunition. In siege artillery he took three 24-pounders and twenty 18-pounders of iron and two 8-inch mortars, three 8-inch howitzers, ten 10-inch mortars, and six 5-inch mortars of brass, again with the appropriate implements and carriages as well as enough powder for 500 rounds.¹¹³ 22 August was spent fixing clothing, inspecting arms, and ridding the regiment camp-followers. On 24 August, the troops received beef and flour for the next three days with instructions to cook the beef and bake the flour into bread." (SITES 31, 32, 33, 34)

¹¹⁰ Trumbull, *Occurrences*, pp. 331-32. It is about 2.5 miles from the landing site at Stony Point to the "White House", the home of Joshua Hett Smith, also known as the "Treason House". A brief history of the house can be found in "The Treason House is demolished." *South of the Mountain*. vol. 24 no. 2, (April-June 1980), pp. 14-17. It is unknown where Rochambeau made his headquarters during the crossing days; he may have stayed with Washington in the "Treason House." (SITE 36)

¹¹¹ Pierson, *Lamb*, p. 205.

¹¹² That is how I interpret the sentence in Pierson, *Lamb*, p. 205, where he writes that the river crossing "began at 2 AM on 20 August 1781. On the west side Lamb was joined by Second Lieutenant Wetzell of his unit with two 8-inch Howitzers from West Point."

¹¹³ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7, image 38. Image 41 shows a list dated 30 August of artillery-related "Stores with the Army coming from Hudson's River."

At 4:00 a.m. on 25 August, the Right Column of the Continental Army consisting of “Olney’s Regiment [i.e. the Rhode Island Regiment], Park of Artillery, Sappers and Miners, Commander in Chief’s Baggage, Baggage of the Artillery, Spare Ammunition, Baggage and Stores of every kind” set out for its march into New Jersey.

Scammell’s Light Infantry Battalion arrived at King’s Ferry almost concurrently with the artillery. Lieutenant Benjamin, who served as Scammell’s adjutant, wrote in his journal that on “August 18. Our detachment marched from Dobbs’s Ferry about ten miles, and encamped.” A 10-mile-march places the camp into the center of Ossining along the banks of the Sing Sing Kill.¹¹⁴ (SITE 39) Benjamin continues: “August 19. The generale beat half-past two o’clock, when we struck tents, and marched to King’s Ferry, and in the night [of 19/20 August] crossed the ferry. (SITE 33) But, to my great mortification, I was taken sick, so that I was obliged to tarry at King’s Ferry.” The Light Infantry most likely crossed in the boats in the command of Major Darby, since Buell, delayed by a storm, had not yet reached King’s Ferry. Once he reached Verplanck’s Point, on “20 in the morning crost the Rhisland Regt then his Excellency’s Baggage.” Buell continued: “21 Crost the Continental park and Colo Scammell Detachment then begun to Crost the french Troops and Baggage we Continued Crossing them night and day till the 27th of Augt when we got the whole acrost.”¹¹⁵

Buell’s sequence of crossings only seemingly contradicts Benjamin, who crossed during the night of 19/20 August or Dr. Daniel Shute of Hingham, Massachusetts, who kept a journal beginning in August 1781. Shute was among the men detached to Hamilton’s battalion. On 18 August he wrote that he “was ordered to join Col. Hamilton’s Battalion of Light Infantry for a few days. August 19 The Light Infantry (...) were ordered to march from the encampment near Dobbs’ Ferry. August 20 Crossed the Ferry and camped in the evening near Stony Point.”¹¹⁶ Of all the units marching from Westchester County, Colonel Alexander Scammell’s Light Infantry Regiment was the most disorganized. A look at the last-minute changes and re-organization on 18 and 19 August explains the confusion. On 17 May 1781, Washington had ordered Scammell to form a regiment of Light Infantry consisting of two battalions of four 50-man companies each out of light infantry companies from the Connecticut (3), Massachusetts (3), and New Hampshire (2) line regiments. In early July, his former aide-de-camp Alexander Hamilton threatened to resign from the

¹¹⁴ Until 1901, the village was known as Sing Sing; it changed its name to avoid the stigma of association with Sing Sing Correctional Facility.

¹¹⁵ For a description of the boats and personnel stationed at Verplanck and King’s Ferry prior to the crossings of August 1781 see below Site 33: King’s Ferry.

The delays caused by the rainstorm are mentioned elsewhere as well, e.g. by Baron Cloisen and Christian de Deux-Ponts for the march of French forces.

¹¹⁶ “The Journal of Dr. Daniel Shute, Surgeon in the Revolution, 1781-1782.” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* vol. LXXXIV, (1930), pp 383-389.

Continental Army unless he received a field command. Meeting his request, Washington in his "General Orders" of 31 July 1781, created a Light Infantry Battalion under Hamilton and Major Nicholas Fish out of the light infantry companies "of the first and second regiments of New York (upon their arrival in Camp) with the two companies of [New] York Levies". On 8 August, Washington wrote: "The light Company of the Second. York Regiment (the first having been down some days) having joined the Army, were formed with two Companies of Yk. levies into a Battn. under the Command of Lieutt. Colo. Hamilton & Major Fish & placed under the orders of Colo. Scammell as part of the light Troops of the Army."

When Washington decided to march to Virginia on 14 August, Hamilton's battalion had to be re-constituted: the "York Levies" were state troops that could not be deployed outside the state. General Orders for 15 August 1781 stated: "Colonel Scammell's detachment is to be immediately completed to its original establishment by men every way qualified to act as Light Infantry; and any men now in the corps who do not answer that description are to be changed without delay. Colonel Scammell will make application to the different corps for their deficiencies and the exchange of such of the men as are unfit for the service he is employed on." Among the men drafted under that order was Dr. James Thacher who was appointed surgeon in the Light Infantry on 17 July and who departed with his detachment on 19 August.¹¹⁷ Since replacing the "York Levies" earlier might have aroused the suspicion of spies about the destination of the departing forces, Washington waited until 18 August before he replaced them with two companies from Connecticut. The line in the HQ Orderly Book reads: "Two Companies each to consist of a Captain, two Subs four Serjeants and Fifty Rank and File, are to be immediately form'd from the Connecticut Line & join the Light Troops under the command of L^t Col^o. Hamilton it is expected that the companies will be composed of good men engaged either for the War or three years."

By 18 August, however, the campaign had already begun, and some detachments of the Light Infantry had already left Dobbs Ferry. Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment wrote in his diary under "Aug^t 18th . - Marched from Dobb's Ferry - the night of the 19th crossed King's Ferry."¹¹⁸ Buell's statement that he crossed Scammell's regiment on 21 August therefore most likely means that he crossed the last remaining men attached to the Light Infantry regiment.

The crossing of the Hudson constituted the most dangerous segment of the first phase of the march to Virginia. Fearing that Sir Henry Clinton might send vessels up the Hudson to

¹¹⁷ James Thacher, *A Military Journal During the American Revolutionary War, From 1775 to 1783. Describing Interesting Events and Transactions of this period; with numerous Historical Facts and Anecdotes* (Boston, 1827), p. 269.

¹¹⁸ The account is published in Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*. (1881; repr. 1975), pp. 170-173.

interfere with the crossing, Washington placed a few artillery pieces at Stony Point. John Hudson of the First New York Regiment “helped to draw cannon up into that very fort, which it became necessary to fortify when we were about to leave for Virginia.” The comte de Lauberdière confirms this arrangement when he writes that “once the American artillery had crossed the river, General Washington placed it close to the bank on an eminence from where it could fire to advantage at a vessel that might have appeared.”

The Second New York Regiment was the only unit of Washington’s army that marched to Yorktown but had never camped in the allied encampment in Greenburgh. Colonel Van Cortlandt had been waiting in Albany “for the compleating of 34 Boats now building there.” Upon completion of the boats “I recd. Orders to take the Boats Regt. & bagging, &c. and proceed down the Hudson to Stoney Point. Landed and Incamped, remained there while the French passed”. The First Battalion of the Second New York Regiment had arrived in flat boats from Albany “about five OClock” in the evening of 23 August. The following day Ensign Barnardus Swartwout recorded in his journal: “August 24th The Regiment Embarked in our flat bottom boats and proceeded down the River to Stony Point, where we arrived at night and disembark, the boats also taken on shore, and the Regt encamp.”¹¹⁹

On 25 August Washington ordered Van Cortlandt and his regiment of 23 officers and 398 NCOs and enlisted men¹²⁰ encamped at Stony Point, to “take charge of the Clothing, the Boats, Intrenching Tools, and such other Stores as shall be committed to your Care by the Quarter Master General: With these you are to proceed (in the Order they are mentioned) to Springfield, by the way of Sufferns, Pompton, the two Bridges and Chatham.”¹²¹ In his *Memoirs*, Van Cortlandt described meeting with Washington at Stony Point thus: “Upon approaching him He took my (sic) by the arm and went some distance on the road and gave me his orders both written and verbill, which was to march to Chatham in N. Jersey taken all the boats Intrenching tool &c. and proceed with deliberation Informing him daily of my progress for which purpose he sent a dragoon every day, as my Command was of great importance being the Rear-Guard of the Army.”¹²² The following day, Sunday, 26 August,

¹¹⁹ Tallmadge also recorded the arrival of his regiment in West Point on 23 August and its departure for King’s Ferry the next day. Tallmadge, *Journal*, p. 758.

¹²⁰ The strength is that of late September 1781. Lesser, *Sinews of Independence*, p. 208.

¹²¹ On 30 August Washington entered into his diary: “I set out myself for Philadelphia to arrange matters there—provide Vessels & hasten the transportation of the Ordnance Stores, &c.—directing before I set out, the secd. York Regiment (which had not all arrived from Albany before we left Kings ferry) to follow with the Boats—Intrenching Tools &ca. the French Rear to Trenton.”

¹²² *Revolutionary War Memoir*, p. 59. Swartwout confirms his colonel’s account when he writes: “August 25th The boats are put on wagons & carts – This day I leave the Regt on a tour of duty, proceed with a detachment of 40 men, along with the French Army in order to mend the Roads ... “

On 1 September Swartwout lay encamped at Princeton waiting “for the 2nd NY Regt to come up. Sept 2nd The French strike camp at day break and march, very soon after the 2nd NY Regt arrives

“we struck Camp about 3 O'clock and marched on to Harvistraw and Encamped.”¹²³ Van Cortlandt only caught up with the Continental Army at Trenton early in the morning of 3 September 1781 and embarked for Philadelphia on the 34 boats it had been transporting from Wappinger's Creek.¹²⁴

It was only on 21 August, two days after their departure from Greenburgh, that “In the course of this day the whole of the American Troop, all their baggage, artillery & Stores, crossed the river. Nothing remained of ours but some Waggon in the Commissary's & Qr. Mr. Generals departmt., which were delayed, that no interruption might be given to the passage of the French Army. [...] Some of the french Artillery wch. preceeded their Infantry got to the ferry & crossed it also.” Delayed by bad weather and roads made almost impassable by rain, Rochambeau's forces advanced in a crawl only. French artillery had departed from its camp at around 11:00 a.m. on 18 August but due to bad roads and weather had entered into a bivouac only four miles from camp. As recorded by Washington, it was already late on 21 August before the artillery reached the ferry site.¹²⁵ But there was help waiting there for the French.

The last Continental Army unit to cross the Hudson River was Colonel Jeremiah Olney's Rhode Island Regiment. On 19 August, Washington ordered McDougall to send south from West Point “all the detachments from Colo. Olneys Regt. whether at the point or upon any other duty immediately to join the Regt. at Kings ferry.” Upon receipt of this order the approximately 90 to 100 NCOs and enlisted men departed from West Point on 21 August and reached Stony Point later that day just as the van of French forces arrived at the ferry site.¹²⁶ The French army established its headquarters halted at Peekskill. (SITE 30)

The comte de Lauberdière, one of Rochambeau's aides-de-camp, recorded that when he got to Verplanck's Point (SITE 31) on 22 August, “The American army was already on the other side of the river. The artillery and Lauzun's Legion crossed the same day.” The Rhode Islanders were a perfect fit to assist Rochambeau's troops in their crossing of the Hudson. Dozens of them had spent the summer doing boat duty on the Hudson and they seem to

in town, with 32 [sic] flat bottom's boats on Waggon & Carts which boats we brot from Albany.” Upon reaching Trenton the Second New York embark on these boats and reached Philadelphia by boat on 4 September.

¹²³ Talmadge, *Journal*, p. 758.

¹²⁴ These boats carried Van Cortlandt's regiment, about 50 officers and men of the sappers and miners, Lamb's artillery, Hazen's Regiment, and the detachment in charge of the baggage from Trenton to Christiana in Delaware.

¹²⁵ It took the French artillery six days to cover 40 miles to King's Ferry.

¹²⁶ As experienced watermen the detachment could have reached King's Ferry in a day; it is only about 10 miles from West Point to Peekskill and 15 miles to Verplanck's Point at the southernmost end of the hamlet of Verplanck.

have spent much of the summer in close proximity of the French as well. The *comte de Lauberdière*, reported that the regiment “avait été long temps avec nous dans cette été – had been with us for a long time during that summer.” Rochambeau’s infantrymen greatly appreciated the assistance. Lauberdière wrote that “the Rhode Island Regiment was very useful to us. Almost every soldier in this corps is a good sailor. They divided our soldiers aboard their boats, which our soldiers in fact would not have been able to maneuver without risk for the laden passengers.” One of the Rhode Islanders who helped ferry French forces across the river may well have been Richard Rhodes, “born in Africa, brought to this country and sold as a slave.” He had gained his freedom through service in the Rhode Island regiment and described as “a Mariner & has followed the seas ever since the war.”¹²⁷

Lauberdière is the only eyewitness to provide details on the mechanics of the crossing. “The Kingsferry crossing is more than a big half league wide and is defended by two forts that of Verplank’s Point or Fort la Fayette (SITE 32) on the eastern bank and Stony Point (SITE 34) on the west. The enemy should have tried to prevent our crossing by sending one or more vessels to block it. They could have also sent some troops to harass us during the division of our forces. To defend against these nuisances, as soon as the American artillery crossed the river, General Washington placed them along the shore on a hill where they could fire with advantage on any vessel which might appear. [...] Some platforms were built of good beams on two flatboats which could carry two pieces of cannon on their carriages or a loaded wagon across. A small sailing vessel oriented and some men in each boat ferried everything. [...] The troops boarded specially made longboats capable of carrying 60 or 80 men at a time.” Much to the surprise of Lauberdière, “Most of the horses and the bulls crossed by swimming.”¹²⁸ Clermont-Crèvecoeur described the crossing of “the artillery and the army wagons across the river on flatboats” as “a long and tedious procedure, since there were very few boats.”¹²⁹

Once again the weather delayed progress. On “The 23rd, the wind became very strong and we were almost standing to cross the river. Only the munitions and provision wagons crossed that day. The bad weather did not prevent Mr. de Rochambeau, who had never seen West Point, from boarding a boat to go visit this Boulevard of American freedom.

¹²⁷ Pension Application Richard Rhodes W22060; the quote as posted on-line at Fold3.

¹²⁸ On 23 July on way back from Frog’s Neck, i.e. Throgs Neck, during the Grand Reconnaissance, the little bridge across Westchester Creek was washed away. The officers and men walked across the marshy part of the peninsula on some planks and tied their horses to ropes and let them swim across unsaddled. Baron Closen “was astonished to see the 90 horses of the American dragoons, who were with us, unsaddled and compelled to swim across at once, without a rope or anything. The American officer assured me “that he had often had his men swim across, and that the horses were accustomed to this from birth.” Acomb, *Closen*, p. 101.

¹²⁹ He too expressed his surprise that Sir Henry did not try to interfere with the crossing. Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol.1, p. 40.

General Washington came to Peekskill landing to accompany Mr. de Rochambeau. I also followed him along with the Count de Vauban.”¹³⁰ Traveling on the right bank of the river, the passed Forts Clinton and Fort Montgomery (SITE 25) where “the Americans, who now dominate the river, have only a very weak guard with one fieldpiece to warn about what is happening on the river which is more than one league wide at this place.”

French forces completed the crossing of the Hudson around mid-night 25/26 August, six days after a first detachment of the Continental Army had crossed on 19/20 August, and at least three days behind schedule. On 17 August Washington had told Rochambeau that “Allowing for the common chances of Winds and Weather it may take ‘till Thursday 22d. to cross the North River. Friday, 23d, to Suffrans ... 16 Miles.” It was already Saturday, 24 August, however, before the Regiments Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts forming the First French Brigade crossed the Hudson and encamped near Haverstraw. (SITE 35). The Second French Brigade, i.e. the Regiments Soissonnois and Saintonge, remained encamped at Peekskill and crossed the following day. At mid-night 25/26 August, the last wagons and the rear-guard of the French army crossed the Hudson over to Stony Point and without resting joined the Second Brigade on its march to Suffern.¹³¹ Behind them, picking up stragglers, the sick and the footsore, followed a small hospital wagon train. In a letter dated “Peekskill 24 August 1781”, Jeremiah Wadsworth appointed 25-year-old Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, Connecticut, conductor of Hospital wagons.¹³² Loomis confirmed his appointment in his 1832 pension application where he wrote that “When the armies took up their March to the Southward for the besieging of Cornwallis, he, this deponent, started with the hospital one or two days in rear of the armies.”¹³³

When the Royal Deux-Ponts crossed in the evening of 24 August, the Continental Army was already well on its way into New Jersey. From his head-quarters at the Smith House Washington issued these marching orders to Benjamin Lincoln: “The Detachment under your Command is to march to Springfield in New Jersey, by wo Routs; the left Column with

¹³⁰ Relevant parts of his never-before published description of West Point are quoted in Chapter 5.

¹³¹ Washington’s diary entry reads: “The 26th. the remainder of the French army, its baggage & Stores, moved from the ferry and arrived at Suffrans—the ground the others had left.”

¹³² Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 24: Letter Book Folder 3: 1 to 25 August 1781. Rochambeau’s *livre d’ordre* for 10 July 1781 contains an entry stating that “an ambulante hospital is established in Philipsburg in the home of Gilbert Ward behind the camp of Lauzun; sick soldiers can be sent there. Each regiment will send to this hospital the wagon which is following the regiment carrying the soldiers which have fallen sick along the route.” Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle in Nancy, France, call number E 235.

¹³³ Pension application of Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, Connecticut, NARA Series M805, Roll 536, File S17551. Pension applications are also accessible at www.fold3.com. Loomis rolled with the hospital wagons into Williamsburg on 9 October, there days after the French wagon train had arrived there on 6 October.

which you will go, is to be compos'd of the light Troops, and York Regiments (if Courtlands should get up to you in time¹³⁴) and four light field pieces with the Baggage of these sev[era]l. Corps. The right column is to consist of the Parke of Artillery; Ordnance Stores; The Quarter Masters and Commissary Stores the Baggage of the Staff; the Cloathing, [30] Boats, and other things, covered by Colo. Olneys Regiment and the Corps of Saps. And M[in]ers.”¹³⁵ That same day he wrote to Robert Morris: "We have been delayed here longer than I expected, by the difficulty of crossing the North River. The American Troops march tomorrow Morning and I hope by the time we reach Springfield we shall hear of the arrival of the fleet in Chesapeak."

With Washington and French army forces on their way to Peekskill, Continental Army forces under General Heath began their return march to the Hudson Highland. On 17 August Washington had confidentially informed Heath of his plans.¹³⁶ On the 19th he appointed Heath commanding officer in the Highlands instructing him "to take command of all the troops remaining in this department. ... The security of West Point and the Posts in the Highlands is to be considered as the first object of your attention. ... your general rule of conduct will be to the defensive only, yet it is not meant to prohibit you from striking a blow at the Enemy's Posts or Detachments, should a fair opportunity to present itself."

Heath's aide-de-camp Henry Sewall recorded the movements of forces under Heath into the Hudson Highlands following the departure of Washington and Rochambeau.

¹³⁴ The Second New York Regiment only caught up with the Continental Army at Trenton.

¹³⁵ Washington used these 30 boats as part of the deception scheme against Clinton. On 21 August he wrote in his *Diary*: "During the passing of the French Army I mounted 30 flat Boats (able to carry about 40 Men each) upon carriages--as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there." The comte de Lauberdière wrote: "The same day, (25 August) the entire Soissonnais regiment crossed the North River and camped at Haverstraw. The boats in which two regiments of the state of New York came down from Albany were put aboard specially made wagons. They left immediately to take up the rear of the column of the Americans' baggage." His Private Secretary Trumbull recorded: "Thirty boats built in the North River, are mounted on carriages and ready to be taken into our line of march, with the ostensible design of making a descent o Staten Island, or to be used for other purposes in our attempts on New York." Trumbull, *Occurrences*, p. 332.

The 30 boats were transported by Hudson's First New York Regiment since the Second New York on 21 August was still on its way from Albany somewhere between Rhinebeck and Poughkeepsie. Hudson confirms this sequence of events when he remembered in his *Memoirs*: "We carried on our march boats so large that it took a wagon and eight horses to draw them and two inch plank in quantities, by the same conveyance. These were to enable us to form flotillas to cross our troops upon the water courses which lay in our route."

¹³⁶ *Memoirs of Major General William Heath*, p. 275.

“Monday 20. Gen^l Heath moved the baggage off about 3 o’clock P.M. and marched the troops under his command about an hour by sun towards West point arrived at Young’s [5 miles] about 9 in the evening, where the army took post for the night, without tents. Tuesday 21. The army under gen^l Heath moved about noon preceded by the baggage towards Croton by the road to West point and encamped in the evening without tents in the strong grounds two miles below Croton. [...]

Wed’day 22. The army under Gen. H. moved to and encamped at Crompond.”

On Thursday, 23 August, the army encamped at Peekskill where Heath established his “head-quarters at W. Birdsall’s”. (SITE 30) on Saturday, 26 August. A few days later Heath and the forces under his command were back in the highlands from where they had departed barely 12 weeks earlier.

As they set out into New Jersey, their destination was unknown to all but a handful of officers. Still, Virginia was on the mind of at least some of them. On 22 August, van Schaick wrote to his wife Polly from “Camp Near Kings Ferry”: “Every preparation is making for a march Into the Jersye’s Every body that Is not in to the Secret Is at a Loss to Know what this menuvres Can mean I am at a Loss myself at times I think it Is intended to put the Army in a Situation that they may Either Land on Long Island from the Jersy Shore or Inbark on Board of the Franch Fleet when they arrive or that the General will Carry the Army Into Virginne these my Oppenions are founded on Conjecter only.”¹³⁷

Sir Henry Clinton was as usual very well informed of allied movements. On 19 August, Marquart informed DeLancey from “Morris’s House” that “A Deserter of the 1st York Regiment arrived this moment, he says that this regt. crossed the North River at Dobs’s ferry at day break this morning. That it was said the Congress Regiment would also cross and join the Jersey Brigade & that the whole army had been under marching orders last night.”¹³⁸ Just as van Schaick was pondering about Virginia, Major Frederick Mackenzie, deputy adjutant-general for Sir Henry Clinton, on 21 August already, the French had not yet reached the Hudson, also suspected that the combined armies were on their way south: “I think it probable that if M. de Grasse does come”, which Clinton had known since 17 August, “he will endeavor to go into Chesapeake. In this case their design is the destruction

¹³⁷ Series II, Box 8, Folder 123, Maass Collection. The next day van Schaick left his regiment for Philadelphia. Upset about having been passed over for promotion to Brigadier in favor of Moses Hazen (29 June), van Schaick set out for the American capital on 23 August where he arrived on 30 August to – unsuccessfully - plead his case before Congress.

¹³⁸ University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 171, item 3. The deserters left his regiment early in the evening since his regiment marched to Verplanck’s Point and did not cross at Dobbs Ferry.

of Lord Cornwallis's Army." The next day he wrote: "Should M. de Grasse come to America, and take possession of the Chesapeake with a Superior fleet, it will be impossible for us to give Lord Cornwallis any assistance."¹³⁹

In the morning of 29 August, French forces departed from Whippany for Bernards, the westernmost-column of the Continental Army left Chatham for Bound Brook and the left column departed Springfield for New Brunswick. On the evening of 29 August, Isaac Ogden sent DeLancey a note with the headline: "The Chesapeak is the Object, all in motion."¹⁴⁰ The dice had been cast and the British knew it. What neither side knew was that in the early afternoon of 29 August, the lookouts on the vessels of Admiral de Grasse sighted land. The French fleet had arrived off the Chesapeake Bay. All that lay between Chatham, where Washington had spent the night, and Yorktown was about 400 miles.

On 24 August, Jeffery Whiting, assistant to Jeremiah Wadsworth, sole supplier to French forces, wrote to John Jeffery, Wadsworth's secretary in Hartford, Connecticut, from Peekskill: "*the French Army finished Crossing the Hudson this day - tomorrow we Cross and proceed to God only knows where.*"¹⁴¹ Whiting's employer Jeremiah Wadsworth was one of the few who knew where the armies were going. On 17 August, Wadsworth had sent instructions to John Lloyd, one of his purchasing agents, with the warning that "our destination is not known and I beg you not to guess at it or have anything said on the subject." That said, Lloyd was to lay in at "Suffrance 15 Tons Hay, 20 Tons Straw, 230 Bushels of Corn, 5 Cords wood" as well as beef cattle. Identical amounts were to be collected at Pompton, Whippany, Bullion's Tavern, Somerset Court House, Princeton and Trenton.¹⁴² One month later Whiting had joined his employer in Williamsburg, and the allied armies were assembling there as well. On 28 September they laid siege, on water and on land, in Yorktown and across the river in Gloucester, to Lord Cornwallis. The siege lasted barely three weeks. On 19 October Cornwallis surrendered Britain's last operational field army to Washington, Rochambeau and de Grasse. American independence had been won, not on the banks of the Hudson as Washington had hoped, but in his home state on the banks of the York River.

¹³⁹ McKenzie, *Diary* p. 595.

¹⁴⁰ University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, vol. 172, item 32.

¹⁴¹ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Box 132.

¹⁴² Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 23, French Army Papers, 1778-1783 Folder 3, Correspondence Nov 1780-August 1781.

4) The Celebratory Encampment of September 1782

a) The Return of the Continental Army

In October 1781, Yorktown was, if ever so briefly, the second largest city in the United States. But the logistical challenges of feeding and maintaining the tens of thousands of men, women and children, American, French, British, Hessian, and their thousands of animals went beyond the capabilities of a state devastated by months of warfare. The allied armies dispersed as quickly as they had converged onto Yorktown. On 5 November, barely two weeks after the surrender, Colonel McDowell's Pennsylvania Regiment as well as the Maryland Regiment and the 85 recruits for the Delaware Regiment had left Yorktown to join General Nathanael Greene in North Carolina while the rest of the Continental Army that had accompanied Washington to Virginia was on its way to the northward as well.

The journey of the troops who took the waterway to Head of Elk, i.e., the Light Infantry, the Second Continental Artillery and the Sappers and Miners, was determined by the availability of watercraft and the vagaries of wind and weather. The Light Infantry, the artillery and the artificers began to embark in the days after 1 November, but due to bad weather it was already 20 November 1781, two weeks after his departure from Virginia on 4 November that Thacher and the Light Infantry began the process of debarkation at Elkton. On 24 November, Thacher and the artillery began their march north, "[p]assed through Philadelphia, Trenton, Princeton, Bonbrook (Bound Brook) and Morristown" in quick succession.¹⁴³ On 27 November, they left Pompton for King's Ferry and crossed the Hudson on the 29th. Finally, on 8 December, "The Light Infantry arrived in camp, and joined their respective Brigades and Regiments".¹⁴⁴

Upon reaching Philadelphia in late November, Colonel Lamb's Second Continental Artillery and Joseph Plum Martin's Sappers and Miners, which had also taken the sea route, remained behind and were quartered in the Barracks in the city for about two weeks. From there, they marched on 5 December to Bristol¹⁴⁵ and crossed the Delaware to Burlington, where they arrived on 7 December.¹⁴⁶ While Lamb's artillery took their winter quarters in

¹⁴³ Thacher, *Military Journal*, pp. 301-303. Thacher sailed on the French frigate *Diligence*.

¹⁴⁴ "Journal of Ebenezer Wild", *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* Second Series, No. 6, (Boston, 1891), pages 78 - 160, pp. 156-159.

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Canby of Wilmington 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 Pinskyvania Troops went from York to Join General Greene's Army." Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783. Photostat in Historical Society of Delaware, from the original at Yale University.

¹⁴⁶ It marched to the Hudson in August 1782. The barracks in Burlington, built in 1758/59, were located on East Broad Street at Assiscunk Creek.

the barracks, "our corps of Miners were quartered in a large elegant house which had formerly been the residence of the Governor when the state was a British province."¹⁴⁷ On 12 April, Washington ordered the Sappers and Miners to West Point. Col. Lamb's Artillery Regiment spent the rest of the winter in Burlington and departed for the Highlands in August. It was Monday, 10 September already, when General Knox informed Washington that "Colonel Lamb with the Park have arrived at New Windsor, after they have rested from the fatigues of their march they will with all the Ordnance and stores in their charge be transported to this place, which I expect will be by Thursday or Friday."

The remainder of the Continental Army, i.e., Moses Hazen's Canadians, the Rhode Island Regiment, the two New York Regiments and the New Jersey Line were charged with accompanying the prisoners to the north. They departed from Yorktown in the days after Sunday, 4 November, as well. Upon arrival in Philadelphia, Moses Hazen's regiment branched off toward its winter quarters in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where it performed duties guarding British prisoners that had marched north with them.

The Rhode Island regiment remained quartered in the barracks in Philadelphia. On 24 May 1782, General Lincoln as Secretary of War informed William Moore, President of the State of Pennsylvania, that "The Rhode Island Regiment will march next Wednesday to join the troops in the highlands - which lays me under the necessity of soliciting a guard for the prisoners in the new Jail."¹⁴⁸ According to an "Account of Public Ferriages" provided by Hugh Runyan on 31 May ferried "470 men Rhode Island Regt" for £ 2 18/9 across the Delaware. Eight four-horse waggons paid £ 1 10/, 7 horses 2/7.¹⁴⁹

For most of the way the New Jersey and New York regiments marched a day apart with the New Jersey Regiment in front.¹⁵⁰ On 25 November, the "Jersey Regiment marched to the [Susquehannah] River and Crossed, Stormy Weather prevented our Regt marching."¹⁵¹ From there the New Jersey troops (probably) marched into Pennsylvania on 29 November for a camp in or near Marcus Hook. The 30th saw the regiment just outside Philadelphia, on 2 December it reached Trenton. Though it is known that the New Jersey regiments were ordered "take Post somewhere in the Vicinity of Morristown", for their winter cantonment, it is unknown how they marched there from Trenton or when they arrived at Morristown.

¹⁴⁷ Green Bank, the estate of Governor William Franklin, a son of Benjamin Franklin and last Royal Governor of New Jersey, on the banks of the Delaware, no longer exists.

¹⁴⁸ Lincoln's letter is printed in *Pennsylvania Archives* vol. IX (1854), p. 549.

¹⁴⁹ "Account of Public Ferriages" by Hugh Runyan in folder: Official papers ca. 1780-1782, in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589.

¹⁵⁰ See William S. Stryker, *The New Jersey Continental Line in the Virginia Campaign of 1781* (Trenton: J.L. Murphy, 1882), p. 26.

¹⁵¹ Tallmadge, *Journal*, p. 767.

But it is fair to assume that the troops preceded the two New York Regiments and quite possible that they were housed in the old Pennsylvania Line huts at Mount Kemble.

Samuel Tallmadge and his Second New York regiment had received 440 prisoners on 3 November and began the march north at 5:00 a.m. the next day. By 11 November, they reached Fredericksburg, by 17 November they were in Georgetown, and on Friday, 29 November camped at Christina Bridge in Delaware. On 4 December, they "Marched at sunrise Crossed the Shammony Ferry, proceeded on and marched through Brister, and halted an hour, then Resumed our march again within two miles Trenton Ferry Delaware River and Encamped." This was their last encampment in Pennsylvania.

On 9 December, the units marched to a camp on Rockaway River north of Morristown where they waited out a snowstorm on 10 December. By the time Pompton was reached on 11 December, the columns stopped moving, "the snow being about Eight Inches Deep." For the next few days, the regiments "lay by", but on 14 December, they "moved on to their Hutting Ground at Pequanneck." On 23 December, Tallmadge moved into his hut where he spent the rest of the winter remained and well into the summer of 1782 before they marched to Peekskill for the meeting with the French army in September. Colonel Van Cortlandt made his headquarters in the Curtis' Tavern, better known as Yellow House. Here he hosted General and Mrs. Washington who arrived at the tavern headquarters on Thursday, 28 March 1782, and remained there until Sunday morning when they set out for Newburgh via Ringwood.¹⁵²

On 1 April 1782, Washington, who had spent the winter in Philadelphia, moved into headquarters in the Jonathan Hasbrouck House in Newburgh to await the outcome of peace negotiations in Paris. As the various units marched from their winter quarters in New Jersey and Pennsylvania to Newburgh the Continental too remained in its quarters until the end of August. Knowing that Rochambeau's forces were on their march to the Hudson, Washington moved his forces to Verplanck's Point for an encampment to celebrate Franco-American friendship and the victory at Yorktown. (SITE 31)

Once again the Hudson river served as the main mode of transportation. Captain Henry Sewall of the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment and aide-de-camp to General Heath wrote in his diary under Saturday 31 August: "The army (except about 500 which marched by land and general Heath) moved by Water from Westpoint & encamped at verplancks point agreeably to the disposition published in the order of the 29. instant."¹⁵³

¹⁵² Cortlandt, *Memoir*, p. 65.

¹⁵³ The General Orders laid out "The general order of Encampment—and the order of Battle for the Main army this Campaign will be in one Line—with a reserve—organized and commanded as follows ... ".

The following Saturday, 7 September, Washington conducted a “general review of the army” as encamped at Verplanck’s Point, which included a dress rehearsal for the demonstrations Rochambeau was going to witness: “ first standing, then marching – afterwards the whole formed one solid column, moved to a given point & displayed in line with an advance & reserve. A beautiful sight”, wrote Sewall.¹⁵⁴ Washington clearly wanted to impress his French ally. Soldiers received orders to construct colonades and bowers to decorate the encampment in preparation of the visit by Rochambeau and a market was set up at the ferry landing at Verplanck’s Point.¹⁵⁵ On 18 September, the Commander in Chief complained that he “has discovered in some instances an inattention in marching; for Besides the loss of step which alone is sufficient to give an Aukerd Movement to a division or Platoon he has remarked that many of the soldiers do not step boldly and freely but short and with bent knees.” Washington wanted the men “while marching by the reviewing officer [to] Carry their bodies Erect look well up, incline their heads to the right, and look full in the face of the Reviewing officers.”¹⁵⁶

Captain Buell’s account of the preparations for the celebratory encampment read:

“28 Augt the Ground is laid out on the Point (Verplank) for the whole army

29th Augt our Regt movd onto the Ground laid out for us, and the rest of the Army is Expected down soon, a detachment of 30 men from Our Regt is orderd out to pitch Genl Washington’s Marque, to make a Booth and Oven for him

Sept 3rd 82 Genl Washington Issued an Order for the Army to make Booths before their Tents and gave them 5 days to do it in, they was built in the time and was most Eligent, all the Posts was wound with in evy or Hemlock”.

On Monday, 9 September, Sewall wrote to his parents and “enclosed a sketch of the order of battle and encampment of the army – copy of my journal to the 1. instant & two Fishkill papers.” Sewall’s sketch has not survived in his papers, but a series of three plans or maps of Verplanck’s Point showing the encampment of September 1782 has survived in the Sparks manuscripts at Harvard University.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ The “manoeuvres” of 7 September are described in Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, Book X, Williamsburg, Va. September 24, 1781, to Fishkill, N.Y. June 19, 1782, pp. 591-658, p. 622. The last dated entry in the Orderly Book is 13 September 1782 rather than 19 June as listed in the Table of Contents.

¹⁵⁵ The various orders can be found in Tallmadge, *Orderly Books X*, pp. 620.

¹⁵⁶ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books* Book XI, Newburgh August 23, 1782, to June 2, 1783 pp. 659-738, p. 664.

¹⁵⁷ MS Sparks 158.1, Subseries VII.D: Military maps and plans during the Revolution: Houghton Library, Harvard University.

b) The Return of the French Army

French forces had spent the winter of 1781/82 in and around Williamsburg. On 1 July 1782, Rochambeau's forces broke camp and began their march north. Baltimore was reached on 24 July, and on 2 and 3 September the French regiments once again paraded through Philadelphia. On 13 September, the First Brigade consisting of the Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts regiments crossed into New York State and encamped in Suffern on the east side of Washington Avenue. Arriving in Haverstraw with the Brigade of the Bourbonnois, Rochambeau crossed the Hudson on 14 September to meet with Washington before establishing his headquarters in the Smith House.¹⁵⁸ (SITE 36) Maréchal général de logis Pierre François de Bévillie took up quarters in a “small tavern of the ferry – à la petite tavern du ferry” in Haverstraw and established a hospital in the adjacent house.¹⁵⁹ The Bourbonnois Brigade established its camp “to the right of the height” of the Smith House with its left toward the Hudson river, i.e. between East Main and Tomkins Avenue on the same spot where the French encampment of August 1781 had been. (SITE 35) When the Auxonne battalion of artillery came up on 15 September, it set up its camp just south of Railroad Avenue while the two infantry regiments of the Soissonnois Brigade encamped to the north of it “on the ground that we had occupied last year.”¹⁶⁰ Here the regiments rested until 16 September, waiting for the vessels needed to cross the river to come down from West Point. Lauzun's Legion remained in the camp it had set up in Kakiat on 14 September.

Rochambeau's visit seems to have caught Washington and the Continental Army off guard. As soon as he had gone back across the Hudson, Washington issued “After Orders” from his “Head Quarters Verplanks Point Friday Sept 13th 1782 [...] At half after seven o'clock tomorrow morning the several Brigades will parade in front of their respective encampments, wheel to the right by platoons, & (except the second Jersey regiment which is to stand fast) march to the right in open Columns until they have their distances, when they will halt; Order firelocks, and wait for orders.

As the intention of drawing out the troops tomorrow is to complement his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau—The troops as he passes them will pay him the honors due the Commander in chief—On this occasion the tallest men are to be in the front rank.”

¹⁵⁸ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 239.

¹⁵⁹ “Suite du journal des Campagnes 1780.1781.1782. Dans l'Amérique Septentrionale 19me liasse. Inventaire après le décès de Pont.” Special Collections Call No. C0938 (no. 469) Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton, NJ. Bévillie was most likely referring to a house at 3 Tanneyanns Lane just off Railroad Avenue at the western edge of Babe Ruth Field where Railroad Ave makes a right angle and runs along Babe Ruth Field. It is about 2.7 miles from there to the Stony Point Park entrance, 3.5 miles to Tomkins Cove on the upstream edge of the park where the road ends at the railroad tracks. Across the tracks is/was located the landing point of King's Ferry.

¹⁶⁰ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 240.

The next morning the Continental Army was ready for the French general. Heath's aide-de-camp Captain Sewall recorded: "Saturday 14. Count de Rochambeau arrived here with his suite. The whole army paraded in two lines facing each other to receive him. As he approached the standing salute was paid him & afterwards the whole defiled before him, saluting as they passed."

Captain Buell recorded on "Sept 14th 82 I Came of Guard; the Same day the American Army was parraded in two Lines from King's Ferry to Genl Washington's Marque, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile and Recd the Count Reosshonbow, he rode through our Troops to Head Quarters the Officers Saluted him, the Army then Wheeled to the write and pass him and suluted him again, and then returned to Our Several Incampments."

Baron Closen also described the scene: "we found the entire American army under arms, drawn up in two lines, facing each other, with one wing extending to Fort Verplank and the other to the tents of the General Headquarters. I confess I was struck by the sight of these troops, armed, in new uniforms, and with excellent military bearing. As we passed between the two lines, the officers saluted the general, and gave him the honors of his rank of Lieutenant-General, to the accompaniment of the beating of drums. Some regiments had a rather good band." Closen estimated the strength of the Continental Army at 7,000 men plus 300 men in Sheldon's Legion and Washington's 50-man mounted dragoons serving as his Life-Guard. "I enjoyed seeing them very much, and the change for the *better* since last year in bearing, neatness, carriage of arms, attention, silence, and style of marching was striking."¹⁶¹

On 15 September de Béville's younger son Charles laid out the camp for the Second Brigade, while his older son Jacques crossed the Hudson to establish the French headquarters in Peekskill. That same day Rochambeau inspected the campsite laid out for his army there to the left of the American camp at the same site the Continental Army had been encamped on 1781. (SITE 29) The following day the "hospital ambulan" as well as the campaign artillery i.e., the battalion guns, and a few wagons with food supplies, "quelques voitures des vivres", altogether 150 vehicles, crossed at King's Ferry. The French wagon train was militarily organized as outlined in Timothy Barnard's pension application:

"That he was next engaged in the Commissary Department under Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford during the whole time the French army were in America, was at York Town Virginia during the siege and surrender of Lord Cornwallis' army - that after the taking of Cornwallis and when the French Army moved from York Town to Boston,

¹⁶¹ Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 239/40.

Massachusetts the army was formed into here divisions and a “principal Conductor” so called in the Commissary Department was appointed to the charge of each division. The first division was conducted by Daniel Olcott of Hartford having the rank & pay of Colonel in the line – The 2nd Division of Levi Pease of Boston with the rank and pay of Lieutenant Colonel and the third division by this applicant with the rank and pay of Major. There were 500 horses for the artillery & baggage which with their conductors &c were divided into three parts and formed the three divisions aforesaid & that he remained with them in that capacity until the army embarked for France. That he was three months & not less engaged as Major aforesaid in transporting army [sic] from Virginia to Boston.¹⁶²

The train bringing the French campaign artillery back to the Hudson followed a similar organization as explained by James Hillman, who “was placed in charge of a Team attached to a Six Pounder” in Williamsburg. Upon departure he was “placed under the command of Captain John Miller who was Conductor of the Artillery teams of the French Army. The General conductor of the Artillery teams was Daniel Olcott. I can state the names of sundry officers of this service among them was a man by the name of Pease. We were divided into brigades of twelve & over each Brigade of twelve was one principal conductor or overseer. I left Williamsburgh with the first division of the French Army on the 4th day of June AD 1782 [should be July] & am able to state this time from the circumstance of being that day transferred from one company to the other. The army marched in four divisions under the Command of Rochambeau & came together about every fourth day. The 1st division generally waiting until the others came up. I drove an artillery piece. From Williamsburg Va we went through Baltimore where we lay about a month & went thence to Philadelphia, Trenton, Kings-ferry on the North River & to Croom-Pond about eight miles from Peekskill I think we lay at this place about two months. [...] I drove the same piece of Artillery all of this route. I staid at Boston about two weeks the artillery I left at Fort Hill. I returned with the horses and my company to Chesterfield Mass. At which place I & about one half of the teamsters were discharged & returned home.”¹⁶³

Spencer Davis deposed in his pension application that “In March 1782 he enlisted in the army of the United States for twelve months (to go with the French troops) and accompanied them to Boston, taking charge of their Artillery, keeping it in order, driving the canon, grooming the horses & guarding them at night. The first considerable halt after leaving Williamsburg was in Baltimore, where the remained some time to rest. From thence they marched to Philadelphia & staid a few days – from thence through the Jerseys & crossed the North River at Stony Point, where Washingtons army then lay – the British being in possession of New York. We made no stay at Stony Point, but proceeded some

¹⁶² Pension Application Timothy Barnard W 25214.

¹⁶³ Pension Application James Hillman R 5020.

distance further to Crumps Pond, where was an abundance of water & grass for the horses. Here they remained several weeks, probably to refresh the horses, & it was supposed at one time that they would winter there. They dug holes in the hill side & constructed huts for their winter quarter, covered over with earth. The French Officers had very neat huts built of turf."¹⁶⁴

Though they had arrived in West Haverstraw on 14 September already, it was on 17 September only that the Bourbonnois Brigade crossed the Hudson and Lauzun's Legion took over its camp. The delay was caused by the fact that "the necessary ships had not yet come down the river from West Point, from which they had been ordered", as Cloisen recorded in his journal. On 18 September the Soissonnois crossed followed by Lauzun's Legion at 3:00 p.m. while Rochambeau and Béville rode about 13 miles to Hunt's Tavern, i.e. today's Yorktown Heights, to reconnoitre a possible campsite.

¹⁶⁴ Pension Application Spencer Davis W5261.

c) The Franco-American Encampment, 17 – 23 September 1782

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.¹⁶⁵ From 17 to 23 September 1782, French forces, with Lauzun's Legion nearest the Hudson, occupied the hills along the north side of Crompond Road between Washington Street and Lafayette Avenue. They were from west/Peekskill Bay to the East: Drum Hill overlooking South Street, part of the old Post Road in 1781, Oak Hill, a one-time Continental Army camp and site of the hanging of convicted spy Daniel Strang in 1777, and the Villa Loretto Hills. Baron Clozen recorded that "General Headquarters was established at Peekskill Landing: the ovens for supplying the army were also built there. The administration and hospitals were housed in Peekskill Meeting-house, 2 miles away."¹⁶⁶

As Rochambeau's forces set up camp in Peekskill on 17/18 September, an army review showed this strength:¹⁶⁷

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	27	8	35
Lauzun's Legin	476	80	556
	3,938	1,109	5,047

¹⁶⁵ 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.

¹⁶⁶ Acomb, *Clozen*, p. 241.

¹⁶⁷ These data again based on D. B. Randolph Keim, ed., *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* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 489. The Continental Army was between 5,500 and 6,000 men strong at the time.

Of the absentees 477 were on special assignments and 631 were in the hospital. Since the 700 men ship garrison as well as the 660 men reinforcements had joined Rochambeau at Yorktown, the 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 or Lauzun's Legion made the march to Boston, Rochambeau left Crompond with about 3,700 men.

French officers were appropriately impressed with the American camp. Verger described it in glowing terms: "The whole color-line of the American camp was bordered by a very beautiful arbor, decorated with various designs and coats of arms (which were very well executed) representing the different regiments. The American soldiers do not stack their arms in piles like ours but simply lean them against three posts set up in the form of a scaffold before their tents, which they erect on one line. From there we marched 4 miles to our camp at Peekskill. This was on top of an arid mountain surrounded by wilderness."¹⁶⁸

The unknown author of the *Suite du journal des Campagnes*, most likely Bévillé, also described the review. "On the 20th the French army passed in review before General Washington, who arrived at the French campsite around 11:00 a.m. Once he recognized the approaching group to be Washington and his staff, Bévillé gave orders for the 13-gun salute to begin, "which was completed the moment that he entered the camp. He began the review from the right of the army where the *volontaires étrangères de Lauzun* [Lauzun's Legion] were posted as well as M. de Bévillé and the officers of the army staff. After having passed the line in walking speed, hat in hand and saluting the colonels and superior officers, he was led by M de Bévillé into the rear of the camp along the road from Peekskill to Crompond to betake himself to the right" of the camp.¹⁶⁹

Seawell described the scene as well: "Friday 20. The French army was received by his excellency general Washington, who was saluted on his approach by the discharge of thirteen cannon & by the general and field officers as he passed the line __ they afterwards passed before him in defile, saluting in the same manner. All the general officers with their suites, & commanding officers of brigades in the American army dined with his excellency the count de Rochambeau." The next day, 21 September, Rochambeau returned the favor. Again Captain Seawell:

"The America army was reviewed by general Washington, accompanied by the count de Rochambeau and the other general officers of the French army standing and marching __ the army then closed in one solid column and displayed in line, with an advance & reserve – then changed front to the right by closing two columns, moving them into the new direction & displaying a few more evolutions closed the maneuvering of the day."

Dr. Thacher of the Light Infantry described the scene: "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,

¹⁶⁸ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 165, with descriptions of the American camp.

¹⁶⁹ The ms ends here.

where the count crossed, to head-quarters. A troop of horse met and received him at King's ferry, and conducted him through the line to General Washington's quarters, where, sitting on his horse by the side of his excellency, the whole army marched before him, and paid the usual salute and honors. Our troops were now in complete uniform, and exhibited every mark of soldierly discipline. Count Rochambeau was most highly gratified to perceive the very great improvement, which our army had made in appearance since he last reviewed them, and expressed his astonishment at their rapid progress in military skill and discipline. He said to General Washington, "You have formed an alliance with the King of Prussia. These troops are Prussians." Several of the principal officers of the French army, who have seen troops of different European nations, have bestowed the highest encomiums and applause on our army, and declared that they had seen none superior to the Americans."¹⁷⁰ A series of maps showing these evolutions is preserved in the Sparks manuscripts at Harvard University.¹⁷¹

On 21 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." The French officers "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."¹⁷² The comte de Lauberdière was a bit more critical. "The 21st, General Washington passed his army in review in the same manner on parade in front of his camp. Up to the time of the first junction of the French and the Americans, the latter, for the better appearance of the troops, had not thought that the men ranked by height would produce a better effect in a corps. They were arranged by ranks of seniority. We saw a man who was barely 5 feet tall aside of one who was almost 6, a black with a white, a soldier armed with a saber, another with a musket and other similar disparities. Tactics were not known even though they had won some battles. The campaign of 1781 was generally regarded as a model campaign. We also saw an extraordinary difference in the actual state of the army compared to that which we had left preceding year. The regiments well-dressed, well-armed, well-maintained in every way, would not have been odd in a European army and to this exterior polish, they joined adequate instruction. The total of those present came to about 7000 men who paraded before the

¹⁷⁰ Thatcher, *Journal*, p. 322. See also Verger's description of the review in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 166 and note 154. The "Prussian" influence was in part 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.

¹⁷¹ MS Sparks 158.1, Subseries VII.D: Military maps and plans during the Revolution: Houghton Library, Harvard University. The orders for the various formations are printed in Tallmadge, *Orderly Books XI*, pp. 665-66.

¹⁷² Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 78.

general, after which Mr. the Baron de Steuben, a German officer and Major General in the service of the United States who was named Inspector General, had them drill. He first had them form a closed column and then deployed in two lines. Two regiments lost their place in this deployment. An erroneous command caused this disorder which was soon repaired. He reformed the columns, changed front to the right on the march and deployed again. Much silence, attention were observed during these two maneuvers. They had adequate precision and we could not ask for more from a body composed of three quarters of recruits and commanded by brave officers full of goodwill but who do not know what they command much better than those who execute it.”

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 finally arrived in camp from France with long-awaited orders from court.¹⁷³

Before the two armies parted, Washington had the opportunity to decorate a number of French officers. Lauberdière recorded that Ségur had brought with him a number of crosses of the Order of St. Louis, and Rochambeau asked Washington to do the honors. The American gladly attached the insignia of the military order to chests of the French office.

French troops departed on 24 September “in a single column” for their march to Crompond/Yorktown. Here they remained until 22 October. Rochambeau set up his headquarters with Captain Samuel Delevan on Hallock's Mill Road between Route 202 and Saw Mill River Road.¹⁷⁴ Lauzun's Legion encamped on a hill about 2 to 3 miles to the south near Hanover Farms from where it could watch the Croton River and the crossing at Pines Bridge.¹⁷⁵ From Crompond, Rochambeau's infantry marched to Boston where it embarked on the vessels of Admiral de Vaudreuil and sailed for the West Indies on 24 December. Lauzun's Legion separated from Rochambeau's infantry and re-crossed New Jersey for winter quarters in Wilmington, Delaware, and sailed back to France in May 1783 it. A final transport of 85 soldiers under Captain François Xavier Christophe baron de Hell of Lauzun's Legion sailed from Baltimore on 5 October 1783.

Once the French army has broken camp the Continental Army remained at Verplanck's Point for another month before returning to West Point/New Windsor. Seawell recorded that on “Saturday 26.[October] The left wing of the army decamped & marched to the

¹⁷³ The group had sailed on the *Aigle* and the *Gloire*, which had been pursued into the Delaware Bay by British frigates. The *Gloire* escaped but the *Aigle* was captured by the Royal navy. For a brief account of the affair see Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, pp.79/80.

¹⁷⁴ On where Rochambeau stayed during the month in Crompond see Cortland Pell Auser, "Le Comte at Crompond: October, 1782." *The Westchester Historian* Part 1: Vol. 36 No. 2, (April, May, June, 1960), pp. 39-40, Part 2: Vol. 36 No. 3, (July, August, September 1960), pp. 65-67.

¹⁷⁵ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 243.

vicinity of Nelson's point & lodged in the woods under a heavy rain. (SITE 23) Gen^l Heath & myself crossed to Westpoint & lodged with general Knox. (SITE 18)

Sunday 27. The troops crossed by one o'clock – continued their march over Butter hill and lodged in the woods on the northerly descent of the hill. ___ The right wing & general staff with head quarters decamped & followed us. The baggage of the whole proceeded by water.

Monday 28. The left wing arrived on their hutting ground back of New Windsor & established their camp. (SITE 16) The general (Heath) had quarters provided for him at esq. Belknap's, two miles from Newburgh landing.¹⁷⁶

The Continental Army had entered its last winter quarters of the war and Rochambeau was on his way to say his Good Byes to Washington as well. On 1 December Rochambeau had handed over the command of his forces to the baron de Vioménil in Providence, RI. Accompanied by his son and the comtes de Vauban and de Lauberdière, he set out for Newburgh in a heavy snowfall. He arrived in the Hasbrouk House on 7 December, and after a seven-day stay, Rochambeau pressed on to Philadelphia, where he received the thanks of Congress. (SITE 15) On 14 January 1783, the frigate *Emeraude*, with Rochambeau on board and British frigates in hot pursuit, sailed out of Annapolis for France.

Just as he was about to depart a letter from Washington of 29 December from Newburgh reached Rochambeau. "It is with infinite satisfaction", wrote Washington, that "I embrace the earliest opportunity of sending to Philadelphia the Cannon which Congress were pleased to present to your Excellency in testimony of their Sense of the illustrious part you bore in the capture of the British Army under Lord Cornwallis at York in Virginia. The Carriages will follow by another Conveyance; but as they were not quite ready, I could not resist the pleasure, on that account, of forwarding these Pieces to Your Excellency previous to your departure, in hopes the Inscriptions and Devices as well as the Execution may be agreeable to your Wishes." Rochambeau thanked Washington "In the road of Annapolis. Jan'y 11th 1783" for "having sent to Philadelphia the two pieces of Canon that I might see the inscriptions and Devices previous to my Departure. Tho' I was gone before they arrived there, Give me Leave to observe, Sir, that your usual attention and politeness has shewn itself to the Last moment, of which this is a fresh proof. I write to the Chevalier De La Luzerne to keep them untill peace, when they may be Carried over without danger of being taken."

There is no evidence that the cannon ever reached Rochambeau.

¹⁷⁶ See also Tallmadge's *Orderly Books* XI p. 693, dated "Head Q^{rs} Verplanks Point" on 26 October 1782". On 28 October, the troops received orders to build huts for the winter whereby "regularity Convenience and even some degree of Elegance should be attended to in the Construction of their Hutts." Concurrently the Rhode Island Regiment received orders to deploy to Albany. *Ibid.*, p. 694.

5) Inventory of Sites and Resources

Note: The purpose of this inventory is to list all sites in geographic order as they are encountered traveling down-stream from Albany and to provide information that supplements the material provided in the historical chapters of this report. Footnotes have been kept to a minimum. Unless otherwise noted all translations are mine.

Site 1:

Albany

In 1614, Hendrick Christiaensen built Fort Nassau on Castle Island as a fur-trading post. The first documented European structure in present-day Albany, it was ruined by a flood but rebuilt in 1624 as Fort Orange. Re-named Albany in 1664, the State Legislature met in Albany for the first time in City Hall on the corner of Broadway and Hudson Avenue on 27 January 1780. It convened again in Albany from 17 January to 31 March 1781. Albany became the state capital in 1797. After General John Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in October 1777, the upper Hudson Valley around Albany generally enjoyed peace, though farther west in the Mohawk River Valley and along the frontier the conflict continued as a series of raids and military expeditions in and out of Canada highlighted by the Sullivan Expedition of 1779 and the British retaliatory raids of September and October 1780.

Information on the history of Albany and New York State during the American Revolution and the War of Independence can be found in the New York State Museum, State Library and State Archives at 222 Madison Avenue in Albany.

Site 2:

Philip J. Schuyler Mansion State Historic Site
32 Catherine Street
Albany, NY 12202

Philip Schuyler was a well-known Whig who had represented the Colony of New York in the Continental Congress in 1774, and signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776.¹⁷⁷ Albany, and Schuyler, were repeatedly visited by French officers touring the United States in 1780 and 1781. The most famous visitor was the *chevalier* de Chastellux, who stopped

¹⁷⁷ On 7 August 1781, the Schuyler Mansion was attacked by Tories who attempted to take Schuyler prisoner, but he was prepared for the attack and fought them off from his bedroom. There still is a hatchet mark on the stairway banister that resulted from a thrown tomahawk during the attack.

there in December 1780 and stayed with Schuyler: "A handsome house, halfway up the bank opposite the ferry, seems to attract the eye and to invite strangers to stop at General Schuyler's who is its owner as well as its architect. I had recommendations to him from all quarters, but particularly from General Washington and Mrs. Carter Schuyler's daughter.¹⁷⁸ On shore was the Chevalier de Mauduit,¹⁷⁹ who was waiting for us with the General's sleigh and found ourselves in an instant in a handsome drawing room near a good fire with Mr. Schuyler, his wife and daughter. While we were warming ourselves, dinner was served to which everyone did honor as well as to the Madiera which was excellent and which made us completely forget the rigor of the season and the fatigue of the journey."¹⁸⁰

Sometime in late January or early February 1781, Guillaume-Jacques-Constant Liberge, Comte de Granchain de Sémerville, Intendant of the squadron of Jacques-Melchior Saint-Laurent, *comte* de Barras, stopped in Albany with Philip Schuyler. He was on his way to Saratoga "ou j'ai vu avec le plus grand intérêt le champ dans lequel l'armée de Burgoine posa les armes aux pieds de milices Américaines – where I saw with the greatest interest the field on which the army of Burgoyne laid down the arms at the feet of American militia."¹⁸¹

More information at <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/schuylermansion/details.aspx>

¹⁷⁸ "Mrs Carter" was Philip Schuyler's eldest daughter Angelica (1756-1814), who on 23 June 1777 eloped with John Barker Church (1746-1818) to get married much against her father's wishes. Church lived in the US under the name John Carter. Together with Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743-1804) he was the sole supplier of French forces under Rochambeau in 1780/82.

¹⁷⁹ The "chevalier de Mauduit" was Thomas Antoine de Mauduit du Plessis, aide-major of the artillery. Mauduit Du Plessis had served as a lieutenant colonel in the Continental artillery between 1777 and 1779. He led the successful defense of Fort Red Bank against Hessian Grenadiers under Colonel von Donop on 2 October 1777, and distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. In 1779 he sailed back to France but returned with the comte de Rochambeau's forces in July 1780.

¹⁸⁰ Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782 by the Marquis de Chastellux*. Translated by Howard C. Rice, Jr., 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), vol. 1, p. 157.

¹⁸¹ Grandchain wrote the letter to his mother from Newport, RI, on 3 August 1781. Archives familiales of Capitaine de Vaisseau Guillaume-Jacques-Constant comte de Liberge de Granchain. Call number 764AP, 8.7. [ID] 3) une quarantaine de lettres adressées par le capitaine de vaisseau de Grandchain à sa mère, Madame de LOUÏE (née Marie Anne Émélie de Mauduit de Sémerville, 1716-1796), 1762-1780. Archives nationales - Département des Archives privées, Paris, France. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are mine.

See the letter from Philip Schuyler to Alexander Hamilton of 5 February 1781. "Mr De Grandchain delivered me your favor; he and Colo Wadsworth have had beds here and those attentions which your recommendations will always command." *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 2, 1779–1781, Harold C. Syrett, ed., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), pp. 551–553, p. 551. Hamilton had married Schuyler's daughter Elizabeth on 14 December 1780.

Granchain (1744-1805) is probably the least known of the three allied negotiators of the Articles of Surrender at Yorktown; Colonel John Laurens and the vicomte de Noailles were the other two.

Site 3:

Site of Continental Army Barracks
Eagle, Lancaster, and State Streets
Albany, NY 12202

Albany was a base for Continental Army troops throughout the War of Independence. In his *Albany Chronicles*, Cuyler Reynolds writes under the date of 30 August 1775: “The hospital and barracks up to this time filled wit the Indians attending the conferences” but does not identify the location of the barracks.¹⁸² Their location can be deduced, however, from his entry for 19 September 1789. Reynolds writes that a town committee recommended that a common cemetery be established on “a plat bordering on Eagle, Lancaster and State streets, the site of the burned barracks”.¹⁸³ That puts the barracks across State Street from East Capitol Park, across the Hudson from Rensselaer Riverfront Park.

Site 4:

Patroons Flats
Quay Street south of the Livingston Avenue Bridge
Albany, NY 12202

The “Patroons Flats” on the right/west bank of the Hudson River refers to the flat area along the banks of the Patroon Creek which runs through Albany from Rensselaer Lake to the Hudson; Talmadge’s “upper end of town” refers to the same area along Quay Street south of the Livingston Avenue Bridge.¹⁸⁴ Lower Patroon Island is farther upstream within the Riverfront Preserve between the Hudson River and I-787 on either side of Patroon Island Bridge (I-90). The Mohawk-Hudson Hike Bike Trail runs through the Preserve.

¹⁸² Cuyler Reynolds, *Albany Chronicles. A History of the City arranged Chronologically* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1906) p. 279.

¹⁸³ *Albany Chronicles* p. 374.

¹⁸⁴ In the United States the Dutch term “Patroon” refers to a large landholder with manorial rights. The largest and most successful patroonship was the Manor of Rensselaerswijck, established by the patroon Kiliaen van Rensselaer, which covered almost all of present-day Albany and Rensselaer counties and parts of Columbia and Greene counties in New York State. Patroon Creek Boulevard in Albany is the last remnant of the era.

C. W. Van Ranst, “Some Account of the Bred Horses which have been owned by C. W. Van Ranst, Esq.” *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, vol. 3 no. 2 (October 1831), pp. 49-60, p. 50. Referring to his horse “Potowmack”, Van Ranst writes: “In the fall [1802?] I took him to Albany, and, on the Patroon’s Flats, ran him against Dungannon”.

Site 5:

Claverack Landing

The town of Hudson on the east/left bank of the Hudson River on the southern tip of the Middle Ground Flats and across the river from Athens is the former Claverack Landing and site of the overnight stay of the First Battalion of the Second New York Regiment on 20/21 August. Both the Second Battalion of the Second New York on 23/24 July as well as the Light Infantry Company and 31 July/1 August most likely also stopped there on their way to West Point, but there is no primary source that confirm this.

The exact location of the encampment is unknown.

Across from the Town of Hudson on the west side of the Middle Ground Flats in Athens Murderer's Creek runs into the Hudson River from the west about 30 miles south of Albany just north of Athens across from the Middle Ground Flats and the town of Hudson, while Wappinger Creek flows into the Hudson from the east at New Hamburg, about 55 miles south of Murderers Creek, eight miles north of Beacon and Newburgh, and 45 miles north of Dobbs Ferry.

During the War of Independence boats were built there for use by the Continental Army. On 20 June 1781, Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering asked Colonel Charles Steward, who was at Murderers Creek, to send rum to the boat builders at "Wappings Creek".

On 29 October 1782, orders issued at headquarters in Newburgh stated: "The Q^r M^r Gen^l will have all the flatt boates which now are or Can easily be put in repair secured at some Convenient place in Murdnrs Creek, [...] the remaining boats may be sent to Wappings Creek and be repaired there."¹⁸⁵

Site 6:

Rhinecliff/Rhinebeck, NY 12574

Tallmadge wrote in his *Journal* that in the evening of 21 August, the troops "put up at Ryenbeck Landing".¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books* XI, p. 694.

¹⁸⁶ "Journal of Samuel Tallmadge" in Almon W. Lauber, ed. *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780 and The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783* (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1932), pp. 739-786, p. 758.

“Ryenbeck Landing”, site of the overnight stay of the First Battalion of the Second New York Regiment on 21/22 August is most likely on the site of today’s Rhinecliff about a mile west of the town of Rhinebeck in Dutchess County. It lies directly across the Hudson from the City of Kingston. Rochambeau’s army, and most likely the Continental Army as well, stored supplies there during the war. Both the Second Battalion of the Second New York on 24/25 July as well as the Light Infantry Company on 1/2 August most likely also stopped there on their way to West Point, but there is no primary source to confirm this.

At 5:00 a.m. on 22 August the battalion re-embarked and continued to Poughkeepsie, where it spent the night.

The exact location of the encampment is unknown.

Rhinecliff on the east/left bank of the Hudson, population 425 in 2010, and about 1 mile west of Rhinebeck, is part of Rhinebeck.

Site 7:

Poughkeepsie, NY 12602

Poughkeepsie, site of the overnight stay of the First Battalion of the Second New York Regiment on 22/23 August 1781. Both the Second Battalion of the Second New York on 25/26 July as well as the Light Infantry Company on 2/3 August most likely also stopped there on their way to West Point, but there is no primary source to confirm this.

The exact location of the encampment is unknown.

At Poughkeepsie do not miss the Walkway Over the Hudson State Historic Park at 87 Haviland Road, Highland, NY 12528. Walkway over the Hudson is a pedestrian & bicycle path over the Hudson River on a refurbished former rail corridor.

Site 8:

Clinton House State Historic Site
549 Main Street
Poughkeepsie, NY 12602

The house was built in 1765 and “actively utilized from 1777 - 1783 when Poughkeepsie was the capital of New York State and several branches of state government convened in

town. After a fire in 1783, General George Washington's New Windsor Cantonment ordered carpenters to rebuild this important structure. In addition to repairs, the house was enlarged, and the present stairway was constructed at this time. It is named in tribute to George Clinton, first governor of New York State, who resided in Poughkeepsie for twenty-one years. Today, with the support of the Dutchess County Historical Society, the site houses archives and a library for local historical research.”

Adapted from <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/clintonhouse/details.aspx>

Site 9:

Wappinger Creek
New Hamburg
Poughkeepsie, NY 12590

Wappinger Creek on the left bank of the Hudson was the site of large ship-building activities throughout the War of Independence. Dozens of boats used by Washington’s army in the campaign of 1781 were built there. On 20 June 1781, Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering asked Colonel Charles Steward, who was at Murderers Creek, to send rum to the boat builders at “Wappings Creek”. Steward responded that the rum would be on its way the next day.

That same day 20 June, Captain John Hutchinson Buell “was orderd on Command with a party of Boatmen Majr Darby had the Command, we first went to West Point and sent two Subbord on to Wappings Crick”. On 17 August Buell wrote: “Major Darby was orderd to Wappings Crick after 35 new Boats.”

Site 10:

Gomez Mill House
11 Mill House Road
Marlboro, NY 12542

Built in 1714 by Luis Moses Gomez on the right/west bank of the Hudson River, the Gomez Mill House is “the oldest Jewish dwelling in North America.” During the War of Independence, it was owned by Wolvert Ecker, the namesake grandson of Frederick Philipse's friend Wolfert Ecker immortalized in Washington Irving's story "Wolfert's Roost." Ecker was a prominent patriot. The Mill House at Ecker’s farm was a center for Whig activity. Ecker was Chairman of the Committee of Safety and Observation in Newburgh, a Town Supervisor in the late 1770s, and a Justice of the Peace in Marlboro

from 1778 until his death in 1799. On 1 December 1775 he was commissioned a First Lieutenant in the New Marlborough Company, Southern Regiment of Minutemen.

Site 11:

Mount Gulian Historic Site
145 Sterling Street
Beacon, NY 12508

Mount Gulian is the colonial homestead of the Verplanck, Planck or Ver Plancken family. Sometime between 1633 and 1638, Abraham Isaac Verplanck arrived from Holland in New Netherlands Colony, now New York & New Jersey. Samuel Verplanck became involved with anti-British opposition groups and joined “the Committee of Safety of One-Hundred” in Manhattan, which wanted to take over New York City in the event of rebellion.

During the War for Independence, Verplanck turned Mount Gulian over to the Continental Army because of its strategic location on the Hudson near the Fishkill Barracks and across from Washington’s Headquarters at Newburgh. From late 1782 through the summer of 1783, Mount Gulian was the headquarters of General Friedrich Von Steuben. After the American victory at Yorktown, upon learning of the Treaty of Paris, Von Steuben together with other American officers created at Mount Gulian on 13 May 1783 the Society of the Cincinnati.

Adapted from <http://www.mountgulian.org/history.html>

Site 12:

Fishkill Landing/Scenic Hudson’s Long Dock Park
23 Long Dock Road
Beacon, NY 12508

Beacon on the left bank of the Hudson became a city when the 17th-century villages of Matteawan and Fishkill Landing were united in 1913. The name was inspired by the fires that blazed atop Mount Beacon during the American Revolution to warn Washington of British troop movements.

Throughout the War of Independence, Fishkill Landing functioned as the point of arrival and departure for men and material going to Fishkill and beyond. In 1781, hundreds of boat builders, waggoners and artificers worked in Fishkill Landing. A “Return of Provisions and Stores on hand and the number of Rations Issued daily on an Average for the

preceeding Week at West Point, Posts, and Brigades in its Vicinity” in the Charles Stewart papers dated 17 June 1781 indicates that “John Else” at Fishkill Landing required “327 Rations daily”. He needed

17 barrels flour
33 barrels pork
1 barrel soap
15 barrels beef
7 hogshead salt

That same day Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering informed Colonel Stewart that the boat builders and artificers at Fishkill and Fishkill Landing had stopped work because there were no provisions for them.

On the way from Albany to West Point, Moses Hazen’s regiment on 9 July 1781 disembarked most of the women and children of the regiment at “Newburgh”, most likely however at Fishkill Landing, and sent them to Fishkill for quarters.

In December 1782, the comte de Lauberdière estimated that “There are about ten houses at Fish Kill Landing.”

Site 13:

Van Wyck Homestead Museum
504 U.S. 9
Fishkill, NY 12524

The American Supply depot at Fishkill, approx. 6.5 miles from Fishkill Landing, created by the Provincial Congress of New York on 14 August 1776 as a place to quarter troops, store provisions, and establish hospitals, quickly developed into the largest Continental Army Supply Depot for the Mid-Atlantic and New England States, and one of three major Continental Army encampments along with Valley Forge and Morristown. At its peak, the encampment, built under orders from General George Washington issued in November 1776, was a military city covering some 70 acres with extensive barracks and officer huts for some 2,500 soldiers, a guard house, palisade, prison, major hospital, artillery placements, storage buildings, armory, blacksmith shops, stables, parade grounds, and a powder magazine. To put these numbers in perspective: the population at the depot and that of nearby Fishkill was almost that of Albany, the capital and second largest city in the state, which also numbered fewer than 3,000 inhabitants.

Clustered around the still-standing Isaac Van Wyck Homestead (owned and maintained by the Fishkill Historical Society and used during the war by General Israel Putnam as his headquarters), Fishkill became the place where many of the supplies that kept Continental soldiers in the field were collected, manufactured, repaired and distributed, where British soldiers were imprisoned and Continentals received medical care, where Revolutionary War soldiers served and all too often died and were buried. An archaeological examination conducted in 2007 with ground penetrating radar disclosed and confirmed the existence of over 300 unmarked graves of soldiers, making this the largest known and undisturbed Revolutionary War cemetery in the United States with potentially 700 and more gravesites. So far 85 Continental Army soldiers and officers from ten states as well as Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment and the German Regiment have been identified as being buried there. At least one French soldier is buried there as well.

For more information see <http://www.fishkillhistoricalsociety.org/> or <https://fishkillsupplydepot.org/depot.html>

A letter in the Colonel Charles Stewart Papers of 20 June 1781 reports that 615 rations were issued daily in Fishkill, both to sick soldiers as well as to the 88 artificers and around 43 waggoners, fatigue men and express riders and their families. A postscript to the letter reminds Stewart that besides the personnel in Fishkill proper, about 430 troops on the lines, 300 at Kings Ferry, and a detachment of the Rhode Island Regiment were dependent on provisions distributed at Fishkill. The previous evening 30 beef cattle had arrived from New Hampshire, a journey of over 200 miles that probably took two weeks to complete.

Though located northwest of West Point and Newburgh, the area was not safe from Loyalist raids. On Friday, 25 June 1781, between 8:00 pm and 9:00 pm, armed men, believed to be some of James de Lancey's Loyalists, burst open the door of Garret Storm's house in Hopewell Junction (population 376 in the 2010 census), a hamlet about seven miles north-east of Fishkill, eight miles east of New Hamburg but 60 miles north of de Lancey's headquarters in Morrisania. They demanded Storm's hard cash. The blind old man did not comply with their demands, so the men put a rope around his neck and hanged him. The rope broke and Storm fell to the floor. One of the men took his knife and cut a gash in Storm's throat. The rope, still around Storm's neck, prevented the wound from being mortal. At this point a Black slave escaped out of the house and alarmed a guard in the neighborhood. When the guard went to Mr. Storm's rescue the raiders fled, taking with them about 14 pounds hard cash, a silver bowl, some silver spoons, and several other articles.¹⁸⁷ Epye Schouten, the female slave who alerted the neighbors and is said to have

¹⁸⁷ Norman Desmarais, *The Guide to the American Revolutionary War in New York: Battles, Raids, and Skirmishes*. (Busca Inc. 2010), pp. 79/80. Based on research done by Judy Wolf.

saved his life by untying the rope, is thought to be buried in the Storm family's slave cemetery Pilgrim's Rest Cemetery on Beekman Road west of Clove Branch Road in Hopewell Junction. There is a historic marker to commemorate the slaves buried there.

Site 14:

Newburgh, NY 12550

On 7 July, Moses Hazen's Regiment had been embarked and was on its way to West Point. As it approached Newburgh, Regimental Orders issued on board the *Tryon* on 9 July declared that women "belonging to Col: Hazens Regiment will disembark at New Burgh they are embarrassed with Young Children or abide by they Consequences mentioned in his Excellen^y Orders the Q^r Master will provide them a Waggon to Transport them to Fish Kill where proper Steps will be taken to provide for them."

Site 15:

Washington Headquarters State Historic Site

84 Liberty Street

Newburgh, NY 12551

The Hasbrouck House was Washington's headquarters during the last phase of the Revolutionary War. Washington moved in on 1 April 1782, to wait for the outcome peace negotiations in Paris. Rochambeau said his farewells to George and Martha Washington here in December 1782. The comte de Lauberdière wrote that Washington "embraced us all in a mournful silence, even though this custom is unknown between men in America as in England! This scene was touching for everyone and we can understand their reasons, on the part of the Americans especially when we think of the state in which we found their affairs and that in which we put them.... Mr. Washington and Mr. de Rochambeau embraced each other once more!!! And we soon lost sight of each other."

He had never met Martha Washington, and when he finally met her in December 1782 he was not impressed: "Mistress Washington, who spent every winter with the general wherever he made his quarters since the beginning of the war, had arrived at this one eight days ago. She is not young nor very pretty and does not seem to respond to the grandeur of her husband in everything but she was very rich and this reason which always prevails and which conceals so many other defects made the general decide to marry her. In addition, it is very meritorious on her part to deprive herself of all the comforts and pleasures which she could experience in Virginia at Mount Vernon."

Site 16:

New Windsor Cantonment State Historic Site
374 Temple Hill Road
New Windsor, NY 12553

New Windsor Cantonment State Historic Site is where the Continental Army under General George Washington spent the last winter and spring of the war. In October 1782, Washington moved his northern army to New Windsor to establish winter quarters. Some 7,500 soldiers and 500 women and children civilian refugees encamped here. By late December 1782, they had erected nearly 600 log huts into a "cantonment," a military enclave. It was at the New Windsor Cantonment that the cease fire orders were issued by Washington ending the eight-year War of Independence on April 19, 1783.

Adapted from <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/newwindsor/details.aspx>

Dr. James Thacher recorded that on "At reveille on the 26th instant (October 1782), the left wing of our army, under the command of General Heath, decamped from Verplank's point and marched to the highlands; took our lodging in the woods, without covering, and were exposed to heavy rain during a night and day. Thence we crossed the Hudson to West Point, and marched over the mountain called Butter hill; passed the night in the open field and the next day reached the ground where we are to erect log huts for our winter-quarters, near New Windsor."

When Rochambeau and Lauberdière visited the encampment on 8 December 1782 with Washington "Part of his troops were still under their tents; the other had entered their barracks which we visited."

New Windsor Cantonment State Historic Site is also home to the National Purple Heart Hall of Honor.

Site 17:

National Purple Heart Hall of Honor
374 Temple Hill Road (NY 300)
New Windsor, NY 12553

The Continental Congress had forbidden General George Washington from granting commissions and promotions in rank to recognize merit. Yet Washington wanted to honor

merit, particularly among the enlisted soldiers. On 7 August 1782, his general orders established the Badge of Military Merit:

"... The General ever desirous to cherish virtuous ambition in his soldiers, as well as to foster and encourage every species of Military merit directs whenever any singularly meritorious action is performed, the author of it shall be permitted to wear on his facings, over his left breast, the figure of a heart in purple cloth or silk edged with narrow lace or binding."

To honor the service of his troops, General Washington chose a select few to receive a small purple cloth Badge of Merit. At the present time there are three known recipients of the Badge of Military Merit: Sergeant Elijah Churchill, 2nd Continental Dragoons; Sergeant William Brown, 5th Connecticut Continental Line Infantry and Sergeant Daniel Bissel, 2nd Connecticut Continental Line Infantry.

The National Purple Heart Hall of Honor is dedicated to preserving the stories of Purple Heart recipients from all branches of service and across generations.

Adapted from <https://www.thepurpleheart.com/history/>

Site 18:

(Henry) Knox's Headquarters State Historic Site
289 Forge Hill Road
Vails Gate, NY 12584

On several occasions during the Revolutionary War, Major General Henry Knox, Commander of the American artillery, established his military headquarters at John Ellison's 1754 Georgian-style house in Vails Gate. From October 1782 until the spring of 1783, as 7,000 soldiers and 500 "camp followers" were establishing winter quarters at the New Windsor Cantonment, and General Washington was lodged at Jonathan Hasbrouck's house in Newburgh, New York, Major General Horatio Gates occupied the elegant home from which he commanded the cantonment. Here the army awaited the end of the Revolutionary War that became effective when Washington issued the cease fire orders on April 19, 1783.

Adapted from <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/knoxheadquarters/details.aspx>

Just south of Knox Headquarters and Cornwall on Hudson is Storm King State Park, which "offers unsurpassed views of the Catskills and the Hudson Valley. Hikers and hunters

enjoy this undisturbed green space. Park is undeveloped. There are no toilets and limited parking.” Quoted from <https://parks.ny.gov/parks/stormking/maps.aspx>

Across the river upstream from Cold Spring is Hudson Highlands State Park Preserve, which “encompasses the region’s most spectacular and popular trails. [...] The area was strategically important during the Revolutionary War, resulting in fortifications on both sides of the river, and provided the backdrop for several key events from that era. Trails in this park often include steep climbs and panoramic views of the Hudson River.”

Adapted from <https://www.nynjtc.org/park/hudson-highlands-state-park>

Site 19:

Constitution Island
Cold Spring, NY 10516

Constitution Island South of Philipstown off Route 9D is the only part of the U.S. Military Academy Reservation on the east side of the Hudson River. It has been administered by the West Point Museum ever since 1909.

The island was first known to Europeans as “Martelaer’s Rock,” possibly after a French family named Martelaire, believed to have lived there for a short time around 1720. Constitution Island was part of the original land grant made by the British Crown to the Philipse family in 1754 and it remained in their possession until 1836.

During the Revolutionary War, the island was named Constitution Island by the American colonists who were fighting for their rights under the British Constitution. The Continental Congress, believing that the Hudson River should be fortified against the British, appointed George Washington in May 1775 to make plans for setting up defenses in this area. The Constitution Island fortifications, Redoubts 5, 6 and 7, were begun in 1775 under the direction of Bernard Romans. In April of 1778, the great chain of forged iron links, supported by huge floating logs, was stretched across the Hudson River from West Point to Constitution Island. Joseph Plumb Martin wrote about his experiences on Constitution Island in his “Private Yankee Doodle.”

Quoted and/or adapted from <https://www.constitutionisland.org/history> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_Island

The comte de Lauberdière wrote: “Constitution Island is at the angle where the course [of the Hudson River] changes. A very strong chain stretches from West Point to

Constitution Island. It is supported at various distances by large beams which block the whole width of the river in such a way that an enemy vessel wanting to cross would necessarily be stopped because it is forced to turn at the point where the river forms a detour and its course changes and decreases. After the turn, it no longer has the strength nor the weight to make any effect on the chain. Moreover the crossing would be attempted only at great risk. Constitution Island is well fortified and supplied with cannons and the rock of West Point is steep and defended by good and plunging batteries.”

Site 20:

United States Military Academy
606 Thayer Road
West Point, NY 10996

For the history of West Point see <https://www.westpoint.edu/about/history-of-west-point>

French officers visited West Point whenever they had an opportunity and their description provide images and aspects often not covered in American accounts, e.g. Christian de Deux-Ponts visited West Point on 13 January 1781, the duc de Lauzun and comte Axel von Fersen were there on 12 February, the comte de St. Maisme of Soissonnois Regiment was there on 16 February and Quarter-Master General de Béville arrived at New Windsor from Newport on 24 April examining the roads for the upcoming campaign. On 26 April Washington gave him a tour of West Point. A description of the American hospital in West Point as seen by Blanchard on 20 August 1781 can be found in his Journal.

Accompanied by Washington and two of his aides, e.g., the comte de Lauberdière and the comte de Vauban, Rochambeau left Peekskill by boat around 8:00 a.m. on the 23rd for a one-day visit to the fortress which would become the USMA in 1802.

Lauberdière’s as yet un-published description of the visit is quoted here *in extenso*.¹⁸⁸ Riding along the left bank of the river, Lauberdière marveled that “Nothing is finer, more majestic, more stunning to see than the course of the North or Hudson River. It gets its

¹⁸⁸ Norman Desmarais has prepared a translation of Lauberdière’s journal under the title *The French Campaigns in the American Revolution, 1780-1783: The Diary of Count of Lauberdière, General Rochambeau’s Nephew and Aide-de-camp*, scheduled to be published by Savas Beatie in October 2020. I am grateful to Dr. Desmarais for sending me a draft of his translation which serves as the basis for the quotes used here. On Lauberdière see also my "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, and "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.

name from the point on the horizon where its source begins. It made its bed among steep rocks [Palisades] whose peak is only covered by a bit of foliage and very high hills. Going up river a few miles from Peekskill, there is a large half-height called Anthony's nose. [...] We see a very high one called Sugarloaf [translation from the French] on the left bank. It effectively forms a scarp. Mr. Washington who made us observe the uniqueness, which nature was pleased to accumulate and to vary in this area, did not forget to show us the house of Mister Robertson where he was to breakfast with Arnold the day of his treason, the landing where the traitor embarked to escape just punishment for his infamous action. [...] We travelled 4 more miles and arrived at West Point. We found Major General [Alexander] McDougall, commander of this important post. He was on the riverbank with his principal garrison officers to receive our generals who were saluted with 13 cannon shots. [Sections describing the forts &c. are quoted at the appropriate sites]

After having seen everything in this area which might interest us as soldiers and as site-seers, we re-embarked to go down river and go to Kingsferry. Our general received a 13-gun salute from the artillery. Mr. Washington had ordered that the guns be pointed to the side where the mountains would echo the sound. The echoes repeated each cannon shot 100 times. We were in the middle of the river. A somber glance and, all of a sudden, majestic and unique to the area, along with the sonorous music which accompanied our departure, produced an indescribable effect on us."

On the left bank of the Hudson on Bear Mountain-Beacon Highway (9D) just across Bear Mountain Bridge is the Anthony's Nose Trailhead for the Appalachian Trail. Anthony's Nose Overlook Peak with its magnificent view of the Hudson River Valley can be accessed via a footpath from US-202.

Site 21:

West Point Museum
2110 New South Post,
West Point, NY 10996

"The mission of the West Point Museum is to collect, preserve, exhibit, and interpret historically significant artifacts pertaining to the United States Military Academy, United States Army and the Profession of Arms. The Museum will supplement cadet academic, cultural and military instruction and provide educational programs and services for military and civilian personnel. As a public institution, the museum stimulates interest in the United States Military Academy, the United States Army and the Military profession. In addition to the Main Museum building in Olmsted Hall, the Museum also administers Fort Putnam which it operates seasonally. The Museum also maintains part its collection on

display on Post with the Cannon collection on Trophy Point, The Superintendent Portrait in the Cadet mess and Artwork in many of the academic and administrative buildings.”

For more information and a link to a pdf on the history of the West Point Museum see <https://history.army.mil/museums/IMCOM/westPoint/index.html>

Site 22:

Fort Putnam

“Fortress West Point's largest military fortification. Fort Putnam, which overlooks USMA and is situated northeast of Michie Stadium 500 feet above sea level, was the best position to fortify against infantry assault and helped to effectively block British travel on the Hudson during the Revolutionary War. A complete refurbishment of the fort occurred during the nation's Revolutionary War Bicentennial.”

Quoted from <https://dmna.ny.gov/forts/fortsM P/putnamFort.htm> . Additional information can be found at <http://www.usma.army.mil/tour/>

Lauberdier wrote: “Above West Point and on the summit of a steep rock, they constructed Fort Putnam. It is very large and is the only work at West Point which is covered in masonry.”

Site 23:

Garrison, NY 10524

Garrison is a hamlet in Putnam County, New York, United States. It is part of the town of Philipstown, on the east side of the Hudson River, across from the United States Military Academy at West Point. Garrison's Landing was named after 2nd Lieutenant Isaac Garrison who conducted a ferry service across the Hudson River between the West Point and Garrison's Landing. Isaac and his son Beverly Garrison fought in the Battle of Fort Montgomery in 1777, (SITE 25) were captured by the British and later set free. Garrison Landing Historic District, or Garrison's Landing, recalls that history

Adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garrison,_New_York

Between 21 and 23 June 1781, the Continental Army crossed over from West Point to a location north a Garrison and just south of Philips Brook where today's Eagles Rest Road

reached the Hudson River and marched from there to its encampment in Peekskill. It crossed there again in August 1782.

The term "Nelson's Point" after is also frequently used to denote the landing in Garrison. "Nelson Ferry" was conducted by Caleb Nelson during and after the Revolutionary War, and the main point of crossing the Hudson to and from West Point.

Site 24:

Beverly Robinson House Site
832 NY-9D
Garrison, NY 10524

"Robinson's House" or "Robinson's Farm" was the home of wealthy Loyalist Beverly Robinson situated 1.5 miles south of Garrison on Route 9D on the east side of the Hudson. It had been Arnold's headquarters in late September 1780, and he fled from this house to the *Vulture* anchored in the Hudson. In mid-March 1777 Robinson raised the Loyal American Regiment in the service of the Crown. The house burnt down in 1892, but a historic marker at 832 NY-9D identifies the site.

Nathan Jacques was "carried to the hospital at Robinson's farm, in the Highlands, and thence removed in the fall to New Windsor. He was wounded on the 3d July, 1784 [should read 1781], and was not fit for duty till Christmas following, when he joined the regiment at Philadelphia."

The main land route to West Point ran along the left bank of the Hudson past the Robinson House to Garrison/Nelson's Point. Marching along the banks of the Hudson it is about eight miles from the Van Cortlandt House Museum to Morris' home in Morrisania, 12 miles to Ridge Road in Hartsdale and Rochambeau's headquarters in the Odell House, 24 miles to Van Cortlandt Manor at 525 South Riverside Avenue in Croton-On-Hudson, and about 40 miles to the Beverly Robinson House.

Site 25:

Fort Montgomery State Historic Site
690 Route 9W
Fort Montgomery, NY 10922

Fort Montgomery on the west side of the Hudson was the scene of a fierce battle for control of the Hudson River. On 6 October 1777, British, Loyalist and Hessian forces

attacked Fort Montgomery and nearby Fort Clinton. The defending Americans, outnumbered 3 to 1, fought desperately until driven out of their forts at the points of the enemy bayonets. More than half of the Patriot forces were killed, wounded or captured.

Adapted from <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/fortmontgomery/details.aspx>

Chaplain Dr. Timothy Dwight visited Forts Clinton and Montgomery with a group of officers some six months later in the spring of 1778. The “first object that met our eyes, after we left our barge and ascended the bank, was the remains of a fire kindled by the cottagers of this solitude, for the purpose of consuming the bones of some of the Americans who had fallen at this place, and had been left unburied. Some of those bones were lying partially consumed round the spot where the fire had been kindled; and some had evidently been converted into ashes. As we went onward, we were distressed by the odor of decayed human bodies. To me this was a novelty, and more overwhelming and dispiriting than I am able to describe. As we were attempting to discover the source from which it proceeded, we found, at a small distance from Fort Montgomery, a pond of moderate size, in which we saw the bodies of several men, who had been killed in the assault upon the fort. They were thrown into this pond, the preceding autumn, by the British, when probably the water was sufficiently deep to cover them. Some of them were covered at this time, but a depth so small, as to leave them distinctly visible. Others had an arm, a leg, and a part of the body above the surface. The clothes, which they wore when they were killed, were still on them; and proved that they were militia, being the ordinary dress of farmers. Their faces were bloated and monstrous; and their postures were uncouth, distorted, and in the highest degree afflictive.” Some of them were still floating in the lake at least 15 years later.¹⁸⁹

The comte de Lauberdière wrote: “going up river we discover the ruins of Fort Montgomery, dear to the Americans and which General Clinton captured in the month of October 1777. It was built at the mouth of a small creek into which it extended a bit to communicate with Fort Clinton on the other side of the creek. They were both captured by assault and it was after this loss that the Americans began the first earthworks at West Point to prevent the British from advancing any further and to secure free communication between the northern and the southern towns. Fort Montgomery had a very long vista. The Americans, who now dominate the river, have only a very weak guard with one fieldpiece to warn about what is happening on the river which is more than one league wide at this

¹⁸⁹ Quoted in Wade P. Catts and Robert A. Selig, “In the Morning We Began to Strip and Bury the Dead:” A Context for Burial Practices During the American War for Independence” in: *Conference Proceedings. Fields of Conflict. 10th Biennial International Conference 26-30 September 2018*. 5 vols. (Mashantucket, CT: Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, 2019) vol. 3, pp. 78-92, p. 85. <http://pequotwar.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Volume-3-FOC-2018.pdf>

place. It is very well-directed and its course often winding because of the mountains above and a few miles from Fort Montgomery.”

Site 26:

Fort Clinton

Tomkins Cove, NY 10986

Fort Clinton downstream from West Point on the west bank of the Hudson River was originally known as Fort Arnold after Benedict Arnold. After his defection to the British Army, the fortification was renamed after General James Clinton. Construction of the fort was begun under Captain Louis de la Radiere and completed under Colonel Tadeusz Kościuszko between 1778–1780; it was the key defensive fortification, overlooking the turn in the Hudson River and the Great Chain.

In 1778, Major General Israel Putnam wrote, "The place agreed upon to obstruct the navigation of Hudson river was at West Point." "As the governor's brother, Colonel James Clinton, and his brigade would build the main fort, it was to be named after him." After the war, the remains of the fort fell into disrepair and were eventually demolished to make way for the expansion of the United States Military Academy, founded at the garrison in 1802. Today, all that remains of Fort Clinton are some earthworks and stone base structures, off of Thayer Road as it rounds the plain and the soccer fields at West Point.

Adapted from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Clinton_\(West_Point\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Clinton_(West_Point))

Fort Clinton was also captured in October 1777. Johann Christoph Doehlemann of the Grenadier Company of the Ansbach Regiment wrote on 7 October 1777, following the capture of the fort: “Now the wounded were collected from the abatis and brought into the barracks for hours. Our dead were buried the next day, the Rebels were thrown in the water with a rock tied around their neck in proportion to their weight.”¹⁹⁰ The American dead were not thrown into the “Hessian Lake” in Bear Mountain State Park but rather what is now a marshy ground north of Popolopen Creek.

The comte de Lauberdière wrote: “The main fort at West Point is called Fort Clinton. It is situated at the extremity of the point and its fire would be equally good against a vessel going upstream or after it turned. It was constructed in 1778 after the capture of Fort

¹⁹⁰ “Diary of Johann Christoph Doehlemann, Grenadier Company, Ansbach Regiment, March 1777 to September 1778”, transcribed by Karl Walther, translated by Henry J. Retzer. *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* Volume 11 (2008), pp. 11-17, p. 14.

Montgomery. The Americans first called it Fort Arnold. It was then very extended and required many men to defend it. Since then, the French engineer Mr. Duportail reduced it to what it is now and gave it the name of Fort Clinton. There are good casemates inside to enclose the garrison. It is very fresh and has good moats around it. On the parapet, there are some very tight palisades which rise and fall at will, the pivot of which is on the side of the scarp. They are left down when the enemy is far away. The cannon is out of range. We raise it if there is an attack, which raises it six more feet and allows time to fire many musket shots, to launch bayonets; the [floor] is covered with boards.”

Site 27:

Bear Mountain State Park
3006 Seven Lakes Drive
Bear Mountain, NY 10911

Bear Mountain State Park is situated in rugged mountains rising from the west bank of the Hudson River. The park features a large play field, shaded picnic groves, lake and river fishing access, a swimming pool, [Trailside Museums and Zoo](#), hiking, biking and cross-country ski trails. An outdoor rink is open to ice skaters from late October through mid-March. The Perkins Memorial Tower atop Bear Mountain affords spectacular views of the park, the Hudson Highlands and Harriman State Park. Perkins Memorial Drive and Tower are open from April through late November, weather permitting.

For more information see <https://parks.ny.gov/parks/13/details.aspx> , for a brief overview of the park’s history see here <https://visitbearmountain.com/about-us/history/>

Site 28:

Old St. Peter’s Church
Old Hillside Cemetery at Locust Ave and Oregon Road
Cortlandt, NY 10567 (about three miles from Peekskill Landing Park)

During the war of Independence, Old St. Peter’s Church served as a hospital to American and French forces. A commemorative grey Vermont granite marker unveiled 3 July 1999 at the entrance to the church bears the names of seven French soldiers buried there.

|| WE REMEMBER || THESE FRENCH SOLDIERS WHO GAVE || THEIR LIVES FOR OUR
INDEPENDENCE || IN OUR OLD ST. PETER'S BUILDING || YEARS 1781 - 1782 || Lieutenant
de Mauvis || Jean Bonnair || Jean Joseph Paquay || Alexis Labrue || Joseph Duguin || Georges
Mochl || Claude-Pierre Dumageot || Philippe Mortagne ||

Site 29:

Peekskill, NY 10566

The Continental Army camp in June 1781 was situated along the south side of South Street and Crompond Road (NYSR 202) and east of Washington Street. From 23 June onwards, the Continental Army occupied (from West/Peekskill Bay to East) Drum Hill overlooking South Street, Oak Hill, site of the hanging of convicted spy Daniel Strang in 1777, and location of Peekskill High School, and the Villa Loretto Hills along Crompond Road. Washington joined his army in Peekskill, a tiny community of “five or eight houses” on 25 June. The comte de Lauberdière wrote that “Peekskill could contain some 30 houses. ... The Americans always had large warehouses at Peekskill. We established a hospital and a depot there for everything which we left along the route since leaving Providence.” Baron Cloisen wrote that it was at “Peekskill, where we had our magazine and principal food depot, while we were encamped in Philipsburg. “

On 31 August 1782, the Continental Army marched from its Newburgh encampment to Peekskill, “his right extending from the fort of Verplanck’s Point or Fort Lafayette. He detached his light infantry 3 miles ahead on the road from Tariton to King’s ferry.”

Peekskill served as a supply depot for the Continental Army as well. On 8 August 1781, Deputy Commissary General of Issues Nathaniel Stevens informed Colonel Stewart from Peekskill that he had 401 beef cattle on hand and already sent 50 to West Point and 15 to the New Jersey line that morning. On 28 August he told Stewart that “I have received four orders from the French Intendant, by Esqr Pye, for the delivery of what flour they have at Albany, Rhinebeck, (SITE 6) Kings=Ferry and Peeks Kill, and have rec^d in consequence of the last mentioned three Hundred and thirteen Barrels, which appears to be in good order, Also fifty Barrels from Esqr Pye, that was delivered him by the French at Kings Ferry.

Mr Foote is now Crossing the Cattle at Kings Ferry, where he has been detained with about Two Hundred and fifty head since you Crossed, he says by his Excellencys orders /by his giving preference to The Soldiary, Artillery, and Baggage of the French, and american Armys going over/ we have at Crumpond about the same Number of Cattle, part of which would have been forwarded, agreeable to your directions, had Mr Foote got over Seasonably with the others. Our Issues are still large, amounting to 10,765 daily Rations.”

Concurrently Nathaniel Stevens wrote to Colonel Stewart from Peekskill that the French supply depots at Albany, Rhinebeck, Kings Ferry, and Peekskill are opened for American use, Ebenezer Foote with some cattle has been ordered by General Washington to remain on the east side of the Hudson River with the French Army.

In September 1782, the French army encamped on the same site the Continental Army had used in June 1781, i.e. from West/Peekskill Bay to East on Drum Hill overlooking South Street, Oak Hill, site of the hanging of convicted spy Daniel Strang in 1777, and location of Peekskill High School, and the Villa Loretto Hills along Crompond Road.

Maps of the French campsites are available on-line for the 1781 encampment on the website of Princeton University and for the 1782 encampment on the website of the Library of Congress.

Site 30:

Daniel Birdsall House
317 North Broad Street
Peekskill, NY 10566

Daniel Birdsall was one of the founders of Peekskill (1764). Located on Main Street, the house doubled as an inn for such luminaries as Washington, who occasionally used it as his headquarters. On 29 June 1781, Commissary Blanchard, sent ahead by Rochambeau to prepare for the arrival of his troops and to establish a hospital there, had had dinner with Washington in the Birdsall House. A few days later, Washington changed his plans and ordered the French forces to Philipsburg.¹⁹¹ The original building was torn down on 6 June 1853 and only partially rebuilt at the current site. The Birdsall House Plaque near the corner of North Division Street and Main Street.

NEAR THIS SPOT DURING || THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR STOOD || THE BIRDSALL HOUSE
|| A POPULAR HOSTELRY PATRONIZED BY || GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON || ON HIS
FREQUENT VISITS TO PEEKSKILL || AND VICINITY AS COMMANDER * IN * CHIEF OF ||
THE CONTINENTAL ARMY || ERECTED BY THE FRIENDLY TOWN ASSOCIATION || 1931 ||

Site 31:

Verplanck's Point on east side of Hudson
Verplanck, NY 10596

Verplanck's Point was the eastern terminus of King's Ferry in Verplanck. Historic markers at the end of Broadway and Riverview Avenue at the riverbank commemorate the

¹⁹¹ See Charles E. Winslow, "Washington at the Birdsall House." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 4, (October 1932), pp. 159-161. rd's account of his dinner with Washington see Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 115-117.

crossings of 1781 and 1782. Verplanck's Point was used as a holding area for cattle for the armies but on 3 July 1781, Ebenezer Foote wrote to Colonel Stewart that Verplanks Point provided only a poor pasture, having no fence and only a small guard and requested at least one day's notice before the army moved so that he could collect the animals.

Site 32:

Fort Lafayette
Verplanck, NY 10596

Fort Lafayette was built across from Stony Point on Riverview northwest of the intersection with Broadway to protect King's Ferry, one of the most important crossing points on the Hudson River.

A historic marker at the site reads:

|| FORT LAFAYETTE || WAS LOCATED ON THE HILLTOP || TO PROTECT THE KINGS
FERRY. || ON JUNE 1ST 1779 THE FORT || SURRENDERED TO OVERWHELMING || BRITISH
LAND AND NAVAL FORCES || CORTLANDT HISTORICAL || SOCIETY 1999 ||

When Baron Cloisen visited the site in August 1781, he wrote:

"The crossing of the North River at King's Ferry is protected by two forts, one of which, on the right bank, was named Stony Point, and the other, on the left bank, Verplank's Point. The latter is notable for the peculiarity of the defenses that M. de Gouvion constructed there (This fort has since been renamed Fort Lafayette.) The ditch is within the parapet, which has fraises on top and steep slopes on two sides; the soldiers' quarters are below these fraises. In the center there is a wooden reduct, in the form of a square tower, called block house; this reduct is crenellated all around and commands the parapet. In place of a covered way, a row of abattis has been constructed with pointed and interlacing tops of trees, which prevent any approach around its circumference. It would be impossible to capture this fort without cannon.

Site 33:

King's Ferry

King's Ferry connected Verplanck's Point on the East side of the Hudson River with Stony Point on the West side. During most the War of Independence this was the southernmost point for Continental Army forces to cross the Hudson safe from British forces in New

York City.¹⁹² Surviving pension applications by ferrymen allow for the reconstruction of the organization and set-up of the ferry in 1780/81. Abraham Hitchcock deposed in his pension application that he enlisted as a 15-year-old in May 1780 and was attached to the Quartermaster Department under Colonel Hugh Hughes at King's Ferry. In an affidavit to Hitchcock's application, Benjamin Acker stated that "the ferry was established and kept up by the Continental Government for the purpose of conveying and reconveying the American Army across the Hudson River at that place – that being a military post, and there being a fort at that place [and they] were under the Command of of [sic] the Commanding officer of said fort and received pay and drew rations and clothing from government and belonged to the quarter master department".¹⁹³ Put differently, the crossing was militarily organized, permanent, and run by the quartermaster department of the Continental Army. Individual soldiers could be, and were, ordered to ferry duty, which occasionally caused problems when they filed for a pension under the laws of 1818 and/or 1832.

From March 1780 to March 1782, Godfrey¹⁹⁴ and his brother Henry Christian Vought¹⁹⁵ also served as ferrymen at King's Ferry. Both had enlisted in the spring of 1780 in the company of Captain Jonathan Knapp, who "was Captain of the boats at Stony Point and had command of Six boats, belonging to government, each boat being manned by six men in all thirty Six Men, and that they conveyed the army back and forth as also the property belonging to government, and that this deponent was on board one of the said boats at the time Major Andre was taken across the river, and in the same boat with him".¹⁹⁶ Like Acker, the Vought brothers had been detached to ferry service. In 1832, Godfrey Vought remembered in his pension application that "Shortly after his enlistment this declarant was ordered into service on board of the Boats at Kings Ferry so called at Stony and Verplanks Points on Hudson River called "Continental Boats" and the service was that of transporting

¹⁹² See the article by Michael J. F. Sheehan, "Top 10 Events at King's Ferry." *Journal of the American Revolution* 24 August 2015, available at <https://allthingsliberty.com/2015/08/top-10-events-at-kings-ferry/> as well as Jeff Canning, "March to Victory: the 1781 Crossing at King's Ferry" at <https://patch.com/new-york/peekskill/march-to-victory-the-1781-crossing-at-kings-ferry> (7 October 2011), and his "Journey Back: the 1782 Crossing at King's Ferry. French troops spent a month in Cortlandt and Yorktown upon return from decisive Revolutionary War victory over the British in Virginia." at <https://patch.com/new-york/peekskill/journey-back-the-1782-crossing-at-king-s-ferry> (21 October 2011).

¹⁹³ Pension Application Abraham Hitchcock S16154. Hitchcock was born in 1765. He re-enlisted in for a year in May 1781 and again in May 1782.

¹⁹⁴ Pension Application Godfrey Vought S 23051.

¹⁹⁵ Pension Application Henry Christian Vought S 46078.

¹⁹⁶ Affidavit by William Vanwart to the pension application of Jonathan Knapp's widow Mary, née Odell W15921. In his own pension application S 46650, van Wart deposed "that in the Spring of 1780 he again enlisted in the continental Service in Captain Jonathan Knap's Company for a year for the purpose of guarding and tending the boats on King's Ferry on the North River and continued in that service for more than a year". Acker also claimed to have been on the boat carrying André.

the Troops, cavalry and infantry and public property of various Kinds such as cattle, provisions and Military Stores &c and he continued in this service ... that the service rendered by him and others attached to and manning the Continental Boats” was exceeding arduous & fatiguing. He was subject to be called into service and often times great exertion at any & all times, night and day, when the weather was good or bad. He was required not only to transport persons and property, expresses and troops across the river at the ferry, but also provisions and stores up and down the River to any distance necessary.”

All ferrymen testified to “great Exertion” but like all soldiers in the Continental Army they received very little pay and that often in worthless Continental Dollars. Godfrey deposed that during his 1780-81 enlistment he paid 6 dollars for a Gill of Rum, almost a week’s pay at \$ 1 per day. By December 1781, however, “at the expiration of the said nine months, during this time the money had become so depreciated that he paid 110 dollars for one Gill of Rum to (old Mother Trow) Middle Patten.”

Six boats and 36 ferrymen seem to have been enough to meet the everyday needs of the Continental Army, but these transportation capabilities were obviously much too small for the crossing of the allied armies in 1781 and 1782. The comte de Lauberdiere description of the crossing in August 1781 on specially constructed boats and rafts describes how these needs were met: “Some platforms were built of good beams on two flatboats which could carry two pieces of cannon on their carriages or a loaded wagon across. A small sailing vessel oriented and some men in each boat ferried everything. [...] The troops boarded specially made longboats capable of carrying 60 or 80 men at a time.” Much to the surprise of Lauberdière, “Most of the horses and the bulls crossed by swimming.”

Site 34:

Stony Point Battlefield State Historic Site

44 Battlefield Rd.

Stony Point, NY 10980

Adapted from <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/stonypointbattlefield/details.aspx>

On the night of 15-16 July 1779, Brigadier General Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania led the American Light Infantry in a daring midnight assault against the British forces at Stony Point. After the battle, the Americans destroyed the fort, removed the prisoners, and captured supplies and equipment, including 16 pieces of artillery. Two days later, General Washington abandoned the peninsula, having determined that it could not be defended against the combined might of the British army and navy. When the Americans withdrew,

the British returned, and built a second fort with blockhouses surrounded by an abatis, but abandoned the forts at Stony Point and Verplanck's Point in October 1779.

The first man over the abatis had been François-Louis Teissèdre de Fleury. Fleury had gone to America with Tronson du Coudray in 1776, distinguished himself at Fort Mifflin and Stony Point, was wounded at Germantown. A *sous-aide-major* or sergeant-major in the Royal Army with eight years of service, he returned became a lieutenant-colonel in the Continental Army. When Rochambeau appointed him Major of the Saintonge Regiment, which caused a mutiny in the officer corps.¹⁹⁷

On 22 August 1781 Baron Cloisen wrote that “Stony Point has greatly aroused the curiosity of the French officers. [Fleury] happened to be commander of one of the three columns which were to storm it, and he had the good luck to lead his [men] so well that he reached the top of the parapet and jumped on top of it all alone, without the besieged seeing him, and sword in hand, planted the American flag there.. [...] The fortifications of this stronghold have been much repaired since the Americans regained it. The army camped on the ground near the ferry in the afternoon. Lauzun’s Legion crossed the river that same evening.”

While conducting his oral history interviews in the 1840s, McDonald collected numerous accounts of the storming of Stony Point, viz. a “Mrs. Palmer” told him on 1 November 1844: “My husband was one of twelve selected from his regiment to form Wayne’s forlorn hope at Stony Point. The day before the assault, a spy was sent in to scan the weak points of the fort &c in the disguise of a countryman selling eggs and chickens.” On 11 Sept. 1845, Capt. Harry Chichester said that “When pioneers were cutting away the abatis, the British said: “Come on, ye d-d rebels ! &c. Our men answered: “Don’t be in a hurry! We’ll be with you presently!” I had this from one of the men engaged.” Lastly, on 6 December and 11 December 1849, Daniel Rowell, told him that “Nehemiah Sherwood, who lived in King Street, at the corner of the Sherwood’s Bridge Road, was a soldier under Wayne at the capture of Stony Point. He said the Americans in their advance were silent as death until the British discovered them and commenced a general fire; but that after than Wayne’s stentorian voice could be heard distinctly above the din of battle.”

The humane treatment of surrendering British soldiers by the victorious Americans has become part of the mythology of the War of Independence. Many of the men in Wayne’s attacking forces were survivors of the Paoli Massacre, and as they scaled the steep and

¹⁹⁷ On his role in the storming of Stony Point see Michael J. F. Sheehan, “François de Fleury. A Life in Correspondence” *The Brigade Dispatch. Journal Of The Brigade Of The American Revolution* vol. 47, no. 2, (Autumn 2020), pp. 14-27.

rugged ground of Stony Point Wayne's soldiers were told to "Remember Paoli!" but "not to fire a gun but rush into their lodgings and use the bayonet."¹⁹⁸ Yet when they had the opportunity to take revenge for Paoli "when the garrison surrendered and quarter was cried for, the American soldiers were disarmed of their resentment [of the surrendering British soldiers] and spared in mercy the murderers of their brethren."¹⁹⁹

British eyewitnesses tell a different story. The day after the capture of Stony Point Ensign Frederick Philipse Robinson of the 17th Regiment of Foot, taken prisoner by American forces, recorded in his journal that "as soon as it was light, my attention was attracted by a Sight which I confess struck me dumb with horror. Near me I saw the naked body of my old friend Captain Tew of the 17th Regt. a man whom I loved and respected in the highest degree; I almost Sickened at the Sight and was rivetted to the Spot. An Officer who witnessed this, took me by the arm and led me amongst the Dead and Wounded in order, as he said afterwards, to familiarise me to Such Sight."²⁰⁰

Lauberdière also recorded his impressions:

"On the right bank, the fort of Stony Point defends the Kingsferry crossing. The British captured this fort and kept it until 1778 when General Wayne attacked it with a Pennsylvania brigade. He had under him Mr. de Fleury, of Lieutenant Colonel Rouergue's company who was serving with the Americans and is now major of the Saintonge Regiment, to whom he conferred the main attack. It was pursued vigorously and Mr. de Fleury was the first to enter on July 16. The Congress had a gold medal struck for this occasion on which is engraved Fort Stony Point. It was presented to him as a gift and he wears it at the boutonniere with the primacy of the king of France.

The fortifications of Stony Point were destroyed after Mr. de Fleury's action. Today it is only a square redoubt which can contain 60 men. It is very well fraised. It is constructed at the summit of a rock which itself has its base on a another with a more extensive surface in such a way that it can discover the enemy from a distance, but once the enemy arrives at the foot of the large rock, is at [illegible] at the center of this little fort. We chop down a [illegible] for the garrison. The ground floor is a little depot where seven or eight large containers of water always renewed so as to have a 20-day supply in case of attack. We enter by a hidden entrance cut into the rock in this entrance is covered by a traverse."

The "little depot" mentioned by Lauberdière still exists.

¹⁹⁸ Robert Devin, Pension Application W3395, 14th Virginia, deposed 12 October 1832.

¹⁹⁹ *Washington Whig* (Bridgeton, New Jersey) vol. I no. 4, 14 August 1815.

²⁰⁰ Quoted in Catts and Selig, "In the Morning", p. 84.

Site 35:

West Haverstraw, NY 10993

West Haverstraw on the east side of the Hudson River was the location for American and French campsites once they had crossed the river in 1781 and while they were waiting to cross the river in 1782.

Tallmadge entered into his journal that once the crossing was completed, the men “about 3 O’clock” struck their camp and “Marched on to Harvistraw and Encamped.” The location of the American campsite is unknown, but the French campsite was north of Cedar Pond Brook with the two infantry regiments encamped on the river side of Route 202 and their campaign artillery across the street. The Auxonne Artillery encamped on a height south of the brook also on the river side.

When the French army returned in September 1782, two infantry regiments of the First Brigade encamped to the north of Railroad Avenue, the Auxonne Artillery encamped south of Railroad Avenue, with a small detachment at the western edge of Babe Ruth Field where Railroad Avenue makes that right angle and runs along Babe Ruth Field. It is about 2.7 miles from there to the Stony Point Park entrance, 3.5 miles to Tomkins Cove on the upstream edge of the park where the road ends at the railroad tracks. Across the tracks is/was located the landing point of King’s Ferry. The Second Brigade encamped “on the ground that we had occupied last year.”²⁰¹

Maps of the French campsites are available on-line for the 1781 encampment on the website of Princeton University and for the 1782 encampment on the website of the Library of Congress.

Site 36:

Joshua Hett Smith House, also known as Treason House
51-55 Route 9W
West Haverstraw, NY 10993

The house gained notoriety in connection with the Arnold-André affair. While en route to West Point, Arnold renewed his acquaintance with Joshua Hett Smith, who had spied for both sides. They were co-conspirators by 10 September, when the general stayed overnight

²⁰¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 240.

at Smith's house, located about 15 miles south of the fort. A meeting with Major André was to take place in the early morning hours of 11 September, but the rendezvous had to be abandoned when Smith's rowboat was fired upon. (see SITE 38) Arnold and André finally met before dawn on 22 September: André sailed up the Hudson River aboard HMS Vulture; a rowboat containing Arnold and Smith (and two of Smith's allies rowing) met the British warship mid-river and carried André to the western shore. Arnold and André talked through the night at Smith's house, but the Vulture was fired upon and moved downriver, stranding the British major behind American lines.

Washington established his headquarters here from 21-25 August 1781. Blanchard visited Washington here on the evening of 21 August, Rochambeau had breakfast with him there on the 22nd. The American and French armies were then on the march to Yorktown, Virginia, and it took four days to ferry the troops, horses, wagons and cannons across the Hudson River. It is unknown where Rochambeau made his headquarters in 1781; he may have stayed with Washington following his return from West Point in the evening of 23 August until his departure from Haverstraw with the First (French Brigade) on 25 August 1781, but during the return march in the fall of 1782, Rochambeau made the house his headquarters.

Sailing downstream from West Point on 23 August 1781, the comte de Lauberdie wrote "After having traveled 10 miles on the water, [from West Point we arrived at Kingsferry. It was 4 o'clock in the afternoon. We were prudent to approach General Washington's quarters, that we had lodged 2 miles away at the house of the infamous Mr. Smith who had received Arnold and Major André for their interview. This house is located in a charming location which commands a rather extensive lake which is bordered on the front by the river."

The house was torn down in February 1980; the site is on the grounds of the Helen Hayes Hospital, there is a historic marker on the side of the road.²⁰²

|| TREASON HOUSE || AT JOSHUA HETT SMITH'S || HOME HERE, SEPT. 22, 1780 ||
BENEDICT ARNOLD BETRAYED || THE PLANS OF WEST POINT || TO BRITISH SPY MAJ.
ANDRE || HISTORICAL SO. || ROCKLAND COUNTY ||

²⁰² "The Treason House is demolished." *South of the Mountain* Vol. 24 No. 2, (April-June 1980), pp. 14-17.

Site 37:

Van Cortlandt Manor
525 South Riverside Avenue
Croton-On-Hudson, NY 10520

Van Cortlandt Manor was originally an 86,000-acre tract granted as a Patent to Stephanus Van Cortlandt in 1697 by King William III, stretching from the Hudson River on the west to the first boundary line between the Province of New York and the Colony of Connecticut, on the east, twenty English miles in length by ten in width, in shape nearly a rectangular parallelogram, forming, "The Manor of Cortlandt." The Manor House was built sometime before 1732 but was not any owner's principal residence until a grandson, Pierre Van Cortlandt, moved there in 1749 when the manor house was on a 1,000-acre portion of the original tract. Pierre brought his family to the estate in 1749 and began operating the manor as an apple orchard, dairy farm, a bee house, a kiln, a tavern, and carpenter and blacksmith shops. Pierre sided with the colonies and the manor was used to assist the war effort; his son Philip served in the Continental Army. Eventually Pierre and his family vacated the manor which was ransacked by the British Army and left in poor standing. Philip, a brigadier general by the war's end, returned and, along with his sister, Catherine, brought the manor back to working order.

On 2 July, Washington recorded in his diary that at 3:00 a.m. "I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached troops." Following the New York and Albany Post Road (SR 9 and 9A), the troops rested first at the New Bridge over the Croton near the Van Cortlandt Manor about 9 miles south of Peekskill.

Adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Van_Cortlandt_Manor and <https://hudsonvalley.org/historic-sites/van-cortlandt-manor/>

Site 38:

Teller's Point
Croton Point Park
1A Croton Point Avenue
Croton-on-Hudson, NY 10520

John Peterson, an African-American, and Moses Sherwood opened fire from Teller's Point to drive off HMS *Vulture*, which was anchored off-shore, awaiting the return of Major André from his meeting with Benedict Arnold. When a piece of artillery arrived from Fort Lafayette, HMS *Vulture* moved away from the shore. This action forced the overland return

of André as he attempted to reach the British lines. There is a commemorative plaque on a boulder in the picnic area.²⁰³ In 2004 the site was added to the African American Heritage Trail of Westchester County.²⁰⁴

General Benjamin Lincoln's detachment, as recorded by Washington in his diary on 2 July, "embarked last Night after dark, at or near Tellers point; and as his operations were to be the movement of two Nights he was desired to repair to Fort Lee (SITE 55) this day & reconnoitre the enemy's Works-Position and strength as well as he possibly could & take his ultimate determination from appearances--that is to attempt the surprize if the prospect was favourable or to relinquish it if it was not, and in the latter case to land above the Mouth of Spikendevil (SITE 54) & cover the Duke in his operation on Delancys Corps."

Site 39:

Ossining, NY 10562

Continental Army forces marching north from Dobbs ferry encamped here for the night of 19/20 August 1781. The exact location of the campsite is unknown but was probably close to the center of Ossining along the banks of the Sing Sing Kill.

Site 40:

Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow and Old Dutch Burying Ground
430 North Broadway
Sleepy Hollow, NY 10591

On 2 July, Washington recorded in his diary that at 3:00 a.m. "I commenced my march with the Continental Army in order to cover the detached troops." Following the New York and Albany Post Road (SR 9 and 9A), the troops rested first at the New Bridge over the Croton near the Van Cortlandt Manor about 9 miles south of Peekskill. A second rest of about 2 hours followed at Tarry Town/Sleepy Hollow Church.

Nathan Beers, Paymaster of Colonel Samuel B. Webb's Third Connecticut Regiment, wrote in his diary:

²⁰³ Adapted from <https://benedictarnold.smugmug.com/Meeting-of-Arnold-and-Andre/Tellers-Point-Croton-Point/>

²⁰⁴ <https://www.visitwestchesterny.com/things-to-do/history/african-american-history/>

July 2d Monday at 4 O'clock morning army marched from Peekskill from the Right by the rout of Tarrytown. 1 O'clock halted at Tarrytown for our repose in the Church Yard. One hour after Sunset continued our march.

Site 41:

Philipsburg Manor House
381 North Broadway
Sleepy Hollow, NY 10591

Philipsburg Manor House is a historic house in the Upper Mills section of the former sprawling Colonial-era estate known as Philipsburg Manor. Together with a water mill and trading site the house is operated as a non-profit museum by Historic Hudson Valley.

The manor dates from 1693, when Frederick Philipse was granted a charter for 52,000 acres along the Hudson River. The manor was tenanted by farmers of various European backgrounds and operated by enslaved Africans. In 1750, twenty-three enslaved men, women, and children lived and worked at the manor, making it one of the largest slave-holding operations in the colonial North.

At the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, the Philipses supported the British, and their landholdings were seized and auctioned off. The manor house was used during the war by Sir Henry Clinton during military activities in 1779. It was there that he wrote what is now known as the Philipsburg Proclamation, which declared all Patriot-owned slaves to be free, and that blacks taken prisoner while serving in Patriot forces would be sold into slavery. The family seat was Philipse Manor Hall in Yonkers. (Site 51)

The six Westchester Manors were Fordham, erected November 1671; Pelham, October, 1687; Philipseburgh, June, 1693; Morrisania, May, 1697; Van Cortlandt, June, 1697; and Scarsdale, March, 1701.

Adapted from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philipsburg_Manor_House and <https://hudsonvalley.org/historic-sites/philipsburg-manor/>

Site 42:

Tarrytown, NY 10591

Tarrytown served as a strategic supply depot for French and America forces and a frequent target of British attacks, viz. on 15/16 July 1781, when a large supply of bread destined for the French army was lost.

On 1 August 1781, Nathaniel Stevens informed Col. Stewart from Tarrytown of 1,000 barrels of flour belonging to the French at Tarrytown, which Mr. [illeg], the French commissary general, may give the Americans in repayment of flour given by the Americans.

When the French infantry departed on 19 August, Rochambeau realized “that there were not enough supply wagon and that 5,000-6,000 rations of bread still remained in camp. This postponed our departure from six in the morning, as ordered, to midday.” He sent an aide-de-camp to Tarrytown in search of wagons which delayed the departure of the army for a long time. It began to move at 5 PM. in terrible weather and heavy rain.²⁰⁵

Site 43:

Dobbs Ferry, NY 10522

Dobbs Ferry was the eastern terminus of the ferry from Sneedens Landing and the landing site for men and materiel for the allied forces encamped in Greenburgh. Benjamin Acker, a ferryman at Dobb's Ferry, told McDonald on 20 November 1847 that he “saw service during the Revolutionary war, and in the latter part of it was employed as a ferryman at King's ferry where we made use of Scows, flat boats and Pattiauges. I ferried Smith and Andre across the river, September 22d 1780, and was a witness on Smith's trial. In 1781, when the French army lay at White Plains, I was employed as a waterman at Dobbs Ferry.” Acker had enlisted on 1 March 1780 in under Colonel Hugh Hughes in the Quartermaster Department for a year and renewed his enlistment for another year on 1 March 1781. Since he claimed to have ferried British Major John André across the Hudson, he was more likely stationed at Verplank's Point and/or King's ferry, which is also what he deposed in his pension application. After his enlistment I “was immediately detailed to serve as a ferryman at a public ferry established at Verplanks Point.”²⁰⁶

Supplying the armies strained the resources of the area to its limits. Colonel Stewart's letter of 18 July 1781 Camp near Dobbs Ferry, to Thomas Lowrey shows the impact of the loss of the vessels loaded with bread for the French army the previous days. Rochambeau decided that it would be safer to transport the bread on land. On 18 July, his aide-de-camp Mathieu Dumas went to “Pines-Bridge to mark and have repaired the road by which the bread convoys were to arrive hereafter.”²⁰⁷ Flour for the French ovens was also to be transported on land, but Stewart reported that transportation by “Teams is found to be

²⁰⁵ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 40.

²⁰⁶ Pension Application S 11936.

²⁰⁷ *La Marche sur Yorktown. Le Journal de Mathieu Dumas (16 Juin – 6 Octobre 1781)*. Bertrand van Rymbeke and Iris de Rode, eds., (Editions Jean-Jaques Wuillaume, 2018), p. 83.

Rather a Slow Method and the Roads from Kings Ferry here is Verry Rough I must Entreat you will push on five or Six Hundred Barrels flour to Dobbs ferry as fast as you possible Can for it is Probuble we shall have to Furnish the french army with a preasant Supply of Flour their former Mode of Supply Being also By Water from New Windsor. [...] we Shall Carry to Camp as fast as it arrives at Dobbs Your flour [...] Your Wanted Activity in forwarding it on will be particularly Obliging for We shall soon Really Want it Therefore Loose No time and Shair no Pains.”

There are two historical markers at the intersection of Broadway and Livingston Avenue to identify the position of Sheldon’s dragoons and the earthwork. The first marker on a granite base reads:

WITHIN IS THE SITE OF A
REVOLUTIONARY REDOUBT,
CONSTRUCTED IN JULY, 1781.

The second marker reads:

IN JULY AND AUGUST, 1781,
THE FIRST CONNECTICUT BRIGADE,
CONTINENTAL ARMY, HELD A LINE
OF ENTRENCHMENTS ABOUT 600
FEET LONG CROSSING THE ROAD
AT THIS POINT.

A few hundred feet north at 115 Broadway there is a second historical marker erected in 1894. The explanatory text covering the original text was installed on 8 October 2000.

Site 44:

Odell House Rochambeau Headquarters
425 Ridge Road
Hartsdale, NY 10530

The Odell House served as the comte de Rochambeau’s headquarters from 6 July to 18 August 1781 and owned by the Town of Greenburgh. It is currently undergoing restoration and renovation.

<https://www.odellrochambeau.org/>

Site 45:

DeWint House

George Washington's Headquarters Masonic Historic Site

20 Livingston Street

Tappan, NY 10983

The DeWint House, owned by the DeWint family from 1746 to 1795, was George Washington's headquarters on four different occasions between 1780 and 1783, most importantly from 28 September to 7 October 1780, for the trial and subsequent hanging of Major John André. In 1781 it was inhabited by Major Frederickus Blauvelt, the son-in-law of Johannes and Antje DeWint.

It is owned and operated by the Trustees of the Masonic Hall and Home. For more information see <http://dewinthouse.com/>

Site 46:

Palisades Interstate Park

The Palisades Interstate Park in New Jersey is about twelve miles long and half a mile wide, containing 2,500 acres of wild Hudson River shorefront, uplands, and cliffs. The Palisades Interstate Park is a National Historic Landmark, the Palisades Cliffs are a National Natural Landmark. The Long Path and Shore Trail are National Recreation Trails.

For more information go to <https://www.njpalisades.org/>

Site 47:

Crumkill Creek

New Jersey side of the Hudson

The Crumkill Creek area northwest of Dobbs Ferry, part of Tallman Mountain State Park, is potentially a site where Colonel Alexander Scammell's Light Infantry pulled its boats off the Hudson and into the Creek during the night of 2/3 July 1781.

Site 48:

Sneeden's Landing, NJ

In the eighteenth Century the appellation "Dobbs ferry" was frequently also used for "Sneeden's Landing" on the New Jersey side of the river. Beginning in 1740, Robert Corbett and his wife Molly, née Dobbs, provided services on the western terminus of the Hudson for the ferry operated by her half-brother William Dobbs on the New York side of the river. No community by that name exists anymore; all that remains is a road called "Sneeden's Landing" off of Washington Spring Road and there is also a Corbett Lane that branches off to the north from it.

Site 49:

Skunk Hollow

New Jersey side of the Hudson

Skunk Hollow just north of the New York-New Jersey state line, is potentially a site where Colonel Alexander Scammell's Light Infantry could have pulled their boats off the Hudson and into the Creek during the night of 2/3 July 1781. Skunk Hollow is the site of a settlement of free Blacks that existed between 1806 and around 1910.

Site 50:

Kloster Dock

Alpine, NJ 07620

"Kloster-dock" was at the end of today's Closter Dock Road which led to the vicinity of Alpine Marina on Alpine Approach Road (just north of the ruins of Cliffdale Manor) before the road was cut off by 9W and the Palisades Interstate Parkway (take exit 2). Closter Dock Trail, a 360 ft. climb, leads from the Alpine Pavilion Group picnic area to Closter Dock Road.

In November 1776, a British Army led by Lord Cornwallis used the New Dock at Lower Closter Landing, today's Huyler's Landing, a good mile downstream from Closter Dock, to attack and capture Fort Lee, approximately six miles farther downstream, prompting Washington's famous "Retreat to Victory" across the Jerseys. While the Revolution went on for the next seven years, the river landings were used by armies and raiding parties as they moved between British-occupied New York City and the beleaguered "Neutral Ground" of the surrounding countryside. Henry Hudson Drive leads to the starting point of Huyler's Landing Trail, a 440 ft. climb which follows the route of Cornwallis' forces.

Site 51:

Philipse Manor Hall State Historic Site
29 Warburton Avenue
Yonkers, NY 10701

Philipse Manor Hall was the home of Frederick Philipse III, Lord of the Manor of Philipsburg. Frederick was a Loyalist whose wealth and influence were so strong that Washington ordered him arrested in 1776. Philipse and his family later fled to British occupied New York City and then to England, where he died in 1786. His land and his mansion were confiscated by the New York State Legislature and sold at public auction.

Nathan Beers of the Third Connecticut Regiment wrote in his diary:

23 [July] Monday all things quiet Rode with [Capt. Benjamin] Frothingham [3d Regt of Artillery] to Colo [Fred.] Phillips House Viewed his Garden the remains of a very Elligent one – Tea with Ms Babcock 6 oClock army marched for their Ground at Phillips Burgh.

Adapted from <https://parks.ny.gov/historic-sites/philipsemanorhall/details.aspx>

Site 52:

Van Cortlandt Park and House
6036 Broadway
The Bronx, NY 10471

Built by James Van Cortlandt, the Van Cortlandt House Museum, also called the Frederick Van Cortlandt House or simply the Van Cortlandt House, is the oldest building in the borough of the Bronx in New York City. It is located about 1.8 mile walk from Riverdale Yacht Club and a 2 mile walk from Spuyten Duyvil Train Station

In an interview with McDonald of 17 November 1845, Augustus Cregier declared: "General Washington on the 3d of July 1781, dined on camp fare at Van Courtland's big house – that is Bibby's" while their troops waited outside on what is now the Parade Ground and Vault Hill. British intelligence was well aware of the American presence at the van Cortlandt property. On 4 July, Captain Marquard informed Oliver DeLancey that "Mr. [Augustus van] Cortlandt said that Generals Washington and Parsons came to his house; the former did not go in, but went back".

Washington's forces returned to the neighborhood during the Grand Reconnaissance and Nathan Beers of the Third Connecticut Regiment entered in his diary:

22d [July 1781] Sunday at Day Break the army halted on the Heights Commanding Kings Bridge Day Spent in reconnoitering the Enemys Works which appears to be the sole cause of the present movement Dined in orchard near Cortlands House.

While the Continental Army spent the night of 22/23 July in van Cortland Park, French forces camped along the summit of Gun Hill at the intersection of Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue between the ruins of Fort Independence.

Site 53:

King's Bridge
The Bronx, NY

The area around King's Bridge was the destination of both the failed attack on British forces on 2/3 July as well as the Grand Reconnaissance of 21-23 July 1781. Any siege of New York City would require control of the bridge and surrounding area.

Site 54:

Spuyten Duyvil
The Bronx NY 10463

Spuyten Duyvil is an estuary of the Hudson River. Tetard's Hill is to its north/upstream. King's Bridge crossed the creek not far from its mouth. During the war of Independence the northern end of Manhattan Island was fortified by a line of eight redoubts, beginning with No. 1 on Spuyten Duyvill Hill to No. 8 on University Heights. Forts 1, 2, and 3 on Spuyten Duyvill Hill overlooking the Kings Bridge and into upper Manhattan and Fort Washington were already abandoned in July 1781.

Site 55:

Fort Lee/Fort Constitution
Fort Lee, NJ 07024

Fort Lee played a constituent role in any allied plans for an attack on New York City and Sir Henry Clinton's spies kept a close watch on Franco-American activities, e.g. on 19 July 1781 Sir Henry learned that "Jos. Clarke came in this morning, and says he left Fort Lee last

night. Washington was at Fort Lee yesterday, viewing the ground. Several officers were with him, and about 50 Light horse as a guard. He dined yesterday at one William Day's near Fort Lee. Clarke was informed, there were about 300 Continental troops in the neighbor hood of Fort Lee, but could not learn where they came from." Ibid. p. 174. On 9 August Oliver DeLancey reported that "Some French Officers have marked out a small work about 300 Yards above where the old Mortar Battery was at Fort Lee. Capt. Ward saw it himself, these Officers being there prevented his seeing his friend."²⁰⁸

Site 56:

Morrisania Manor Site
The Bronx, NY 10454

Morrisania Manor stood on the north side of the Bronx Kill and south of I-87 between Brook Avenue and Cypress Avenue just off the junction of the Bronx Kill and the East River. Brook Avenue receives its name from the brook which powered the mills of the manor. Today all of this is part of the Harlem River Rail Yard.

In July 1781 only Gouverneur Morris' widowed mother Sarah lived there, her son having fled the Manor. Sarah was the second wife of Colonel Lewis Morris, who had died in 1762. Gouverneur Morris' elder half-brother Lewis Morris from his father's marriage to Catherine Staats was a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Robert Bolton, *The history of the several towns, manors, and patents of the county of Westchester, from its first settlement to the present time* 2 vols., (New York, C.F. Roper, 1881), vol. 2, p. 489, places the manor "Upon rising ground a little North-east of the Depot [...] in the vicinity of Harlem Bridge [at] the terminus of the New Haven and Harlem River Rail Road". In 1790, Morrisania had a total population of 133, among them 30 slaves.

During the Grand Reconnaissance on 22 July, Andrew Corsa served as a guide for Washington and Rochambeau to the manor. "Passing out of range of Fort number eight and always following the bank of Harlem Creek, our generals advanced to the side of Morrisania, the southernmost part of the continent opposite York Island. There are few works in this area; there is no landing site on the island whose woods are sloped and more elevated than on the continent. Morrisania was even more interesting to explore than the rest. While we were no less than 2 miles away from the is neighborhood of the refugees that the Duc de Lauzun swept in the morning, we saw two large boats which passed York

²⁰⁸ University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Vol. 169, item 31.

Island upon our approach. Harlem Creek is very narrow in this location. There was a battery on the opposite shore, at Mr. Morris's house, which we had not seen before. The refugees who had just landed made a lively fire on us.

Traveling along the Harlem River it is about 6.5 miles from Morrisania to Van Cortlandt House and 5.5 miles from the home of Andrew Corsa on the grounds of Fordham University. It is close to three miles from Fordham to the mouth of Spuyten Duyvil.

Site 57:

Fort Independence

Intersection of W 238th Street and Sedgwick Ave

The Bronx, NY 10454

During the night of 22/23 July, French troops encamped between the ruins of Fort Independence along Giles Place in the Bronx and the Bronx River. The center of their camp was located on the summit of Gun Hill at the intersection of Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue.

The northern end of Manhattan Island was fortified by a line of eight redoubts, beginning with No. 1 on Spuyten Duyvill Hill to No. 8 on University Heights. Forts 1, 2, and 3 on Spuyten Duyvill Hill overlooking the Kings Bridge and into upper Manhattan and Fort Washington were already abandoned in July 1781. There is still a good view from Fort No. 1, Henry Hudson park. Fort No. 2 also still exists, unoccupied (for now) but surrounded by private homes. The site of No. 3 is occupied by private homes. Fort No. 4 on Kingsbridge Heights is protected by a NYC park.

The British began to raze most of their forts around King's Bridge in August 1779; in July 1781, Fort Independence, later called Fort No. 4 by the British, "was located between the old Boston and the Albany Post Roads . . . just within the old line of Yonkers."²⁰⁹ It was razed on 12 September 1779. Forts 5, 6, and 7, were also abandoned already in 1781. Only Fort No. 8 and Prince Charles Redoubt remained the only British fortifications beyond the Harlem River that were operational and occupied by British troops at the time of the Grand Reconnaissance. Washington wrote in his diary: "We arrived at Kingsbridge at daybreak on the 22nd without the enemy having any awareness of our movement. Nobody had any idea that we wanted to capture a fort called number eight on this side of Harlem Creek or the Kingsbridge redoubt on the island." A small boulder with a commemorative plaque

²⁰⁹ Hufeland, *Westchester County*, p. 104.

indicates the site of Fort No. 8 on the campus of Bronx Community College between University Avenue and Sedgwick Avenue. There is a historical marker on Claflin Terrace on Walk East of Reservoir opposite Fort Independence Avenue. It reads:

FORT INDEPENDENCE
ONE OF FORTS BUILT IN 1776
BY AMERICANS TO COMMAND THE
VALLEY BELOW. GENERAL
RICHARD MONTGOMERY HAD A
FARM NEARBY, IN 1772.

Rochambeau and his aides finally had a quick dinner in "a wretched house" before they settled down to sleep, "clad as we were, on the ground." The "wretched house" was the home of Isaac Valentine, today's Valentine-Varian House on Bainbridge Avenue and 208th Street.

6) A Note on Women and Children in the Continental and French Armies

Even though the army frowned on women and children accompanying it on marches, their presence was ubiquitous. The vast majority of these women were either wives of soldiers or women looking for employment primarily as washerwomen to keep the soldiers clean or as nurses in the hospitals.²¹⁰ Under 1781 garrison conditions, the number of female camp followers in the Continental Army stood at around 3% of the rank and file, somewhat higher for Washington's Lifeguard and technical troops such as the artillery, somewhat lower for Light troops. At the beginning of the 1781 campaign in late June, male-female ratios varied from a high of 1 woman for every 11 men in the artillery regiment, i.e. 12 women for 229 men, and 1 for every 24 men in the Commander-in-Chief's Guard (69 men) to a low of 1 to 87 in the New Hampshire Brigade. A return for the brigades encamped at New Windsor (except the Connecticut Line) shows 137 women, one for every 32 men.

Washington wanted to keep the number of women and children as low as possible during the march to Virginia. Speed was of the essence and Washington's General Orders of 19 June for the Continental Army show that he was prepared to use force if necessary to achieve this goal: "No Women will be suffered to ride in waggons or walk in the ranks this Campaign unless there are very particular reasons for it, of which the General Officer or officer commanding the Division or brigade to which they belong is to be the judge; a written permission only will avail; without this the officers of the day or police are not only authorized to turn them out, but requested to inflict instant punishment upon those who shall be found transgressors of this order."

In mid-August about 10 women formed part of the train of the Second Continental Artillery. As the regiment prepared to cross the Hudson, the Orderly Book for 19 August read: "Exact Returns to be made tomorrow morning 12 O'clock of all the Women and Children in Camp, distinguishing those that have husbands and also Returns of the Husband's Names & whether they be in this Division of the Army or not." Once the regiment had crossed the Hudson, Benjamin Lincoln issued orders for his column which once again points to the need for speed as a reason for ridding the army of camp followers. General Orders of 22 August state that "as the Detachment now under the particular direction of Major General Lincoln are to consider themselves as Light-troops who are always supposed to be fit for action and free from every incumbrance. He cannot help advising them to take the present opportunity of depositing at West Point such of their Women as are not able to undergo the fatigue of frequent marches and also every article of

²¹⁰ The standard work is still by Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (University of South Carolina Press: Columbia, S.C., 1996)

Baggage which they can in any wise dispence with.”²¹¹ On 24 August, the men of Lamb’s artillery received beef and flour for the next three days with instructions to cook the beef and bake the flour into bread. Concurrently the Orderly Book repeated the order that “such women, as are unable to undergo the fatigues of a March, must be sent to West Point, where they will draw provisions. – The Women are not to mix with the Men on the March, they are to keep in the rear of the Baggage.”²¹²

Even before then, some of the regiments had already shed many, if not most, of their female camp-followers by leaving them behind in their cantonments as they set out for the campaign. One of these units was Moses Hazen’s Canadian regiment. When the regiment departed from West Point for Albany in mid-June, an unknown number of women and children accompanied their husbands. On 17 June they received the option of remaining behind in Albany. “The sick, (and such women as Chuse to Remain at this Place) are put under the Care and Superintendency of Lieut. Lee”. On 7 July, Hazen’s Regiment re-embarked and sailed back to West Point. As it approached Newburgh, Regimental Orders issued on board the *Tryon* on 9 July already quoted and based on Washington’s General Orders decreed that women “belonging to Col: Hazens Regiment will disembark at New Burgh they are embarrassed with Young Children or abide by they Consequences mentioned in his Excellen^y Orders the Q^r Master will provide them a Waggon to Transport them to Fish Kill where proper Steps will be taken to provide for them.”

Contemporary evidence does not support this claim. During one of his visits into New York State, the Father Ferdinand Farmer of Old St. Joseph’s Catholic Church in Philadelphia encountered the women and children of the Canadian Regiment encamped at Fishkill. Many of them had had no pastoral care in years, and Father Farmer went to work immediately. From 5 to 7 October 1781, he baptized 14 "parvulos sive infants," adolescents and infants and recorded their names, ages, and the identity of their parents in the Baptismal Register. Their names show them all to be of French-Canadian ethnicity and can be matched with the names of soldiers in the regiment, while their ages at the time of baptism show how long it had been since a priest had visited the families.

These youngsters may have formed but a small portion of the children encamped. On 20 February 1783, George Washington informed Colonel Lewis Nicola from his headquarters in the Hasbrouck House in Newburgh “that nineteen Women, and forty six Children are returned Monthly as Canadian Refugees in fish Kill and its Vicinity and draw Provision from the Public.”

²¹¹ Orderly Book for Major General Benjamin Lincoln’s Brigade 1781. Codex Eng 67, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence, RI.

²¹² It seems reasonable to assume that other regiments issued similar orders, but in the absence of any regimental Orderly Books this cannot be proved.

On 18 October -- the fathers of the children baptized by Fr. Farmer's were still risking their lives in the siege to Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown - Congress in a singular act of ingratitude "Resolved, That the resolution of the 10th of August, 1776, empowering General Schyler to enquire into the service and character of Canadian volunteers, and to grant them ~~such~~ rewards and wages as shall appear to have been merited, be and hereby is repealed; and that all persons, of what character soever, who now draw pay or rations in consequence of the said resolution, be not entitled to draw pay or rations after the 1st day of December next."

The next day, Lord Cornwallis surrendered, and American independence was won.

Fortunately bureaucracies moved slowly in those days as well, and it was not until July 1782, -- the regiment had been stationed in York and Lancaster guarding prisoners captured at Yorktown since December 1781 -- when the contractors charged with supplying the post around Albany, including the "Canadian Volunteers" and "Refugees ... living in the Vicinity of the Posts" received a copy of the Congressional resolution passed ten months earlier.²¹³ When they stopped deliveries, Colonel George Reid, who was in command at Albany, at once contacted General Washington inquiring what to do. Washington indicated in his response of 6 August 1782, that "Comparing the Resolution of Congress of the 18th. of Octo. 1781. with that of the 10th. of Augst. 1776. to which it refers, it would seem that the Canadian Refugees as well as Volunteers, are included in that Resolution Under which the Commissaries have stopped issuing Rations to them. Genl. Schuyler however is best able to give you information in this point, as the provision for those people has been committed to his Direction. Hard as it may appear, that those poor Refugees, who have been driven from their Country for their Adherence to our Cause, should be denied the pittance of provisions for their Subsistence, yet it is not in my power to contravene direct Resolutions of Congress."

As indicated in Washington's 20 February 1783 letter to Colonel Nicola, the Canadian refugees and their families were still receiving provisions almost 1 ½ years after the Congressional resolution. On 15 November, almost eight years to the day it had been authorized by Congress in 1775, the regiment was disbanded at New Windsor. With that the women and children who had been part of the Catholic core of the Canadian Regiment disappear into history.²¹⁴

²¹³ Quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>.

²¹⁴ Robert A. Selig, "Father Ferdinand Farmer's French-Canadian Connection." *Connecticut Maple Leaf* vol. 16, no. 2 (Winter 2013-2014), pp. 61-65.

When they left for West Point in June and July 1781, the two New York regiments left 10 or more women and their children behind in Albany. While their husbands and fathers fought in the trenches before Yorktown, they too were in desperate need of assistance. On 24 October, Captain Christopher Marshall of the Tenth Massachusetts Regiment, commanding officer in Albany, informed General William Alexander, Lord Stirling that "Previous to Brigad^r Gen^l. Stark's leaving this City, he informed me he had discovered many abuses, wrong applications, & a dissipation of public property, which induced him to make several alterations in the military police of the Post and impose more limited restrictions – One of which was, to strike all the Women & Children, followers of the NY Line of he army off the provisions list – (that were in Town) upon a principle of their being able to earn their own Subsistance – At that time I had the honor to coincide with the General in his opinion – But my Lord I would beg leave to represent to your Lordship that many of them are objects of public Charity – there are Several Families of three, four or five Children the mothers of which are in so debilitated a State, that they are rendered incapable of procuring a Subsistance for themselves or Families; to Such, my Lord I would wish to have permission to grant a Small Supply or Provisions – Yet there are many who in my opinion are not objects of the same indulgence they having no families or very small ones – and are in perfect health."

At the bottom of the cover is this apocryphal note: "Charity Lighthall wife of James".²¹⁵ Charity must have been one of the women in need of assistance. Her husband is most likely James N. Lighthall of Schenectady, who had enlisted in Colonel Van Schaick's regiment in June 1775 and served until his discharge in June 1783.²¹⁶ Under campaign conditions, numbers of female followers likely dropped to around 1.5 % or less of rank and file strength.²¹⁷ Based on this research of John U. Rees, about 50 to 60 women or close to 40% of the 137 women listed in the regimental returns, and an unknown number of children, can be reasonably expected to have accompanied the Continental Army on its march through New Jersey and on to Yorktown.

²¹⁵ Richard Maass Collection of Westchester and New York State 1645-1995, Series 1: New York State, Box 2, Folder 56. Fales Library and Special Collections, Elmer Holmes Bobst Library, New York.

²¹⁶ Though he most likely marched with his regiment to Yorktown he does not mention the campaign in his Pension Application S42870 of 31 March 1818, repeated on 15 May 1820.

²¹⁷ This tabulation is based on personal correspondence with John U. Rees and his articles "'The Multitude of Women': An Examination of the Numbers of female Camp Followers with the Continental Army." *The Brigade Dispatch* vol. 23 no. 4, (Autumn 1992), pp. 5-17; vol. 24 no. 1, (Winter 1993), pp. 6-16; and no. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 2-6; "The Number of Rations issued to Women in Camp: New Material Concerning Female Followers With Continental Regiments." *ibid.*, vol. 28 no. 1, (Spring 1998), pp. 2-8 and no. 2, (Summer 1998), pp. 2-12, 13, as well as his "'The Proportion of Women which ought to be allowed': Female Camp Followers With the Continental Army." *The Continental Soldier. Journal of the Continental Line* vol. 8 no. 3, (Spring 1995), pp. 51-58.

New Jersey Brigade	6 women (1% of strength)
First New York	5 women (1.5%)
Second New York	5 women (1.5%)
Rhode Island Regiment	10 women (1.5%)
Moses Hazen's Regiment	4 women (2.0%)
Second Artillery Regiment	9 women (4.0%)
Scammell's Light Battalion	4 women (1.5%)
Washington's Life Guard	3 women (based on June 1781 return)
Corps of Sappers and Miners	1 woman (based on June 1781 return)
Corps of Artificers	2 women (estimate)

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+/- 50 women and an unknown number of children²¹⁸

Four of the women who marched to Yorktown were African-American and belonged to the Rhode Island Regiment, whose 6th and 8th companies were the segregated "black" companies. Each of these companies had one black man serving as a wagoner and each contained two black women, comprising four of the ten women listed as marching with the regiment through Philadelphia as listed on a return of 4 September 1781.²¹⁹

Another woman who did accompany her husband from Albany and West Point through six states to Yorktown and back was Sarah Mary Matthews, born in 1756 in Blooming Grove, Orange County, New York. After her first husband William Read had been killed in an early battle of the Revolutionary War, she married Aaron Osborn in January 1780. Osborn was a commissary sergeant in Captain James Gregg's company of Colonel Goose Van Schaick's First New York Regiment. In the summer of 1781, she and the other women in her regiment -- in her old age she remembered the wives of Lieutenant Forman and Sergeant Lamberson as well as a black woman named Letta -- traveled with the regiment across New Jersey, working alternately as a seamstress, washerwoman, and baking bread for the soldiers. Her account shows that she was traveling with the First New York: "When the army were about to leave West Point and go south, they crossed over the river to Robinson's Farms and remained

²¹⁸ This tabulation is based on personal correspondence with John U. Rees and his articles "'The Multitude of Women': An Examination of the Numbers of female Camp Followers with the Continental Army." *The Brigade Dispatch* vol. 23 no. 4, (Autumn 1992), pp. 5-17; vol. 24 no. 1, (Winter 1993), pp. 6-16; and no. 2 (Spring 1993), pp. 2-6; "The Number of Rations issued to Women in Camp: New Material Concerning Female Followers With Continental Regiments." *ibid.*, vol. 28 no. 1, (Spring 1998), pp. 2-8 and no. 2, (Summer 1998), pp. 2-12, 13, as well as his "'The Proportion of Women which ought to be allowed': Female Camp Followers With the Continental Army." *The Continental Soldier. Journal of the Continental Line* vol. 8 no. 3, (Spring 1995), pp. 51-58.

²¹⁹ The return is reproduced in John U. Rees, "'Lately apprehended in the first Maryland regiment ...' African American Women with the Continental Army", (April 2020) p. 3, available as a pdf at https://www.academia.edu/38515415/Lately_apprehended_in_the_first_Maryland_regiment_African_American_Women_with_the_Army

there for a length of time to induce the belief, as deponent understood, that they were going to take up quarters there." The First New York Regiment had arrived at West Point on 10 July; Sarah Osborn indicates that the regiment was actually encamped across the Hudson from West Point rather than in West Point itself. Osborn continues her account with the departure for Virginia: "whereas they recrossed the river in the nighttime into the Jerseys [at King's Ferry on 20/21 August] and traveled all night in a direct course for Philadelphia." "Deponent was part of the time on horseback and part of the time in a wagon. Deponent's said husband was still serving as one of the commissary's guard."²²⁰

The end of the war found Matthews at Continental Village in New York, and when Osborn left her for another woman in 1784, she took John Benjamin for her third husband in 1787. Forty years later, in 1837, Matthews applied for a pension and submitted her autobiography and Revolutionary War experiences as part application. Her application was successful, and she lived to enjoy her pension for another twenty years. Sarah Matthews died on 26 April 1858, about 102 years old.

French troops were campaigning in a foreign country, far away from their home bases. This explains why there were few women and even fewer children with Rochambeau's forces. Soldiers enlisted for four years at a time and many of them re-enlisted again but the army rarely approved marriages, but when it did, the women, though not allowed to live in the barracks, received a daily bread ration. In *French* regiments, women were tolerated, but *Foreign* regiments such as the Royal Deux-Ponts were allowed 30 women each in the *capitulation* between the colonels of the regiments and the crown of 1 March 1760.

One of the soldiers who brought his family with him was the grenadier, Adam Gabel of the Royal Deux-Ponts. When the regiment encamped in Bolton, Connecticut, on 22 June 1781, Gabel, a thirty-year-old veteran with eleven years of service, the Reverend George Colton, the "Presbyterian minister, in this town, a large, fleshy man, very prosperous, married, but childless, suggested to the wife of that she leave him one of her daughters. He would adopt the four-year-old as his own child, in return for some 30 louis to ease the campaign for her. The grenadier and his wife, who were very much attached to this child of four, steadily refused M. Coleban's (sic) offer, and thus proved their fine character and disinterest. This proposed sale was published in all the gazettes, even in France."²²¹

²²⁰ Sarah Osborn's application for Revolutionary War pension is published in John C. Dann, ed., *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 242–50.

²²¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 85. Information on Gabel, a thirty-year-old veteran with eleven years of service, can be found in the *contrôles*, the enlistment records of the regiment in 1 YC 869, Service Historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, France.

Gabel's wife and their two (?) daughters were joined by five more women and one child in the Royal Deux-Ponts. The embarkation list for the French fleet in Boston carrying Rochambeau's infantry to the West Indies in December 1782 shows five women or children for the Bourbonnois, six women or children for the Soissonnois and five women or children for the Saintonge for a combined total of 25 women and children excluding the artillery.²²²

On 4 May 1782, Lauzun's Legion embarked in Philadelphia. When it sailed for France on 11 May 1783, the five frigates that took the remnants of Rochambeau's forces to Europe -- *la Gloire, la Danaë, l'Astrée, l'Active, Le St. James* -- carried 63 officers, 661 enlisted men including the musicians, 51 domestics and five "femmes de soldats" to Brest, where they docked around 11 June.²²³ One of the five women was most likely Nancy Rady of Charlotte Court House in western Virginia, where Lauzun's Legion was in winter quarters. On 16 May 1782, the chasseur Jean Louis Le Pont secured permission from his commanding officer, Captain Jean-Jacques de Trentinian, to enter into the marriage—under condition he return to his unit for evening roll call. While nothing is known about the bride Nancy Rady, French records show that the groom was born in 1759 in Rancourt sur Ornain (Département de la Meuse) in north-western France. He signed for eight-year's service in Lauzun's Legion on 21 February 1780. Following winter quarters at Charlotte Court House and his return to France in June 1783, he entered the Regiment of Lauzun Hussars, serving until his discharge in February 1788. His wife Nancy presumably accompanied him to France.²²⁴

Once Lauzun's Legion is added, *sans* Nancy Rady, we arrive at a total number of around 30 women and children who crossed the Hudson in August 1781 in the French train.

In June 1781, Rochambeau hired wagoners and cooks in Connecticut for the march south; seven of the 15 cooks were women.²²⁵ If these seven women are added to the known total of American and French women and children, we arrive at a combined total of well over 100 women and children, young and old, White and Black, American and Canadian, Protestant and Catholic, English-speaking and French-speaking, who crossed the Hudson with the allied army and accompanied the troops to Yorktown.

²²² The most detailed, 10-page embarkation list is preserved in Fonds Vioménil LB0075 # 42ff, Académie François Bourdon, Le Creusot, France. Here also the numbers on women and children; a separate embarkation list dated 3 December 1782 gives the Auxonne artillery three women. *Ibid.* # 28. See also Marine B4 266, Part 5, fol. 354, Archives Nationales, Paris, with an embarkation list of 19 December 1782. Marine B4 267, fols. 139/140 quoted in Acomb, *Closen*, p. 85, lists 20 women and six children, which, once the three for the artillery are added, gives a total of 29.

²²³ Marine B4 185, part 2, fol. 266 contains the complete embarkation list from Philadelphia.

²²⁴ Charlotte County, Virginia Circuit Court: Marriage Bonds Book 1, p. 51, Charlotte County Court House Archives. Charlotte Court House, Virginia.

²²⁵ Kenneth Scott, "Rochambeau's American Wagoners, 1780-1783" *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* Vol. 143 (July 1989), pp. 256-262.

7) A Note on Non-White Soldiers in the Continental and French Armies

Following a review of the Continental Army on 9 July 1781, Baron Closen recorded that “Three-quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes, and that regiment is the most neatly dresses, the best under arms, and the most precise in its manœuvres.”²²⁶ Closen’s observation is frequently used as proof for the high rate of integration achieved by the Continental Army in the summer of 1781. Closen undoubtedly saw dozens of African-American and Native American soldiers, but his numbers are based on a visual impression, he did not go along through the regiment to count the non-white soldiers in its ranks. Daniel M. Popek’s detailed and extremely thorough history of the Rhode Island regiment shows that Closen’s estimate of two-thirds non-white soldiers is much too high.

Popek points to the return of the Rhode Island Regiment three days later on 12 July, which shows that “38 rank and file were serving with Captain Stephen Olney’s Light Infantry Company in Virginia, a platoon of 20 soldiers was serving in Colonel Scammell’s Light Infantry Battalion, and 96 men were serving in the garrison at West Point and on boat duty on the North River.”²²⁷ Put differently, 154 of 432 rank and file soldiers or 36% of the regiment were not present at the review of 9 July. Closen, in other words, saw only 278 men. Furthermore, as Popek points out, there were only two known non-white soldiers among the 58 men serving in the two Light Infantry units in July 1781, both serving under Scammell. Three quarters of 278 men amount to 208 men, the vast majority of whom would have served in the “coloured” 6th and 8th companies of the regiment.

Popek’s research, however, shows that even those numbers are too high. In his 114-page “Table 15. Military Organization of the Integrated Rhode Island Regiment, 1781-1782”, Popek provides biographical data on every known officer, NCO and enlisted man known to have served in the regiment during that time. Based on the data collected in this table, Popek finds “67 men of color” in the Sixth Company and “70 men of color” in the Eighth Company. Once non-white soldiers serving (mostly as musicians) in other companies are

²²⁶ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 92. Though he does not mention African-Americans specifically, Hessian Jäger Captain Johann Ewald with equally impressed with the Rhode Island Regiment. Following the surrender at Yorktown he wrote: “I have seen the Rhode Island Regiment march and perform several mountings of the guard, which left nothing to criticize. The men were complete masters of their legs, carried their weapons well, held their heads straight, faced right with moving an eye, and wheeled so excellently without their officers having to shout much, that the regiment looked like it was dressed in line with a string. Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War: A Hessian Journal, Captain Johann Ewald, Field Jäger Corps*. Joseph P. Tustin, translator and editor. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 340.

²²⁷ Daniel M. Popek, *They “... fought bravely, but were unfortunate:” The True Story of Rhode Island’s ‘Black Regiment’ and the failure of Segregation in Rhode Island’s Continental Line, 1777-1783* (Bloomington, Indiana: AuthorHouse, 2015), p. 508.

added, the combined total rises to 141 men. Once “37 men of color” he categorizes as “Miscellaneous/Recruits” are added, the total of known non-white soldiers rises to 178 or 27.8%, which Popek is prepared to round up to 30% or about 190, excluding (Field Officers and all Staff Officers).²²⁸ That number seems to confirm Closen’s visual estimate of two-thirds or 208 men, but these men never served concurrently in the regiment.²²⁹

Life as a soldier in the Continental Army was hard, floggings a daily occurrence.²³⁰ In an affidavit to the pension application of Abraham Childers, Stephen Arther remembered that Childers had warned him “never to go into the regular service, that to volunteer, for a regular soldier lived a dogs life.”²³¹ But African-Americans faced discrimination, obstacles and dangers no white soldier ever encountered, viz. some of them had run away from their owners. One of them was Anthony Griffin (or Griffith) of the Sixth Company. He had run away from his owner when British forces under General William Howe landed at head of Elk in August 1777 and in February 1778 had enlisted in the Rhode Island regiment. When his regiment lay encamped at Head of Elk waiting to embark for Yorktown, his owner Luke Griffith demanded that his property be returned to him. On 9 September Benjamin Lincoln ordered Griffin to be discharged and returned as a slave to Luke Griffith.²³²

The findings of Popek and other researchers have shown that a statistically significant number of soldiers in the Rhode Island Regiment were Native American,²³³ but there were a few other non-white soldiers in the Continental Army as well. The “Size-Roll of the First Company of Foot, 1st NJ Regt, Capt. Matthias Ogden, 9 July 1779” lists 40 men, mostly in their low 20s, but Terence Smith is 62, but there are four 16-year-olds in the regiment as well. Among the 40 men is 23-year-old John Newton, described as a barber from “Bengaul, yellow complexion, talks good English”.²³⁴

²²⁸ Popek, *True Story*, p. 472.

²²⁹ When the regiment marched through Philadelphia on 4 September 1781, it counted 116 Black soldiers in its ranks with another two detached to the Corps of Sappers and Miners and now seven men serving in Scammell’s Light Infantry Battalion. John U. Rees, *They Were Good Soldiers’. African-Americans serving in the Continental Army, 1775-1783* (Warwick, UK: Helion and Company, 2019), pp. 72- 81, the numbers on p. 77.

²³⁰ See in particular Harry M. Ward, *George Washington’s Enforcers. Policing the Continental Army* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), pp. 154-166: Corporal Punishment.

²³¹ Pension application of Abraham Childers, R 1922.

²³² Popek, *True Story*, p. 513.

²³³ There were also Native Americans who offered to serve on the American/Allied side, e.g. on 1 September 1781, “about 40 Indians, from Oneida and other neighboring tribes, came to the army, on their way after Generals Washington and Rochambeau” Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 281.

²³⁴ MG 833: First New Jersey Continental Regiment Account Book 1779-1782, Rutgers University Special Collections, New Brunswick, NJ. Newton had enlisted for the duration of the war but did not march with his regiment to Yorktown; the Muster Roll of Captain Forman’s Company of 7 April 1780 lists Newton as “Deserted to the Enemy”. <https://www.fold3.com/image/10126518>

France had used individual blacks in her armed forces since the late 17th century and experimented with all non-white units since the 1760s in Europe, India, Africa, and in the Caribbean. During the War of the Austrian Succession from 1740 to 1748, Maurice de Saxe's *Volontaires de Saxe* contained a brigade of Uhlans made up of blacks and non-whites from Guinea, Senegal, Congo, Santo Domingo, Pondichery and other places. From 1748 until Maurice's death in 1750, they were stationed in Chambord, whence the *Volontaires* were broken up and its members distributed among the cavalry regiments of the French army.

The *Compagnies des Indes Orientales*, used native troops or *cipayes* (English = *sepoys*) in India in the 1720s and 1730s already; by 1753 at the latest the native troops were uniformly equipped, dressed, and organized into independent units; in 1784 the French Infantry manual of 1776 was adapted to service in India.²³⁵ On the isle of Goree off the East coast of Africa, Gouverneur Le Baillif de Mesnager in the summer of 1765 created the "Laptots de Goree", an inter-racial but short-lived unit where slave or free, "blancs, mulatres, ou noirs y seront indistinctement admis," even as non-commissioned officers.

During the reorganization of the French Colonial service, a Royal *ordonnance* of 18 August 1772, created the regiments du Cap, Port-au-Prince, la Martinique and la Guadeloupe for service in the Caribbean, and the regiments Ile de France, Port-Louis, and Ile de Bourbon to serve in Africa. The latter were ordered on 1 January 1775, the former on 1 May of the same year, to recruit their musicians exclusively from local blacks. In the Louisiana Territory on the American mainland, which the Royal government had taken over from the *Compagnies des Indes* in 1731, the French mustered the first militia company of "free men of color" in 1736. This militia remained intact for the next 70 years, much to the horror of the first American governor, who did his best to undermine the militia as quickly as possible once the Louisiana territory had become American in 1805.²³⁶

Blacks fought on the American mainland as well. Raised in the spring of 1779 by Admiral Charles d'Estaing in Santo Domingo, the 545 black men of the *Chasseurs Volontaires* (and 156 white Volunteer Grenadiers) had set sail for the Georgia in August and taken part in the failed siege of Savannah in October. A company of these about 60 black chasseurs were the sole French troops participating in the defense of Charleston in 1780 where they were taken prisoner. Their fate is unknown, but most likely their captors sold them into slavery in the Caribbean.

²³⁵ *Manuel du Cipaye* (Pondichery, 1784).

²³⁶ The theme is expertly covered in Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancient Regime* (Oxford, University Press, 1996) and in the collection of primary sources by Pierre H. Boulle and Sue Peabody, *Le Droit des Noirs en France au Temps de l'esclavage Textes choisis et commentés* (Paris, 2014).

When Rochambeau's expeditionary corps stepped ashore in Newport in June 1780, it counted at least one black soldier in its ranks: Jean Pandua, "un fils d'amour" according to his enlistment record, had joined the Bourbonnais regiment as a 15-year-old musician in 1777; after five years of service he deserted on 27 October 1782, somewhere between Breakneck and Isaac Barnes's Tavern in Southington, Connecticut.²³⁷ Some French officers such as Baron Closen, hired free Blacks as servants, others such as Rochambeau himself, his chief medical officer Jean-François Coste and Count Robert Dillon of Lauzun's Legion, purchased one or more male and female slaves, mostly at an auction in Newport on 13 June 1781.²³⁸ Most of them remained in the United States, and if they lived long enough, their names appear in pension applications viz. Jacob Francis:

On 9 June 1829, "Jacob Francis a coloured man [...] made solemn oath that he is now about Sixty years of age, that during the War of the Revolution he was a servant in the French Army under the command of Rochambeau, that he was present at Little York in Virginia at the taking of Cornwallis, and although a Boy of Twelve or Thirteen years of Age he perfectly well remembers seeing Edward Coleman [...] Jacob hisXmark Francis²³⁹

Baron Closen, on the other hands, whose black servant Peter had been "born of free parents in Connecticut," accompanied him to Europe in 1783,²⁴⁰ Others took their slaves with them even though they would be free upon arrival in France, e.g. Count Robert Dillon, who had already purchased two slaves in Newport in June 1781, took also took a slave named Jean Baptist Codit, aged 23 from Philadelphia, with him when he sailed out of that city in May 1783.²⁴¹

Precise numbers of non-White soldiers in the other regiments in the Continental Army marching with Rochambeau's regiments to Yorktown are not available and/or incomplete, but it seems reasonable to estimate that around 175 to 180 non-White, mostly African-American, soldiers crossed the Hudson with their regiments for Yorktown in August 1781.

²³⁷ A thorough investigation into the relationships between French forces and African-Americans and Native Americans does not exist but should be conducted as part of the preparatory work for the 250th anniversary of the American Revolution and the role of France in the war.

²³⁸ See my *The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the Commonwealth of Rhode Island, 1781 - 1783. An Historical and Architectural Survey*. (Providence, Rhode Island: Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 2015), pp. 225-233.

²³⁹ Pension Application of Edward Coleman (R 2160), "a coloured man" enlisted in the Company commanded by Captain Sinclair, in the regiment commanded by Colonel Mayhem or Maiham", possibly Hezekiah Maham, Third South Carolina Regiment. In 1829 both lived in New York City.

²⁴⁰ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 187.

²⁴¹ "Register of Declarations of Blacks entering France, 1749-1782." Z1D 139, 1785. Archives Nationales de France, Paris. I am grateful to Prof. Pierre H. Boule of McGill University for sharing with me a number of declarations relating to Blacks brought into France by Rochambeau's officers.

8) A Note on the Place of Non-White Soldiers in the New York Line Regiments and in the New York Militia

In July 1780, “Captain [Ebenezer] Theall was killed on Colonel [Moses] Hatfield’s excursion”²⁴² in an ambush set by Westchester County Militia “a short distance west of Round Hill on his return from a foraging excursion at Stanwich and that neighborhood.”²⁴³ James Hopkins “saw his clothes afterwards. Aaron Palmer belonged to Mosier’s (written over *Mosier’s* is *Sackett’s*) company this time which were divided into three parties, one commanded by [Captain Richard] Sackett, one by [Lieutenant William] Mosier, and the other by Sergeant McLeod. [...] Aaron Palmer got Theall’s boots, and said he kicked very much while he was taking them off, being then in the agonies of death and dying very hard. Aaron belonged to Gilbert Palmer of North Castle, a moderate whig in sentiment but who took no part in the struggle. Aaron was so good a soldier and so fond of turning out in the militia that his master made him free, fearing lest the notorious activity of the slave might render the owner obnoxious to the Refugees.”²⁴⁴

The killing of a man in an ambush in 1780 in Westchester County by itself is hardly noteworthy. Ever since the British captured New York City in 1776, the area north of the city was subject to innumerable foraging raids causing devastation and sometimes death. What is remarkable, however, is the fact that a black slave formed part of the unit that set up the ambush and was later freed by his owner out of fear of retaliation from Loyalists. It is remarkable, because the militia law in force in the state of New York in the summer of 1780, *An ACT for regulating the Militia of the State of New-York* passed on 3 April 1778, expressly excluded slaves from the militia or any other military service. It read that “every able bodied male Person Indians and slaves excepted residing within this State from sixteen years of age to Fifty (...) shall immediately (...) tender himself to be enrolled”.²⁴⁵

²⁴² McDonald Papers vol. 6 (1848/49), stamped p. 158/159, p. 159 handwritten. Interview with James Hopkins, 10 November 1848. The interview starts on p. 141.

²⁴³ McDonald Papers vol. 3 (1845), stamped p. 28/307, handwritten p. 172, interview with William Theall, 20 November 1845. Theall was returning from Stanwich on John Street to Bedford Road which becomes King Street going south. The ambush took place between Round Hill and Quaker Ridge/Riversville Road just across the New York State Line north-east of the Westchester County Airport.

²⁴⁴ McDonald Papers vol. 6 (1848/9), stamped p. 827/101, handwritten pp. 158/9. Interview with James Hopkins, 10 November 1848.

²⁴⁵ A complete overview of laws relating to the militia in the colonies can be found in U.S. Selective Service System, *Backgrounds of Selective Service: Military Obligation, the American Tradition, Compilation of Enactments of Compulsion from Earliest Settlements of the Original Settlements on 1607 Through the Articles of Confederation 1789*. Special Monograph No. 1, Volume II, 14 Parts in four volumes. (Washington, DC, 1947). Part 1: General Information; Part 2: Connecticut Enactments; Part 3: Delaware Enactments; Part 4: Georgia Enactments; Part 5: Maryland Enactments; Part 6: Massachusetts Enactments; Part 7: New Hampshire Enactments; Part 8: New

When Gilbert Palmer freed his slave Aaron sometime after July 1780, he not only released him from slavery. He also made him subject to duty in the militia and a full citizen of the State of New York.

The term *militia* derives comes from Latin *miles* meaning soldier, from where it entered Old English as *milite*, i.e., soldiers, and has been used in the plural ever since. By the 1590s the term *militia* had come to mean "the body of soldiers in the service of a sovereign or a state". By the middle of the next century the term had been narrowed down to describe a military force raised from the civilian population of a country or region to supplement a regular army in an emergency. The qualifiers "raised from the civilian population" and "to supplement a regular army" are important since they

- 1) distinguish a militiaman from a professional soldier and
- 2) define the role of the militia within a country's military establishment

Militia as a force "raised from the civilian population" first of all means that the militia is "the people in arms", a definition used by Samuel Johnson's famous dictionary of 1766.²⁴⁶ Under the specific political and social conditions of the New World, i.e. the attempt of thirteen colonies trying to unite into a single nation, and the existence of chattel slavery, this meant that in 1776 there were 13 "nations" with 12 different militia laws – Pennsylvania did not have a militia - whose definition of "the people" would determine their personnel contributions in the War of Independence and by implication the composition and structure of the armed forces, be that the Continental Army or the Militia forces, fighting Great Britain.²⁴⁷ The legal and societal parameters within which the nascent United States raise its armed forces were delineated by the fact that

- 1) None of the colonies (other than Pennsylvania which does not have a militia before 17 March 1777) ever questioned the right of state authorities to compulsion: one can join the Continental Army, but one does not "join" a militia. Membership in a militia of any of the colonies, and after 4 July 1776 the states, is not voluntary: it is a

Jersey Enactments; Part 9: New York Enactments; Part 10: North Carolina Enactments; Part 11: Pennsylvania Enactments; Part 12: Rhode Island Enactments; Part 13: South Carolina Enactments; Part 14: Virginia Enactments. The pagination begins anew with Page 1 for every part of this compilation. The quote for the 1778 act for New York is taken from Vol. II, Part 9, p. 271.

²⁴⁶ Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language in which the words are deduced from their originals, explained in their different meanings and authorized by the names of the writers in whose works they are found*. 3rd ed., corr. 2 vols., (London, 1766), vol. 2, p. 123.

²⁴⁷ This overview only lists regular militia bills, not emergency legislation establishing Minuteman Companies, Flying Camps or similar ad-hoc organizations created in New England during the turbulent months of April 1775 to the establishment of the Continental Army on 14 June 1776.

duty and obligation required of all who fall within the parameters of the law establishing the militia. These parameters can be any of the following:

- a) gender b) color, c) age, d) occupation, e) legal status, f) religion.²⁴⁸
- 2) There is the Continental Army as a “national” organization, and militias as “state” organizations. After 14 June 1775 there is a “national army” but no “national militia”. Congress assigned each state a number of regiments to be raised there for the Continental Army based on the state’s population. Providing pay, food, shelter, clothing, arms to these regiments was the responsibility of each state.
- 3) Enlistment terms in the Continental Army are clearly defined – “nine months”, “three years”, “for the war” &c - just as in the militia: “from age 16 to 50” etc.
- 4) There is no enlistment bonus for service for militiamen on militia duty.
- 5) There are no substitutes for registration on the militia list, though once called up for service men could in some states send substitutes in their stead.²⁴⁹
- 6) Militiamen on militia duty do not wear uniforms.
- 7) As a rule, militiamen serve only within their own state.²⁵⁰
- 8) Militiamen are required to provide their own weapons, though most colonies/states provided subsidies and/or the equipment for those who could not afford them.
- 9) Militia usually does not get paid unless they were called to actual service or responding to alarm lasting more than a pre-set number of days.

²⁴⁸ As the war progressed most states excluded prisoners and deserters from their militias; Maryland in “An ACT relating to prisoners and deserters from the British army and navy” of 23 June 1778: “Deserters to be exempt from all militia duty, during the war; and they, as well as prisoners, are disqualified from acting as substitutes; and every contract they may enter into, to oblige themselves to act as such, shall be void.” See <http://aomol.net/000001/000203/html/am203--197.html>

²⁴⁹ The New Jersey Militia Act of 23 September 1777 expressly allowed and regulated the use of substitutes for men called up for service. Vol. II, Part 8, p. 54.

²⁵⁰ “AN ACT for regulating the Militia of the State of New-York” of 3 April 1778 gave the commander-in-chief authority to order up to one third of the militia to serve out of state for up to three months. The act is published in *Backgrounds of Selective Service* Vol. II, Part 9, p. 285.

- 10) Militia companies usually elect their company-grade officers, i.e., lieutenants and captains, who in turn elect field grade officers, i.e., Major, and up.
- 11) Especially in New England the militia is often divided into a “training-band” and an “alarm-list”.²⁵¹
- 12) Occasionally even groups exempt from service were required to have the weapons specified in the militia laws.²⁵²
- 13) Militia laws apply to the militia only and are independent of other legislation passed to raise troops for the Continental Establishment or specific purposes during the war. In those cases eligibility for service was often different from that laid out in the militia laws. The men drafted or recruited often came from those segments of the population who were exempt from, or barred from, militia duty such as African-Americans, Native Americans or slaves or both.
- 14) Service in the Continental Army could mean freedom for slaves either at the beginning of service or after the service was completed if so stipulated in the law.
- 15) Men entered onto the Militia rolls could be excused from serving, e.g. ministers or ferrymen, or refuse to serve, e.g. pacifist groups such as Quakers and Mennonites, but they still were part of “the people in arms”. In most states African-Americans and Native Americans, either free or enslaved, were not on the militia rolls and thus by definition not part of “the people in arms”.

The existence of, and need for, state militias, was explicitly confirmed in Article VI of the Articles of Confederation of 15 November 1777. It squarely placed the responsibility for militia with the states:

every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutered, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

If Article VI circumvented the issue of free as well as enslaved Blacks and Native Americans, the individual states had to address that question in their militia laws. It is

²⁵¹ The “Training-Band” usually consisted of younger men called up regularly for militia training, everyone else was on the “Alarm List”.

²⁵² E.g., in the Delaware law of 5 November 1757, where only “minister of the Gospel and Quaker Preachers” were exempt from this requirement. Vol. II Part 3, p. 23.

within this context that the militia laws and service of non-white men in the militia of the State of New York and by implication in Westchester County need to be interpreted.

New York militia laws passed before the outbreak of the War of Independence such as the *Act for the better Regulating the Militia of this Colony* of 21 September 1744, stipulated that “no Indian, Negro, or Mullato Slave, shall be Listed, or do any Duty belonging to the Militia in this Colony.” The *Act for the Regulating the Militia of this Colony* passed on 27 February 1746, uniformly stated that “Every Person from Sixteen to Sixty Years of Age Shall Inlist himself with the Captain, or in his absence with the next commanding Officer ... in the City, Town, Borough Mannor, or Precinct, where such Person shall reside.”²⁵³ Included in the “Every Person” stipulation were free African-Americans and Native Americans but not slaves: only in the most dire situations did the state have the right to dispose of other people’s property.²⁵⁴ Both laws thus included stipulations that in case of war, rebellion or civic unrest slaves could be taken from their owners, if necessary by force, for service with the artillery. The last colonial militia bill, passed on 1 April 1775, entitled *AN ACT for the better regulating the Militia of the Colony of New York*, stipulated that “from and after the First Day of May next every Person from Sixteen to Fifty Years of Age residing within this Colony not already inlisted ... shall inlist himself”. There were no exceptions for free African-Americans or Native Americans in this act which also stipulated that “all bought Servants during their Servitude shall be free from being listed in any Troop or Company within this Colony.”²⁵⁵ The term “bought Servant” covered both white indentured servants serving for a specified term to pay off the cost of their passage as well as slaves.

The 1775 law was set to expire on 30 April 1778, and so on 3 April 1778, the New York State Legislature replaced the 1775 law with *AN ACT for regulating the Militia of the State of New-York*. It required that “every able bodied male Person Indians and slaves excepted residing within this State from sixteen years of age to Fifty (...) shall immediately (...) tender himself to be enrolled”.²⁵⁶ Free African-Americans are still enrolled in the muster rolls, but Native Americans are excluded. This law remained in effect until 4 April 1782, when it was replaced with a new *ACT to regulate the Militia* which stipulated that “every able bodied male Person (Indians and slaves excepted) residing within this State from sixteen years of

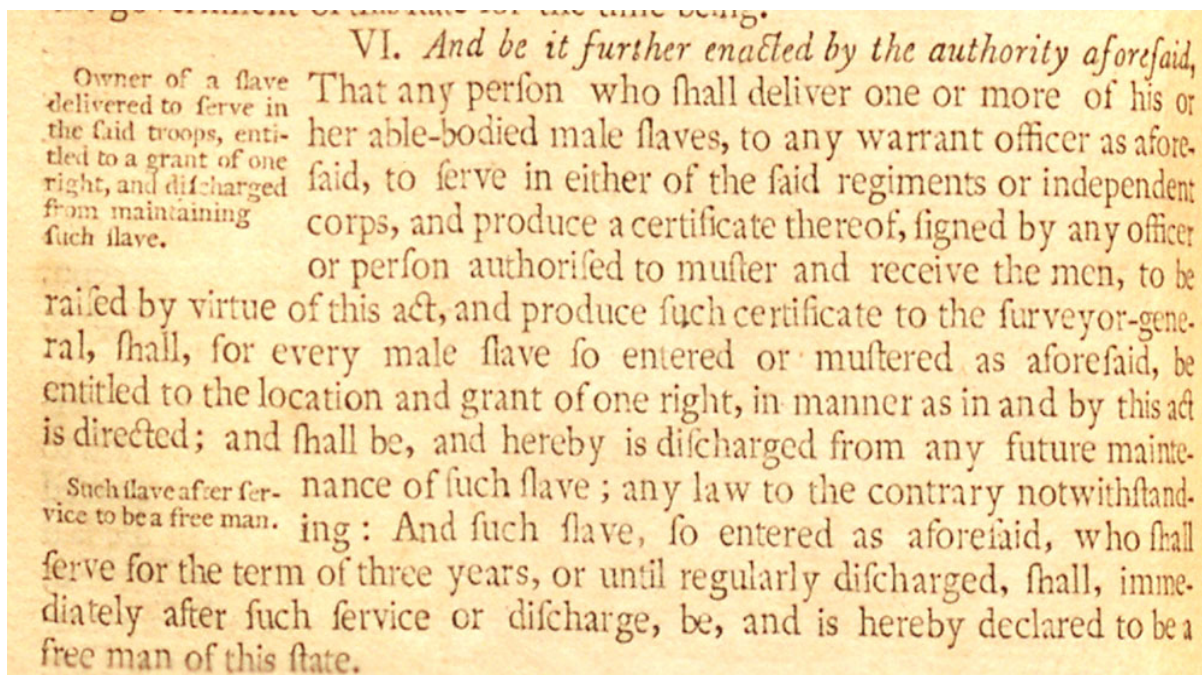
²⁵³ *The Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (New York: J. B. Lyon, State Printer, 1894), p. 394. The quote from the act of 1746 *ibid.* p. 512. On p. 519 it repeats verbatim the prohibition for slaves of the 1744 law.

²⁵⁴ See for example the table “Percentage of military-aged males to be enlisted” for 1760 in Edward H. Knoblauch, “Mobilizing Provincials for War: The Social Composition of New York Forces in 1760.” *New York History* 78 (April 1997), pp. 147-172, p. 160, where he lists 2,908 whites and 418 “Black” men in Westchester County, keeping in mind that “black” included also Native Americans.

²⁵⁵ Vol. II, Part 9, p. 251 and p. 257.

²⁵⁶ Vol. II, Part 9, p. 271.

age to Fifty (...) shall immediately (...) be enrolled".²⁵⁷ Once again, free African-Americans were to be enrolled.



Slaves, being the private property of their owners, were never listed on militia muster rolls in New York. One time, however, the State Assembly passed a bill which stipulated that they could, with the consent of their owners, serve in one of the New York Regiments in the Continental Army. On 20 March 1781, General Assembly of the New York State passed a bill with the title *An ACT for raising two regiments for the defence of this State on bounties of unappropriated lands* "upon the present Continental establishment ... whenever the congress of the United States shall give assurances that the regiments aforesaid shall be armed, accoutered, clothed, subsisted and paid at the expence of the United States." This law is not a militia law: it raised troops for three years' Continental Service in one of the regiments the state was required to contribute to the Continental Army.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Vol. II, Part 9, p. 310.

²⁵⁸ The image is reproduced from <http://blog.nyhistory.org/black-history-month-18th-century/> and also available at <https://www.nyhistory.org/library/blog/?p=724>. The text is in *Laws of the State of New York passed at the Sessions of the Legislature held in the years 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 and 1784, inclusive, Being the first seven Sessions*. Vol. 1 (Albany, 1886), pp. 349-351 *An Act for granting certain Lands promised to be given as Bounty Lands, by Laws of this State, and for other purposes therein mentioned* passed on 11 May 1784" printed in *The Balloting Book, and other Documents relating to Military Bounty Lands in the State of New-York* (Packard & VanBenthuyzen: Albany, 1825), p. 7, confirms eligibility for land grants based on *An Act for raising two regiments for the defence of this State on bounties of unappropriated lands. Passed the 20th of March, 1781* and *An act for raising troops to complete the line of this state in the service of the United States; and the two regiments to be raised on bounties of unappropriated lands, and for the further*

Article VI included a provision that encouraged slave owners to contribute male slaves to New York's Continental Army regiments. Unlike the better-known Rhode Island law of 14 February 1778, which stipulated "That every Slave, so inlisting, shall ... be absolutely FREE, as though he had never been encumbered with any Kind of Servitude or Slavery", a slave enlisted under the New York legislation remained the slave of the owner who had "volunteered" him until he had served out his three years or was discharged. Only then would he be "declared to be a free man of this state". While serving as a soldier, his owner would collect the man's wages and be entitled to receive a land grant as remuneration. The *Journal of the New York State General Assembly* for 20 March 1781, records that the House passed the bill and it was "Ordered that Mr. [James] Jay and Mr. Cantine carry the said Bill to the Honorable the Senate, and request their concurrence." The Senate concurred and the bill became law. If New York excluded slaves from its militia, its "people in arms", the state was at the same time prepared to let slaves serve in its regiments in the Continental Army.

The bill of 20 March 1781 had reached out to slaves, i.e. men not on the militia rolls, but the exclusion of slaves from military service is repeated in all other legislation raising or drafting troops from the militia for the Continental Army such as *AN ACT to provide the troops of this State in the service of the United States, with clothing and other necessaries* that had passed on 11 March 1780: "Be it enacted by the People of the State of New York represented in Senate and Assembly (...) That troops shall be raised for the defence of the frontiers of this State for the ensuing campaign whenever the congress of the United States shall have declared that the said troops shall be paid and subsisted at the expence of the said United States: That the commanding officer of each regiment of militia shall cause just and exact lists to be made and returned of all the male inhabitants (slaves excepted) of the age of sixteen years and upwards resident within the district of the regiment." Occasionally the state also raised "levies to reinforce the army of the United States", e.g. the law of 24 June 1780, "to compleat the continental battalions" starting on 1 July 1780 for six months service. The completion was to be achieved "by drafts or detachments from the militia".

Similarly, the troops raised under the "ACT to raise troops for the defence of the frontiers" of 11 March 1780, and the "ACT to raise troops for the immediate defence of the State" of 10 March 1781, for service within the State of New York were to be raised from the militia lists.²⁵⁹ These examples show that the militia rolls provided the records from which replacements for the Continental Army as well as for temporary units raised for the

defence of the frontiers of this state, passed on 23 March 1782. The 1782 became necessary because the recruitment needs had not been met. The 1782 legislation however no longer included the Article VI regarding the "volunteering" of slaves for service in the two New York Regiments but instead speaks of engaging "an able bodied man". *Laws of the State of New York*, pp. 432-437.

²⁵⁹ *Laws of the State of New York*, p. 275, p. 284, and p. 336 and Vol. II, p. 287 (11 March 1780) and p. 295 (10 March 1781).

defense of the state were drawn. Evidence from oral history interviews in the McDonald Papers shows that Aaron Palmer may not have been the only African-American serving the American cause in the ranks of the forces fighting Loyalist supporters of King George III.

The law of 10 March 1781 was “to raise troops for the immediate defence of the State” for nine months service, i.e. until 1 January 1782 and was modeled after the law of 10 March 1780 which had stipulated that “each regiment of the militia shall cause just and exact lists to be made and returned of all the male inhabitants (slaves excepted) of the age of sixteen years and upwards resident within the district of the regiment.”²⁶⁰ Unlike the 1778 militia law which excluded Indians and slaves and set an upper age limit of 50, this legislation had no age limit and allowed the enlistment of Native Americans. In an attempt to expand the man-power pool, this law, like the law passed ten days later which reached out to slaves, the legislature here reached out to another group it had heretofore excluded.

One of the companies raised on the basis of this law stood under the command of Captain Richard Sackett, the other under Captain Daniel Williams. “A Return of Capt. Sackett’s & Capt. Williams’s Companys in Lieut. Colo. Albert Pawling’s Regiment, of New York Levies for Eight Months, for the month of June 7th 1781” signed by Richard Sackett and addressed to Gov. George Clinton in Poughkeepsie, showed Sackett’s company at a strength of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 drummers and 55 privates for a total of 68 men.²⁶¹ During the summer and into the fall of 1781, Sackett suffered losses in hostile encounters with Delancey’s Loyalists. Sylvanus Ferris was wounded during an encounter at North Castle on 5 September 1781 by a musket ball that entered his left cheek, broke his jawbone, and lodged in his left ear. Ferris was discharged on 1 December 1781.²⁶²

On 21 November 1781, Governor Clinton pleaded with General William Heath from Poughkeepsie to send troops to the New York-Connecticut line: “The Inhabitants of Bedford & Poundridge in West Chester County, alarmed at their present exposed Situation, have applied to me to interest myself in their Behalf & to request that the two Companies of Levies commanded by Capt. Williams & Sackett may be disposed of for their Protection.”²⁶³ Heath obliged the governor and a few days later the two companies, less than half its June strength, were patrolling about 12 to 15 south of the Poundridge-Bedford corridor, and five miles south of where Captain Theall had been killed in July 1780. In the morning of 2 December 1781, Sackett’s company lay encamped on the southern edge of the campus of

²⁶⁰ Vol. II, Part 9, p. 286.

²⁶¹ Williams’ company showed a strength of 67 men. *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York 1777-1795 – 1801-1804* (Albany: Oliver A. Quayle, 1904) vol. 7, pp. 16/17. Sackett’s commission dated 27 April 1781, is in his Pension Application W18994, filed by his widow Sabatha.

²⁶² Pension Application Sylvanus Ferris W 2088.

²⁶³ *Public Papers of George Clinton*, vol. 7, p. 511.

Purchase College on the New York-Connecticut state line.²⁶⁴ Sackett, his brother James, one of the two lieutenants in the company, and Ensign Samuel Banks went to have breakfast in a house a short distance from their company.²⁶⁵ As they were breakfasting a troop of cavalry under the Loyalist Lieutenant Colonel James Holmes and Captain Samuel Kipp surrounded the house. By separating from their company, the three men had made a grave mistake. Samuel Youngs remembered how “when he was about 17, his father Joseph Youngs' house was headquarters of the Regiment that Richard Sackett was captain of.” Samuel had volunteered for the Regiment and “well remembers the time that the said Capt. Rich^d Sackett was taken prisoner that his Lt. W^m Mosier was at a house about one quarter of a Mile North from the place where Capt Sackett had halted. That Lt. Mosier had about thirty four Men with him that after the British Refugees had Captured the said Capt. Sackett and then with him made an attempt on Lt. Mosier who defended himself and Brot off all his Men that Deponent well Remembers that the said Capt. Sackett was much blamed for thus separating himself from his men and Lt. Mosier.”²⁶⁶

Lieutenant Mosier, now in command of the company, rallied his men for the pending attack by cavalry twice their strength. None of the participants ever forgot the next two and a half to three hours and recounted their experiences in their pension applications as well as to McDonald when he conducted his oral history interviews. The most detailed description is provided by an African-American known as John Patterson (or Peterson) who told McDonald in a series of interviews of 12 and 19 October 1848, that “My real name is Patterson and I was born in New Jersey opposite Spuyten Duyvel Creek in the State of New Jersey. My father’s place where I was born was on the banks of the Hudson river.”²⁶⁷

“David Jones and [Sergeant] David Slater belonged to Lieutenant William Mosier’s company. Slater and Mosier addressed us appealing our courage and patriotism. Slater assisted Mosier in forming us into a solid square – 18 of us. Slater and Jones were both deserters from the British Army and both first rate soldiers. Mosier and Slater told us not to

²⁶⁴ Pension Application S23638, Miles Foreman. Foreman had enlisted in Sackett’s company on 27 April 1781. The Thomas estate comprised of all the land where Purchase College and Pepsico are now located. The main house was on what is now Lincoln Avenue, north of Anderson Hill Road. Captain Sackett, and presumably the other two men as well, were exchanged in March 1782.

²⁶⁵ Pension Application S 7449 of James Sacket, a Lieutenant in Capt. Richard Sackett’s Company, also with a commission of April 1781. Born in 1762, “declarant was taken prisoner with Sackett” and taken to the Sugar House prison in New York City. The deposition was made before Samuel Youngs since Sacket, living in Syracuse at the time, was too sick to appear in court.

²⁶⁶ William Mosher’s Pension Application S 13994 of 18 Oct 1828 contributes little to the story. He only stated in his deposition “that during that period Captain Sackett was taken a prisoner by the enemy and taken to the city of Newyork and that this deponent had the command of said company during the residue of said time.”

²⁶⁷ McDonald Papers vol. 4 (1848) stamped p. 171/549, handwritten p. 70, interview with Patterson on 12 October 1848. Patterson does not mention the incident in his Pension Application S 43783.

leave our ranks but to stand steady and obey the word of command. Kipp knew me for he had recently taken me a prisoner, and I was under him confined in Morrisania and New York for some time. Holmes (?) (Kipp?) [Holmes and Kipp – both probably;] [sic. by McDonald] called upon us to surrender promising quarter &c. Mosier refused. Holmes [the insert here is illeg.] then drew a pistol and levelled it at Mosier who ordered his men to fire. Silvanus Strang, whom I knew very well, was killed by this fire, being shot through the body. Holmes drew a second pistol which Mosier compelled him to return, saying ‘If you point it towards me you’re a dead man!’ They were more than two hours attacking us. The field of contest was a little east of Blind Brook, and Gen. Thomas’s saw mill on the south of the road just after you raise a slight hill between Purchase Street and King Street. In the morning of the attack we were in the fields east of Purchase Street and opposite the White Plains road. Capt. Sackett was at breakfast and was taken with his brother [James] in the house. Prince Sackett a slave, (that is, a negro) of Captain Sacket, belonged to our company, stood firm, but he was a little afraid of the bullets. I, on the contrary, had no such thing as fear about me. I was then very rash. Kipp said, pointing to me: “There’s another rascal! What are you doing here, you black rascal?” &c. I then stepped quickly from the ranks and pushed my bayonet into his hip, running instantly back, and regaining my station unhurt, though struck at by Kipp and some of his men. I was much blamed for this.”²⁶⁸

Other participants confirm the set-up: James Croft deposed in his pension application that “I then joined Capt. William Mosher and we had a sore engagement with Colo Homes of the British was attacked by 46 hors and only 23 Americans in the open field when we form’d a hollow Square and put them of the Pursuit of this Small party.”²⁶⁹ They also confirm that the men facing each other in a potentially fatal stand-off knew each other. Kipp knew Paterson, because “I had just previously escaped from prison in New York, and this was the reason Kipp was so hostile to me. He insulted me and said, ‘There’s a rascal escaped from New York! We’ll have you again there before night!’ &c.”²⁷⁰ Another member of Mosier’s company was Asa Jones, born on 14 May 1740 in Old Saybrook. Jones died aged 92 on 26 November 1832. In his pension application of 30 July 1832, Jones deposed that he was “with a Scouting party with 23 Men Near the town of Rye in the County aforesaid and was Second in Command we were attacked by about 65 British dragoons we fired upon them killed 17 of their horses & three men when they retreated some of our Men were

²⁶⁸ McDonald Papers vol. 3 (1845-46), stamped p. 265-442, handwritten pp. 100-102. Interview with Jack Patterson on 12 October 1845.

²⁶⁹ Pension Application James Croft W20931. In an affidavit to Mosier’s/Mosher’s application Croft stated “I also remember the memorable attack [illeg. ?] the British Light hors Made upon the Said Mosher with more than fifty hors with he the said Mosher had only 24 Men and formed a hollow Square and beat of the British hors and stood their Ground and kilt^d several of the British Men as was a Noted Sircumstance.”

²⁷⁰ Interview of 12 October 1845.

wounded but none killed – For our conduct in this action Lieutenant Mosher & myself the two Commanding Officers of the party, received a letter from Gen^l Washington approbating our conduct and promising to both of us promotion but I never received a commission owing I presume to the Speedy termination of the War.”²⁷¹

In his *Memoirs of the American War*, General William Heath wrote under 4 December 1781: “Capt. Sackett ... having gone a small distance from his detachment, on the morning of the 2d, was taken prisoner by a party of the enemy.” One man and two horses killed, eight wounded, incl. Kipp.”²⁷² Reporting to George Washington from his headquarters in the Highlands that day, Heath added at the end of his letter the “P.S. On the morning of the 2d a skirmish happened near the lines between one of our scouts and a party of the enemy, in which the latter were repulsed with loss; but captain Sackett of the New York levies was unfortunately taken a few minutes before the skirmish happened. Inclosed in the account I have received.” The enclosure by Mosher dated Bedford, 3 December 1781, read:

"Sir,

Yesterday morning I being at Harrison's purchase with captain [Richard] Sackett with a party of 26 men on a Scout, captain [Richard] Sackett went to a house about a quarter of a mile from the party and was cut off from us in a few minutes by the enemy, getting between him and me. The enemy immediately after making him prisoner advanced with their whole force, which was about forty-five horse, and attacked my party; but I repulsed them in about fifteen minutes, drove them from the field, killed one of their men, two horses and wounded eight of their men—Captain Kipp was shot in two places through his body and arm, and the inhabitants say he is mortally wounded. I had not one man killed or wounded. Colonel Holmes commanded the enemy's party.

I am, sir Your's,

W. Mosher²⁷³

²⁷¹ Pension Application Asa Jones S 13568.

²⁷² Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 340.

²⁷³ Quoted from <https://founders.archives.gov/?q=mosher&s=1111311111&r=1>

McDonald Papers vol. 1 (1844), page 67/31 stamped, p. 30 handwritten, has an interview with Lott Merritt, of 19 October 1844, where Merritt stated that “Mosier is not entitled to the credit of the famous defense against Kipp's horse. It is chiefly due to Slater or Slaughter, an officer (or Sergeant) under him, who addressed the men telling them what to do, and exhorting them to be firm and they would make a successful defense &c. Kipp made successive charges upon them for an hour and a half. The negro who served in [written over *in: with*] the party was a slave (or servant) of Captain Sackett.” i.e. Prince Sackett.

A few days later on 7 December 1781, Heath told Governor Clinton from head-quarters in the Hudson Highlands that "Captain Sackett was unfortunately taken prisoner the morning of the 2d near Harrison's purchase, being at a little distance from his men. The enemy, soon after, about 45 horse, attacked Lieutenant Mosher with about 26 men, who made a most gallant defence, and defeated the enemy. Lieutenant colonel Holmes of Delancy's corps and captain Kipp had their horses shot under them – Kipp wounded [it is] said, mortally – one man killed and six or seven wounded, without having a man killed or wounded on our part."²⁷⁴

Caleb Tompkins of Scarsdale interviewed Mosier who told him that Holmes took the Sacketts prisoners as they were breakfasting in a house "near Thomas' mill in King Street" i.e. NYSR 120A, while Mosier with 22 men was in another house. "Finding it impossible to escape, Mosier formed his men into a hollow square, facing outward, with orders not to fire until he did, calculating to make the best terms he could before surrendering. The refugees came on at full speed & shouting. When they pressed on Mosier's men they kept them back by pricking their horses noses with their bayonets. Holmes approached near to Morris (being acquainted with him) & ordered him to surrender & he should have good quarters. Mosier said he would consider it, knowing (so he told me) that they would frequently promise quarters and when they surrendered cut them to pieces. Holmes parlayed with him some minutes, then drew a pistol and discharged at Mosier, the ball passing near the temples. Holmes was in the act of drawing another when Mosier leveled his piece at him and ordered him to return his pistol or he would blow him off his horse. Holmes returned the pistol into the holster. Capt. Kipp (who left North Castle & joined the enemy) rode around to Mosier, damned him & ordered him to surrender & commenced cutting at him with his sword, when Mosier fired at him, the horse reared & was shot in the breast, he fell with Kip's thigh under him. The men fired & the horsemen ran off helter skelter through the fields. A Negro (belonging to Capt. Sackett) who was with Mosier sprang from the ranks and thrust his bayonet into Kipp.

By the time the enemy formed again, Mosier's men had reloaded & when the enemy again charged, Mosier's men gave them another shot, when they again fled, they formed, came on a third time and were saluted with another shot, when they again ran off & called on the Infantry to come on. Mosier not knowing but they might have Infantry (as they frequently had) marched off without a man hurt & wounded of of the enemy. after Mosier went off, the enemy returned procured a carriage and carried off Kipp, who it is said

²⁷⁴ *Public Papers of George Clinton* vol. 7 p. 657.

recovered from his wounds. ... Shortly after the war Mosier related this whole transaction to me personally.”²⁷⁵

These accounts confirm the details of the engagement and as such are valuable as an example of the vicious nature of the civil war waged in Westchester County. What makes Patterson’s interview so remarkable, however, are the names and racial backgrounds he provides about the men he fought with in Sackett’s remarkably diverse company.²⁷⁶

In his interview of 19 October, Patterson told McDonald: “The following are the names of the men under Lieu^t. William Mosier at the time he repulsed Captain Kipp, near General Thomas’s – viz^t. David Slater, David Jones, James Croft, Henry²⁷⁷ and Godfrey²⁷⁸ Christian or Vought (or both these surnames), John Peterson,²⁷⁹ Prince Sacket, Peter Sokkadox (an Indian) and one Mayhew (also an Indian), James Necring, Willm. Campbell (an Irishman and a good soldier). The two Indians were from the east end of Long Island, near Quogal [i.e. Quogue] - James Tuttle - ... Shubal Cunningham of Sawpit, was another of Mosiers men;²⁸⁰ also a boy, Asa Jones, Abraham Williams, one [Daniel] Loder (his name I believe

²⁷⁵ McDonald Papers vol. 7 (1849-50) stamped p. 1099/295, handwritten pp. 18-19. McDonald prefaced this section with “Caleb Tompkins (of Scarsdale) Reflections of the Revolution. Copied from a small mss volume in NY. Hist Soc.” There is no such ms in the on-line catalogue of the Historical Society.

Caleb Tompkins (1759-1846) served as a private in Col. Thomas Thomas's Regiment) during the war. In October 1776, he fled his home to escape British troops, successfully evading capture by submerging himself in a swamp. This incident was known to James Fenimore Cooper, who used a fictionalized version of it in his 1821 novel *The Spy*. (From Wikipedia entry).

²⁷⁶ Only rarely does Patterson place men at the encounter who were not there, and Isaac Lent seems to be the only participant not mentioned by Patterson. Lent “was in the skirmish at Mile Square when our party was surrounded by Col. Holmes & his Tories and cut our way thro them killed one man and wounded fourteen.” Pension Application S 13736.

²⁷⁷ Pension Application Henry Christian Vought S 46078. He deposed that he was also in a skirmish “near the town of Bedford in the County of West Chester when Col. Holmes with a Party of Tories surrounded us and we cut our way thro killing one man and wounding fourteen”. Isaac Lent and James Croft provided a supporting affidavit to Vought. They had enlisted at same time and “We both well remember being with him at the skirmish when we were surrounded by Holmes & his Tories and we concur with him in the detail he has given”.

²⁷⁸ Pension application Godfrey Vought S 23051. He enlisted again for nine months service ... in he thinks they were called the “New York Levies ... Richard Sacket was his Captain, Lieu^t. Moshier or Moser was first Lieutenant of the company. ... During this term we had an engagement with Col Holmes at “King Street” (thinks New Rochelle county) in which Cap Sackett was taken and Lieu Mosher (as above) had a desperate engagement, we killed one man dead and it was reported that forty four others were wounded.”

²⁷⁹ Pension Application John Peterson S 43783 does not mention the incident at all.

²⁸⁰ Pension Application Shubal Cunningham S43425 does not mention the incident. Cunningham fought at Trenton but went home before Princeton. He re-enlisted in 1777 for three years in Van Cortlandt’s regiment and fought at Monmouth. Discharged in 1780, he may, or may not, have

was Daniel Loder) who was a brother of Jonathan Loder of Cobberg.”²⁸¹ On 12 October 1848, Patterson gave this list of participants: ” [Here are some of Mosier’s men (?)] Richard Sacket, James Sacket, Prince S.[ackett], David Jones, Sergeant David Slater, J. Pr. [?] Godfrey Voight, Sergeant James Croft, Abel Williams, Henry Christian, Shubal Cunningham, Sylvanus Ferris, two Indians, and two light complexioned colored men.”²⁸² This list of names shows that the stipulation of the 10 March 1781 law under which Sackett’s company was raised had brought free African-Americans and Native Americans into the ranks of Sackett’s company and most likely into other companies as well.

Primary sources give the strength of Mosier’s company at somewhere between 18 and 26 men. Patterson’s list provides 21 names; since Ferris (and possibly Cunningham) did not fight on 2 December 1781, but Isaac Lent, who is not on Patterson’s list, did fight, Patterson’s list of participants is remarkably complete. As many as four of these men may have been African-American: in the list of 12 October, Prince Sackett and Peterson are listed but so are another “two light complexioned colored men”. There were also two Native Americans, this means that about 25% of the company may have consisted of non-white soldiers. Patterson/Peterson was (most likely) a free African-American whose enlistment was justified under the law. We do not know who the “two light complexioned colored men” were, but none of the pension applications filed by participants other than Peterson identify the applicant as a person of color. That leaves Prince Sackett, the personal property of the company’s commanding officer. Prince Sackett seem to have carried a musket though by law he should not have. In the state of emergency that existed in the fall of 1781 with George Washington and much of the Continental Army on its way to Virginia, every musket counted. And as the personal property of Sackett, the slave could hardly have refused to go out with his owner. The law allowed for the enlistment of Native Americans but the presence of Peter Sokkadox and Mayhew nevertheless a bit surprising: it is almost 100 miles from Quogue to the Bedford/White Plains area where the two men were serving.

African-Americans were an integral component of life in Westchester County. Sometimes they were called upon to do the duty white men shrank from. When Colonel Delancy had Tim Knapp hanged for stealing his horse, “A black man (Lunnon), a fiddler, was the executioner, and received Knapp’s suit of clothes which was very fine as compensation.”²⁸³ African-American women did fall prey to white men: “A Black man, called Bull Pete had a

enlisted Sackett’s company. But Peterson too in his pension application does not mention his presence at the 2 December 1781 engagement.

²⁸¹ McDonald Papers vol. 4 (1848) stamped p. 171/549, handwritten p. 70, interview with Patterson on 12 October 1848.

²⁸² McDonald Papers vol. 3 (1845) stamped p. 269/444, handwritten p. 102. Interview with Jack Patterson 12 October 1845.

²⁸³ McDonald Papers vol. 1, (1844) p. 110 contains the full account of the proceedings.

good looking wife that Colonel Emmerick got with child. The child lived with a Mr. Pine, and was called Loo Pine. Bull Pete said (when asked about it &c) that Emmerick made her drunk and slept with her. Loo lived near White Plains at John Gedney's."²⁸⁴ As he grew up he most likely encountered Prince Gedney, the slave of "Captain Absalom Gedney" who in 1781 "occupied what was afterwards the James Tompkins farm. He (Capt. Absalom) married my master's widow and I went to live with him there."²⁸⁵ Loo Pine may have met "Lydia (a colored woman)" owned by Andrew Lyon of King Street who witnessed the shooting of a French sutler by Loyalists in July or August 1781 who had come to purchase cider from her owner.²⁸⁶

The need to survive occasionally overcame racial barriers as poor whites and equally poor Blacks cooperated in nefarious activities. Nathaniel Montross told McDonald in an interview that "When the French lay at White Plains four iron chests of specie were sent from Crompond to pay off the French troops. The stopped at night a short distance from North Castle Church at the home of one Thomas or Joseph Green. The specie was suffered to remain in the covered wagon in which it had been transported and a soldier was posted to guard it. Two white men named Carpenter, a free negro and a negro slave formed a plan to get possession of one or more of the boxes. The plan was for one of the blacks to be on look-out, the other black to overpower the soldier, while the two whites carry the cash away. One of the blacks crawls up to the guard (stark naked in the dark of the night) and overpowers him but the plan fails when the two whites see something moving on the wagon just as they are about to unload the first money box. Thinking that there was another guard on the wagon, they run away. It turns out that there was a dog on the wagon. "This attempt made some noise at the time but the plot was never known until after the conclusion of the war."²⁸⁷

This brief note on African-Americans in the Westchester County during the War of Independence is meant only as a starting-point to encourage additional research into the

²⁸⁴ McDonald Papers vol. 1 (1844) interview with John and Isaiah Constant on 11 October 1844, stamped p. 24/10, handwritten p. 10.

²⁸⁵ McDonald Papers vol. 7 (1849/50), stamped p. 1047/207, handwritten p. 138. Interview with Prince Gedney on 22 October 1848. Gedney turned 92 on 16 December 1848.

²⁸⁶ McDonald Papers vol. 1 (1844), stamped p. 53/111, handwritten p. 52. Interview with Lydia, 24 October 1844.

²⁸⁷ McDonald Papers vol. 5 (1847-48), stamped p.188/716, handwritten p. 49. Interview with Nathaniel Montross 18 October 1847. See also Jared Ross Hardesty, *Unfreedom. Slavery and Dependence in Eighteenth-Century Boston* (New York: New York University Press, 2016), p. 71, with an example from Boston where in May 1752, two poor white laborers and two slaves collaborated to rob the owner of one of the slaves. These examples of collaboration of poor whites and blacks in densely populated cities points to an inter-racial social space very different from the slave communities of the American south.

contributions of African-Americans and Native Americans to American independence. But even these few examples from the McDonald Papers mentioning non-white men and women show that they formed an integral component of every-day life and in many ways contributed to the achievement of American independence.

Aaron Palmer received his freedom, Prince Sackett most likely did not. At the time of the first census of the United States in 1790, Richard Sackett's household in Bedford numbered three men 16 or older, three females, and six slaves. The number of slaves who became soldiers in the New York regiments in the Continental Army under the law of March 1781 and gained their freedom at the end of the war still needs to be researched. For a variety of reasons, their contributions, and those of many others, are (almost) forgotten. In his application for a pension in 1818, John Patterson told of his enlistment in March 1777 in Colonel Van Cortlandt's regiment for three years and his discharge in Morristown in 1780, but he did not mention his participation in the battle of 2 December 1781.²⁸⁸ Maybe he did not think it necessary. Neither did he mention his role in the capture of Major John André in 1780. Born in 1746, Peterson was of African and Kitchewan descent and lived with the family of Job Sherwood along the Old Albany Post Road north of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow. In September 1780, Peterson and George (or Moses) Sherwood watched a rowboat depart for shore from HMS *Vulture*. Peterson fired on the rowboat which returned to the ship. Next they informed the garrison at Fort Lafayette which fired with a cannon at the sloop from Tellers Point. HMS *Vulture*, which was supposed to pick up André, moved out of harm's way, but with the *Vulture* out on the Hudson, André was forced to try and reach New York City by land. Captured by three militiamen he was hanged as a spy.²⁸⁹

In 1967, the Mohegan Chapter of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, erected a monument to Sherwood and Peterson in Croton Point Park at the end of Croton Point Avenue in Croton-on-Hudson. The inscription reads:

Commemorating the defense of Teller's Point by George Sherwood and Jack Peterson who repulsed the landing of British troops from the "Vulture" September 21, 1780, aiding in the capture of Major Andre.

From this text you would not know that Peterson was an African-American.

²⁸⁸ Pension Application S 43783. He was inscribed on the New York Pension Roll on 6 April 1818 at \$8 per month.

²⁸⁹ This brief account is condensed from on Erik Weiselberg, "Revolutionary Westchester: John "Jack" Peterson" posted on <https://thehudsonindependent.com/revolutionary-westchester-john-jack-peterson/> on 27 August 2020.

9) Conclusion

During the spring and summer of 1781, the Hudson River served as the main conduit for men and material of the Continental and French armies. Between 4 March, when four companies of the First New York Regiment arrived from Albany at West Point, and the crossing of the French hospital train at King's Ferry on 25 August, hardly a day went by that did not see an American or British vessel ply the waves of the river. They transported men and materiel, cannon, bread, and firewood, and served as a conduit for communication. The British were of course well aware of the importance of the Hudson to keep the Continental and French armies maintained and fed, and constantly tried to interrupt their supply system. In 1781, the Hudson's waves and currents took Continental soldiers from Albany to West Point and back. It took them south to attack British defenses around New York City, and conveyed British and Loyalist troops upstream to attack American defenses almost all the way to King's Ferry. By blocking its path with obstacles such as the chain at West Point, large fortifications from Fort Lee in the south to Fort Montgomery (SITE 25) far upstream, and artillery positions at Dobb's Ferry, the river was integrated into a defensive system and used to advantage. But it could be equally be an obstacle that needed to be overcome, viz. the crossing by the allied armies at King's Ferry in August 1781, the first crucial step on the way to Yorktown.

The Hudson River defines much of the history of the Colony and State of New York into the nineteenth century. Historians have long known and researched the strategic place of the Hudson River in American and British war plans from General John Burgoyne's failed endeavor of 1777 of using the river as the demarcation line to separate the New England states from the rest of the United States to General Benedict Arnold's equally unsuccessful attempt to hand the fortress of West Point over to the British. A detailed analysis of the use and importance of the river in the day-to-day military operations during the war has until now been missing. This report endeavors to fill this gap for the Spring and Summer of 1781 and for September 1782. Research uncovered almost 60 sites on the roughly 130 miles along the corridor of the Hudson River Valley from Albany to Fort Lee, one site for every two miles on average, that are mentioned in dozens of frequently unpublished French and American primary sources.

The sites listed in this report in their historical context of the campaign that began in New York and ended at Yorktown provide a broad and extensive base from which the history of that campaign can be told. It is laid out not only for the historically interested person driving the highways and byways of the state but even more so for the history enthusiast who wants a 21st-century experience, in his boat of whatever size, of the water routes that were rowed and sailed by the pettyaugers, sloops, and frigates of 1781.

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