

The Franco-American Encampment in the Town of
Greenburgh, 6 July – 18 August 1781:

A Historical Overview and Resource Inventory

Project Historian

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Sponsoring Organization

Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area
(Grant #2000-W-37)
Town of Greenburgh NY
Friends of Odell House Rochambeau Headquarters

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2020

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Acknowledgments

It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude to the Hudson River Valley Greenway and to A. Mark Castiglione, who as its Acting Executive Director from 2008 to 2016 provided funding for this study. Thomas Madden served as AICP Commissioner in the Department of Community Development and Conservation of the Town of Greenburgh during the initial phases of grant. Paul Feiner, Town Supervisor, Garrett P. Duquesne, Commissioner of Community Development and Conservation, and Susan Seal, President and Founder of the Friends of the Odell House Rochambeau Headquarters guided the project to its completion. The late Frank Jazzo, Town Historian of the Town of Greenburgh, Robert J. Stackpole, SAR, and Peter Q. Eschweiler accompanied me both figuratively as well as literally during my research of, and to, the Revolutionary War sites in Greenburgh connected with the encampment of the Franco-American armies in the summer of 1781. My thanks also to Sarah Pawliczak, who produced the map overlays, and to Vaneska Pasqua, who assisted in proof-reading the report manuscript. My good friends and fellow researchers Todd W. Braisted, Donald M. Londahl-Smith and John U. Rees generously shared their knowledge of the War of Independence in their neighborhood. Albert D. McJoynt, Lt.-Col., US Air Force (ret.) created the modern rendition of the map entitled "Logements of the General Staff/Lodgings of Staff Headquarters" reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*. 2 vols, (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41. I am grateful to the New-York Historical Society for permission reproduce details from the Erskine-DeWitt maps, to the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford for the use of images from the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, to the Gilder Lehrman Collection in New York City, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, and the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection for permission to reproduce images.

Robert A. Selig, PhD

Holland, MI 49423

6 July 2020

the 239th Anniversary of General George Washington's and
the *comte* de Rochambeau's arrival in Greenburgh in 1781

Foreword

When asked about the people and places they associate with the War of Independence, most Americans will nominate George Washington, John Hancock, John Adams, the *marquis de Lafayette*, Benjamin Franklin or Baron Steuben for inclusion among the actors critical for victory. The top five or six places or events named almost always include Lexington, Concord, the winter at Valley Forge, the Boston Massacre, and the victory at Yorktown. But responses such as these are not only America-centric and ignore the fact that the war was waged in the four corners of the world. They also ignore such indispensable Frenchmen as the *comte de Rochambeau* or the *comte de Grasse* and the encampment of the allied armies in and around the Town of Greenburgh in the summer of 1781, their set-off point for Yorktown and victory.

The American War of Independence impacted virtually every town of the nascent United States, was in many ways a civil war that at some point or another forced every American to declare his or her allegiance to either the Crown or to Congress. Confining the war to some half-dozen people, places, and events ignores the contributions of tens of thousands of Americans in and out of uniform whose support made the victory possible though they may have been living hundreds of miles from the battlefields. Before they could force the surrender of Lord Cornwallis on 19 October 1781, the allied armies had to get to Yorktown. This study presents an in-depth look at the people, places, and events at the starting point of the Yorktown Campaign and places them into their proper historical context.

The encampment at Greenburgh was the first time the allied armies met. Chosen to become the staging point for the siege of New York City, it turned into the longest encampment of the campaign, and the only time the Franco-American armies encamped in close proximity to each other. For the six weeks that the armies camped there in anticipation of the march on New York it also became one of the most densely populated areas in the United States: its officers with their hundreds of servants, around 11,000 soldiers, wagoners and supply personnel constituted the fourth-largest *city* behind New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. Most importantly, however, it became the place where the tracks were set for victory at Yorktown and American independence. Upon receiving news in his headquarters at the John Odell House on 14 August 1781 that Joseph Paul, *comte de Grasse*, was sailing for the Chesapeake rather than New York, Rochambeau immediately informed George Washington in the Joseph Appleby house. Washington did not hesitate one moment to abandon his long-held dream of taking New York City and ordered his forces to Virginia. Nine weeks later, Lord Cornwallis' second in command General Charles O'Hara surrendered his sword and the last operational British field army to Washington's second-in-command Major General Benjamin Lincoln. American Independence was won, not on the banks of the Hudson, as Washington had hoped, but on the banks of the York River in his home state of Virginia. But the decision to march there had been made in Greenburgh in the State of New York.

Purpose and Recommendations

The purpose of this historical overview and resource inventory of the Franco-American encampment in the Town of Greenburgh in July and August 1781 is to provide a historical narrative of the campaign of 1781 in Westchester County with a focus on the Town of Greenburgh and to emphasize the importance of the decisions made during the encampment in Greenburgh for the victory at Yorktown and the achievement of American Independence. In order to achieve this goal the narrative includes a detailed analysis of the land and water routes, campsites and related resources traveled, used and occupied by the Continental Army under the command of General George Washington and of French forces under the *comte de Rochambeau* in and around the Town of Greenburgh in the summer of 1781. This survey as completed is intended to provide the scholarly foundation necessary to further the goals of the Town of Greenburgh of continuing its work with neighboring communities and organizations such as the , the Hudson River Valley Greenway and the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area (HRVNHA) to support and advance regional historical, recreational and preservation programs. This includes work to get better access by means of trails to the town's parks and cultural and historical sites.

The Town of Greenburgh is located in the heart of Westchester County and formed the center of Franco-American military activities during the summer of 1781 leading up to their departure for Yorktown. Numerous paved and unpaved paths as well as bike lanes and Greenway and County trails cross the town's territory. These include, among others, the Old Croton Aqueduct State Trail along the Hudson, the North (and South) County Trail Way, the Tarrytown Kensico Trail as well as bike lanes created by "Wide Road Shoulder" or "Share the Road Condition" along Routes 100 and 119, to name but a few. There are more than a dozen Scenic Vistas within town limits along the banks of the Hudson. The National Park Service as administrator of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (WaRo in NPS parlance) has designated the John Odell House and Joseph Appleby Farmhouse site and related sites from the encampment as sites on WaRo on its interactive trail map on their website. (<https://www.nps.gov/waro/index.htm>) In the future there are plans to mark several sites with signage to allow the public to follow the trail in and through the Town of Greenburgh and to connect to the other trails described above.

Integration of some of these trails into WaRo is particularly desirable since the Town of Greenburgh counts among its many historic resources the John Odell House on Ridge Road. Potential uses for the Odell House, one of only three long-term headquarters of the *comte de Rochambeau* during his 30-month stay in the United States, as part of WaRo are enormous, first and foremost as a regional visitor's center located strategically at the start of the route to Yorktown and close to millions of potential visitors. As a regional visitor center, it would become the obvious starting point to explore the Revolutionary War history of the area in

the years leading up to 2026 and beyond. As the country prepares for the 250th Anniversaries of the American Revolution and the War of Independence, co-operation with national, state and local agencies and organizations is bound to provide many opportunities to achieve the goal of preserving the building and for re-purposing it for historical and recreational use. The combination of local historic designation and informational trail markers along the route of the W3R-NHT will strengthen the town's involvement in enhancing its own and the Hudson River Valley's heritage. The Odell House provides a natural and obvious logical starting point for a local historical trail leading to known and/or still existing sites in the town while also connecting it to the larger town, county, and Hudson River Valley trails network. Contemporary maps such as that drawn by General Henry Knox in July 1781, and contemporary French maps of the encampment sites used in this report, provide starting points for delineating such a trail on the ground and its development for historical, educational and recreational purposes. Most of the sites identified in this report are easily accessible and interpretable. Ridge Road Park and Nature Preserve, Hart's Brook Park and Preserve, the Greenburgh Nature Center, Secor Woods Park, as well as Gould Park on Ashford Avenue in Dobbs Ferry are but a few of the publicly accessible locations along the W3R-NHT in the Town of Greenburgh with parking available that could be interpreted.

As the country is preparing for the 250th anniversary of the American Revolution, the Town of Greenburgh has, besides tourism and commerce, two ready-made partners to tie into the existing trails network along the Hudson River and to assist in promoting the Town of Greenburgh and its role in the struggle for American independence. One of these organizations is "Friends of Odell House Rochambeau Headquarters", which "was created to provide assistance to the Town of Greenburgh in its efforts to preserve and restore the [...] Odell House." (<https://www.odellrochambeau.org/>) A second partner is REVOLUTIONARY WESTCHESTER 250, which was established "to build awareness and excitement for the events, places, ideas and people — both the unsung and the famous — of the Revolutionary War period in Westchester County." (<https://rw250.org/>) To achieve these goals, it is ready "to liaise with county, regional, State and national groups to plan and implement 250th Anniversary events and programs." The National Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association Inc. (W3R-US) and its state chapters (<https://w3r-us.org/>) are partners to the NPS for WaRo, but are also well positioned to partner with the "Friends" and RW250.

This report is meant to provide a narrative of the campaign of 1781 in Westchester County with a focus on the Town of Greenburgh and to emphasize the importance of the decisions made during the encampment for the victory at Yorktown and American Independence. But is also intended as a starting point and tool to support the on-going restoration of the John Odell House, Rochambeau's headquarters in July and August 1781, and as a basis for potential archaeological surveys and excavations of campsites, routes, and other physical evidence of the stay of American and French forces in Greenburgh in the summer of 1781.

Scope of Work

The Scope of Work is defined as follows:

- 1.1 Contractor will conduct an in-depth survey of the Philipsburg Encampment area of American and French forces in 1781, as part of implementing Grant #2000-W-37.

Contractor's services will consist of

- (1) a historical over-view examining the presence of American and French forces in Philipsburg
- (2) an inventory of above-ground resources
- (3) a thorough investigation of the John Odell House, Rochambeau Headquarters on 425 Ridge Road
- (4) a thorough investigation of the vicinity of the WFAS radio station property, the locale of Washington's headquarters in the Joseph Appleby farmhouse on 365 Secor Road
- (5) an introduction to additional sites
- (6) providing of supporting materials such as maps and photographs
- (8) providing a bibliography of primary and secondary sources

Methodology

While there are studies of the War of Independence in and around New York City such as the older but still useful monograph by Otto Hufeland about *Westchester County during the American Revolution*, or the more recent study by Barnet Schecter *The Battle for New York*, these books were neither designed as histories of the 1781 encampment nor as resource inventories of existing sites. More recently Richard Borkow and Mary Donovan focused more closely on the encampment, but neither of these books, nor the articles published in the *Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society*, provide the scholarly basis to further the goals of the Town of Greenburgh of creating an inventory of resources, integrating them into its recreational and educational facilities, and establishing a Heritage Trail connected to one of the 13 designated Hudson River Valley Greenway Trails starting at Ridge Road and the Odell House, site of Rochambeau's headquarters. Ridge Road leads to Route 9 via Heatherdell Road and Ashford Avenue. Along Route 9 runs the *Old Croton Aqueduct Trail* to Croton-on-Hudson. Northward this trail closely follows the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail, the route taken by Franco-American soldiers in August 1781 to Verplanck, where they crossed over to Stony Point.

To show and prove these possibilities, thorough and in-depth research was conducted in little-known and rarely used primary sources. The reader will look in vain for an exhaustive list of titles of secondary works on the War of Independence in New York State or even in Westchester County: this study is based almost exclusively on primary sources. And while it places the events in Greenburgh within the historical context of the war as it played out in the summer of 1781, it first and foremost attempts to bring to light as many details of the encampment and the life of the common soldiers as the current state of research allows. Since one of the purposes of the study is to lay out the foundation for a possible heritage trail it needed to show who camped where or marched when to where and why. It needed to be as much a guide for a walking-tour from site to site as a history of the encampment. This requirement influenced the presentation of the findings: it lets the participants speak for themselves rather than filter and present their experiences through the interpretation of a historian. The reader is encouraged to draw his or her own conclusions, which also means that this contains more and longer quotes than is customary in a book meant for publication.

The almost exclusive dependence on primary sources also extends to the use of visuals, especially the maps used in this report: if a trail in the Town of Greenburgh, and in turn its connection to a larger trail system, is contemplated, a description along the lines of "today they marched from here to there" is insufficient. Since a heritage trail should follow as closely as possible the eighteenth-century roads, the map details used to illustrate the routes are exclusively taken from eighteenth-century maps frequently superimposed onto modern maps to enable the reader to orient and locate himself or herself in 21st-century Greenburgh.

Inventory of Above-Ground Resources

This list is based in part on the Historic Properties Listing for Greenburgh available on-line at <http://www.westchesterhistory.com/index.php/preservation/display?town=greenburgh>. The criteria applied for the inclusion of resources in this survey are based on the requisites outlined in the “Scope of Work” and the criteria listed in Purpose and Recommendations.”

Using these criteria, the resources fall into six separate categories:

- 1) still existing eighteenth-century buildings
- 2) sites of no longer existing buildings
- 3) French and American campsites and bivouacs
- 4) modern plaques, tablets, and markers
- 5) natural landscape features
- 6) man-made landscape features
- 7) sites connected with the War of Independence but not with the 1781 encampment

Within the Town of Greenburgh 25 sites meet these criteria.

- 9 still existing buildings connected with the 1781 encampment
- 2 sites of no longer existing buildings connected with the 1781 encampment
- 4 campsites and bivouacs connected with the 1781 encampment
- 7 plaques, tablets, and markers connected with the 1781 encampment
- 1 no longer existing man-made landscape feature connected with the 1781 encampment
- 2 sites connected with the War of Independence but not the 1781 encampment

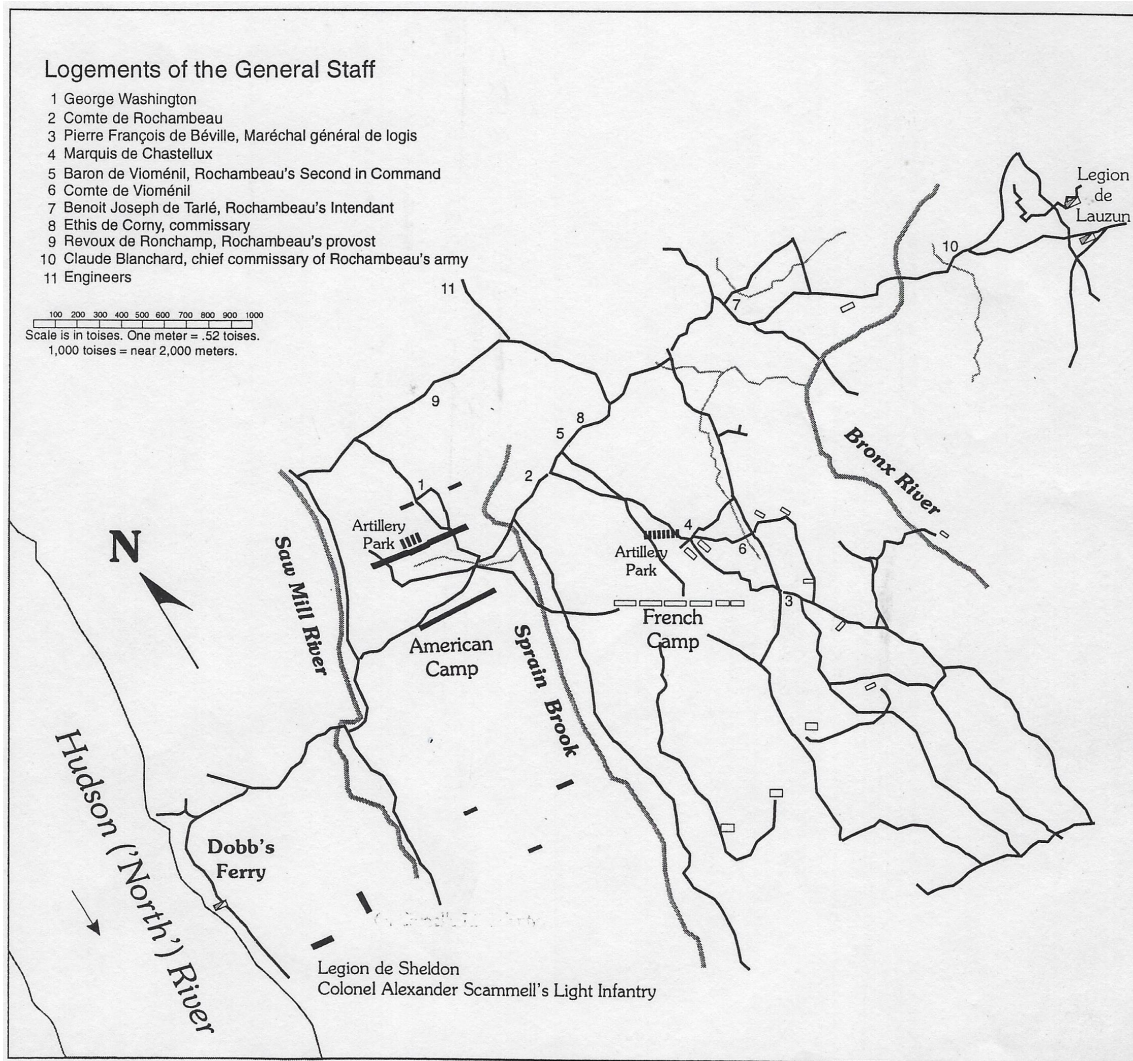
Additionally, there are a number of sites mentioned in primary sources whose locations can no longer be determined on the ground.

Of the nine still existing buildings that can be dated to the eighteenth century, only three – the John Odell House, the Underhill Tavern and the John Tompkins House - have a known and provable connection with the Franco-American encampment.

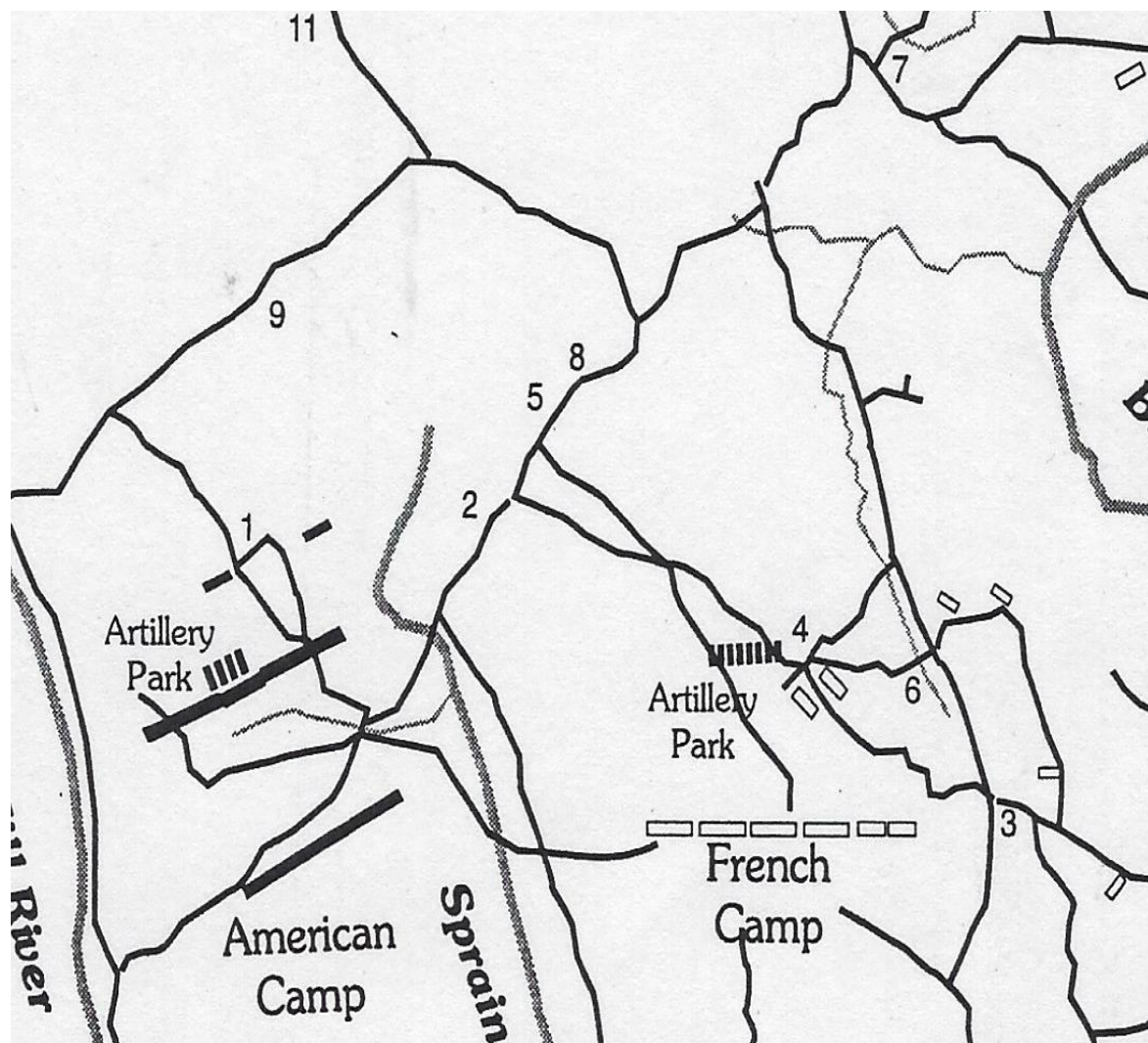
- 1) the John Odell House on 425 Ridge Road in Hartsdale, built in 1732.
This was the headquarters of the *comte* de Rochambeau in the summer of 1781
- 2) the Underhill Tavern on 350 Old Army Road in Edgemont, built in 1760
maréchal général des logis Pierre François de Béville stayed here in 1781
- 3) the John Tompkins House on 8 Thomas Street in Scarsdale, built in 1740
The *chevalier* de Chastellux stayed here in the summer of 1781
- 4) the Captain Israel Honeywell House on 133 Heatherdell Road, built in 1750

- 5) the Jonathan Lefurgy House on 19 Winding Road Farm in Ardsley, built in 1757
- 6) the Israel Hunt House on 221 Old Army Road in Edgemont, built in 1740
- 7) the Jan Harmse House (Jonathan Odell Tavern) on Broadway in Dobbs Ferry, a seventeenth-century Dutch tenant farmhouse.
- 8) a house on 9 Hearthstone Circle in Greenburgh built in 1760
- 9) a house at 109 Ridge Road in Hartsdale, built in 1770

The French map showing the “Lodgings of Staff Headquarters” also identifies other staff but it is unknown whether they stayed in any of the surviving eighteenth-century homes.



Modern rendition of Map 41: “Lodgings of Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp]” reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*. 2 vols, (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, with an explanatory text on p. 136. See also vol. 1, p. 250, fn. 70. Reproduced courtesy of Albert D. McJoynt.



Detail of "Lodgings of Staff Headquarters" showing lodgings within the Town of Greenburgh

- 1 = George Washington
- 2 = *Comte de Rochambeau*
- 3 = Pierre François de Bévillie in the Underhill Tavern on 350 Old Army Road
- 4 = *Chevalier de Chastellux* in the John Tompkins House on 8 Thomas Street
- 5 = *Baron de Vioménil*
- 6 = *Comte de Vioménil*
- 7 = Intendant Benoît Joseph de Tarlé or Treasurer César Louis de Baulny
- 8 = Commissary Ethis de Corny (incorrect, see below)
- 9 = Provost Revoux de Ronchamp
- 10 = Chief Commissary Claude Blanchard (in White Plains outside the Town of Greenburgh)
- 11 = Engineers



Lodgings of the *baron* de Viomenil,
Rochambeau's second in command

The Soissonnois officer identifies this house
house as the lodgings of the Intendant Tarlé,
but the map "Lodgings of Staff Headquarters

[Philipsburg Camp]" identifies it as the lodgings of treasurer César Louis de Baulny.
Call No. HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Biographical information on the staff officers identified on the "Lodgings" map.

1 = George Washington and 2 = *comte* de Rochambeau

Born on 1 July 1725, into a noble and wealthy family that could trace its ancestry in the Vendôme to the year 1378, Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, *comte* de Rochambeau was George Washington's senior by seven years. Destined for the priesthood, he left ecclesiastical orders after the death of his older brother and embarked on the military career appropriate for a member of the high aristocracy. A cornet in the Cavalry Regiment de St. Simon in May 1742, he became colonel of his own infantry regiment, the *Regiment de la Marche*, in March 1747, soon after he had met the minimum age requirement of 21. Severely wounded in the battle of Lawfeld in July of the same year, he took over the *Regiment Auvergne* in March 1759, and distinguished himself in the Battle of Klostercamp (near Düsseldorf) during the Seven Year's War in October 1760, where his regiment lost 58 of 80 officers and over 800 men as it turned defeat into victory. Promoted to *maréchal de camp* (Major General) in recognition of his bravery in February 1761, he became inspector general of the infantry in March.

Baring another war, Rochambeau had reached the zenith of his career just as Washington was settling down to the life of a country gentleman. Following the death of his father when he was but eleven years old, Washington grew up with limited financial resources and few prospects on the periphery of Virginia's landed aristocracy. Washington learned early on

that he had to rely on himself if he wanted to succeed. The opportunity arose when his older half brother Lawrence, Virginia's adjutant general and owner of Mount Vernon, introduced him to some of the colony's most influential families such as the Belvoirs and Fairfaxes, who arranged for him to become surveyor of Culpeper County in 1749. His military career began in 1754 when he became Colonel of the Virginia Regiment sent into the Ohio Valley to oppose French incursions. The following year he participated in General Edward Braddock's disastrous campaign, and, though not implicated in the defeat, resigned his commission in 1758 to marry 26-year-old Martha Dandridge, one of Virginia's wealthiest widows, in January 1759, ten years after Rochambeau's marriage to 19-year-old Thérèse Tellès da Costa in December 1749.

The outbreak of the American Revolution found Washington on the side of the rebels: "I think the Parliament of Great Britain hath no more right to put their hands into my pocket, without my consent, than I have to put my hands in yours for money," he wrote to Bryan Fairfax on 20 July 1774. Elected to both the First and Second Continental Congress, his fellow delegates elected the Virginian unanimously to command the Continental Army on 15 June 1775. He was 43 years old. In 1779, France, which had decided to join the war on the side of the Americans in 1778, embarked an ambitious plan for an invasion of Great Britain. Rochambeau, 54 years old and father of two children, a daughter Antoinette Charlotte born in 1750 and a son, Donatien Marie Joseph born in 1755, was appointed to command the first wave of assault. When the plan had to be cancelled, the king instead appointed Rochambeau to command the ground forces sent across the Atlantic to assist the Continental Army in its struggle against Great Britain.

King Louis XVI could not have made a more fortunate choice. When the generals met for the first time at Hartford in September 1780, they took an immediate liking to each other. The quiet, patient, matter-of-fact Rochambeau approached his task in America in the calm and methodical way of a professional soldier, never challenging the political leadership of Washington and always keeping an eye on the reason for his presence in America: the defeat of Great Britain. The equally reserved Washington, often judged as cold by outsiders, in turn deferred when necessary to the military expertise of his French ally while reserving the final decision to himself. At Yorktown they reaped the rewards of their labors.

Rochambeau returned to France in the spring of 1783. Elected to the Assembly of Notables in 1789 as a liberal, Rochambeau voted for the demands of the Third Estate. Commanding officer of the Army of the North in September 1790, he became the last Marshal of France in December 1791. Opposed an offensive war against the anti-French coalition, he resigned his commission in May 1792. Arrested in April 1794, he was freed in October 1794, and retired to his estates. A few years later, Napoleon Bonaparte introduced his generals, among them

Louis-Alexandre de Berthier, to Rochambeau as his, the *comte's*, pupils. The marshal's reply: "The pupils have far surpassed their master." Rochambeau died on 12 May 1807.

By then, Washington had been dead for eight years already. Having resigned his commission as commander in chief of the victorious Continental Army, the childless Washington had returned to Mount Vernon on 24 December 1783, to live the life of a country gentleman and to help raise the children from his wife's first marriage. But his service to his country was not over yet: six years later, in 1789, he was elected First President of the United States. Having served two terms, he died in December 1799.

3 = Quarter-Master General Pierre François de Bévillie was born in Paris on 22 June 1721. He began his military career as a volunteer in the Nivernais Regiment in 1744, was promoted to lieutenant in the Regiment Lowendahl and became *aide-de-camp* to *maréchal de France*, Victor François *duc* de Broglie, in 1757. Lieutenant-Colonel on 27 April 1761, he acquired letters of nobility in 1779, for his military service, became *maréchal général des logis* in Rochambeau's army, and *maréchal de camp* in December 1781. No longer in active service following his return from the United States, he retired in 1792 and died on 13 July 1798.

4 = François Jean *chevalier* de Beauvoir de Chastellux was born on 5 May 1734. He became a lieutenant in the *Auvergne Regiment* in March 1747 and colonel of the *Regiment de la Marche* shortly before his 25th birthday on 31 March 1759. Colonel of the Regiment de Guyenne he quit his regiment in 1771 but became *maréchal de camp* and major general in Rochambeau's army on 1 March 1780. He died in Paris on 24 October 1788. A friend of philosophes such as Voltaire and d'Alembert, he became a member of the *Académie Française* in 1775, and an honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the American Philosophical Society. He became the *marquis* de Chastellux upon the death of his elder brother Philippe Louis in January 1784.

5 = Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron* de Vioménil, was born 30 November 1728 and entered the Regiment Limousin where his father served from 1713 to 1753, as a lieutenant on 26 September 1741. Captain in 1747, he became colonel of the *Volontaires de Dauphiné* in February 1759. *Maréchal de camp* in January 1770, he fought in Poland on the side of the anti-Russian rebels in 1771 and made a name for himself in the defense of Cracow. In 1780, King Louis XVI appointed him Rochambeau's second in command. Promoted to lieutenant general upon his return from the United States on 13 June 1782. Severely wounded in the defense of the Tuileries on 10 August 1792, he died the following 31 October.

6 = Joseph Hyacinthe du Houx, *comte* de Vioménil, younger brother to Antoine Charles, was born on 22 August 1734. A lieutenant in the Limousin in June 1747, he followed his brother into the *Dauphiné* as its colonel in July 1761. Colonel of the 3rd Regiment of chasseurs in

January 1779, he was promoted to *maréchal de camp* on the eve of departure for the United States on 1 March 1780. Governor of Martinique since March 1789, he returned to France in April 1790 and emigrated in June 1791. For the next six years he fought against Revolutionary France and entered Russian service in 1797. Following a few years of fighting with British forces in Portugal in 1801 and 1802, he retired to Britain and did not return to France until 1814. *Maréchal de France* in July 1816, he died in Paris on 6 March 1827.

7a = Intendant Benoît Joseph de Tarlé was born on 21 March 1735 and began his career in military administration at the age of 15 under his uncle who was *commissaire des guerres* and whose position he took over in 1760. In 1780 he became *commissaire ordonnateur* and *intendant en chef* in Rochambeau's army. Retired in June 1788, he received a pension in July 1791 and died on 27 December 1797.

7b = César Louis de Baulny, was born 30 March 1744. Prior to becoming *Trésorier de la maison militaire du roi* and Rochambeau's chief treasurer in 1780, he served as *Trésorier-Principal* in Corsica. A civilian member of the army, he handled Franco-American financial issues with Robert Morris as his contact on the American side. Upon his return to France he became a *Trésorier-Général* in the War Department. He died on 13 September 1812.

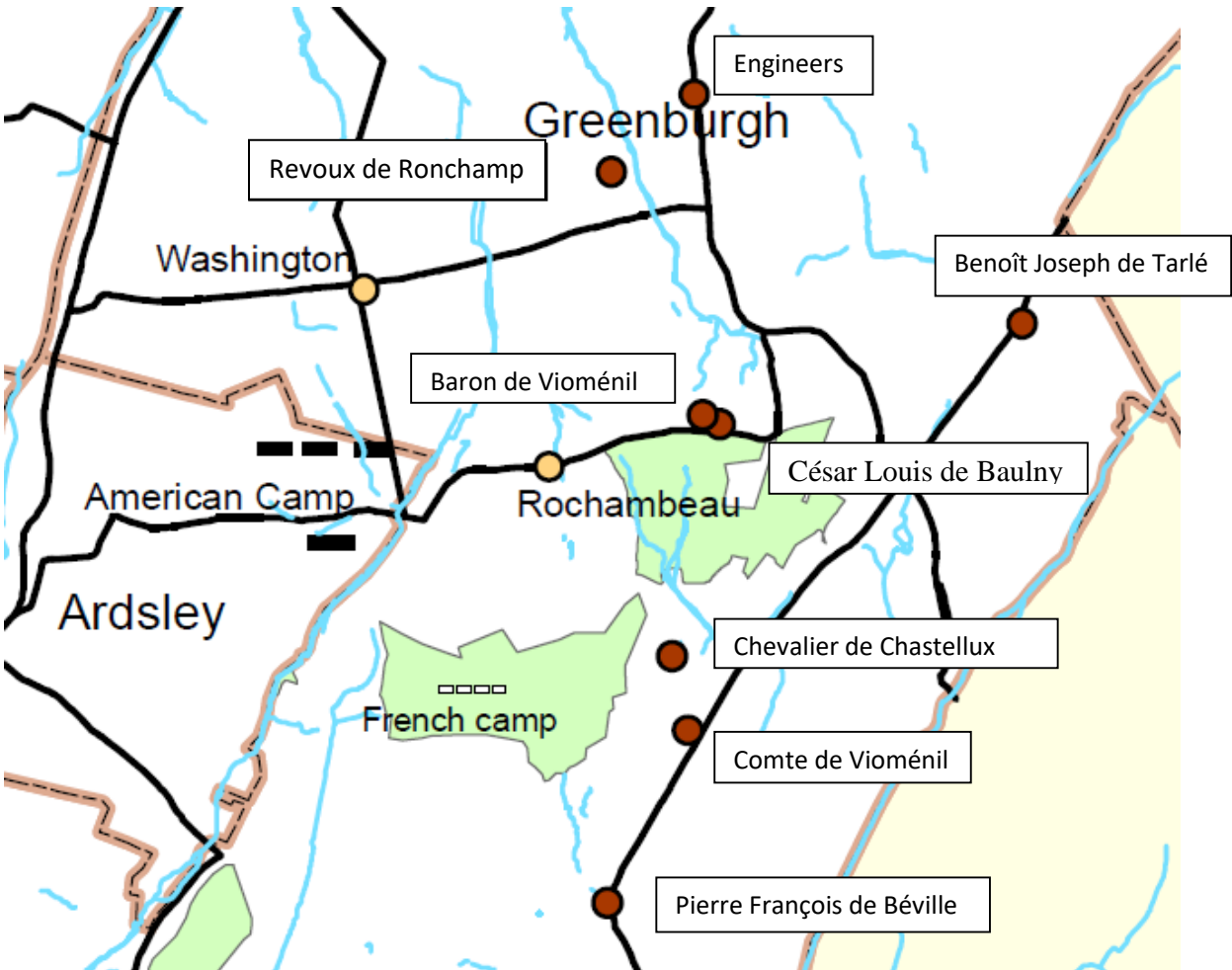
8 = This identification appears to be incorrect. Dominique Louis Ethis de Corny was born 10 November 1736 and spent his career in military administration. *Commissaire de guerre* in April 1767, he accompanied Lafayette to the United States in April 1780 to help prepare for the arrival of Rochambeau's forces. On 5 June 1780, Congress appointed him Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry, but he returned to France in March 1781. He died on 27 November 1790.

9 = Provost Pierre Barthélémy Revoux de Ronchamp was born 1 February 1733. Following service in a number of units he entered the *maréchaussée* or military police in February 1765, became a lieutenant in 1770 and captain in April 1778. Following service as provost in Rochambeau's army he became provost for the Guyenne and colonel of the 4th Division of the *Gendarmerie Nationale* in May 1791. He retired in August 1792 and died after 1800.

10 = Chief Commissary Claude Blanchard (in White Plains outside the Town of Greenburgh)

11 = Engineers. The nine-officer strong corps of engineers at Greenburgh stood under the command of Colonel Jean Nicolas Desandrouins; the chief French engineer at the siege of Yorktown was Lieutenant-Colonel Guillaume Querenet de La Comb.

Unless otherwise indicated all biographical information is taken from Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance 1776-1783* 3rd edition, (Chailland, 2001)



Lodging sites of French Officers in the Town of Greenburgh based on the locations given in the map “Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp]”.

Green = potential archaeological sites

Brown = municipal boundaries

Philipsbourg Encampment

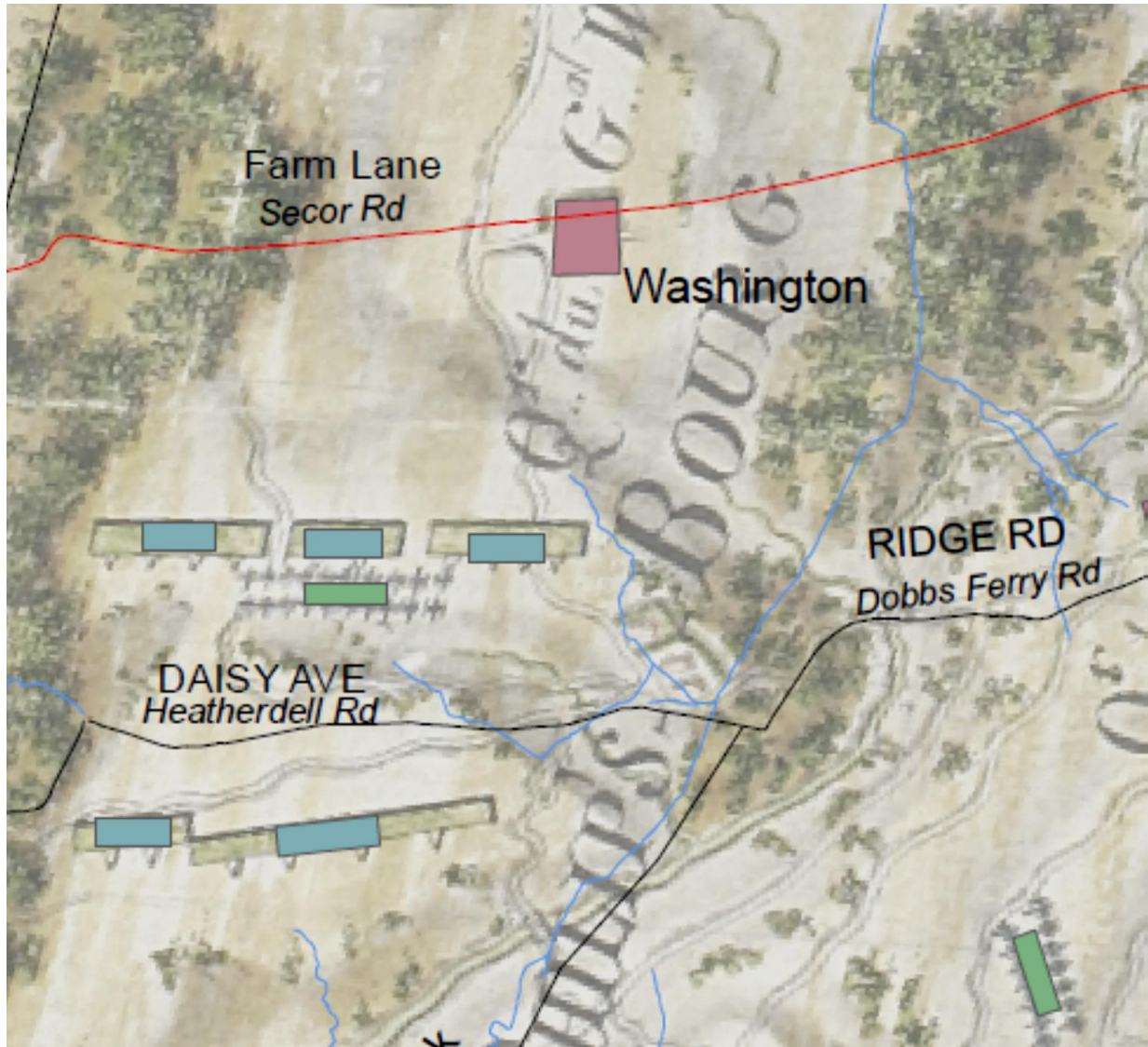
Town of Greenburgh, New York

Produced by: Sarah Pawliczak

Sites of no longer existing buildings with a known connection to the 1781 encampment

- 1) Site of Washington's Headquarters in the Joseph Appleby House
- 2) Site of the home of David Pugsley on Ridge Road, quarters of Lord Stirling and an unidentified French general in the summer of 1781.

Campsites and bivouacs in the Town of Greenburgh connected with the 1781 encampment
American infantry campsite where Ardsley High School is today located and American
artillery campsite just north of Ridge Road between the Saw Mill River and Sprain Brook



French artillery

Philipsbourg Encampment

Town of Greenburgh, New York

Produced by: Sarah Pawliczak

Data Source: Westchester County GIS Data,

Town of Greenburgh, Hudson River Valley Institute, W3R

Date: April 2012

American infantry American Artillery (green) Washington Headquarters



Philipsbourg Encampment

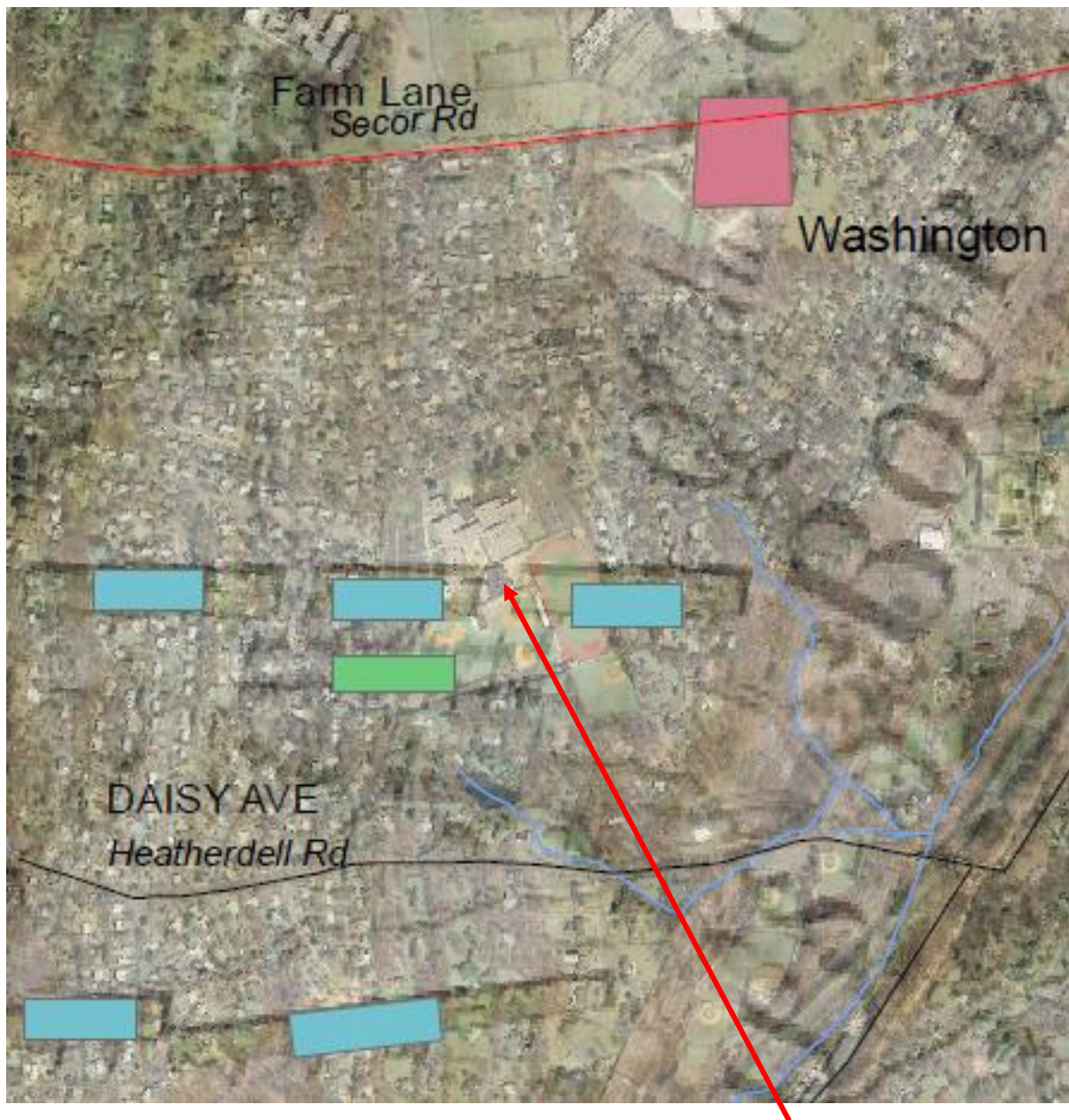
Town of Greenburgh, New York

Produced by: Sarah Pawliczak

Data Source: Westchester County GIS Data,

Town of Greenburgh, Hudson River Valley Institute, W3R

Date: April 2012



Parsons Lincoln Ardsley High School
The deployment of American forces is based on the map drawn by Henry Knox

Philipsbourg Encampment

Town of Greenburgh, New York

Produced by: Sarah Pawliczak

Data Source: Westchester County GIS Data,

Town of Greenburgh, Hudson River Valley Institute, W3R

Date: April 2012

French infantry campsite south of the Sunningdale Golf course and artillery campsite at northern property line of the Sunningdale Golf Course near the end of Hawthorne Way.

Underhill Road

Sunningdale Country Club Golf Course



Bourbonnois

Royal Deux-Ponts

Soissonnois

Saintonge

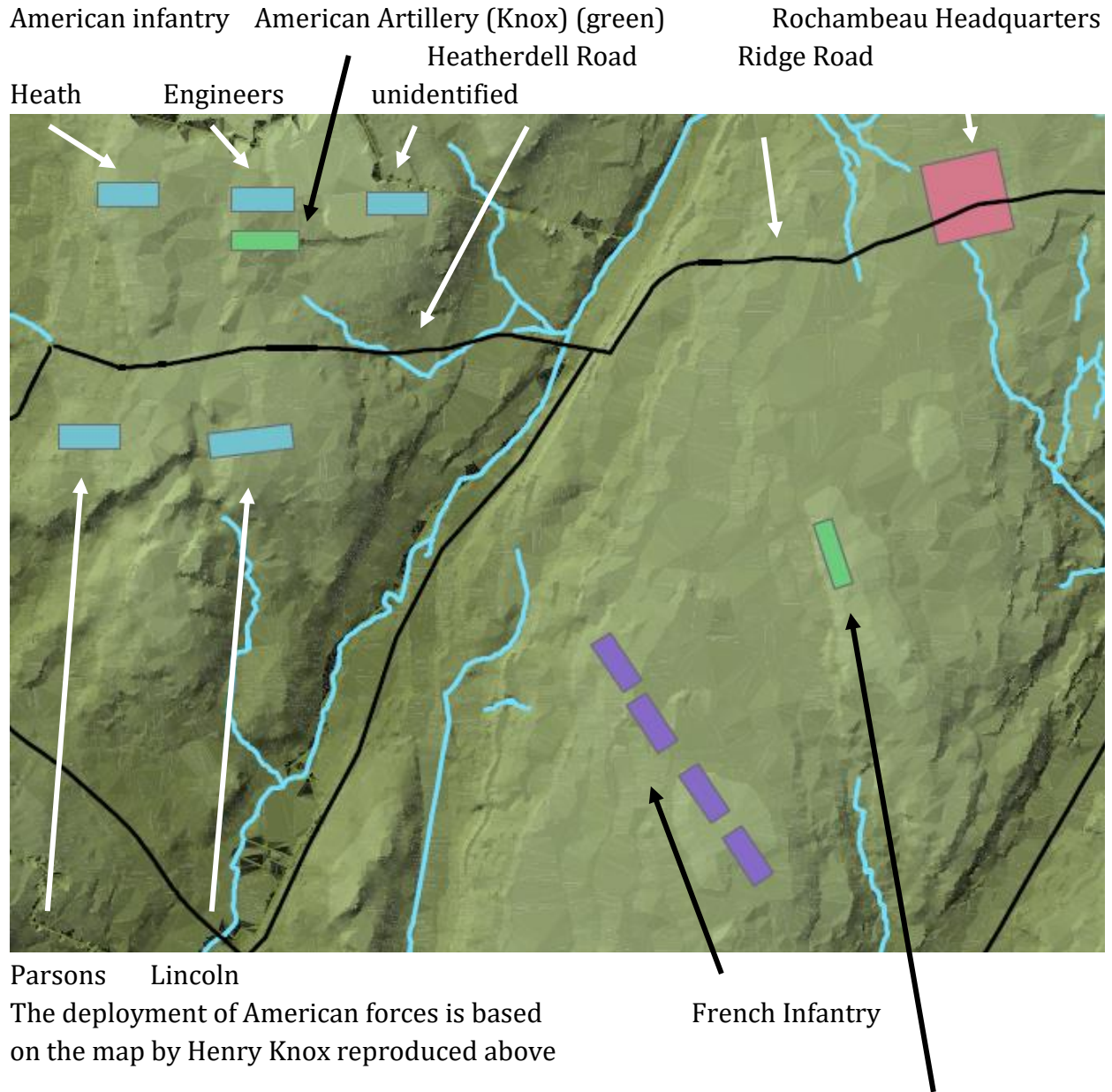
First Brigade

Second Brigade

Nothing is known about the order in which the French regiments encamped, but it was most likely in brigades and in order of seniority from right to left facing New York City.

The campsite of Lauzun's hussars on Chatterton Hill (until 16 July 1781, and again some time before 1 August 1781, when the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Second Brigade took over the camp on Chatterton Hill), lies outside the Town of Greenburgh, as does Lauzun's headquarters at the home of Captain John Falconer on Broadway in White Plains.

Composite Map of the Encampment



In 1847, Dr. Nehemiah U. Tompkins remembered that the French artillery lay encamped on “the smooth field west of my House and of the old house, and where a ridge commences which runs towards Colonel Odell’s”

Philipsbourg Encampment

Town of Greenburgh, New York

Produced by: Sarah Pawliczak

Data Source: Westchester County GIS Data,

Town of Greenburgh, Hudson River Valley Institute, W3R

Date: April 2012

Plaques, tablets, and markers

- 1) The Dobbs Ferry Monument on the east side of Broadway across from St. Cabrini Nursing Home (115 Broadway) in Dobbs' Ferry. Erected in 1894, its granite base measures 84 inches wide, 26 inches deep and 120 inches high. The dimensions of the inscription plate are 48 inches high x 39 inches wide. The (corrected) inscription covering the original text was installed on 8 October 2000.



- 2) Tarrytown Land-Sea Battle Marker in front of Tarrytown train station (east of tracks) on south end (left) of turn-around in Tarrytown. Erected in 1899 on a concrete base 58 inches wide, 30 inches high, 15 inches deep at base and 4 inches at top, the bronze plaque measures 46 inches wide and 52 inches high.



The back-ground of the plaque shows ships on the Hudson River, on the left American infantry is seen approaching the shore, on the right cavalry of Sheldon's Horse is seen galloping to the riverbanks.



Below the infantry on the left is the seal of the SAR. The plaque commemorates a land-sea engagement between British and Franco-American forces on 15 July 1781.

- 3) John Odell House Plaque on the stone wall surrounding the Odell House property along Ridge Road in Hartsdale. Erected in 1905 on a granite rock 34 inches high, 12 inches deep and 24 inches wide, the bronze plaque measures 15 inches high by 18 inches wide with the seal of the Daughters of the American Revolution at the top.

It reads:

THE HOUSE WITHIN WAS THE
HEADQUARTERS,
JULY 6 TO AUGUST 19, 1781,
OF
GENERAL DE ROCHAMBEAU,
COMMANDING THE FRENCH ARMY,
THEN POSTED ON THESE HEIGHTS.
THIS TABLET WAS
ERECTED IN 1905.

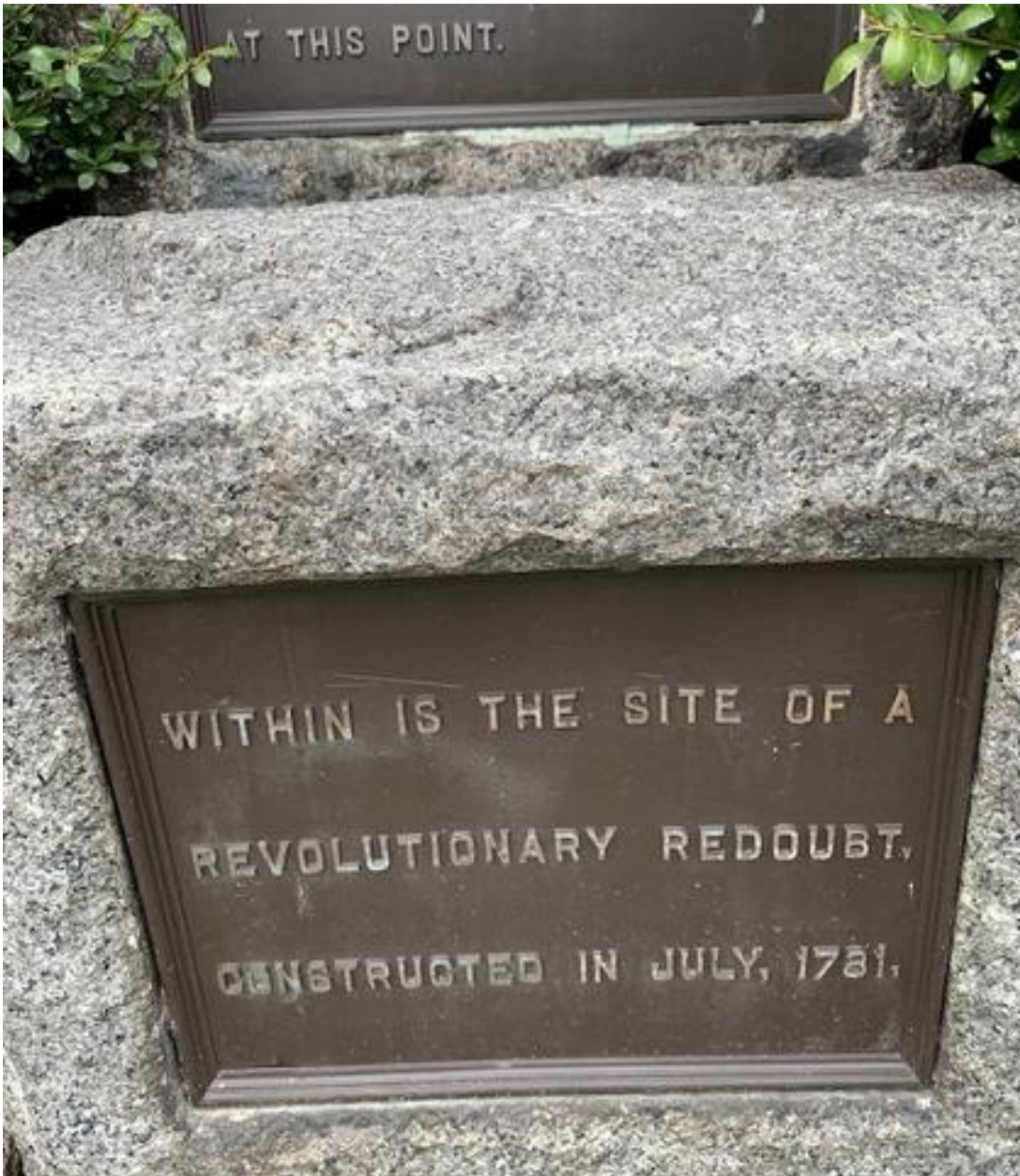


The tablet was erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

- 4) July 1781 Redoubt Marker on a granite base in vest-pocket park at the corner of Broadway and Livingston Avenue in Dobbs Ferry.

It reads:

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



- 5) July 1781 Redoubt Marker on a granite base in vest-pocket park at the corner of Broadway and Livingston Avenue in Dobbs Ferry.

It 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.

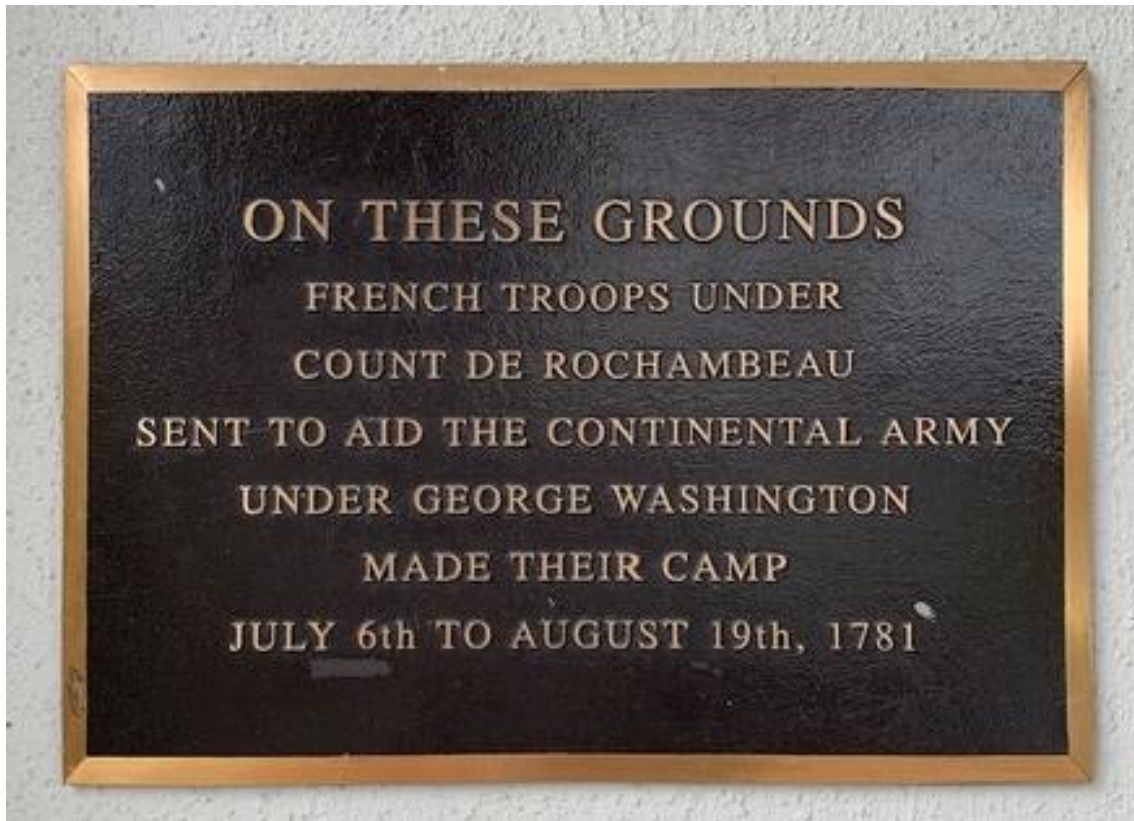


The Connecticut Brigade served under Major-General William Heath.

- 6) Commemorative plaque mounted on the wall outside the entrance to the clubhouse of the Sunningdale Country Club (next to the front door)

It reads:

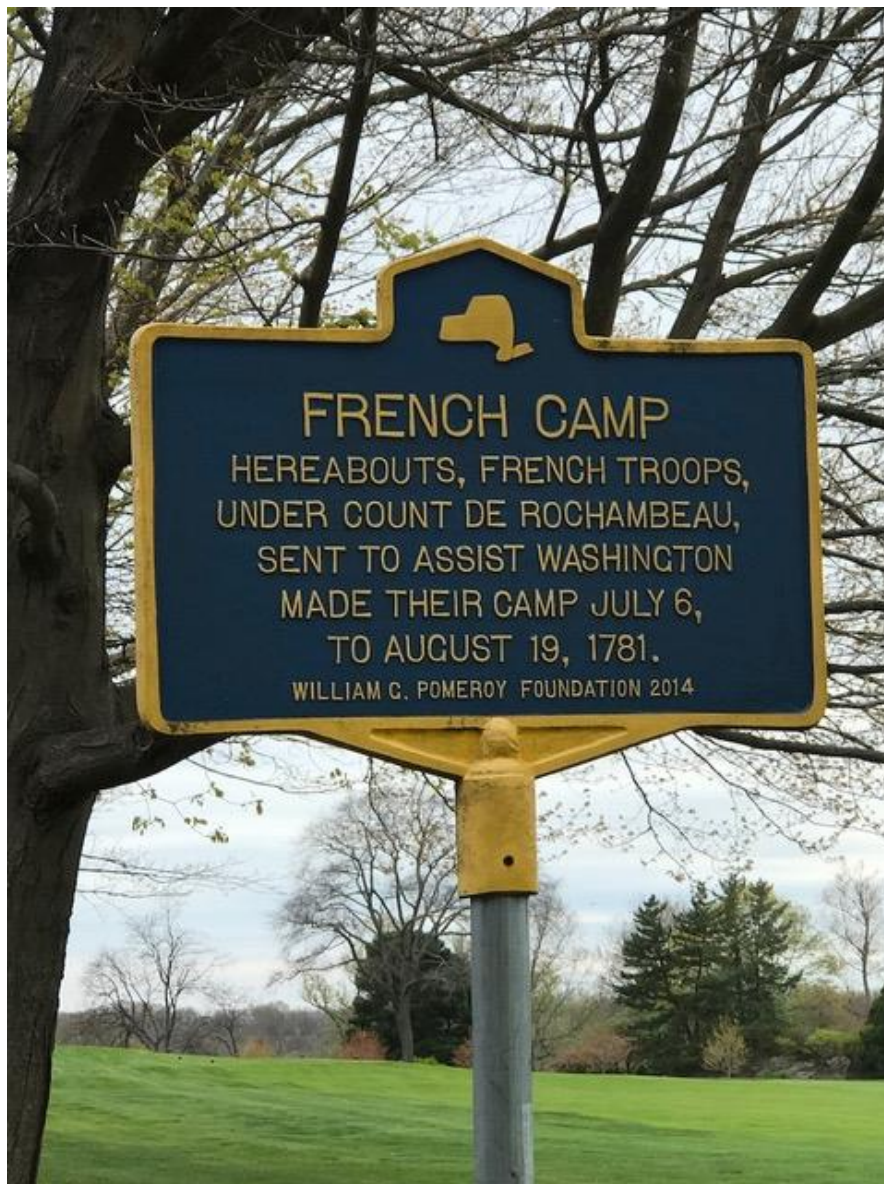
ON THESE GROUNDS
FRENCH TROOPS UNDER
COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU
SENT TO AID THE CONTINENTAL ARMY
UNDER GEORGE WASHINGTON
MADE THEIR CAMP
JULY 6th TO AUGUST 19th, 1781



7) French Campsite Marker on the grounds of Sunningdale Country Club

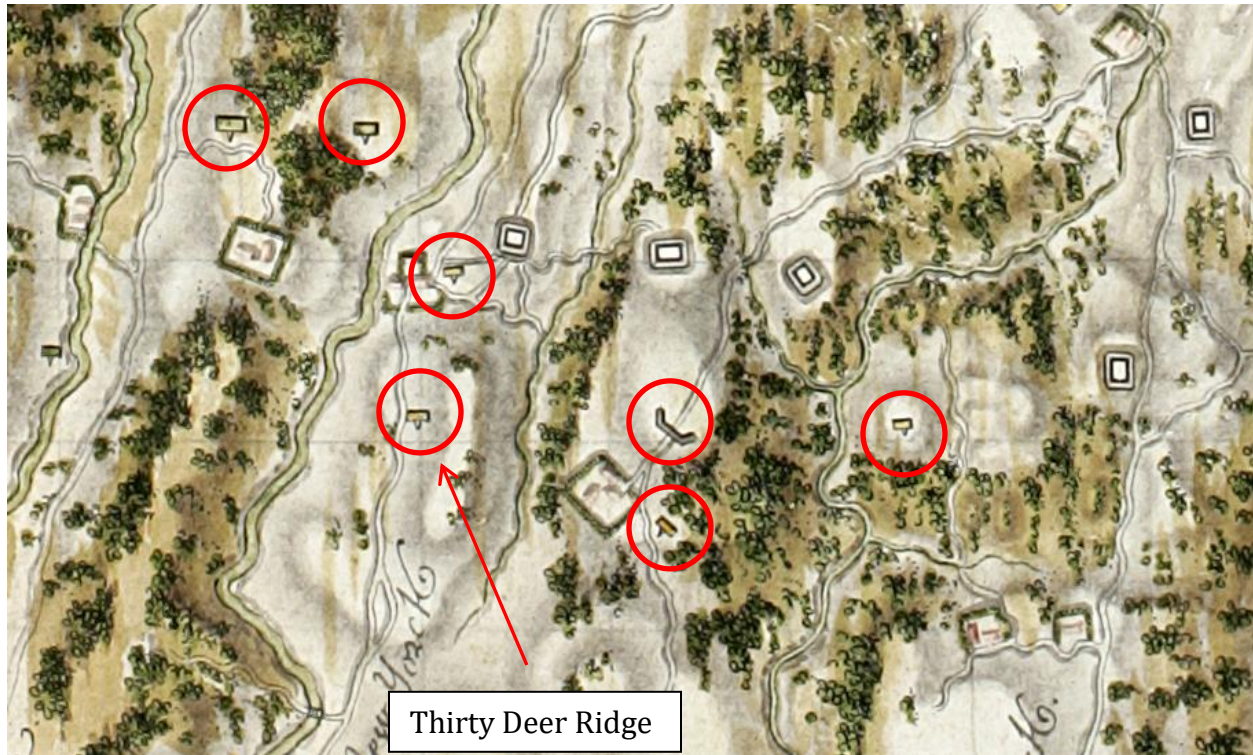
It reads:

FRENCH CAMP
HEREABOUTS, FRENCH TROOPS,
UNDER COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU,
SENT TO ASSIST WASHINGTON
MADE THEIR CAMP JULY 6,
TO AUGUST 19, 1781.
WILLIAM C. POMEROY FOUNDATION 2014



No longer existing man-made landscape feature connected with the 1781 encampment

The allied armies established a series of outposts toward New York City on hillsides and along roads leading to New York City which are identified on contemporary maps. Beyond that we know nothing about the composition, strength, or tour/length of duty of the troops who manned this post in the summer of 1781. Such information was usually recorded in a regimental orderly book, but no French orderly books are known to have survived.



Detail from *Position de l'Armée Americaine et Française a Philips-Bourg Distance de 12 Milles de Kings-bridge et 25 Milles de New-York, depuis le 6 Juillet 1781*. New-York Historical Society, New York.

Only the location of the outpost on Thirty Deer Ridge was still known in the 1850s and is identified on this 1851 map. No trace of it is left today. The road along the Sprain Brook is Sprain Road, the road branching off to the west is Ardsley Road.



See the article "Plaques found in Greenburgh." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester Historical Society* vol. 12 no. 2 (April 1936), pp. 40-41. The Westchester County Historical Society has no knowledge of the whereabouts of the two plaques marking the fort still existing in 1936 and mentioned in this article. Communication to the author by Mr. Frank Jazzo dated 3 March 2002.

The encampment operated like a city with markets, smithies, bakeries, hospitals, butcheries, and everything else needed to provide for a large agglomeration of people. Their locations are either no longer known or were destroyed by economic development. On 10 July, Washington issued a proclamation from his "Head Quarters near Dobbs Ferry":

"That Every Day, during the Time the Army remains in its present Position, from Day Break till Noon, Two Market Places will be open for the Supply of the Army. One near His Excellency's Head Quarters, in the Field just back of the House, and near the Quarters of the Adjutant and Quarter Masters General. The other in the French Camp, near the House of Henry Taylor [sic], which is the Head Quarters of His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau." In Rochambeau's "General Orders" we read under 29 July 1781 that a smithy had been "established on the Sawmill River Road about 1 ½ miles from the quarters of His Excellency General Washington."

American and French forces established a hospital for their troops; only the location of the French hospital near White Plains outside the Town of Greenburgh is known.

In 1971, J. Leonard LeViness wrote that ovens were constructed within the camp on "the fields east of the Odell house [where] the remains of seven huge ovens used by Rochambeau's men while encamped there could clearly be discerned. These were about six feet long and two and one-half feet wide, built mostly underground and made of cobblestone. They were destroyed when the Sunningdale golf course was laid out."



Sites connected with the War of Independence but not the 1781 encampment.

- 1) The Jacob Purdy House, George Washington's Headquarters from 23 July to 16 September 1778 – with the understanding however that it has been moved from its original location.
- 2) Patriots' Park in Tarrytown to commemorate the capture of Major John Andre on 23 September 1780. A monument to the captors, dedicated in 1853, and redesigned in 1880, was incorporated into a 1982 Beaux-Arts residential plan called Brookside Park by the New York City architectural firm of Carrere and Hastings.

Timeline

May 1781

- 1781, May 18: Washington leaves New Windsor for Wethersfield. He spends the night at Morgan's Tavern, 43 miles from Fishkill, NY.
- 1781, May 19: Rochambeau and Chastellux leave Newport for Wethersfield.
Washington arrives in Wethersfield accompanied by Henry Knox and Presle Duportail; lodges in the home of Joseph Webb.
- 1781, May 20: Rochambeau and Chastellux spend the night at Daniel "White's Tavern at the Sign of the Black Horse" in Andover.
- 1781, May 21: Rochambeau and Chastellux arrive in Wethersfield and lodge at Stillmann's Tavern.
- 1781, May 22: Washington and Rochambeau meet at Wethersfield to discuss strategy. They decide to focus on New York City.
- 1781, May 23: Rochambeau and Chastellux spend the night in Wethersfield.
- 1781, May 24: Rochambeau and Chastellux spend the night at Daniel "White's Tavern at the Sign of the Black Horse" in Andover.
Washington leaves Hartford and spends the night in Litchfield.
- 1781, May 25: Rochambeau and Chastellux spend the night in Providence.
Washington arrives in New Windsor at about sunset.
- 1781, May 26: Rochambeau and Chastellux return to Newport.

June 1781

- 1781, June 21: First Continental Army Brigade leaves winter quarters in New Windsor and encamps in Peekskill.
- 1781, June 23: Second Continental Army Brigade leaves winter quarters in New Windsor and joins First Brigade at Peekskill.
- 1781, June 24: Third Continental Army Brigade leaves winter quarters in New Windsor and joins the First and Second Brigade in Peekskill.

- 1781, June 25: Washington joins the Continental Army in Peekskill.
- 1781, June 29: The Regiment Bourbonnois camps in Newtown. The Royal Deux-Ponts arrives, the Soissonnois will arrive on 30 June and Saintonge on 1 July.
- 1781, June 30: The re-united Legion camps in New Stratford/Monroe.

July 1781

- 1781, July 1: Rochambeau re-organizes his troops into two-regiment brigades. The First Brigade consisting of the Regiments Bourbonnois and the Royal Deux-Ponts marches to New Castle (today's Mt. Kisco) in New York State. They camp in Bedford near the lake in the triangle formed by Seminary, Court, and Poundridge Roads.
- 1781, July 2: The First Brigade consisting of the Regiments Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts camp in New Castle/Mt. Kisco.
- The Second Brigade consisting of the Regiments Soissonnois and Saintonge marches to its camp in Ridgebury.
- Continental Army leaves on a night march for an attack on Morrisania. It reaches Valentine's Hill around sunrise on 3 July.
- Lauzun's Legion joins Rochambeau and his First Brigade on the march to Bedford Village. Here Lauzun's troops rest briefly before taking off to join General Benjamin Lincoln for a night attack on Morrisania.
- Following SR 22, the Old Post Road, past Wampus Lake through Armonk south through East Chester and West Chester, Lauzun's troops are late in reaching Morrisania at the juncture of the Harlem and East Rivers in the morning of July 3. The attack fails.
- 1781, July 3: The Second Brigade consisting of the Regiments Soissonnois and Saintonge marches from Ridgebury to a camp near the junction of Routes 117 and 172 in Mount Kisco.
- Here it joins the troops of the First Brigade which had marched there earlier that day.

Following a brief encounter with De Lancey's Loyalists, Lauzun withdraws to Valentine's Hill and camps on East Chester Road.

Washington spends the day reconnoitering Crown Forces.

- 1781, July 4: Lauzun's forces march to White Plains.
- Continental Army marches to its camp at Philipsburg on the heights between the Bronx and Saw Mill Rivers in the town of Greenburgh. Washington takes up quarters in the home of Joseph Appleby.
- 1781, July 5: Lauzun's Legion and Rochambeau's infantry have a day of rest.
- 1781, July 6: Rochambeau's forces join up with the Continental Army. Rochambeau takes up quarters with the Widow Sarah Bates. John Odell, after whom the house is named today, served as a guide in/to the Continental Army.
- 1781, July 12: The *Romulus*, Captain de La Villebrune, the frigates *Gentille*, the *Ariel*, and the cutter *Prudence* from Newport with about 250 soldiers on board enter the Sound between Long Island and the mainland in an attempt to capture Fort Lloyd (or Fort Franklin near Huntington, Long Island). The enterprise fails.
- 1781, July 12: Washington and Rochambeau inspect defenses at Dobbs Ferry.
- 1781, July 15: The 2nd Continental Artillery Regiment under Colonel John Lamb departs from West Point for Philipsburg. It arrives on July 27.
- 1781, July 16: A British raiding party sails up the Hudson to Tarrytown; it will return to New York City in the morning of the 19 July.
- A detachment of a sergeant and twelve soldiers of the Soissonnois Regiment, dragoons of Colonel Elisha Sheldon's 2nd Continental Light Dragoons and two 18-lb cannons keep the British from landing.
- 1781, July 17: During the night of 17/18 July a patrol of six hussars and 10 infantry of Lauzun's Legion, which was by now quartered at "Red House" about 2 miles north-east of Chatterton Hill, runs into an ambush set by De Lancey's dragoons. The French suffer their first combat-related casualty when sous-lieutenant Jacques Hartmann is killed by friendly fire in the morning of 18 July.

- 1781, July 18: Washington, Presle du Portail, Rochambeau, de Béville, Desandroüins cross the Hudson to reconnoiter the west side of Staten Island. They return at night.
- 1781, July 21: Around 7:00 p.m. American and French forces almost 4,500 officers and men strong set out for the Grand Reconnaissance. They arrive at King's Bridge around dawn on 22 July.
- 1781, July 22: Washington and Rochambeau reconnoiter British defenses.
- The Continental Army spends the night of 22/23 July in Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx. French forces camp along the summit of Gun Hill at the intersection of Gun Hill Road and Bainbridge Avenue.
- 1781, July 23: Around mid-night 23/24 July the two armies reach their camps at Philipsburg.

August 1781

- 1781, August 11: Robert Morris and Richard Peters arrive at Washington's headquarters.
- 1781, August 14: Rochambeau receives a letter from Admiral de Grasse in Haiti via the *Concorde* dated 28 July 1781 stating that he would sail for the Chesapeake on 13 August but that he would only stay until 15 October. The *Concorde* had left St. Domingue/Haiti on 28 July and reached Newport on 11 August.
- De Grasse departed on 5 August with 28 ships of the line, supporting frigates and 3,289 officers and men from the *Gâtinois*, *Aginois*, and *Tourraine Regiments* of infantry, the Metz Regiment of Artillery and about 100 men cavalry. He arrives in the Chesapeake Bay on 26 August 1781.
- 1781, August 16: Washington receives letters from Lafayette that Cornwallis had sailed to York and Gloucester and was "throwing up works on the 6th inst."
- 1781, August 18: French artillery leaves Philipsburg around 11:00 a.m. but due to bad roads and weather bivouacs only four miles from camp.
- The First Rhode Island Regiment, the First New York Regiment, Colonel Lamb's Continental artillery, and Lt.-Col. Alexander

Scammell's Light Infantry march past Sleepy Hollow toward Verplanck's Point/King's Ferry. Washington is in this column.

The artillery rests near Ossining, but it is unknown where the rest of the Continental Army bivouacs for the night.

1781, August 18/19: Brigadier General Moses Hazen's Second Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) and the combined New Jersey Regiments arrive at Dobbs Ferry at around 07:00 p.m. and begin to cross the Hudson to Sneed's Landing. The crossing is completed "two hours after daybreak" on 19 August.

Scammell's Light Infantry crosses the Hudson at Verplanck's Point and marches on to a camp in the vicinity of Kakeat, today's New Hempstead in New York.

They will remain in this camp, the exact location of which is unknown, until 25 August, when they march to Paramus.

The French artillery marches to its next bivouac north of the Croton at Pines Bridge.

The First French Brigade bivouacs at an unknown place near North Castle/Mt. Kisco.

1781, August 19: Parts of the Rhode Island Regiment, the First New York Regiment, and Colonel Lamb's 2nd Continental artillery leave their camp at Greenburgh and march toward King's Ferry where they arrive around 10:00 a.m. on 20 August and begin to cross immediately.

The artillery rested near Ossining, but it is unknown where the remainder of the Continental Army bivouacked for the night.

Scammell's Light Infantry crosses the Hudson at Verplanck's and marches on to a camp in the vicinity of Kakeat, today's New Hempstead in New York.

They will remain in this camp, the exact location of which is unknown, until 25 August 1781, when they march to Paramus in New Jersey.

The organization of French forces into two-regiment brigades, instituted by Rochambeau on 1 July 1781, is maintained for the march through New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware until the arrival of the army at Head of Elk in Maryland on 7/8 September 1781.

The French artillery marches to its next bivouac north of the Croton at Pines Bridge.

The First French Brigade bivouacs at an unknown place near North Castle/Mt. Kisco.

Moses Hazen's Second Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) And the combined New Jersey Regiments march to Paramus.

1781, August 20: Around 10:00 a.m. the Continental Army reaches Peekskill and immediately begins to cross the Hudson.

The New Jersey Line together with Hazen's Regiment marches from Paramus to Belleville and encamps.

The 2nd New York Regiment departs from Albany for West Point with 30 flat boats on carriages able to carry 40 men each. Eventually the regiment transports 34 boats to Head of Elk.

The First Brigade of the French infantry marches about eight Miles to a camp in the vicinity of "Letgart's Tavern" (?)

The Second Brigade has an unplanned rest day south of the Croton as it waits for wagons.

The French artillery remains in bivouac.

The French grenadiers and chasseurs leave Philipsburg on the same road the artillery had taken earlier. They bivouacked six miles from Philipsburg.

1781, August 21: Major Baumann's detachment departs from New Windsor toward Ringwood.

By daybreak on 21 August the Continental Army has crossed the Hudson to Stony Point.

Washington establishes his headquarters at the home of Jeshua Hett Smith where Benedict Arnold and Major John André had their last meeting before Arnold's treason. He will stay here until 25 August.

It is unknown where Rochambeau made his headquarters during the crossing days.

Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment leaves its camp at Belleville and encamps between Springfield and Chatham. The regiment will stay here from 21 until 28 August.

Advance components of the French artillery reach Peekskill and cross the Hudson. Most of the artillery camps two miles east of Peekskill.

The First French Brigade marches 9 miles to its camp near Hunt's Tavern on the north side of Baldwin between SR 202 and Hallocks Mill Road.

The Second Brigade of French infantry marches to its camp near Hunt's Tavern next to the First Brigade.

Grenadiers and chasseurs cross the Croton and rejoin the main army at Hunt's Tavern.

The 2nd New York Regiment is on its way to West Point.

1781, August 22: Major Baumann's detachment marches through Smith's Clove on NY-SR 17 toward Sloatsburg.

Remainder of the French artillery plus Lauzun's Legion cross the Hudson and camp near Haverstraw.

The Continental Army assists in the crossing.

The First French Brigade marches from near Hunt's Tavern through Peekskill to its camp near Verplanck's Point.

The Second Brigade of French infantry marches to its camp near Hunt's Tavern along the north side of Baldwin Road between SR 202 and Hallocks Mill Road.

The 2nd New York Regiment is on its way to West Point. Part of the Rhode Island Regiment departs from West Point for King's Ferry.

1781, August 23: The First French Brigade has a rest day.

The Second French Brigade marches from near Hunt's Tavern through Peekskill to its camp near Verplanck's Point.

Washington and Rochambeau visit West Point.

The 2nd New York Regiment reaches West Point in the evening.

Major Baumann's detachment marches through Smith's Clove on NY-SR 17 toward Sloatsburg and encamps.

1781, August 24: Major Baumann's detachment arrives at Pompton Plains. Washington writes to de Grasse that he hopes to be at Head of Elk by 8 September.

First French Brigade consisting of the *Regiments Bourbonnois* and *Royal Deux-Ponts* crosses the Hudson and encamps near Haverstraw.

Second French Brigade, the *Regiments Soissonnois* and *Saintonge* remains encamped at Peekskill/Verplanck.

1781, August 25: Around 4:00 a.m. of 25 August the Continental Army marches into New Jersey. About three miles beyond Suffern, about one mile in New Jersey, the sappers, miners, baggage carts, artillery park – the right-hand column of the Continental Army under the protection of the Rhode Island Regiment and Lauzun's Legion -- begins its march to Andrew Hopper's House and encamped for the night.

The left-hand column of the Continental Army under the command of General Lincoln composed of the light troops, the 1st New York Regiment, and four light pieces of artillery with the train of the Continental Army marches about one mile into New Jersey where it turns south and marches to a camp within three miles of Paramus, i.e., Hohokus.

Scammell's Light Infantry near Kakeat (i.e., New Hempstead) re-joins the Continental Army on its march on to Paramus.

The First Brigade of the French Army begins its march to its camp in Suffern.

The Second Brigade of the French Army crosses the Hudson and camps near Haverstraw.

At mid-night August 25/26, four days behind schedule, the last wagons and the rear-guard of the French army cross the Hudson to Stony Point and without resting join the Second French Brigade in its march to Suffern.

The 2nd New York arrives at Kings Ferry.

1781, August 26: Lincoln's forces march from their camp in Paramus to the next camp "two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge (Passaic)."

The First Brigade of the French Army crosses into New Jersey and camps in Pompton Plains.

The Second Brigade of the French Army marches to its camp in Suffern.

The 2nd New York Regiment with the boats marches from Stony Point to Haverstraw.

The 2nd New York Regiment camps in Haverstraw.

1781, August 27: The sappers and miners, baggage, artillery park etc. forming the right-hand column of the Continental Army under the protection of the Rhode Island Regiment arrives in Chatham.

Lincoln's forces leave their camp south of Passaic and reach their camp near Springfield.

The 2nd New York Regiment marches from Haverstraw to a camp within three miles of Suffern.

The First Brigade of French forces marches to Whippany.

The Second Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry crosses into New Jersey and camps at Pompton Plains.

1781, August 28: The 2nd New York Regiment marches from Suffern to a camp near Curtis' Tavern/Pompton.

By noon on 28 August 1781, the last allied forces have left the State of New York. They returned to New York State in the early fall of 1782 and camped at Crompond/Yorktown Heights around Hunt's Tavern from 24 September 1782.

Lauzun's Legion encamped on a hill about two to three miles to the south near Hanover Farms from where it could patrol the Croton River and the crossing at Pines Bridge while Rochambeau set up his headquarters with Captain Samuel Delevan on Hallock's Mill Road between Route 202 and Saw Mill River Road.

On 22 October 1782, French infantry forces marched from here to Boston and sailed out of Boston harbor on Christmas Day 1782 while Lauzun's Legion went into winter quarters in Wilmington, Delaware.

Historical Background

The origins of French involvement in the American War of Independence – and the French encampments at Bush - date to the year 1763 and the First Peace of Paris: the roots of the Franco-American Alliance of 1778, the legal foundation that brought Admiral Charles Hector, *comte d'Estaing* (1729-1794) to Newport in 1778 and Savannah in 1779, Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, *comte de Rochambeau* (1725-1807) to Rhode Island in 1780 and American and French forces to Laurel and Bladensburg, Claude Anne de Rouvroy, *marquis de St. Simon* (1743-1819) to Pensacola and Admiral François Joseph Paul, *marquis de Grasse-Tilly, comte de Grasse* (1722-1788) to Yorktown in 1781 are found on the battlefields of Canada and in the defeat of French forces under Louis-Joseph de Montcalm (1712-1759) on the Plains of Abraham on 12 September 1759.

From 1763 to the Beginning of the Campaign of 1781

In the First Peace of Paris of 1763 France lost Canada, but there was much posturing behind her public lamentations since in 1762, Étienne François *duc de Choiseul* (1719-1785) had almost insisted that Canada be given to Britain. Choiseul realized that the loss of Canada had freed French foreign policy in America and around the world. British negotiator John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford (1710-1771) anticipated Choiseul's fondest dreams when he saw an alarming mirage emerging across the Atlantic. In 1762, Bedford wondered “whether the neighborhood of the French to our North American colonies was not the greatest security for their dependence on the mother country, which I feel will be slighted by them when their apprehension of the French is removed.”¹ Bedford's worst fears, and Choiseul's fondest hopes, soon became reality. When London had reminded the colonists once too often of their obligations, they responded with a Declaration of Independence on 4 July 1776 stressing their differences with Great Britain rather than their commonalties.

The Declaration of Independence was addressed not so much to the American people or to King George III (1738/1760-1820), who did not need to be informed of the fact that his colonies wanted to break away, but was “submitted to a candid world” in general and to France (and to a lesser degree to Spain) in particular. The colonists had started their fight with Britain penniless, without arms or many of the supplies and equipment needed to sustain that fight. Rebel leaders were well aware of both their need for outside assistance and of the only place where that assistance could come from: the two Bourbon kings Louis XVI (1754/1774-1793) of France and Carlos III (1716/1759-1788) of Spain. A Declaration of Independence was a first indispensable step toward acquiring that support – the rebels could only obtain the aid of France and Spain if they succeeded in portraying themselves as an independent nation fighting a common foe, by turning their civil war into a war between

independent nations. In January 1776, Thomas Paine (1737-1809) had written in *Common Sense* that "Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. 'TIS TIME TO PART" and added that "Nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open and determined declaration for independence.... [neither] France or Spain will give us any kind of assistance, while we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain. The custom of all courts is against us, and will be so, until, by an independence, we take rank with other nations."²

France was watching events in the New World and listening to the messages coming from across the Atlantic. In January 1776, French Foreign minister Charles Gravier, *comte de Vergennes* (1717-1787) had submitted a proposal by Caron de Beaumarchais to Louis XVI, informing him that his plan was "not so much to terminate the war between America and England, as to sustain and keep it alive to the detriment of the English, our natural and pronounce enemies."³ In a Council of State meeting on 12 March 1776, Vergennes again argued for providing arms to the Americans, and after some hesitation – Louis' response to Vergennes was that he "disliked the precedent of one monarchy giving support to a republican insurrection against a legitimate monarchy" -- the king on 22 April decided not only to provide funding to the American rebels but to increase the naval budget as well to enable the navy to counter any hostile reaction to France's support for the American rebels.

In an effort to hide France's involvement in the American rebellion, Vergennes next co-opted the playwright Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732-1799), author of *The Barber of Seville*, into his service.⁴ As early as the Fall of 1775, Beaumarchais had approached Vergennes with a plan to support the American rebels. Following the Council meeting of 22 April 1776, the king agreed to let Beaumarchais act as the secret agent of the crown.⁵ Military supplies were made available to Beaumarchais, who set up the trading company of Roderigue Hortalez & Co. as a front to channel aid to the Americans.⁶ On 2 May 1776, the crown released 1,000,000 *livres* to Beaumarchais to purchase supplies for the rebels and Spain immediately matched the amount.⁷ With this covert backing and financial support of the Spanish and French governments, Beaumarchais' ships carried supplies to the Americans, frequently via the tiny Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean.⁸

France had more than anticipated the American rebels' needs which Congress had spelled out in its 3 March 1776 instructions for Silas Deane (1737-1789), who departed for France on 16 March and arrived in Bordeaux in May: "That the supply we at present want, is clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men with a suitable quantity of ammunition and one hundred field pieces."⁹ Deane arrived in Paris on Saturday, 6 July 1776, followed by Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) on 21 December of the same year.¹⁰ Beginning in the Spring of 1777, supplies began to flow across the ocean: besides small arms and ammunition 173 short M1740 4-lb cannon *à la suédoise* and 21 long M1732 4-lb cannon of the *ystème Vallière*, had reached America's shores by September 1777 as well. The Continental Army wasted little

time in putting them to use: at Saratoga they provided the necessary firepower to the American artillery to not only force the surrender of General John Burgoyne (1722-1792) but to find a prominent place in John Trumbull's painting of the surrender scene as well.

News of Burgoyne's surrender reached London and Paris in early December and worried the *comte de Vergennes* as much as it pleased him. The rebellion was alive, French material support had not been wasted, but France was not quite ready to openly enter the war - he would have liked some more time to prepare the navy and to convince Spain to openly join France in an alliance against Britain. He quickly found out, however, that he would neither get the open support of Spain nor the time to finish his preparations. Why? Upon hearing news of the surrender at Saratoga, Frederick North, Lord North (1732-1792) asked the House of Commons to repeal the Tea Act and the Massachusetts Government Act, the last of the Coercive Acts, and announced the dispatch of a Peace Commission, the so-called the Carlisle Commission, to America to offer the colonies/United States a large degree of self-rule. That was exactly what Vergennes had feared - what if the colonists would accept the proposal? In that case France would have to face the wrath of Britain alone and without allies. Convinced that he needed to be pro-active, Louis XVI on 30 January 1778 (more than eight weeks after the news of Saratoga had reached Versailles on 4 December 1777) instructed his *Secrétaire du Conseil d'Etat* Conrad Alexandre Gérard de Rayneval (1729-1790) to sign a Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a secret Treaty of Military Alliance with Deane, Franklin and Arthur Lee (1740-1792). The signing took place on 6 February; upon hearing this news the Court of St. James recalled its ambassador from France on 15 March 1778, which in turn expelled the British commissioners at Dunquerque. In early June, British ships chased the frigate *Belle Poule* off the coast of Normandy; Louis XVI responded by ordering his navy on 10 July 1778 to give chase to Royal Navy vessels. The rest is history, as they say. Yes, Saratoga sent an important message to Americans and to France, but the decision to acknowledge the independence of the United States had as much or more to do with the British reaction to Saratoga as with the American victory as such.

When France entered into her alliance with the Americans in February 1778 she had hoped for a short war, but Sir Henry Clinton's (1730-1795) successful forays into Georgia and South Carolina, combined with the failed sieges of Newport, Rhode Island and Savannah, Georgia in 1778 and 1779, had dashed all hopes of a quick victory for the Franco-American alliance. The failure of these short-term, joint sea-land operations had severely strained the alliance and by the fall of 1779 it had become obvious that the alliance needed a new strategy. France's decision in January 1780 to dispatch an expeditionary corps to the North American mainland formed the core of this new strategy.

The possibility of sending ground forces across the Atlantic for stationing on the American mainland had been discussed and rejected before: both sides were too well aware of the

historical and cultural obstacles that had grown up during decades of hostilities to assume an unqualified welcoming of French forces in the United States. France had hoped for a short war, but Sir Henry Clinton's successful foray into Georgia and South Carolina, combined with the failed sieges of Newport and Savannah in 1778 and 1779, had dashed all hopes of a quick victory for the Franco-American alliance. In the fall of 1779, France and America needed a new strategy and the decision in January 1780 to dispatch ground forces formed the core of the new strategy.

Why now? Britain's success had worked against her. On 16 September 1779, French minister Anne-César, *chevalier* de la Luzerne (1741-1791) met with General George Washington (1732-1799) at West Point, NY to discuss strategy for 1780. With an eye toward the deteriorating military situation in the South he wondered "whether in case The Court of France should find it convenient to send directly from France a Squadron and a few Regiments attached to it, to act in conjunction with us in this quarter, it would be agreeable to The United States." Washington's reply as recorded by Alexander Hamilton (1757-1804) indicated that "The General thought it would be very advancive of the common Cause." Washington repeated his views in a letter to Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier de La Fayette, *marquis* de La Fayette (1757-1834) of 30 September 1779. In it he informed the marquis of his hopes that Lafayette would soon return to America either in his capacity of Major General in the Continental Army or as "an Officer at the head of a Corps of gallant French (if circumstances should require this)". Based on Luzerne's report of the 16 September 1779 meeting, and an excerpt of Washington's letter Lafayette had sent him on 25 January 1780, foreign minister the *comte* de Vergennes decided that the time had come to send ground forces to the New World.

Vergennes wasted no time. On 29 January 1780, he informed his ambassador in Madrid that France would be sending a few ships of the line and 3,000 to 4,000 troops to America, five days before King Louis XVI on 2 February approved the plan code-named *expédition particulière*, which provided for the transportation across the ocean of a force large enough to decide the outcome of the rebellion in America. A few days later the king appointed Charles Louis d'Arsac *chevalier* de Ternay (1723-1780), a *chef d'escadre* with 40 years of experience, to command the naval forces. For the land forces the choice fell on 55-year-old Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, a professional soldier with 37 years of experience who had already been selected to command the advance guard in the cancelled invasion of Britain. On 1 March 1780, Louis XVI promoted Rochambeau to lieutenant general and placed him at the head of the expedition.

By 6 April, the troops were embarked; Rochambeau boarded the *Duc de Bourgogne*, one of only five 80-gun vessels in the French navy, on 17 April. Everything was ready, but for days the fleet had to wait in the rain for the wind to change. The first attempt to clear the

coast failed, but on 2 May the convoy of 32 transports and cargo ships protected by seven ships of the line, four frigates, four flutes, a cutter and a schooner finally left Brest. Besides their crews of about 7,000 sailors, his ships carried the troops of the *expédition particulière*, about 450 officers and 5,300 men commanded by Rochambeau.

On 11 July, the fleet dropped anchor in Narragansett Bay off Newport, Rhode Island, but with many of the troops suffering from scurvy and transportation-related diseases and with not enough time left 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 quarters in Lebanon in Connecticut.¹¹ At Wethersfield in May 1781, Washington and Rochambeau decided to join their forces on the North River, possibly for an attack on New York City, the political and military center of British power in the New World. On 10 June 1781, Rochambeau's forces began to embark in Newport for the journey to Providence. The *comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur* 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."¹² 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.

The March to Greenburgh, 18 June to 6 July 1781

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

Following Washington's return to Newburgh from Wethersfield on the evening of 25 May, the Continental Army prepared for the coming campaign as well. On 18 June 1781, Washington wrote in 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.”¹³

“General Orders” issued at “Head Quarters, New Windsor, Monday, June 18, 1781” announced the organization of the Continental Army for the march:

“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.”

The “General Orders” of 19 June 1781 contained the marching orders for the 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.

then. General Howe's on the 23d.

The Quarter Master General will point out the ground.¹⁴

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 [= Captain James Beebe], 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."



Detail of Robert Erskine, "Surveys in New York & Connecticut for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778" New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

On 21 June the First Continental Army Brigade left its winter quarters in New Windsor and encamped in Peekskill. The following day the Second Continental Army Brigade left its winter quarters in New Windsor as well and joined the First Brigade at Peekskill. On 23 June, the Third Brigade joined the two brigades at Peekskill. The next day, 24 June the army rested, waiting for General Washington who joined it on 25 June. That day he entered into his diary: "Joined the Army at its Encampment at Peekskill [...] A Letter from Count de Rochambeau informs me that he shall be with his first division at Newtown on the 28th. where he purposed to assemble his force & March in Brigades while the Duke de Lauzens Legion continues to move on his Left flank."



Detail of Robert Erskine, "Surveys in New York & Connecticut for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778" New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, serving since 18 June in Lt.-Col. Alexander Scammell's Light Infantry (created on 17 May 1781, the regiment was disbanded again on 8 December 1781 following its return to West Point, NY), on 20 June had

marched “from Peekskill to within two miles of Pier’s Bridge [i.e. Pine’s Bridge¹⁵], and encamped on the ground”,¹⁶ wrote in his journal on 21 June: “*Moved about a quarter of a mile, and encamped on the ground.*”¹⁷ Having “Moved close to Pier’s Bridge [and] lay on the ground” on 22 June, Benjamin on 23 June “Moved from Pier’s Bridge about two miles up the river – lay on the ground.” Captain John Hutchinson Buell of the Connecticut Line recorded 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 29 June we was orderd to Peekskills with 30 Boats and was joinid by Capt. Billings and two Officers and 50 Men.”¹⁸ On 25 June, Washington joined the Continental Army at its camp in Peekskill on the north side of Crompond Road between Washington Street and Lafayette Avenue. The campaign was about to begin.

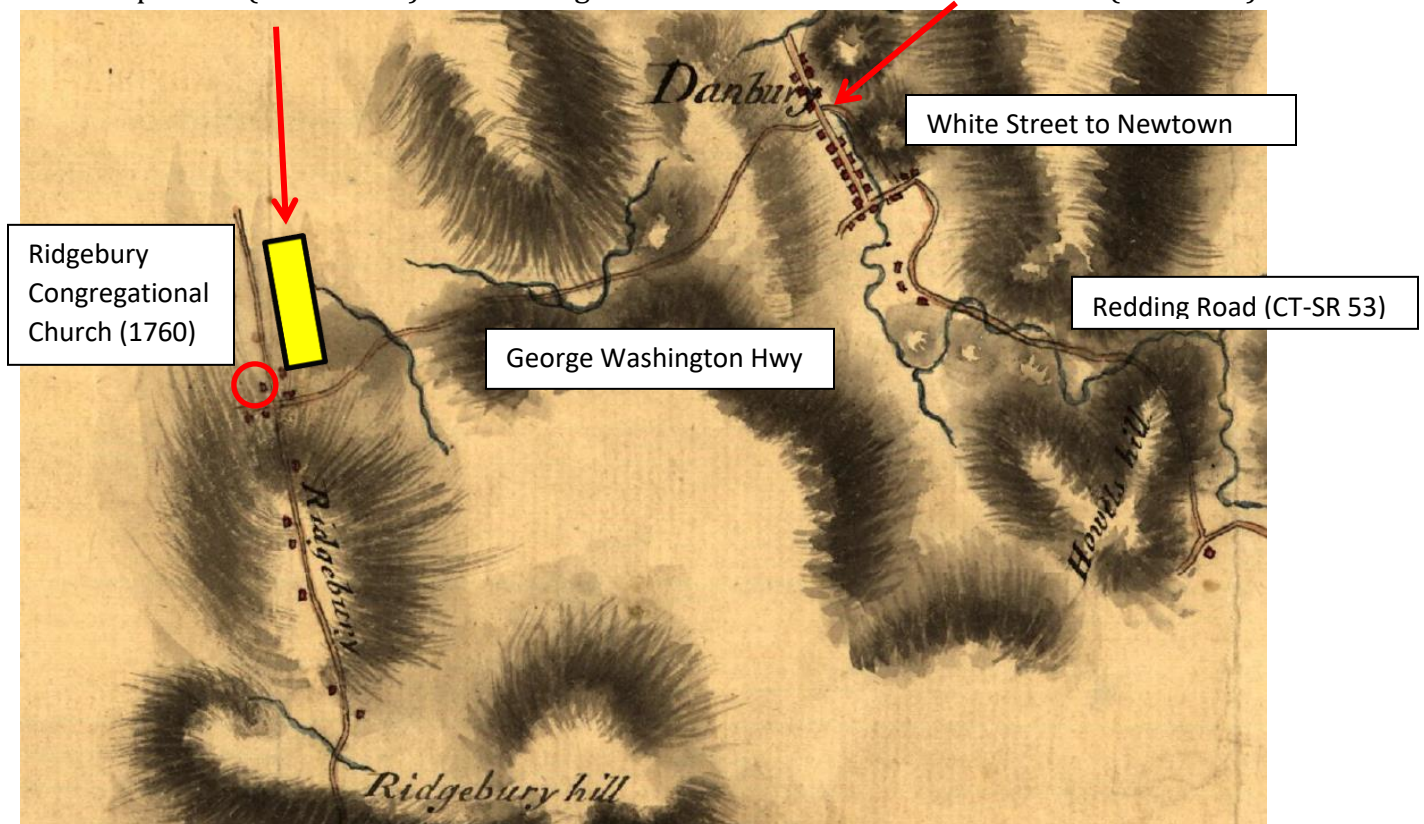
By late June French forces had crossed Connecticut and were approaching the New York state line. As they were getting closer to New York, Rochambeau re-organized his troops into brigades. Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts formed the First Brigade, the Soissonnois and Saintonge the Second Brigade. On 1 July, his 56th birthday, Rochambeau set out with the First Brigade from Newtown to Danbury, a village of maybe 80 houses, and on toward Ridgebury on West Street to Lake Avenue and then south toward Backus Avenue and Miry Brook Road (today a traveler would take Segar Street to Park Avenue as the construction of I-84, Danbury Fair and Danbury Municipal Airport greatly changed the road patterns), which becomes George Washington Highway to Ridgebury Road. Upon reaching Ridgebury Road the First Brigade encamped on 1/2 July 1781 on the east side of Ridgebury Road north of George Washington Highway.



Detail of Robert Erskine, “Surveys in New York & Connecticut for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778” New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

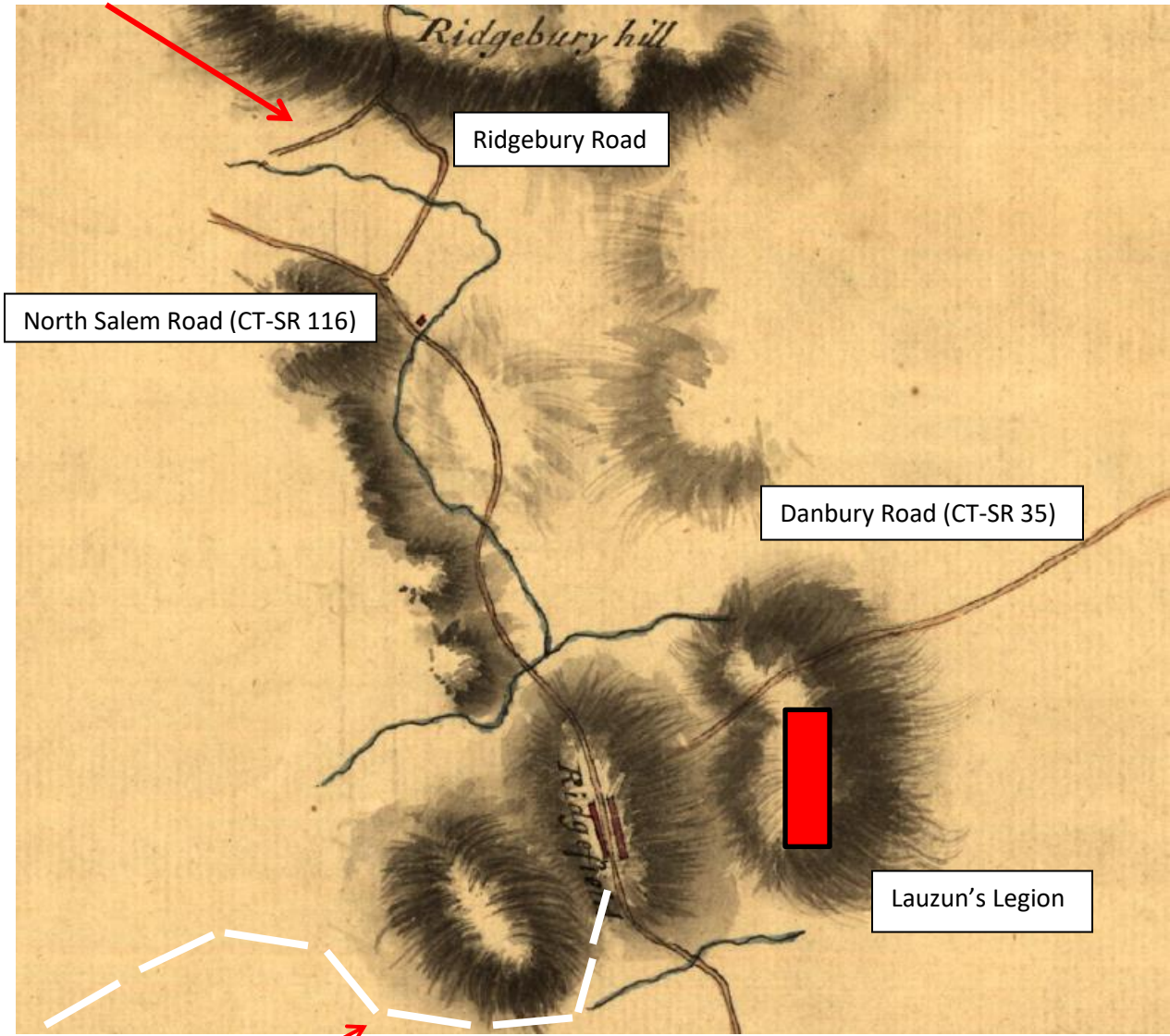
“In the evening”, recorded the *comte* de Clermont-Crèveceur, “news came from General Washington that caused a change in our route.” The “news” came in a letter from Washington dated 30 June 1781, asking Rochambeau “to put your First Brigade under march tomorrow Morning, the remaining Troops to follow as quick as possible, and endeavor to reach Bedford by the evening of the 2d. of July.” As Rochambeau redirected his brigade from Ridgebury to Bedford on 2 July, his troops continued south on Ridgebury Road to North Salem Road (CT-SR 116) into Ridgefield. Here they turned west on CT-SR 35/Old Post Road and soon crossed into Westchester County and New York. At NY-SR 123 they turned south for about ½ mile to Mill River Road which they followed to NY-SR 124/Salem Road which took them into Pound Ridge. Here they reached New York State Route 172 near Poundridge Town Hall whence they turned east to Bedford Village, or rather what little there was left of it. A single house had survived the fire Banastre Tarleton's men had set on the morning of Sunday, 11 July 1779. As Washington had hoped, the men of Rochambeau's First Brigade set up their first camp in the State of New York and their 12th camp since Newport, in the early afternoon of 2 July 1781, near the lake in the triangle formed by Seminary, Court, and Poundridge Roads.¹⁹

Camp of the (First ? and) Second Brigade of French forces Main Street (CT-SR 53)



Detail from “Gov. Tryon's expedition to Danbury, 1777” Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C., call number G3784.D2S3 1777.G6.

Ridgebury Congregational Church (1760) stands west of Ridgebury Road and north of Canterbury Lane which becomes George Washington Highway east of Ridgebury Road. Mopus Bridge Road (taken by the Second French Brigade on 3 July 1781)



Old Post Road/CT-SR 35 (taken by the First French Brigade and Lauzun's Legion on 2 July 1781)

Detail from "Gov. Tryon's expedition to Danbury, 1777" Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, D.C., call number G3784.D2S3 1777.G6.



Detail from Robert Erskine, "Surveys in New York & Connecticut States for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778." New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

The order to form brigades reached the Fourth Division, i.e. the *Régiment de Saintonge*, around 10:00 p.m. on 1 July as it was resting in Newtown. "Without stopping here to rest, my (i.e., the fourth of Rochambeau's regiments led by Louis Alexandre Berthier) Division joined that of the *comte de Vioménil* (i.e., the Third) to form a brigade commanded by the latter and led by M. Collot." The next day, i.e., 2 July, "the Second Brigade left Newtown and marched 15 miles through Danbury to Ridgebury, where it arrived at eleven o'clock (i.e. a.m.). It was preceded on its march to the camp by an advance detachment of grenadiers and chasseurs. I was ordered to lead them and to choose a good position for them a mile ahead of the brigade on the road to New York, where they camped after stationing sentries at all points leading in from enemy territory. Here we received a change of itinerary [i.e.] to proceed by a forced march to North Castle [Mount Kisco²⁰] where the whole army would be assembled."²¹ The main body of troops camped north-west of the Congregational Church along Ridgebury Road while an advance guard of grenadiers camped in the vicinity of Old Stagecoach Road about one mile to the south. At 03:00 the two regiments of the Second Brigade with their artillery

supplement and wagon train marched south on Ridgebury Road to Mopus Bridge Road where they turned west and entered New York State to North Salem Road (CT-SR 116). A good mile inside New York State it turned south-west onto NY-SR 121 which it followed all the way to Bedford. Having marched 22 miles that day it joined the First Brigade which had marched to Bedford via Pound Ridge, in the early afternoon of 3 July 1781 at its campsite near the lake in the triangle formed by Seminary, Court, and Poundridge Roads in Bedford.²² Here they remained until their departure to White Plains in a single column on 6 July 1781.

The Raid on Morrisania Manor, 2-3 July 1781

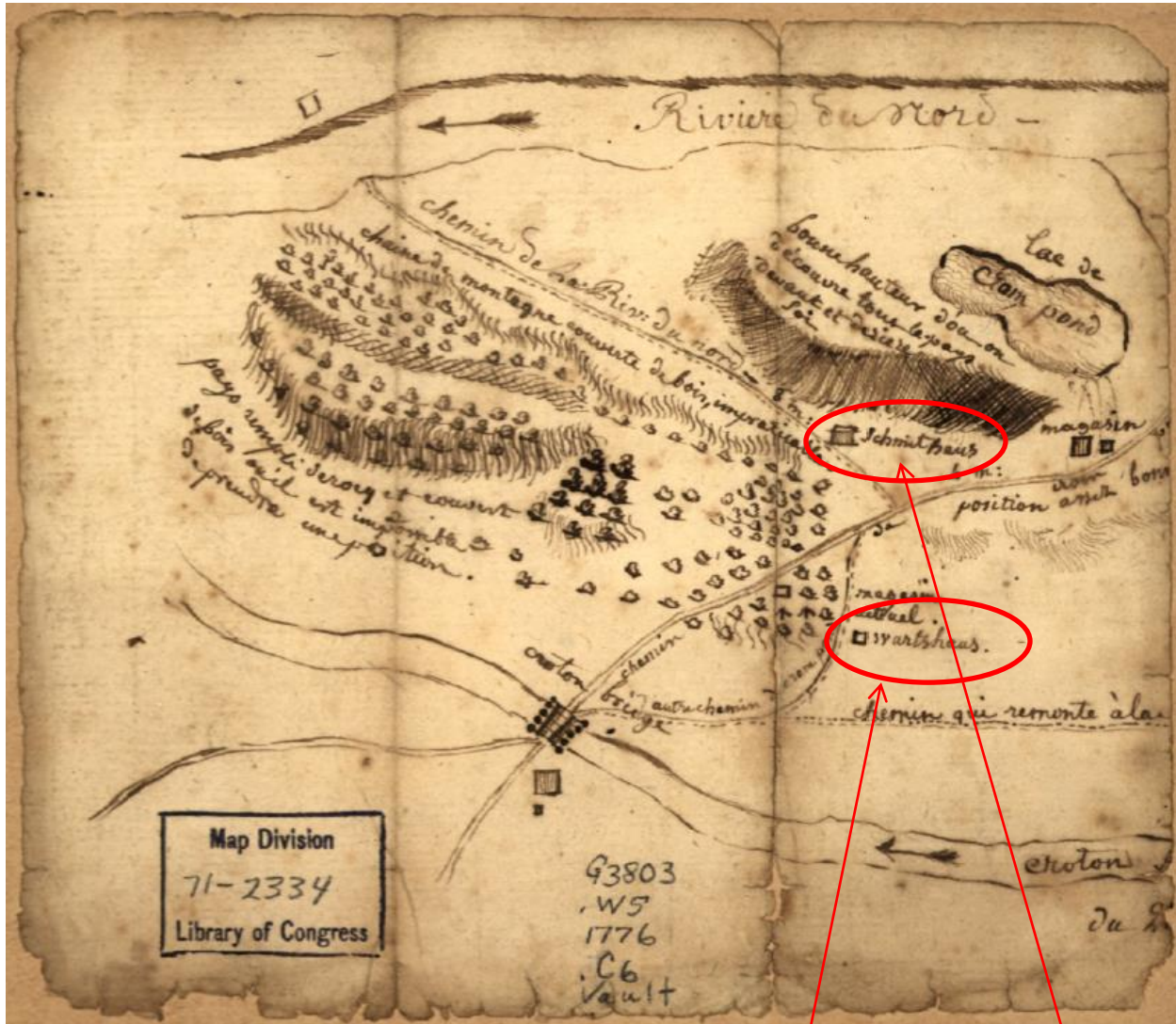
On 28 June 1781, Washington

“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 And other light Corps without Kingsbridge 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. Sacket--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.”

While the infantry was entering New York from Danbury, Armand Louis de Gontaut, *duc de Lauzun* (1747-1793) and his Legion had crossed Connecticut on a more southerly route along the coast. 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 (1748-1830) to march immediately to Bedford via Ridgefield where Washington expected him in the evening of 2 July for an attack on Morrisania Manor. Early in the morning of 1 July, the Legion broke camp at Monroe and riding westward through Redding continued on to Ridgefield where Lauzun encamped in the Scotland district "along the ridge east of the North Salem Road" (CT-SR 116), south of Danbury Road (CT-SR 35) and north of CT 102, a good six miles south of the main army in Ridgebury.²³

On the American side the Continental Army on 2 July received its marching orders at "Camp Peekskill" as well. "The army is to march this morning at the hour & in the order

prescribed in yesterday's orders taking their route from Peekskill down the old post or river road to the New Bridge over Croton river. 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, where it will rest & wait the orders of the Commander in Chief."24 The orders by the Commander in Chief upon arrival at Tarrytown were for bulk of the army to encamp at Tarrytown "to cover the detached Troops and improve any advantages which might be gained by them."

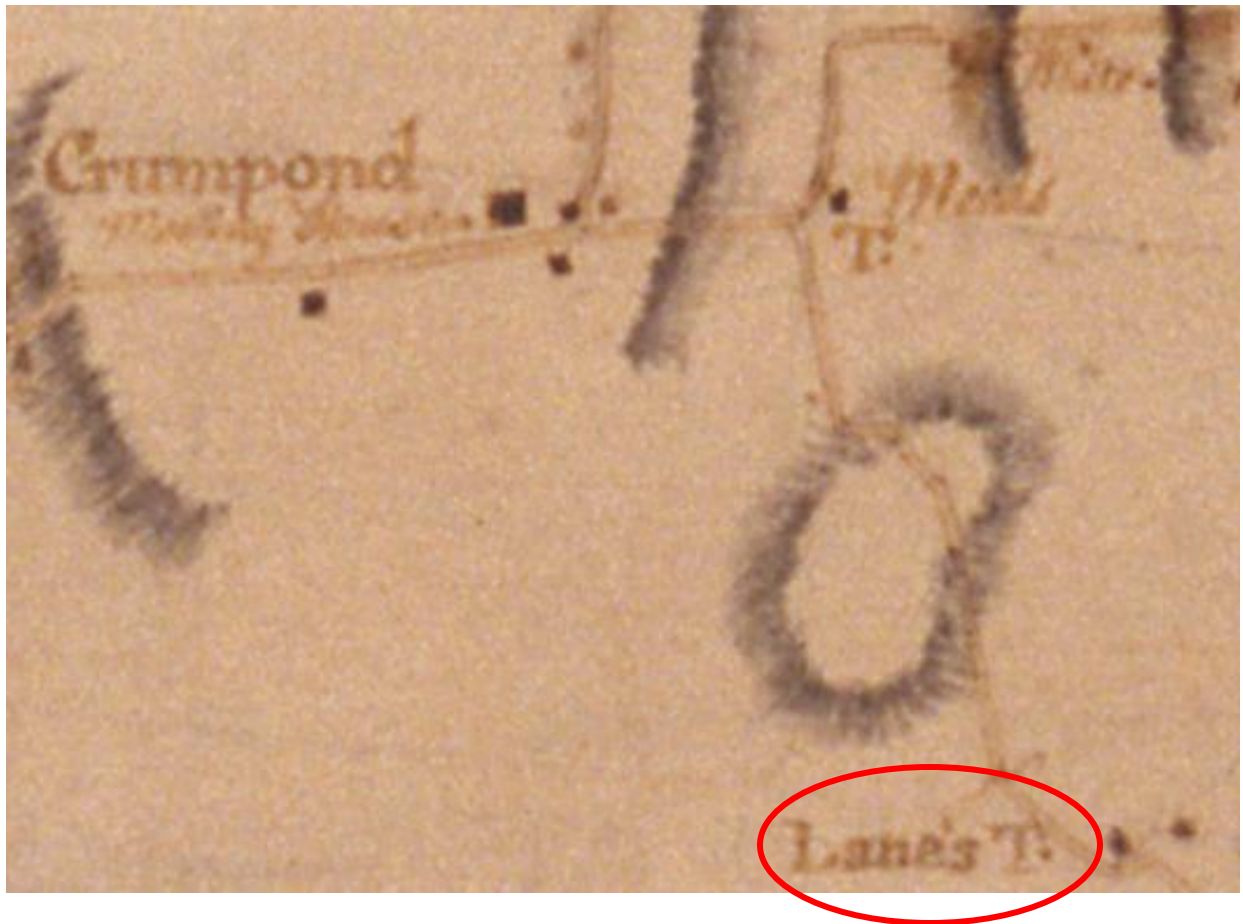


The author of this map fragment showing the bridge over the Croton and Lake Crompond is unknown but was most likely a German-speaker. North is to the right of the map

"Wirtshaus = Tavern" Smithy

It is identified as "Lane's Tavern" on maps drawn by Robert Erskine

Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



“Lane’s T[avern]” is the “Wirtshaus” on the anonymous map from the Library of Congress

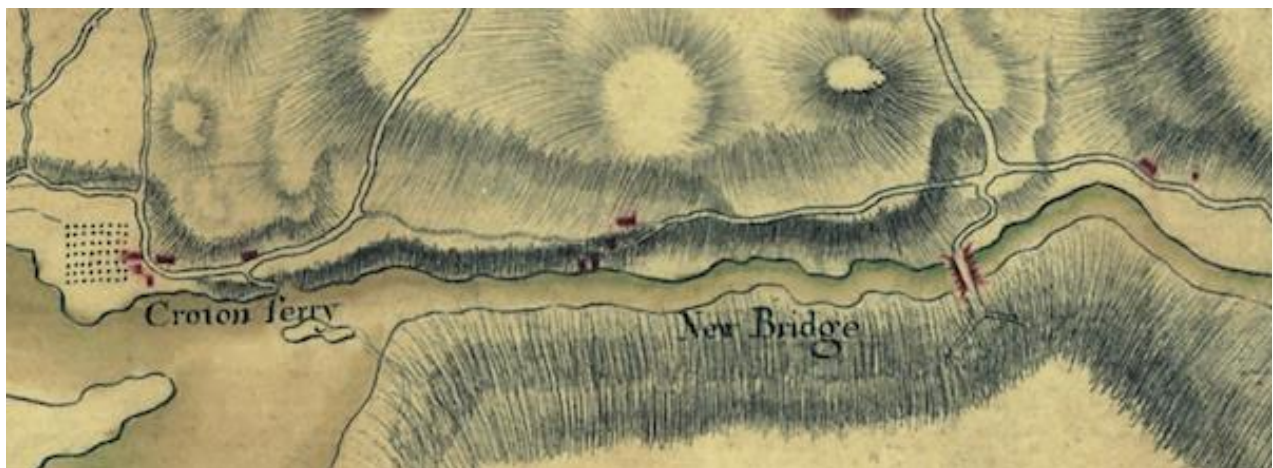
Detail from Robert Erskine, “Surveys in New York & Connecticut States for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778.” New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

Concurrently on 2 July, Lauzun's Legion departed from its camp in Ridgefield southward to CT-SR 35, the old Post Road, before turning south on NY-SR 123 about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile inside New York to Mill River Road and NY-SR 124/Salem Road to Pound Ridge and from there on NY-SR 137/Stone Hill Road to NY-SR 121 and Bedford.²⁵ Here it rested briefly with Rochambeau's First Brigade before setting out on a night march to meet up with General Benjamin Lincoln (1732/33-1810). Following NY-SR 22, the Old Post Road, through Armonk south to the Kensico Reservoir, (south of which it becomes White Plains Roads) through East Chester and West Chester, Lauzun's troops were late in reaching Morrisania, the estate of General Lewis Morris and occupied by the loyalists of James DeLancey (1732-1800) near the juncture of the Harlem and East Rivers on the north side of the Third Avenue Bridge around Bruckner Boulevard in the morning of 3 July.²⁶ Yet the retreating Continentals were glad to see the French hussars: “After retreating about a mile, hard driven by the enemy, to our great joy a large body of French Cavalry hove in sight, and immediately after the front of the main

army under Washington appeared. On the discovery of this large force, the enemy gave up the pursuit and retired over the bridge. I felt quite relieved at this unexpected turn or good luck, having given up all as lost.”²⁷ In his diary Washington recorded under “July 2d.

“Genl. Lincoln's detachment 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 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 & cover the Duke in his operation on Delancys Corps.

At three o'clock this Morning 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 till Dusk (9 Miles more) and compleated the remaining part of the March in the Night--arriving at Valentines Hill (at Mile square) about Sun rise” on 3 July.²⁸



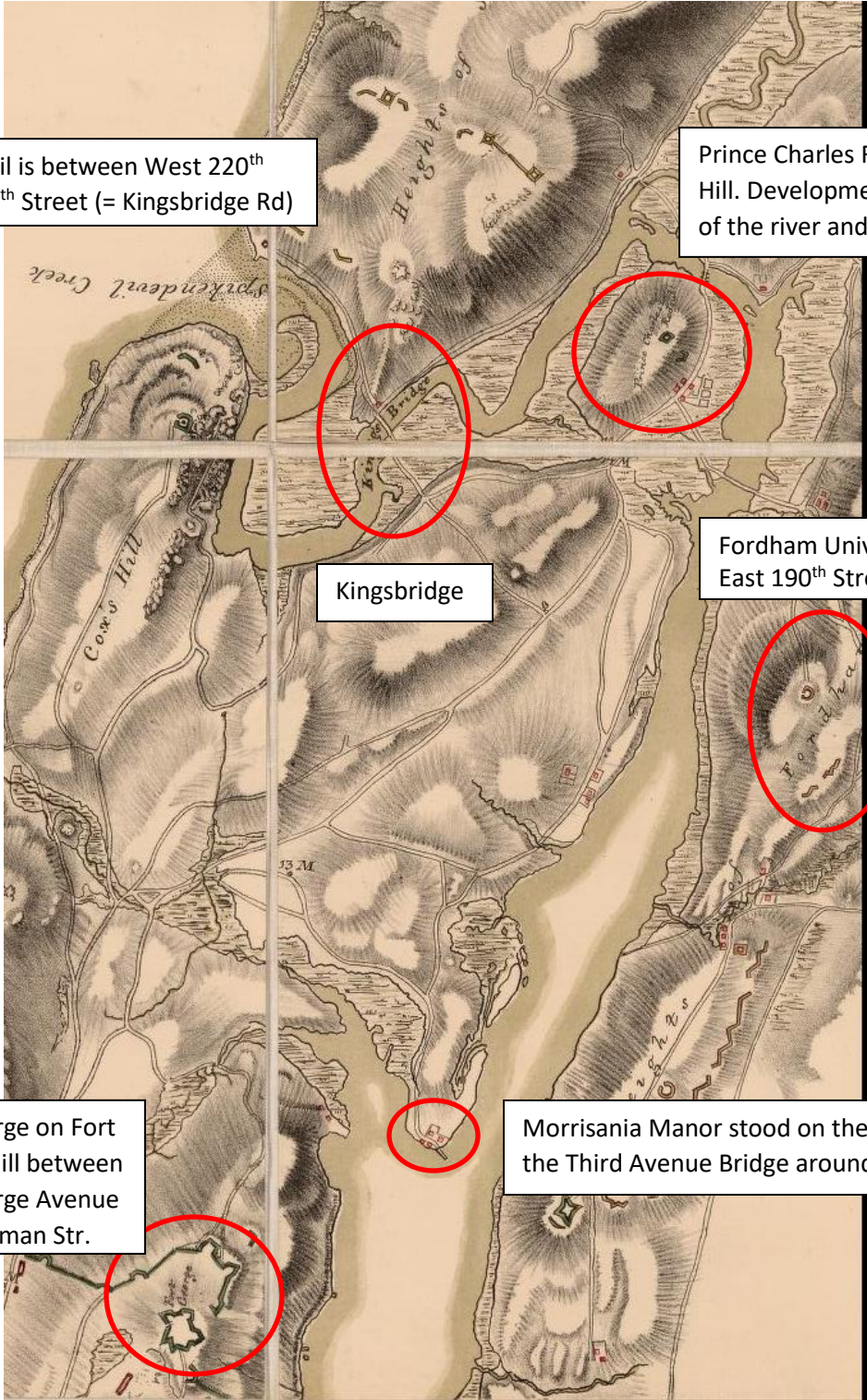
New Bridge, also known as "Continental Bridge" and "Croton New Bridge."

Detail from « Position des Armées américaine et française à Kings-ferry, Peaks-hill, Crompond et Hunts-taverne du 17. septembre au 20 octobre 1782. « Library of Congress.

Built in February/March 1779 by the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, the bridge fell into disrepair and had disappeared by 1790.

Spuyten Duyvil is between West 220th and West 225th Street (= Kingsbridge Rd)

Prince Charles Redoubt on Marble Hill. Development has filled in some of the river and altered its course.



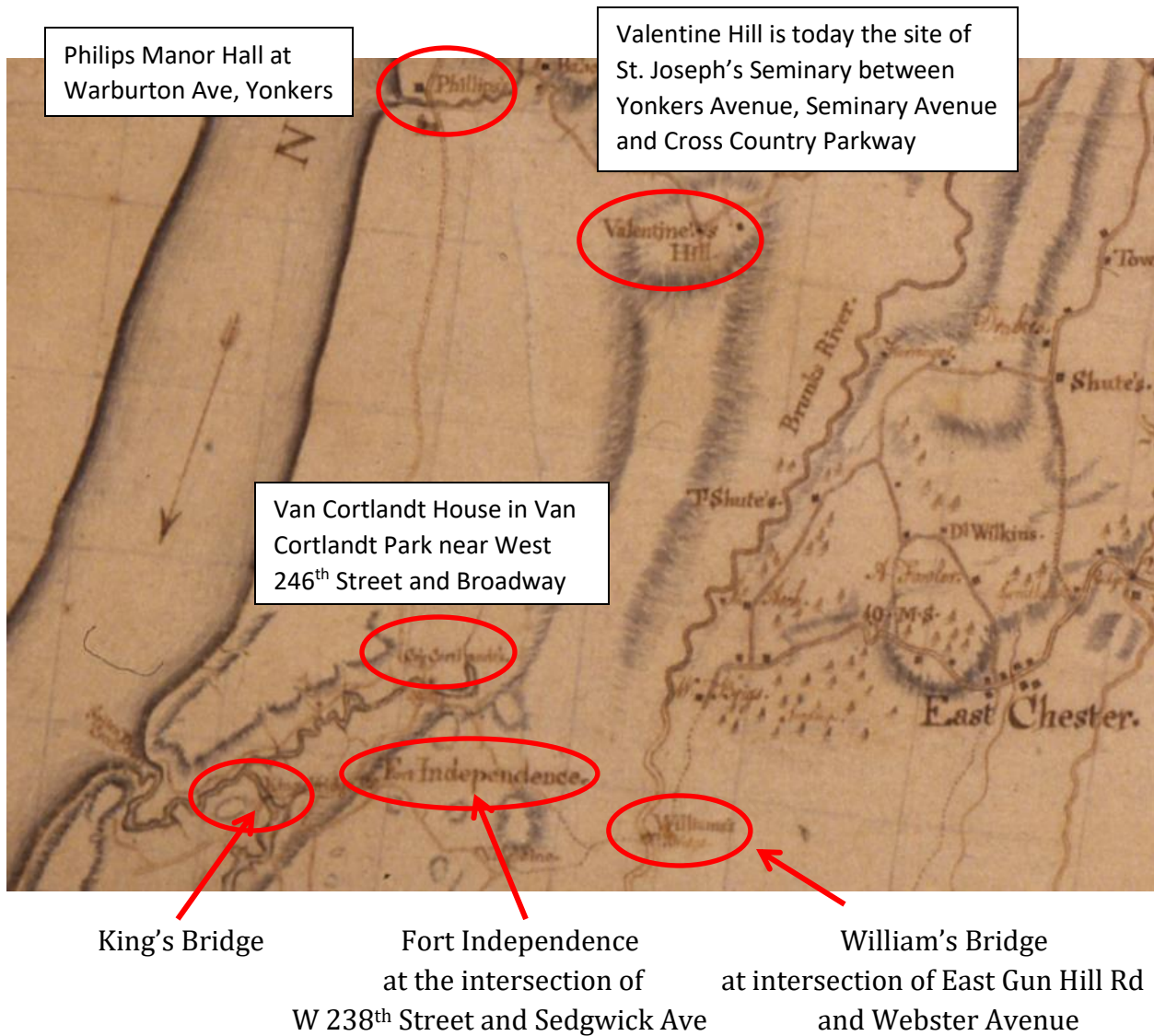
Kingsbridge

Fordham University at East 190th Street (US 1)

Fort George on Fort George Hill between Fort George Avenue and Dyckman Str.

Morrisania Manor stood on the north side of the Third Avenue Bridge around Bruckner Blvd

Detail from Benjamin Franklin Stevens, *Facsimile of the Unpublished British Headquarters Coloured Manuscript Map of New York and Environs 1782*. Malby and Sons, engravers & publisher (London, 1782) Reproduced from the Original Drawing in the War Office London. CALL NUMBER G3804.N4 1781.P51 Library of Congress, Washington, DC.



Detail from Robert Erskine "Surveys in New York & Connecticut States for His Excellency General Washington" (1778) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

The British began 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.²⁹

Captain Buell participated in the raid and recorded its stages in his diary:

30th June 1781 (illeg) at night we went with the Boats to Tollows (i.e. Teller's) point
 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

2d we covered up our Boats with Bushes and conseled 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 landed


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

8 July come up with the Boats to Verplanks Point went from Tarrytown at night got up by 2 oclock in the morning."30

Return of Killed Wounded & Missing in the Action near Kingsbridge July 3^d 1781

| Detachments | Killed | | | | | Wounded | | | | | Missing | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|------------|---------|-----------|----------|----------|------------|---------|------------|-----------|----------|----------|------------|---------|-----------|----------|
| | Captains | Subalterns | Ensigns | Sergeants | Privates | Captains | Subalterns | Ensigns | Volunteers | Sergeants | Privates | Captains | Subalterns | Ensigns | Sergeants | Privates |
| Colonel Scammell's | | | 1 | | 5 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 30 | | | | | |
| 2 ^d Battal ⁿ of Colonel Spruells's Regiment | | | | | 2 | | | | | | 17 | | | | | |
| Major Porter's | | | | | 2 | | | | | 2 | 2 | | | | | |
| The Guards | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | 14 | | | | | 1 |
| <i>Totals</i> | | | 1 | | 9 | 1 | 2 | | 1 | 4 | 2 | 65 | | | | 1 |

N.B. Three of the Guards since dead of their Wounds



*Camp near Cobbs Ferry
July 31st 1781.
Edw. Hart & Co. printers*

Return of Killed, Wounded & Missing ... July 3^d, 1781

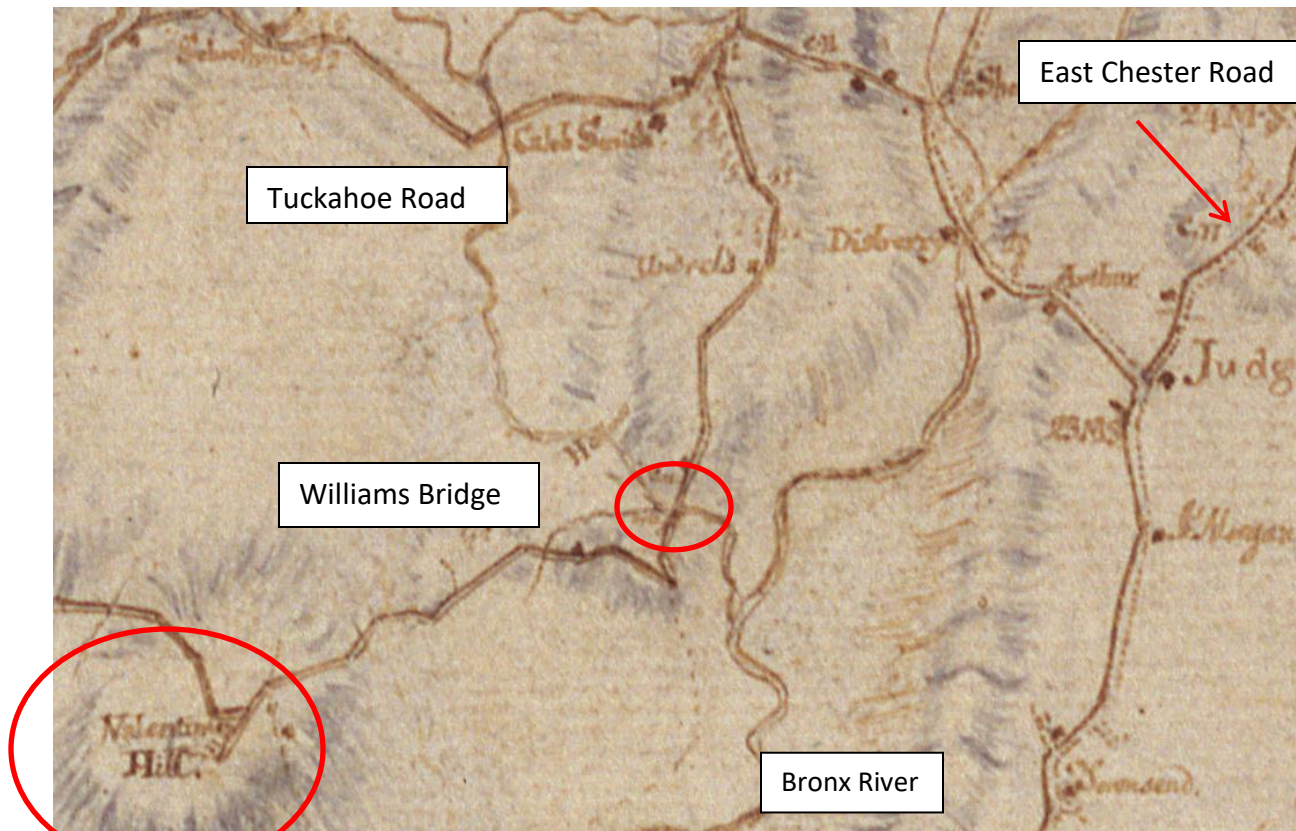
Lieutenant Benjamin also participated in the raid. On 1 July he marched "from Crumford to Taller's Point, and embarked and went to Dobb's Ferry."31 The next day, 2 July, he again

“Embarked and landed about one mile below Phillippy,³² and march to Fort Independence. 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.”³³

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 (1752-1805) Second Massachusetts Regiment. Major John Porter (1742-1834) 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.³⁴

Nathan Jacques (1739-1829) 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 3rd 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. [sic] 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] 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, in the Highlands, and thence removed in the fall to New Windsor. 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.”³⁵



Detail from Robert Erskine, “Map 59: Roads about White Plains.” (1779) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY. East Chester Road is today’s White Plains Road (NY-SR 22), Tuckahoe Road still exists; its routing has changed little since the eighteenth century.

The attack on Morrisania had failed. Reviewing the events of the previous day in his diary, Washington admitted that

“The length of Duke Lauzens March & the fatigue of his Corps, prevented his coming to the point of Action at the hour appointed. In the meantime Genl. Lincolns Party who were ordered to prevent the retreat of Delancy's Corps by the way of Kg. Bridge & prevent succour by that Rout were attacked by the Yagers and others but on the March of the Army from Valentines Hill retired to the island. Being disappointed in both objects from the Causes mentioned I did not care to fatigue the Troops any more but suffered them to remain on their Arms while I spent good part of the day in reconnoitering the Enemys works. In the afternoon [of 3 July] we retired to Valentines Hill & lay upon our Arms. Duke Lauzen & Waterbury lay on the East side of the Brunxs [Bronx] river on the East Chester road.”

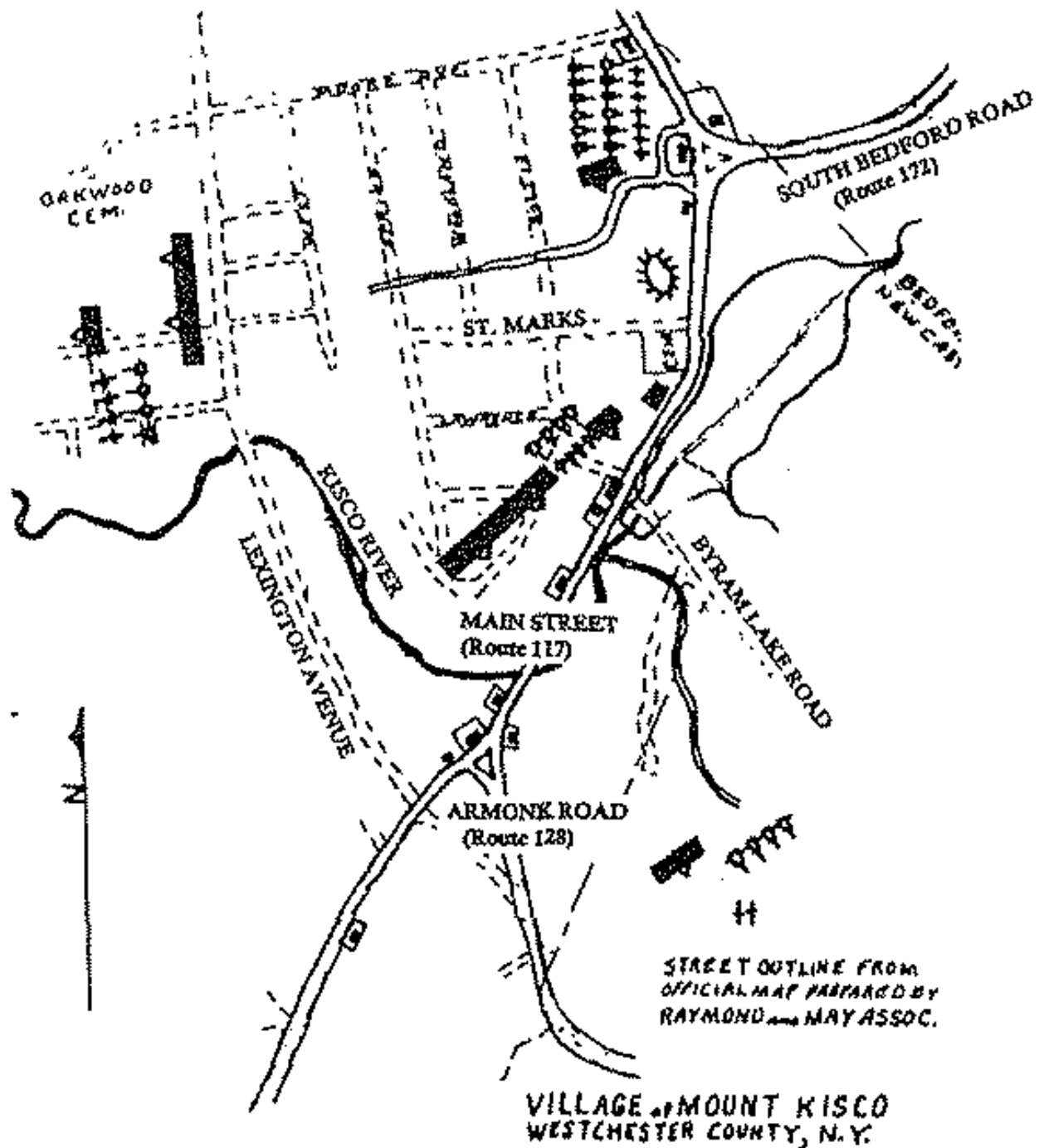
The surprise attack on British posts failed when the enemy became aware of Lincoln's movements.³⁶ Following a brief but bloody encounter with De Lancey's Loyalists, Lincoln had withdrawn to William's Bridge where Lauzun caught up with him.³⁷

Arrival in Greenburgh, 6 July 1781

In the morning of 4 July, Lauzun joined the Continental Army on its way to White Plains along the Bronx River on White Plains Road and Lincoln Avenue to Yonkers and from there on Scarsdale Avenue and Old Army Road to Underhill Road. Here Washington "took a position a little to the left of Dobbes ferry & marked a Camp for the French Army upon our left. Duke Lauzun Marched to the Whitepl[ai]n & Waterbury to Horseneck." Lieutenant Benjamin too "Retired to Saw Mill River Bridge, though they were very much fatigued with the march." As the troops set up their camp Washington took up quarters in the home of Joseph Appleby. The next day, 5 July, he visited Rochambeau in North Castle and reviewed French forces which had arrived there on 3 July from Bedford. Enjoying a day of rest and unable to put on their parade best, *aide maréchal général des logis surnuméraire*, i.e. Assistant Quartermaster General Louis Alexandre Berthier (1753-1815) recorded that the men "were drawn up before the camp in line of battle without arms and wearing forage caps."³⁸ Lauzun too rested his forces but as the infantry set up camp in Greenburgh on 6 July "our generals found the Lauzun Legion on the road" deploying to Chatterton Hill.³⁹



Detail from Robert Erskine, "Map 59: Roads about White Plains." (1779) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.



The French encampment at North Castle at the intersection of NY-SR 172 and 128.⁴⁰

The *comte* de Lauberdière described North Castle as having “no more than four or five houses situated close to a quite long lake; it is not a natural [lake] and the water only stays there because of the dykes”. French forces rested there on 4 and 5 July 1781.⁴¹ The “Old North Castle Church” or St. Georges Church was built in 1761 but torn down in 1819 and replaced with St. Mark’s Church in 1852.⁴²

On 4 July, Lieutenant Benjamin entered into his diary: “Retired to Saw Mill River Bridge, though they were very much fatigued with the march.” Upon arrival the Continental Army had about 10,300 men on its rolls, about 6,500 were “Present fit for duty & on duty”, another 3,200 “on command” and about 580 “sick present” or “sick absent”.⁴³

Strength of the Continental Army encamped in White Plains in July 1781

| Regiment | Commanding officer | Strength |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| First New Jersey Regiment | Col. Mathias Ogden | 185 officers and men |
| Second New Jersey Regiment | Col. Elias Dayton | 226 officers and men |
| 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 |
| 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 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: | | 6,132 officers and men |



Detail from Robert Erskine "Map 59: Roads about White Plains" (1779) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

On July 6, Rochambeau's troops set out for the almost 20-mile march to Philipsburg. "Leaving from the left of the camp, that is from the meeting house," i.e., St. George's Church, "you take the first road to the left," i.e., NY-SR 128 past Wampus Pond and Armonk to NY-SR 22, along Kensico Reservoir, the left bank of the Bronx River past White Plains Station, right across the Bronx River and Chatterton Hill, to today's Ridge Road.⁴⁴ "The road was tolerable up to a point three miles from White Plains, where there are several very steep mountains. The troops suffered a great deal from the excessive heat that day. When our generals found the Lauzun Legion on the road, they stopped; and since (Washington and Rochambeau) had arranged to meet each other there in a small barrack, in order to agree on the position that the two armies should take, we scoured much of the country until they had reached their decision. This prevented the troops from arriving at their respective camps before 6 o'clock. That day the army left behind more than 400 stragglers, but they all rejoined us during the night, with the exception of 2 men from the Bourbonnois and three from the Deux-Ponts, who decided in favor of deserting to the woods, where they found shelter. Those from the Deux-Ponts were brought back, some days later, by some Americans, *good Whigs*, and were flogged."⁴⁵ Clermont-Crèvecoeur recorded that the first 14 miles of the 17-mile march "were quite good. Early in the day we suffered much from the heat." The last three miles of "the roads were so bad that the last division of artillery, to which I was attached, did not arrive in camp until one hour after midnight. The troops had been on the road since three o'clock in the morning before without anything to eat. They found nothing to drink on the way. Casting your eyes over the countryside, you felt very sad, for it revealed all the horrors and cruelty of the English in burned woodlands, destroyed houses, and fallow fields deserted by the

owners. It is impossible to be more uncomfortable than we were that day; more than 400 soldiers dropped from fatigue, and it was only by frequent halts and much care that we brought everyone into camp."⁴⁶

Crompond (=Yorktown Heights)

Mill River Road to NY-SR 124



Detail of a map by a French officer showing the march route of Rochambeau's First Brigade from "Richefield" via South Salem in 1781. The road through Crompond to Salem (marked "September 1782") shows the route taken by French forces on their return from Yorktown. The base map is William McFadden, *The Province of New Jersey, Divided into East and West, commonly called The Jerseys*. (Charing Cross, 1777). Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

The next day Rochambeau returned the favor. On 6 July Lieutenant Benjamin wrote in his diary: "March to camp to be reviewed by the French officers, and moved to within one mile of Dobbs's Ferry." Later that day Washington could record that at about 6:00 p.m. "The

French Army formed the junction with the American on the Grounds marked out” about one fourth of a mile from the American camp. “The Legion of Lauzen took a position advanced of the plains on Chittendens hill west of the River Brunx [Bronx]. This day also the Minister of France arrived in Camp from Philadelphia.” Rochambeau himself took up quarters with the widow Sarah Bates in a house originally built by John Tompkins in 1732 that her husband Gilbert had purchased in 1760.

Strength of the French Army upon Arrival in Greenburgh

| UNIT | PRESENT on 10 July 1781 | LOSSES | REPLACE-MENTS FROM FRANCE ⁴⁷ | 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 and even smaller than the army of his ally. This review of 10 July 1781 showed only 4,393 NCOs and enlisted men and 279 company-grade officers under his immediate command. Most of the detached infantry (402) were with the French 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 (1757 - post 1808) of the artillery company in Lauzun's Legion had stayed behind in Lebanon. Once Rochambeau's forces had joined the Continental Army Washington had brought from the Highlands the numbers barely added up to 10,000 troops.⁴⁸ At almost 14,000 NCOs and rank and file, Crown forces stationed in New York City under the command of Sir Henry Clinton were considerable stronger.

ENDNOTES

¹ Quoted in W. J. Eccles, "The French Alliance and the American Victory" in: *The World Turned Upside Down. The American Victory in the War of Independence* John Ferling, ed., (Westport, 1976), pp. 147-163, p. 148.

² Thomas Paine, *Common Sense: Addressed to the Inhabitants of America* (Philadelphia, 1776), p. 24.

³ Caron de Beaumarchais to the King dated 22 January 1776. *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* William Bell Clark, ed. vol. 3 (Washington, DC 1968) p. 525.

⁴ Claude Van Tyne, "French Aid before the Alliance of 1778" *American Historical Review* vol. 31, (1925), pp. 20-40.

⁵ Quoted in General Fonteneau, "La période française de la guerre d'Indépendance (1776-1780)" *Revue historique des armées* vol. 3, no. 4, (1976), pp. 47-77, p. 48. Unless otherwise noted all translations from the French or German are mine.

⁶ On French expenditures see Robert D. Harris, "French Finances and the American War, 1777-1783" *Journal of Modern History* vol. 48, (June 1976), pp. 233-258, and Claude C. Sturgill, "Observations of the French War Budget 1781-1790" *Military Affairs* vol. 48, (October 1984), pp. 180-187.

⁷ Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787* (Princeton, 1975), p. 52-53. The best books on the subject are Buchanan Parker Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution* (North Quincy, 1976) with an overview of Spanish expenditures in support of the American rebels during the war on pp. 241-248, and Thomas A. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States. An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque, 2002).

Between 1778 and 1782, the United States obtained 18 million livres in loans to be repaid after the end of the war; another 6 million livres were granted in 1783. Subsidies amounted to about 9 million livres and the United States also received 2 million livres worth of supplies as aid in kind. Expenditures related to Rochambeau's *expédition particulière* amounted to 12.7 million livres, which brought French expenses in direct support of the American rebels to about 48 million livres. That was less than 5 percent of the total expenditures of 1,054.1 million livres that France spent on the war effort between 1776 and 1783.

The French currency system maintained its basis in the Carolingian monetary system until the spring of 1795. The most valuable French coin minted was the golden double louis d'or worth 48 livres followed by the louis d'or at 24 livres and the half-Louis or demi-louis d'or at 12 livres. The largest silver coin was the écu at 6 livres or 120 sols, followed by $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ écu worth 60, 30 and 15 sols respectively. The smaller copper coins minted were worth 1 and 2 sols as well as coins worth 6 and 3 deniers. 1 £ Sterling = ~ 23 livres.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|------|-----------|---|----------|------|--------------|
| Louis (Gold) | = | 24 livres | = | 480 sols | 15 = | 5760 deniers |
| Ecu (Silver) | = | 6 livres | = | 120 sols | = | 1440 deniers |
| Livre (Silver) | 16 = | | | 20 sols | = | 240 deniers |
| Sol (Copper) | = | | | | | 12 deniers |
| Liard (Copper) | = | | | | | 3 deniers |

For an overview incl. exchange rates between American, British, French and Spanish currencies see Robert A. Selig, "Eighteenth-century Currencies" *The Brigade Dispatch. Journal Of The Brigade Of The American Revolution* vol. 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2013), pp. 16-32.

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

⁹ Congress' instructions to Deane of 3 March 1776 are quoted from the on-line edition of the Benjamin Franklin Papers <http://franklinpapers.org/> vol. 22, 23 March 1775 to 27 October 1776.

¹¹ Jared Sparks, *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* vol. 1, (Boston, 1829), pp. 9-10. Deane described his travels in a letter to the Committee of Secret Correspondence from Paris dated 18 August 1776.

¹¹ On Lauzun's Legion see Robert A. Selig, *Hussars in Lebanon! A Connecticut Town and Lauzun's Legion during the American Revolution, 1780-1781* (Lebanon, 2004).

¹² Jean François Louis comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur had entered the Auxonne Artillery in 1769. His account of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 15-100, the quote is from p. 27.

¹³ Unless otherwise noted all materials to and from George Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, search by date.

¹⁴ The American encampment in Peekskill was along the south side of Crompond Road between Washington Street and Lafayette Avenue. The Continental Army occupied (from west/Peekskill Bay to the East) Drum Hill overlooking South Street, part of the old Post Road in 1781, Oak Hill, site of the hanging of convicted spy Daniel Strang in 1777, and the Villa Loretto Hills. 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 Cromot du Bourg. See John Curran, *The Attack at Peekskill by the British in 1777* (Peekskill, 1998), pp. 91-93, and Chester A. Smith, *Peekskill, A Friendly Town: Its Historic Sites and Shrines: A Pictorial History of the City from 1654 to 1952* (Peekskill, 1952), pp. 46, 125, and 148.

¹⁵ Built by John Pine (1738-1849), Pine's Bridge was one of the few bridges across the Croton.

¹⁶ Washington's orders state that the First Brigade should only move from New Windsor on 21 June, but Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin had already arrived at Peekskill on 1 June. "Extracts from Lieutenant Benjamin's Revolutionary Diary" are published in Mary Louise Benjamin, *A Genealogy of the Family of Lieut. Samuel Benjamin and Tabitha Livermore, his wife* (n.p., 1900), pp. 24-38, the date on p. 28.

¹⁷ Benjamin, "Diary", p. 28.

¹⁸ 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: "'We left the huts at or nigh Morristown in consequence of the Enemy's being out at Springfield. The first night we got to Short Hills. Springfield was then in flames.'"

¹⁹ There is no surviving description or road map of the march route of the First Brigade. The route described here is based on Richard G. Lucid, "Rochambeau in Westchester." *The Westchester Historian of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 35 no. 3, (July 1959), pp. 63- 65. Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 131, in discussing map 24, the

route of the Second Brigade, state that the Second Brigade marched from Ridgebury to North Castle on 3 July “by a slightly different route” from that of the First Brigade without providing any detail. The identification is aided by its routing through North Salem and the depiction of Lake Waccabuc.

²⁰ Mount Kisco was incorporated in 1875 from parts of Bedford and New Castle, which had split from North Castle in 1791. Today North Castle consists of three hamlets: Armonk, seat of town government, Banksville in the eastern part and North White Plains in the south.

²¹ Berthier in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 248.

²² This route of the Second Brigade is described in the collection of road maps drawn by Berthier and published in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, maps 24 and 162. A map of the encampment of the Second Brigade in Ridgebury *ibid.* p. 134 and map 37.

²³ See Silvio Bedini, *Ridgefield in Review* (Ridgefield, 1958), pp. 133-139, and George L. Rockwell, *The History of Ridgefield, Connecticut* (Ridgefield, 1927) p. 135.

²⁴ Lord Stirling Papers, Microfilm 19.061, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

The Orderly Book for MG 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.”

²⁵ This route, which is that also taken by the First Brigade marching ahead of the Legion, is based on the notes by Closen and others that the Legion “had marched on our left until then” before joining the First Brigade in Bedford. Acomb, *Closen*, p. 88.

²⁶ See John Christopher Schwab, *The revolutionary history of Fort Number Eight on Morris Heights, New York City* (New Haven, 1897), p. 9. 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.

²⁷ Redington’s “Reminiscences”, which he wrote down in 1838, are held as MISC 383 in Special Collections at Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

²⁸ Though the diary entry is dated 2 July, the “sunrise” has to refer 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.

“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.

The raid was covered in patriot newspapers as far north as Boston *viz.* *The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser* of Thursday, 26 July 1781 allotted a full column to it.

²⁹ See Schwab, *Fort Number Eight*, p. 45ff. Here also an account of the failed raid of 2/3 July 1781. A small boulder with a commemorative plaque indicates the site of Fort No. 8 on the campus of Bronx Community College between University Avenue and Sedgwick Avenue.

³⁰ Buell Diary, unpaginated.

³¹ Benjamin, “Diary”, p. 29. Teller’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.

³² “Phillippy” refers to Philipse Manor Hall, now a State Historic Site at 29 Warburton Ave in Yonkers.

³³ Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution. vol. I-XVII*. Boston, 1896), vol. 1 (1896), p. 180; Allen of the First Massachusetts Regiment is listed in muster rolls for July 1781-March 1782 as “wounded at Robinson’s House”. 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 (1752-1805) of the 11th 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.

³⁴ This is vividly confirmed in the “Reminiscences” of Asa Redington (1761-1845) of Wilton, New Hampshire who served in Captain Isaac Frye’s company. Frye (6 February 1747/48-1791), also of Wilton, was a captain in the First New Hampshire Regiment. He was promoted to Major on 27 November 1783 by an Act of Congress.

“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, about 30 miles above New York. 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 --- 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, and apparently undiscovered.” [i.e. around the College of Mt. St. Vincent. Now follows an account of the events of 3 July] 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 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 !!”

Nathan Beers of Colonel Samuel B. Webb’s Third Connecticut Regiment also participated in the raid and recorded:

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

3d Tuesday at Sunrise halted at Vollandtines Hill action with Scammells 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 Volts Hill

4 Wednesday Marched and Encamped Phillips-Burgh 2 Miles from Dobbs ferry.

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

On the care of the wounded see also this letter by Timothy Pickering,

"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 Waggons in this rocky country. As I expect you will shortly receive a Quantity of Canvas from Colo. Hatch. I must request you to have made the wood work of five and twenty litters. I do not know how they have usually been made: but I think they may be of a very simple construction; such as lapping over the two edges of the canvas bottom & sewing them down at such a distance as to admit of the two poles running thro' then cross peices fixed to keep the poles asunder would compleat them but the frame should be so contrived as to take apart for the convenience of carriage when not in use."

Timothy Pickering to Col. Hughes, 12 July 1781, Numbered Record Books Concerning Military Operations and Service, Pay and Settlement Accounts, and Supplies in the War Department 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.

³⁵ 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 whole newspaper is included in his Pension Application N 26,667, where he is listed as Nathan Jaquays/Jaquay/Jacqurs under Rhode Island. He had been placed on the pension list pursuant to the Pension Act of Congress of 20 April 1796 and had applied for and received a pension in 1818 already. He died on 7 March 1829. The account published in *The Palladium* was copied from an unidentified issue of the *Saturday Bulletin* published in Philadelphia. The *Saturday Bulletin* began publication on 17 November 1827 and merged with Samuel Coate Atkinson's *Saturday Evening Post* on 29 December 1832. From 5 January 1833 to 21 September 1833 the paper was published as *Saturday Evening Post and Bulletin*.

"Robinson's Farm" was the home of wealthy Loyalist Beverly Robinson (1722-1792) about 2 miles south of West Point south-east of Garrison on the East side of the Hudson. It had been Washington's headquarter in late September 1780 during the Arnold affair. In mid-March 1777 Robinson raised the Loyal American Regiment in the service of the Crown.

³⁶ Americans and French officers 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 Acomb, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 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.

The single most important reason for the failure, however, was that DeLancey had been warned of the attack, he knew that Lauzun and Lincoln were on their way. For details and British reports to Sir Henry Clinton see "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 No. 6 (June 1884) pp. 533 - 544, which covers the weeks from 17 June to 6 July 1781. The relevant correspondence is on pp. 534-535.

On 4 July Captain Ludwig August Marquard sent the following account to Clinton (p. 537):
“I directed one Hunt from East Chester to wait on you. I hope he has complied with my directions.

Another patrol of the Jagers returned just now. The Country people told them that the rebels marched from Valentines hill to White Plains, and that Frenchmen had been with them. Mr. [Augustus van] Cortlandt said that Generals Washington and Parsons came to his house the former did not go in, but went back; and that those that came down towards Kingsbridge had been 1,800 strong. They have driven almost all the cattle and horses off. 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.

P. S.—Cap^t. [Benjamin] Ogden, late of Emmerick's Corps, was here this moment ; he was kept a prisoner all night at Washington's headquarters, which was at Valentine's hill, at Tho^s Valentines. He estimates those he saw at 4,000 men. They marched this morning early towards the White Plains. The boats in which the Rebel Detachm^t came down, went up the North River yesterday morning about 4 o'clock. Ogden saw no French but a few horse.”

Marquard included the following information in his letter:

Information given by Col. Hunt, 4th July, 1781.

Colonel Hunt came from Kingsbridge this morning, and informs that about daybreak yesterday morning, as he lay concealed on the ground behind his garden at Hunt's hill, he saw about 400 Cavalry passing towards Williamsbridge; that about a q^r - of an hour after sunrise he saw some French troops, about 500, marching the same road ; a few Rebel troops were with them. He knew them to be French by their white Clothes, and language. They had no coats on. On Valentine's hill that morning he saw about 1000 Rebel troops, and on the West side of Brunx he saw, he thinks, about 400. They were posted last night on Valentine's hill, and about Hunt's bridge and Brunx River bridge. [Williamsbridge] About 7 this morning he saw them on their march back, by the same road they advanced. Some Rebel Officers were at his house last night, and told his wife they came down with an intention to attack the lines; that they were only going back as far as Ward's house, but would return soon with the French and attack the lines. Some people told him they heard Washington say he only came to reconnoitre. Some who saw the troops told him they believed there were about 5,000 down. He spoke to a Rebel soldier who was wounded, who told him they had only 3 or 4000 down. Washington, Lincoln, Parsons, Waterbury, and the French General; were with the troops.”

The “French General” was Lauzun. Captain Ludwig August Marquard of the Hessian Grenadier Battalion von Minnegerode,” and aide-de-camp of General Knyphausen began running a spy operation out of the Morris House in New York City in February 1781.

³⁷ 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.”

³⁸ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 249. Berthier's position is usually translated as *assistant quartermaster general*, but Berthier was a General Staff officer, not a “quartermaster” as defined in the English-speaking world. An American “quartermaster” is a supply officer whose functions in the French military were performed by the *quartier-maître*, an officer of the *intendance militaire*, while the *commissaire de guerre* was a member of the *état major* in charge of military administration.

³⁹ On July 6, “our generals found the Lauzun Legion on the road.” Acomb, *Closen*, p. 90. Lauberdière wrote that Lauzun “camped four miles from G[ener]al Washington on the left

bank of the Bronx." On the 6th it "left the position it had taken after the march to Morrisania and went to camp at the left flank of the French camp."

⁴⁰ The map is reproduced from Sharon Tomback, "The Old North Castle Church." *North Castle History* vol. 32 (2005), pp. 12-21, p. 20.

⁴¹ Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte de Lauberdière*, *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur le comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale*. Lauberdière held rank as captain in the Saintonge Regiment of Infantry. Call no. NAF 17691. Archives Nationales, Paris (France).

⁴² The present church dates to 1911.

Eighty-six-year-old Hannah Hoag told John McLeod McDonald that "North Castle Church was a very large, unpainted, shingled building, which stood by the roadside where the Methodist meeting house now is. It was situated within the inclosure now occupied as the burying ground by the Methodist Church contiguous to Kirby's Millpond – was occupied as a hospital during the Revolutionary War, and was pulled down about twenty years ago." Zipporah Davis, wife of Abraham Davis and a daughter of Elijah and Annatjie Miller, testified that "After the battle at Eastchester, the American wounded, or at least some of them, were brought first to our house for some days and then to the hospital, viz. North Castle Church."

⁴³ Lesser, *Sinews of Independence*, pp. 206-207. The numbers presented here at best give an outline only as to the size of the Continental Army. The returns for the army as a whole are (usually) undated and were compiled around the end of the month, in this case in late June/early July 1781, as regimental returns arrived at headquarters. As units and recruits arrived throughout much of July, the strength of the army fluctuated considerably.

⁴⁴ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 33.

⁴⁵ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 90.

⁴⁶ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 32.

⁴⁷ On 11 June 1781, a convoy of eight vessels accompanied by the 50-gun ship of the line *Le Sagittaire* carrying 592 infantry replacements and two companies, 68 men, of artillery, arrived in Boston from France. These replacements had been drawn from the regiments of Auvergne (71 healthy plus 7 sick) and Neustrie (19 plus 28) for the 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 they seem to have joined their units within a few days. Rochambeau's infantry embarked in Newport, RI for the journey to Providence on 10 June 1781. Rochambeau Papers, vol. 9, Letterbook 1, p. 131, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

⁴⁸ 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.

The Franco-American Encampment in Greenburgh, 6 July - 18 August 1781

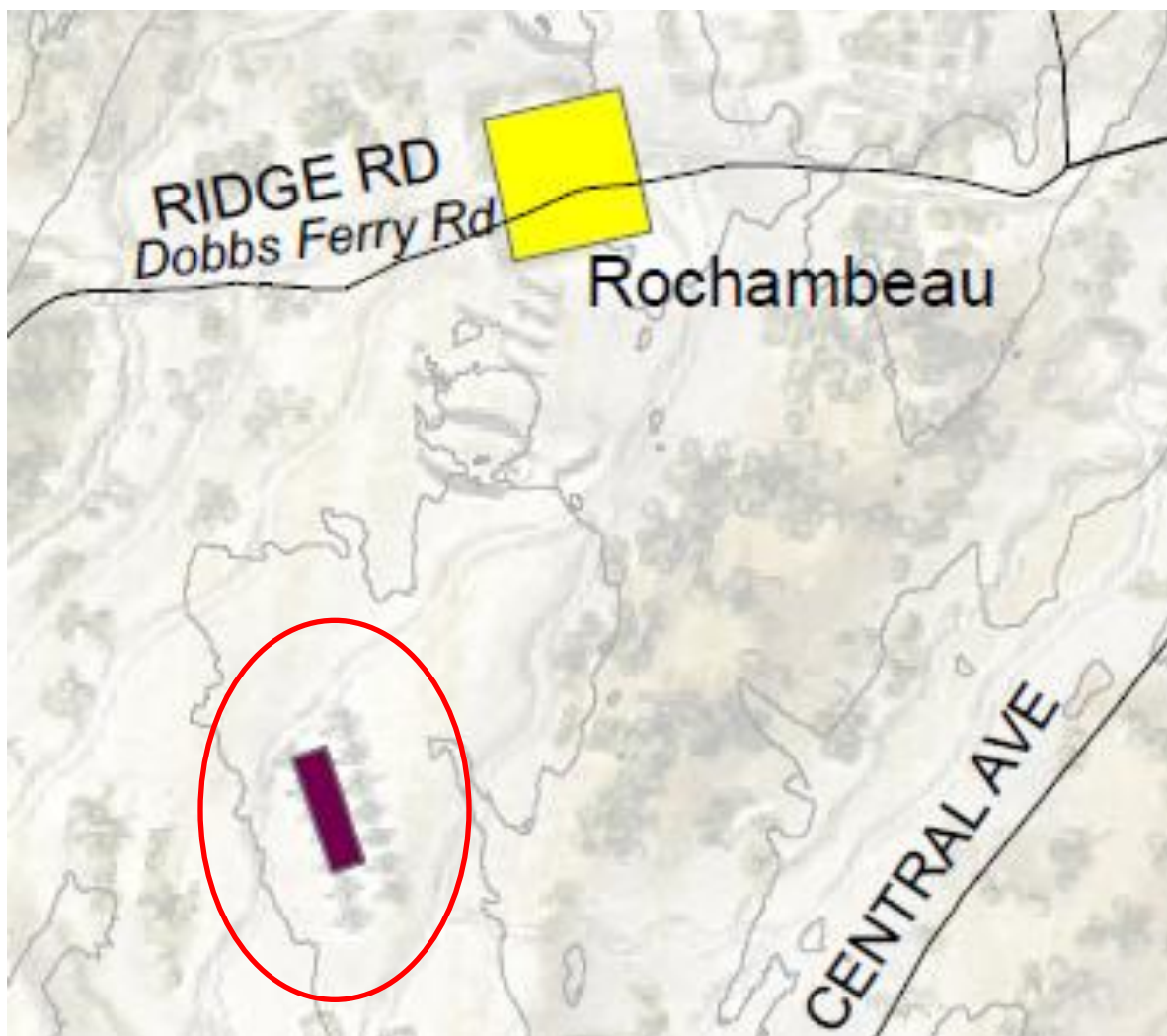
The Meeting of the Two Armies

Louis Alexandre Berthier described the location of the camp at "at Philipsburg on an eminence that dominates the surrounding country," i.e., on the heights between the Bronx and Sawmill Rivers within the town of Greenburgh.¹ "The American army composed the right wing, resting on the Saw Mill River to which you descend by a steep bluff; the American artillery park occupied the center; and the French composed the left wing, resting on the Bronx River, whose banks are very steep. The American light infantry and dragoons were strung out from the right of the line all the way to Dobbs Ferry on the Hudson River, where a battery of four 12-pounders and two howitzers was emplaced.² The heights at the left of the line were occupied by the French grenadiers and chasseurs, the Lauzun Legion, and an American unit commanded by Colonel (David) Waterbury. The field pieces were laid before the camp at each opening in the front of attack. The main guards were posted in advance on the most strategic heights, guarding all points at which the enemy could approach the camp."³

Lauberdière explained the name "White Plains" as "a name deduced, I believe, from the color of the flowers which cover the ground during the pretty season" as "covered with bunches (or pockets) of trees, of ravines, and of heights."⁴ Closen, who had been sent ahead to Philipsburg on 4 July, described Philipsburg as "a certain district containing only some hills and wasteland, almost uninhabited and full of heather and thorns."⁵ The "French were encamped one quarter of a mile from the left wing of the American camp, from which they were separated by a small stream, on which several communications posts were established. To the right of the American camp, three miles away, was Dobbs Ferry, on the North River (or Hudson), and to the left of the French camp, half a mile away, was the little Bronx River, which could be forded in several places; the mounted patrols relieved each other continually along this river, and several small posts were established on both banks." These mounted patrols were provided by Lauzun's hussars encamped on Chatterton Hill. On 17 July, the hussars moved about 2 miles to the north-east toward Silver Lake and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Second Brigade (i.e., the Soissonnois and Saintonge) took over their camp on Chatterton Hill.⁶

In an interview with McDonald in 1847, Dr. Nehemiah U. Tompkins remembered that "In 1781, some of the French lay at Chatterton Hill. But the main body encamped on my uncle Isaac Tompkins's farm. The French park of Cannon were on a smooth piece of ground west of my uncle's old house and towards Col. Odell's."⁷ John Tompkins of Greenburgh told McDonald on 7 September 1846 that "The French cannon were placed in the smooth field west of my house and of the old house, and where a ridge commences which runs towards

Colonel Odell's. The main body of the French was also encamped west of our houses. Some of them were encamped on Underhill's ridge four or five hundred yards south or southwest of our house." *Underhill's ridge* is today's Sunningdale Country Club on Underhill Road,⁸ the *smooth piece of ground* where the artillery was placed is on the northern border of the country club near the end of Hawthorne Way.⁹



When Major General William Heath (1737-1814) arrived at headquarters on 27 July he found the army encamped "in two lines; the park of artillery in the centre of the second line. ... The position which the American army now occupied was between the lines the preceding campaigns; consequently the roads and commons, as well as the fields and pastures, were covered with grass; while the many deserted houses and ruined fences depicted the horrid devastations of war. The French army, under Gen. Rochambeau, was encamped at a small distance, on the left of the Americans, in one line."¹⁰

"The headquarters," according to Berthier, "was set up behind the camp in several widely separated houses."¹¹ Widow Sarah Bates was Rochambeau's hostess; Colonel John Odell after whom the house is named today, had been one of the guides of the Continental Army.¹² His son Jackson Odell was still alive and living in the house in the 1840s. Interviewed by McDonald on September 12, 1845, he declared that "Rochambeau's Head Quarters were at Colonel John Odell's house then owned by one Bates and now by Jackson Odell."¹³ References to the headquarters of both generals are frequent in the McDonald interviews and leave no doubt as to their location. On Friday, 3 October 1845, a "Mrs. Churchill, born Taylor, living on the Tuckeyhoe Road near Hart's corner," told McDonald that she "was a girl 15 or 16 years of age in 1781 when the French army lay south of the Bates House now occupied by Jackson Odell. This house was the Head Quarters of General Rochambeau during all the time (sic) the French army was encamped on the high ground between the Allaire road [today's Sprain Road] and Sprain Brook on the south side of the Dobbs Ferry Road. While there General Rochambeau gave four or five large dinner parties to the French and American officers in the old barn northwest of the house which was then owned by Mr. Bates, afterwards by Colonel John Odell, and is now owned by Jackson Odell."¹⁴ General "Washington's Head Quarters [were] at Joseph Appleby's about half a mile from the Dobbs Ferry Road about the same (as much) from the Saw mill river."¹⁵ Facing south toward Ardsley, the Continental Army was encamped between Sprain Brook and the Saw Mill River with light infantry and cavalry detachments covering the front and the approaches to Dobbs Ferry.

Most of Washington's and Rochambeau's officers were quartered with local citizens; François Jean de Beauvoir, *chevalier de Chastellux*¹⁶ (1734-1788) stayed at a house on John Tompkins' land still standing on South Healy Avenue in Scarsdale near the eastern border of the Sunningdale Country Club. No eyewitness account of Chastellux could be found in the McDonald Papers, but there are a few on the *duc* de Lauzun, who "resided at a house where John Norton now lives,"¹⁷ i.e. the home of Captain John Falconer on Broadway in White Plains.¹⁸ Ms Davis remembered "the Duke de Luzerne" as "very polite, had a handsome person, wore moustaches, was liberal with money." Handsome, polite, liberal with money: these are all attributes fitting for Lauzun. But a mustache? Grenadiers and chasseurs wore them as signs of their elite status in a line regiment, and so did Lauzun's hussars. No portrait of a mustachioed *duc*, a highly unusual facial ornamentation in eighteenth-century America or France, has come to light, but other eyewitnesses confirm Mrs Davis. On 5 November 1845, William Griffen of Mamaroneck quoted Lauzun as saying "The women of this country don't like my whiskers. I can't get along with them -- but I can't cut them off."¹⁹ Mustaches were such unique features that Americans all along the route commented on them and remembered them decades later in their pension applications, e.g. militiaman Enoch Breedon of King William County in Virginia testified that at "Ware Church in Gloucester County where they were joined by the French Horse under Duke Lauzan — Those troopers all wore large mustachios on their upper lip, and very large whiskers."²⁰



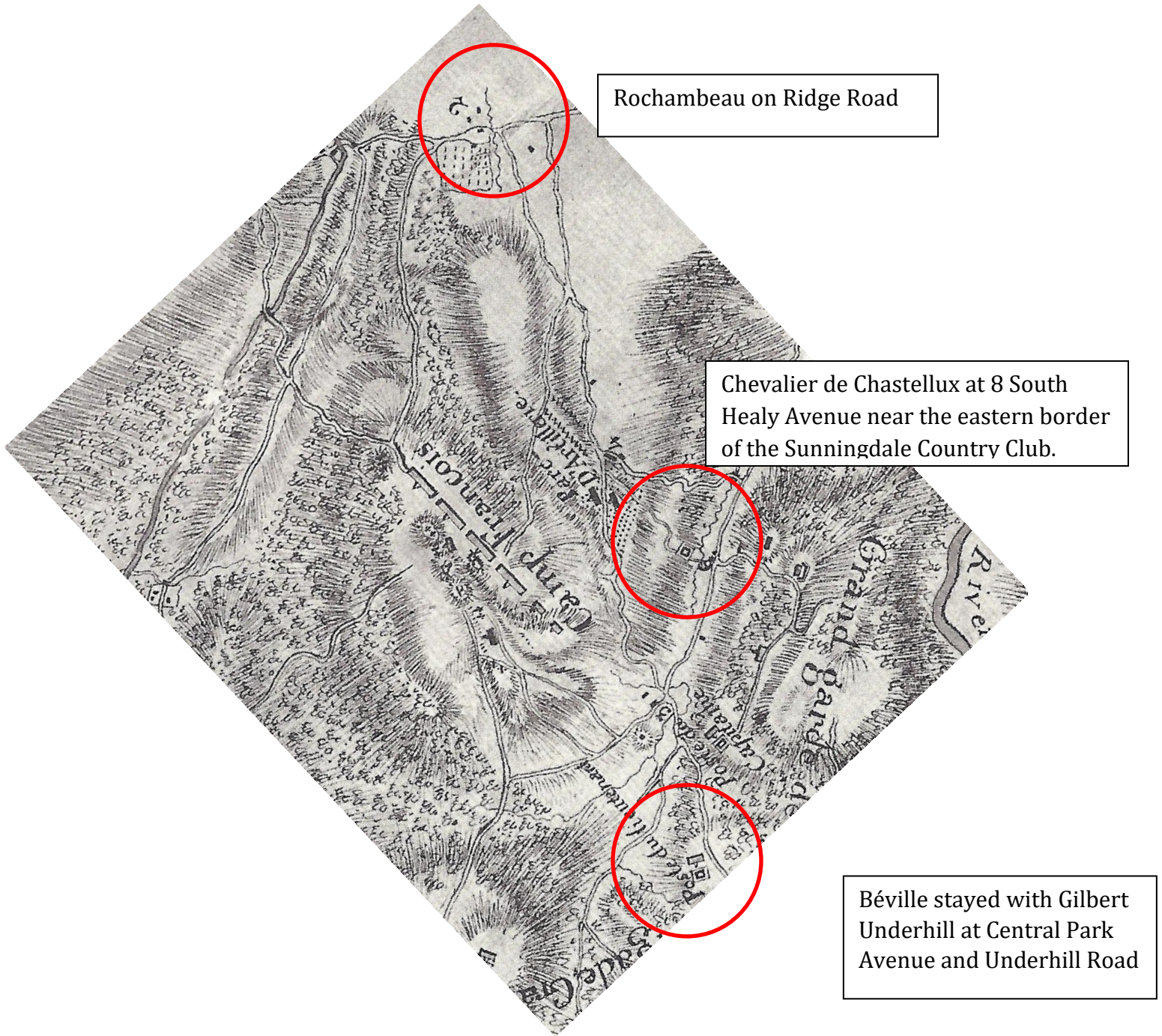
Sheldon's cavalry is shown on the elevated ground known as Villard Hill after Henry Villard, whose estate Thorwood was on that hill. Scammell's light infantry is on the height called Echo Hill, the property of Children's Village off of Dassern Drive.

Detail from "Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp] reproduced in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41.

John Tompkins of Greenburgh told McDonald how his father "Isaac Tompkins was a young married man in July and August 1781, when the French army encamped on our farm, and lived then in a log house, a little north of my grand-father's John Tompkins. In that same month of July my mother had her first child. A French general (or officer) was about taking possession of our house for his quarters, but hearing of my mother's situation relinquished his intention and erected his *marquée* near the rocks north of the house and very close to it. This officer was very kind to my mother during her confinement, frequently sending her presents of wines and other delicacies. A French general (I don't remember his name) – it might have been de Béville – took my grandfather's house, which was a little southwest of my father's, for his quarters and occupied it during the time they remained encamped at Greenburg."²¹

On both counts Tompkins' memory did not fail him. The "French general ... at Gilbert Underhill's about 400 yards south of our house," was Pierre François de Béville, *maréchal général des logis* i.e. on Rochambeau's staff, whose headquarters were located near the junction of present-day Central Park Avenue and Underhill Road. The officers who relinquished his father's house were most likely Charles de Lameth, who together with his fellow aides-de-camp Mathieu Dumas and Alexandre Berthier had been assigned a house they thought too far away from their commanding officer. Instead they built themselves a marquee made of six soldier's tents complete with an English bulldog to warn them of approaching strangers. In their journals, Dumas, Berthier, and Lameth give detailed descriptions of the pastoral life of "six weeks of perfect happiness," they led in the "marquee". Even Washington came to visit.²²

The first "official" acts conducted were reviews of the two armies. Following informal visits on the 7th, Washington reviewed the French forces on the 8th. "We hadn't had more than a day to repair the disorder of the march, but our troops nevertheless appeared in the grandest parade uniform. M. de Rochambeau took his place in front of the white flag of his oldest regiment and saluted General Washington. ... Our general received the greatest compliments for the beauty of his troops. It is true that without doubt those that we have with us were superb at our departure from France."²³



Detail from "Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp] reproduced in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41.

The next day "all the American army presented arms; General Washington invited our headquarters staff to come to see it." Baron Clousen was in for a surprise. "I had a chance to

see the American army, man for man. It was really painful to see these brave men, almost naked with only some trousers and little linen jackets, most of them without stockings, but, would you believe it? Very cheerful and healthy in appearance. A quarter of them were negroes, merry, confident, and sturdy. ... Three quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes, and that regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in its manoeuvres (sic)."²⁴ Clermont-Crèvecoeur "went to the American camp, which contained approximately 4,000 men. In beholding this army I was struck, not by its smart appearance, but by its destitution: the men were without uniforms and covered with rags; most of them were barefoot. They were of all sizes, down to children who could not have been over fourteen. There were many negroes, mulattoes, etc."²⁵ To Cromot du Bourg, the Continental Army seemed "to be in as good order as possible for an army composed of men without uniforms and with narrow resources." Like most observers he too singled out the Rhode Island Regiment for praise: "The Rhode Island Regiment, among others, is extremely fine," though it provided but a few hundred of the "great number of negroes in the army," whose strength he estimated at "four thousand and some hundred men at the most."

The *comte* de Lauberdière gave probably the most detailed observations. The whole army "consisted at most of 4000 men. We found them lined up in the order of battle in front of their camp. It was not a very pleasant sight not because of the attire and the uniform of the regiments, because at present, and ever since they have been in the war, they are pretty much naked. But I remember their great accomplishments and I can not see without a certain admiration that it was with these same men that General Washington had so gloriously defended his country. The officers were in the uniform of their regiment; they are armed and salute with the spontoon." What also bothered Lauberdière was that the Americans "lined up in the ranks according to seniority. This method infinitely hurts the eye and the beautiful appearance of the troops because it often places a tall man between two short ones and a short one between two tall ones." What a difference to the French line, which was "well lined up, of an equal height, well dressed."

Viewing the American camp, Lauberdière noticed how "The Americans are camped in the English manner in two parallel rows of tents, under arms they are aligned in two lines according to height. When the weather is fine they stack their arms in front of their tents on an easel (or towel horse, a *chevalet*) and retrieve them at night or when it rains. This arrangement is subject to many inconveniences." Comparing equipment, Lauberdière noticed how "Our soldiers were overloaded and too warmly dressed for the summer. The Americans, on the contrary, have nothing but a kind of shirt or jacket and a big pair of trousers. Right now their coat is worn only at three-quarter length; they have no shoes. They trouble themselves little with provisions: actually they are given just a bit of corn meal of which each soldier makes his own bread. Each man is also provided a small woolen blanket which he always carries with him. This method is good in a country where the cold of the

night follows quickly the searing heat. Since the havresack of the American soldier is not burdened any further this provides light and quick cover, something that we can not give our troops for fear of augmenting a load that is already too heavy." Abbé Robin too noted with surprise and approval the differences in French and American uniform and equipment. "Neither do these troops in general wear regular uniforms. ... Several regiments have small white frocks, with fringes, which look well enough; also linen over-alls, large and full, which are very convenient in hot weather and do not at all hinder the free use of the limbs in marching. ... This advantage in dress, I believe, has not been sufficiently considered in France. We are apt to consult the gratification of the eye too far, and forget that the troops were designed to act, and not merely to show themselves and their finery."²⁶ He was also "astonished to find, that their whole travelling equipage and furniture would not weigh forty pounds" as opposed to the almost 60 pounds plus musket carried by the French.²⁷

"The regiments which should have been 600 men strong had barely 250. Many officers were also missing who had not yet rejoined since the army had marched and quit its (winter) quarters. Marriage is the normal condition (*un état*) in America; celibates are little esteemed here. Almost all the officers of the army are married and they often demand permission to return home. ... in that they differ much with our officers and even our soldiers." This often caused officers and men alike to request frequent home leaves and to return late, but Lauberdière thought that "In general our allies are slow (*paresseux*) and they don't inconvenience themselves (*gener*)" more than absolutely necessary.

After the review Washington invited the French officers to his headquarters "where there is always a table set with glasses and many bottles, of wine, rum ... (sic) for the refreshment of those who need it and of which there is always a great number. On meeting someone it is their custom to give each other the right hand and to shake it, and I have often admired the patience and goodness of General Washington who had the courtesy to do this all day long 80 or 100 times for people who presented themselves to him. Such is, it is true, the state of a republic where everyone has his voice."

It is difficult to ascertain how much contact there was between the two armies but initially there was apprehension. On 6 July, Royal Flint closed his letter to John Lloyd from White Plains with the words: "The Two armies encamp near each other and I hope will live in friendship."²⁸ Officers were not going to embark on fist-fights but the differences between the two armies on all levels and ranks were all too apparent. Lauberdière wrote that Rochambeau "always had with him and at his table a very great number of American officers. General Washington also had many French (officers)."²⁹ Washington's secretary Jonathan Trumbull Jr. wrote to Colonel Richard Varick on 13 July "The Junction of the two armies is formed at this Place, & has commenced with high seeming Cordiality & Affection, demonstrated by constant Acts of Conviviality & social Harmony. A very fine Body of Troops

compose the French Army, which seems anxious to give some Marks of Heroism, to distinguish their Attachment & Military Pride."³⁰ Dr. Thacher "received an invitation, with a number of officers of our regiment, to dine with a party of French officers in their camp. We were politely received under an elegant marquee: our entertainment consisted of excellent soup, roast-beef &c., served in French style. The gentlemen appear desirous of cultivating an acquaintance with our officers, but being ignorant of each others' language, we can enjoy but little conversation. The French army exhibit their martial array to the greatest advantage. In the officers we recognize the accomplished gentlemen, free and affable in their manners. Their military dress and side-arms are elegant; the troops are under the strictest discipline, and are amply provided with arms and accoutrements, which are kept in the neatest order; they are in complete uniform, coats of white broadcloth, trimmed with green, and white under-dress, and on their heads they wear a singular kind of hat or chapeau. It is unlike our cocked hats in having but two corners instead of three, which gives them a very novel appearance. It has been remarked, to their honor, that during their march from Newport to join our army, their course has been marked with the most exemplary order and regularity, committing no depredations, but conducting towards the inhabitants on their route with great civility and propriety. We now greet them as friends and allies, and they manifest a zealous determination to act in unison with us against the common enemy. This conduct must have a happy tendency to eradicate from the minds of the Americans their ancient prejudices against the French people. They punctually paid their expenses in hard money, which made them acceptable guests wherever they passed; and, in fact, the large quantity of solid coin which they brought into the United States, is to be considered as of infinite importance at the present period of our affairs."³¹

Clermont-Crèvecœur on the other hand wrote that the American artillery officers "were the only ones with whom we occasionally lived."³² Baron Gallatin finally wrote that "we never had a lot of contact with them. It was rare to see us in their camp and them in ours." They were encamped in two lines [...] its entire length they had made a shelter from branches and foliage looking like an arbor which made a very beautiful effect."³³ One of the reasons for this lack of contact was a lack of money. On 2 August, Colonel Ebenezer Huntington wrote his brother Andrew: "We are serving with the French Army where the officers dine in luxury and give us frequent invitations to their tables, we can't go to them, because we can not return the compliment."³⁴

Among the enlisted men there seems to have been hardly any contact at all, Private Martin does not record having met a French soldiers, and neither Privates Flohr of the Deux-Ponts, Amblard of the Soissonnois, or the anonymous soldier in the Bourbonnois admitted ever meeting an American. And though they are contained in the diary of an Englishmen, the observations of Frederick Mackenzie contain more than a grain of truth in them. Under August 9, Mackenzie recorded: "Seven Continental deserters came in this morning. ... They

say the common talk in the army is, that New York is to be besieged as soon as the French fleet appears, which is daily expected. By their accounts the Army consists of 4000 Rebels, and 5000 French. The former are very ill supplied with provisions, having lately received only 2 1/2 lb of flour in 8 days, altho' at the same time the French troops were furnished with the 1 1/2 lb of bread pr day, and numbers of them came into the Continental camp, and offered to sell their loaves, which weigh 3 lb for half a Dollar, in Cash, as no other money is circulating. This has given great offence to the Continental Soldiers and Militia, who abuse the French, and say that they who have never done any service to the Country are well paid, fed, and clothed, while themselves, who have been fighting for the Country are almost destitute of every thing. The French Soldiers are frequently knocked down, and their loaves taken from them. The French will not suffer the rebel Soldiers to come into their encampment."³⁵

Access to the allied camp was strictly regulated. On 9 July, Rochambeau ordered that no French personnel, including officers, could leave camp without a pass signed by a major general. The commanders of the guard were "to allow no Foreigners, be they Americans or deserters, to enter the precincts [*l'intérieur*] of the army."³⁶ On the American side, General Orders of 9 July read:

"The Guards and Picquets in front and on the Flanks of the army are not to suffer any person on any pretence whatsoever to pass them into Camp. If any person appears at either of the above mentioned Guards or Picquets, on pretence of business he or she are to be detained and the Letter or verbal Message the person is Charged with communicated at Head Quarters. No Person whatsoever is to be allowed to pass out of Camp in front or on the Flanks of the Army without a pass from the Commander in Chief or the General officer of the day."

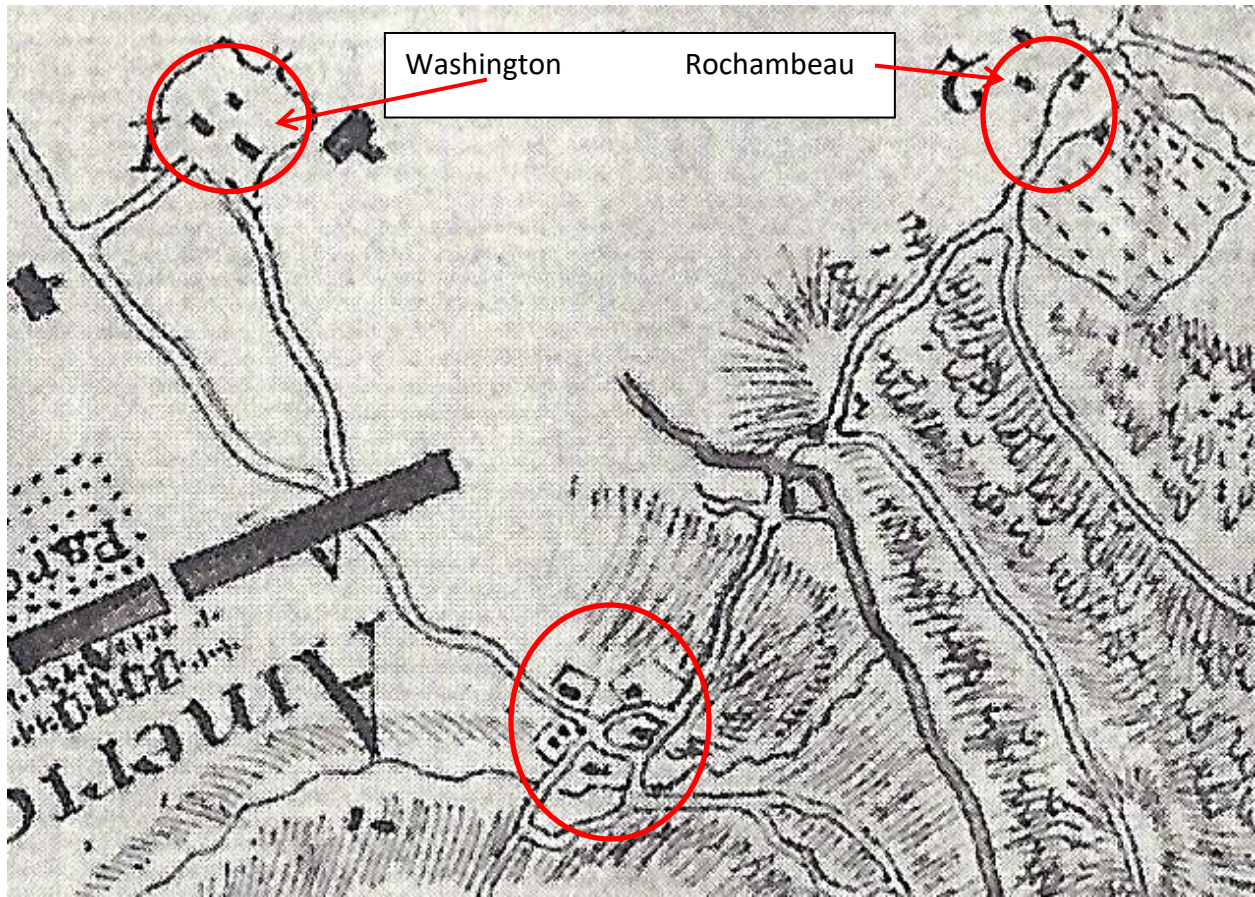
The Economic Impact of the Alliance and the Encampment

On 1 November 1780, Rochambeau had hired Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743-1804) and John Carter (1748-1818, i.e. John Barker Church) as sole suppliers for French forces on the American mainland (for a 5% commission). Rochambeau supplied Wadsworth with *specie* which gave him free and almost sole access to the American market when Continental Army purchasing agents could only pay in rapidly devaluating paper money.³⁷ If Wadsworth could, and did, hire carts to transport food supplies to camp, the Continentals tried to save the expense by inviting farmers and vendors into their and the French camp. On 10 July Washington issued a proclamation from his "Head Quarters near Dobbs Ferry":

“Be it known: That Every Day, during the Time the Army remains in its present Position, from Day Break till Noon, Two Markett Places will be open for the Supply of the Army. One near His Excellency's Head Quarters, in the Field just back of the House, and near the Quarters of the Adjutant and Quarter Masters General. The other in the French Camp, near the House of Henry Taylor, which is the Head Quarters of His Excellency the Count de Rochambeau. All Persons, who will bring any Articles of Provisions and Small Supplies for the Use of the Army, may Depend on being protected in their Persons and Property, and shall have full and free Liberty to dispose of their Produce, without Molestation or Imposition, and will receive no Hindrance from the Guards of the Army on their passing to or repassing from the Sd Markett Places. No Person will be permitted to take any Article, without the full Consent of the Owner. It is expected however and will be required that every Person on his or her first coming to the above Markets will be furnished with a Certificate of Recommendation shew[ing] their Attachment to the American Cause and Interest, signed by two civil Magistrates, or two other reputable Persons of known and Approved Characters: that no Injury may arrive to the Army from the Arts of Designing and evil minded Persons.

If the Army should take a different Position, other Places will be named, where the like Liberty and Protection will be give.”

The proclamation was also to be published in newspapers as far away as Hartford, New Haven and Chatham. The beneficiaries were of course the French, who paid in bullion. John Tompkins told McDonald how "The French camp formed a good market where everything was paid for in hard money at the highest rate." Many of the interviewees remembered into their old age that the presence of the French was synonymous with money: Mary Beagle of Somers told McDonald in October 1847 that they were “paying liberally for everything they bought or took in hard money.”³⁸ And Abraham Weeks, 82, also of Somers, told McDonald the same month that “They paid for everything in hard money and cut crown and dollars in 1/4th and 1/8th for change.”³⁹ This led Joseph Rouse, a soldier in a Connecticut Regiment, to complain that "They look much better than our lousey army who have Neither money nor close God Bless the State of Connecticut you noes what I mean."⁴⁰



Sprain Brook

David Pugsley

Detail from “Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp] reproduced in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41.

Opening the camp to vendors involved risks such as spying on allied forces and even worse. Washington had barely returned from the Grand Reconnaissance in late July when the British sent a Loyalist woman into the American camp to investigate the possibility of kidnapping Washington. Upon her return into British lines she reported “her findings with extraordinary detail: on 28 July, Captain George Beckwith (1753-1823) informed Hessian Captain Marquart that “The woman is returned from Washington's Quarters. She saw him herself and says- that Washington sleeps in the back room - that there were two french sentries yesterday at his door and that his Guard consisted of French and rebels, which she judged to be about 30 or 40 men- that several Tents were near and about his House- that his Guard was much stronger by Night than by Day- the she saw no Horsemen there- that there was no Camp in the rear of his Quarters- that Genl. Howe lodged near half a mile back of it-

that Appleby's was about half a mile back of the rebel Camp- that Lord Stirling and a french General lodged together at David Pugsley's between the two rebel Lines."⁴¹



Home of David Pugsley, quarters of Lord Stirling and an unknown French general. Pugsley was a loyalist who most likely had abandoned his home long before the arrival of the allies.

Detail from "*Position de l'Armée Americaine et Française a Philips-Bourg Distance de 12 Milles de Kings-bridge et 25 Milles de New-York, depuis le 6 Juillet 1781*" New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

On 5 August, Washington repeated his prohibition of unchecked access to the camp:

No Person excepting those belonging to the Army is to come into Camp from the country above or northward of the Camp but by the following roads vizt.

- No. 1 The road by Storm's bridge along the Saw mill river.
- " 2 The road from Young's to the road leading from Dobbs ferry to the White Plains.
- " 3 The road directly from the White Plains to Camp crossing the river at the Bridge under Chattiton's hill.

The following persons will be appointed to be constantly at the respective stations hereafter mentioned whose business it shall be to examine the persons passing and if they find them to be of suspicious or dangerous characters they are to be detained until reported to the General of day and further inquiry had. People who are innocently bringing refreshments to camp to be encouraged.

Mr. Isaac Requa will be stationed at Storm's bridge on the road No. 1.

Mr. Joseph Paulding will be stationed on the road No. 2 to Young's, at the first intersection of it by the road from Tarrytown.

Mr. Eden Hunt will be stationed at the Bridge above mentioned on Brunks river near Chattiton's hill road No. 3.

A Commissioned Officer will be posted at each of the foregoing places who will give the following short ticket to such persons as he permits to pass into Camp"

As a matter of fact, the French seemed to have so much money that sometimes they even lost track of it. "Old Mr (Joseph [Travis] in margin) of Peekskill who owned the upper part of the land where the present village of Peekskill stands, and who owned what was then called the upper dock, used to tell a story of his having, for several days, had possession of a barrel of specie part of the French military chest. The story was this: going out early one morning upon his wharf, he found lying there a strong iron bound cask containing something apparently very heavy. After enquiry in vain for the owner he directed it to be taken for safe keeping to his storehouse. Nearly a week had elapsed when an American officer at the head of a guard of men came to Peekskill describing the cask in question and making anxious enquiry respecting it. On surrendering it Mr. Travers was informed that it contained specie belonging to the French army which had been forwarded from some place above by water and landed by some mistake in the night time, at the wrong spot, by persons ignorant alike of the owners and contents."⁴²

The apparent French abundance of funds invited thieves, or better, would-be thieves, viz. the interview with General Nathaniel Montross shows: "When the French lay at White Plains four iron chests of specie were sent from Crompond to pay off the French troops. They 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." One of the black men was to be on the look-out, the other was to over-power the guard, while the two whites were to carry the cash away. Stark naked, the free African-American crawled up to the guard and overpowered the soldier. But just as the two whites are about to untie the tarpaulin over the money chests, something is moving on the wagon. Afraid that there might be a second guard hidden on the wagon, the two men let go of the cover and bolt, followed by the black man. Later it turned out that there had been but a dog sleeping on the wagon, and with a bit more courage the heist just might have worked out. "This attempt made some noise at the time but the plot was never known until after the conclusion of the war," so General Montross.⁴³

The economic impact of the presence of thousands of French troops and their wagon-loads of specie cannot be overemphasized. The arrival of French forces under the *comte de Rochambeau* in Rhode Island in July 1780 brought a huge influx of French (and Spanish) currency to the US. Altogether, there were nine shipments of specie to Rochambeau totaling about 10 million *livres* in French coin.¹⁹ Lee Kennett has estimated that between public and private funds, "French forces may well have disbursed 20 million *livres* in coin," possibly doubling the amount of specie circulating in the thirteen colonies. Timothy R. Walton estimates that "on the eve of the American Revolution, about half the coins used in the British North American Colonies, some 4 million Pieces of Eight, [21 million *livres*], were pieces of eight from New Spain and Peru."⁴⁴ Rochambeau had brought 2.6 million on board his fleet in July 1780; during the 30 months that French forces remained in the United States, he received nine additional shipments of specie for a total of about 10 million *livres*, plus a shipment of 1.2 million *livres* in Spanish Pieces of Eight that Admiral de Grasse brought with him to Yorktown from Cuba. James A. Lewis estimates inter-governmental loans between France and Spain during the war such as Admiral de Grasse' in August 1781 at may have reached 10 million *livres*.⁴⁵ Which adds up to even more than the 20 million American historian Lee Kennett estimated French forces may have spent during their stay in the United States.⁴⁶ If loans arranged by private lenders estimated at between 15 and 20 million *livres* are added, Rochambeau's *expédition particulière* may well have doubled the amount of specie circulating between Yorktown and Boston.

French silver literally arrived by the wagon: when John Laurens sailed into Boston on the French frigate *Resolue* on 25 August 1781 with funds and supplies for Washington he also

brought with him about 2.5 million *livres* or £100,000 (as reported by the *Freeman's Journal* on 7 November 1781). "Fourteen wagons hauled by fifty-six oxen and lead horses conveyed the specie to Philadelphia," where it arrived on 6 November. Robert Morris used more than half of the cash to establish the Bank of North America.⁴⁷

The bullion was very much appreciated by the honest local population as well. On 31 December 1781, John Jeffrey wrote to Jeffrey Whiting from Hartford: "Money is very scarce among the People in General, their daily Prayers are that the French Army may return soon to the part of the World that Money may again circulate amongst them."⁴⁸ A few miles down the road in Wilmington, Samuel Canby expressed the hope on 11 November 1781, that: "as I apprehend from the present prospect of things in our Country that people generally will rather be encouraged to go into Business more than there has been opportunity for these several Years past as there is nothing but Specie now Circulating as a currency."⁴⁹ On 17 August, just before their departure from New York, Wadsworth told the French Intendant that he needed to "be Monthly supplied with about four hundred thousand Livers - in Specie."

To put this sum into perspective: on 6 September 1781, Robert Morris asked Rochambeau for a loan of \$20,000 in specie to pay the troops, with the promise that he would return the money. Aware that de Grasse would bring 1.2 million *livres* specie worth of Pieces of Eight from Cuba, Rochambeau agreed to the loan, which depleted his treasury of more than one third of the 300,000 *livres* he had left. When Morris informed Washington of the loan, Washington responded on 7 September that "The Sum of 20,000 Dollars will fall much short of the Sum necessary." Washington estimated that he needed at least \$30,000 to meet the demands of his troops. Rochambeau increased his loan to \$26,600. But \$26,600 or 143,640 *livres* was all he could lend the Commander-in-Chief to satisfy the demands of the American troops. Morris supplied the last \$6,200, which brought the total to the \$32,800 that Washington needed. It was less than half the 375,000 *livres* Rochambeau spent on his troops in a single month.

Relationships between the Forces

A few days later, on 10 August, Mackenzie recorded another well-established fact, i.e., the tendency of German soldiers to desert in America. "Four French Hussars came in yesterday afternoon, with their horses and appointments: Two more came in this Morning. There is no doubt but if the Armies were in the Field, and nearer each other, the desertion from the French troops would be very great. Many of them being Germans, particularly Duponts, and the Legion, wish to come in when they have an opportunity."⁵⁰ French sources confirm these numbers: three members of the Royal Deux-Ponts deserted between 1 June and 10 July and two more left the colors in August. Only one trooper of Lauzun's Legion deserted between 1 June and 10 July and another five between 10 July and 1 August. Between 1 August and the

departure from New York, however, 21 soldiers - 15 hussars, 4 grenadiers and 2 cannoniers - deserted from the Legion. Of 316 French deserters who avoided recapture, 104 came from the Royal Deux-Ponts, another 186 deserters were German-speaking subjects of the king of France (mostly from Alsace and Lorraine) serving primarily in Lauzun's Legion. More deserted on the march through Pennsylvania, where, as Flohr wrote, half of the regiment met friends and relatives anxious to help a fellow countryman disappear. Few Frenchmen on the other hand were prepared to venture into a country inhabited by locals anxious to make a *livre* or a *louis d'or* by returning deserters to their units. A scant 26 deserters were French-speaking subjects of the King of France who successfully ventured out into the hostile environment of America.⁵¹

The strict discipline enforced by Rochambeau kept tensions with the locals to a minimum. Margaret, the daughter of Caleb Paulding, told McDonald that "When the French army lay at White Plains, a French Major had his quarters at my father's house. This major was extremely kind to us children, making pictures for us, and amusing us in various ways."⁵² John Tompkins was full of praise for the discipline of the French troops: "The springs about our place supplied the whole French army with pure water,⁵³ and the watered their horses at the Bronx. The strictest discipline was kept up among the French soldiery. Squads were posted on all sides for the protection of property so that the soldiers could not steal or destroy had they been so disposed. ... When they came, they advanced from the northwest and cut a road through our wheat fields of which they were very careful, posting sentries all around for its protection. When they retired they marched the same way, - that is, by their right through the wheat field, and in the direction of Colonel Odell's, or a little west."⁵⁴

When there were troubles the guilty party was not often easily identified. Nehemiah U. Tompkins remembered how "The French soldiers made use of my father's horses which so provoked him that he seized and shook one of them who screamed for assistance. His comrades came to his aide and my father threw them about and knocked some of them down. More came and the French soldiers, now very much excited, raised the cry of 'Refugee! Refugee!'" Tompkins was taken to Rochambeau, who "after a short confinement discharged him, first however making him promise never again to attack the French army."⁵⁵ Nehemiah's brother John remembered the story as well. "The farm of James Tomkins was near to and a little south of the French camp. He was an uncommonly strong man and of a very irritable disposition. One day he found a French soldier riding a mare, which belonged to him in company with others to the watering place, and ordered him to dismount. The Frenchman refused. He immediately seized the horse and dragged the rider off. The soldiers attempted to regain the horse, but he knocked or threw down everyone that approached him. They then made a great outcry calling out "Refugee! Refugee! And multitudes of comrades soon came to their assistance and surrounded James Tompkins, who drew a stake from the fence and for a long time defended himself - beating and knocking down all within

his reach. Closing up on all sides the soldiers at last took him prisoner, and conducting him to the headquarters called upon General Rochambeau to punish him. Extremely exasperated the soldiers were very desirous he should be hanged. To gratify them Rochambeau kept him for some time under guard, and when he was released said to him: "You little man must never attack the French army again." He solemnly promised he would not."⁵⁶ That settled the fight but left open the question as to why the soldier was riding Tompkins' mare in the first place!

Life in the Neutral Ground

Not all encounters ended amicably; some Americans had quite different experiences with their French allies. Being at the edge of the "Neutral Ground" where irregular units such as De Lancey's and Andreas Emmerich's Loyalists called "Refugees," "Skinners," or "Cowboys" by contemporaries, as well as regular light troops such as the Hessian *Jäger*, plied their trade, meant constant reconnaissance and patrols. Especially along the "little Bronx River ... the mounted patrols relieved each other continually," so Closen. But this also meant that one could never be certain who was friend and who was foe. Here was exactly the situation why Rochambeau had wanted Light infantry and cavalry in his command. Lauzun's hussars began performing their duties immediately, at times without differentiating too carefully whom they visited during their *creative* foraging expeditions. In an interview on 5 November 1845, William Griffen of Mamaroneck remembered a visit by a "friendly" party of hussars to his father's house. "His men took cider, - three or four barrels from us without paying,* and my father then went to the Plains and complained to the Duke who immediately sent an officer to us and paid liberally. (sic) The officer was angry because my father complained to the Duke. ... My father invited the Duke's officers (sic), who paid us, to dinner -- treated them to some "cider Royal" (sic) when they forgot their pique about his complaint to the Duke, and got very merry. I think some of the Duke's legion - officers and men - were Dutch or German." There is a "*" at "without paying" and a footnote: "They brought a cart with them from White Plains and threatened to kill my father if he hindered them."⁵⁷

Some encounters ended in bloodshed and even death. On July 7, the day after the arrival of the French forces, was spent, so Closen, "in more extensive reconnaissance of the neighborhood." The next day, July 8, the hussars apparently set out to make their presence known in the neighborhood. Joseph Odell (*1766) of Greenburgh was one of many interviewees who remembered what happened that Sunday morning: "Elijah Vincent was from near East Chester Village and he had a brother who was a blacksmith and had his shop, in the Revolutionary War, near where Armstrong's tavern was afterwards built. Soon after the French Army came to West Chester County, a detachment of Lauzun's cavalry called at his Smithy and requested him to shoe some horses. He refused because it was Sunday. Some altercation ensued which ended in a fight and Vincent was killed. Elijah Vincent vowed revenge and watched the French patrol with a party of men for some time till he fell in with

the scout whose Captain he killed. He took from the Frenchman's pockets an elegant gold watch and some coin."⁵⁸

Daniel Odell of Yonkers told McDonald on 20 October 1845, that "A detachment of French Cavalry stopped at Vincent's smithy in east Chester and requested him to shoe some horses which he refused saying he had iron in the fire for other work upon which he was engaged. Some altercation ensued which ended in a quarrel. A French officer (?) drew his sword and cut Vincent down leaving him for dead but at length he recovered. His brother Elijah Vincent on being informed of it vowed revenge and waylaid the French horse. The Vincents were born and brought up on the place (at East Chester) of their father which was afterwards owned by Colonel William S. Smith, son in law of President John Adams."⁵⁹ And John Williams of Peekskill, aged 90, told McDonald that the blacksmith killed by French was called Gilbert Vincent who lived about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from East Chester. He had told the French hussars that he had no coal when he refused to shoe the horses, but the French had not believed him. In revenge his brother shot a French officer "near Scarsdale despoiling him of all his arms which he afterwards showed me and which I saw consisting of a sword, dagger, pistol, epaulettes, scarf, belt etc all extremely elegant."⁶⁰

The truth of these stories is confirmed in Mackenzie's *Diary*, where Elijah is identified as an ensign in the "West Chester Refugees." Planning to "surprize some French Officers quartered at a house in the front of their camp" with seven men of his corps, "on their way there they fell in with a patrole of 6 Hussars of the legion de Lausun, which was followed by an Officer and 25 Dragoons." Vincent shot the officer on the Road to Rye and "brought off the Officers Cap, Sword, &c."⁶¹ If Gilbert Vincent was killed on Sunday, July 8, Elijah did not waste any time. In a letter dated 19 July 1781, Jonathan Trumbull Jr. informed his wife Eunice that "Poor Lieut. Hartman, the officer who lived with Doct. Williams, was a few days ago killed by some Tories I Suppose who met with him, in the Road out of Camp, while on Patrol and shot him thro the Neck and head - his Horse after the Master fell turned to make the Camp and not being able to Answer the Challenge of the Centry he was also shot Dead near his own friends. The Duke and the other Officers are very sorry for poor Hartman, whose Death they will be very glad to revenge the first good Opportunity they have."⁶²

But the *Refugees* could play this game of random killing, of murder and revenge, as well, especially when French personnel was careless enough to venture out in small groups.⁶³ At the very beginning of the McDonald papers the reader finds the cryptic remark by Samuel Oakley, dated October 1844: "Shube [Merrit of Rye] killed the French commissary in or near King Street, and took 150 Louis d'ors from him, in 1781."⁶⁴ "Lydia (a colored woman)" had witnessed the whole scene and told McDonald this on 24 October 1844: "In 1781, a French sutler and three men came to my master's (Andrew Lyon of King Street), and made a purchase of some cider for the French army at White Plains. Mr. Lyon and his men were in

the cellar getting out the cider and the sutler on the fence by the door when Shube Merrit [Neb Merrit and Tim Saxton] came upon them. Shube shot the Frenchman dead, and, searching him, found a belt around his body filled with gold – one hundred Louis d’ors ‘tis said. This was divided among three of them. (?) The next day a detachment of French came over from White Plains to enquire into the matter. They (Merritt and party?) took one Frenchman prisoner and the rest got off.”⁶⁵

Nehemiah Brown of King Street in Portchester remembered how "In July 1781, a sutler, attached to the French army, and two other Frenchmen were at Andrew Lyon’s, near Portchester, where Mr. Bush now lives, eating dinner. They had come from White Plains with a team or wagon to buy cider. Shube Merritt with Neh. Merritt and Tim Saxton heard of it and came to attack them. These refugees looked in at the window (windows and doors being open), and the Frenchmen ran. Tim. Saxton, pursuing, rested his gun upon the bars of the fence and shot the sutler dead. Shube Merritt, being active, sprang over the fence and stripped the Frenchman of a belt he wore around his waist, which contained two or three hundred "French guineas." (sic) These the robbers divided - Shube retaining the largest portion. Another Frenchman was (previously?) overtaken, and surrendered himself (to Shube Merritt?) a prisoner. The third ran north, towards Samuel Brown’s (the next house) for his life, pursued by Neb. Merritt with his loaded gun. The Frenchman, hard pressed by Neb. Merritt, took up a large stone and faced him. He pointed his gun. The Frenchman hurled the stone, and running round Samuel Brown’s house, jumped in at the window and got under a table followed by Neb. Who could not find him. Neb. Then left the room in search of him, and Mrs. Brown concealed him first in a closet or pantry, but he was so incautious as to (look) stick his head out the moment Neb. Left the room. Mrs. Brown then concealed him in the cellar. Neb. Insisted Mr. Brown should tell him where the Frenchman was. Brown did not know that the Frenchman was in the house – not having yet seen him, and denied him to Neb. Declaring he was not in the house. Neb. at length went away. Sometime afterwards, a detachment of Continentals with an officer, being informed &c. came to Brown’s and inquired for the Frenchman in the cellar. Brown at first denied him, because several neighbors, loyalists, were present. He managed to acquaint the officer of this who ordered the Tories off, and then he brought out the Frenchman who was conducted to camp. The Refugees took the Frenchmen’s horses and left the waggon. The waggon was taken into camp by the American party.”⁶⁶

The incident was, however, also widely reported in the Rebel press, viz. on 16 August 1781, the *Massachusetts Spy* informed its readers that “We have an account from camp, that a few days since a party of Tories, most inhumanly murdered and robbed a French sutler of his money, &c. to a considerable amount: But being pursued by some of the Duke’s Legion, were overtaken, who retaliated on them for the death of their countryman.”

Westchester County was a dangerous neighborhood in 1781 where few prisoners were taken in a spiral of violence. As Lieutenants Joseph von Berg (1757-?) and Gaspar de Custine (1764-post 1819) of the Royal Deux-Ponts were exploring the neighborhood toward New York City – contrary to orders they entered a house where they found a woman and children crying. Informed that a Tory had just robbed and mistreated them, they rode after the man and took him prisoner. Upon arrival in the American camp they handed him over to Washington who ordered the man hanged immediately.⁶⁷ Regular troops did not always fare better. On 22 July during the Grand Reconnaissance of British defenses outside New York City, Rochambeau's aides-de-camp Joseph Louis César Charles *comte* de Damas (1758-1829), Jacques Anne Joseph Le Prestre, *comte* de Vauban (1754-1816) and the *comte* de Lauberdière took two British dragoons prisoners. When one of them, after having surrendered, made a movement as if he wanted to strike a saber blow at his captor, the unnamed aide “killed him on the spot with a pistol shot.” Berg and Custine had risked their lives: Gallatin recorded that “it was not possible to walk about beyond the guard posts without risking to be shot [dead] from the edge of the woods. ... one of our officers by the name of Gantzer while returning from a horse ride was saluted with three musket shots which passed quite close to his head; one of the balls took off a branch that was right in front of him; one can believe that he gave his horse the spurs without looking behind himself.”⁶⁸

The Grand Reconnaissance, 21-23 July 1781

These activities all took place before the background of Washington's and Rochambeau's preparations for the siege of New York. Preparing for the siege involved addressing and concurrently solving numerous problems and issues such as

- 1) concentration of allied forces
- 2) collection of siege materials and equipment
- 3) establishing supply lines and filling supply depots
- 4) reconnaissance of British troops strengths and defensive works
- 5) reconnoitering avenues of approach to Crown forces in New York City

As early as 8 July, Washington in his General Orders ordered construction of a small fortification “at Dobbs's ferry with a view to establish a communication there for the transportation of provision and Stores from Pensylvania” and to command passage of the Hudson River.⁶⁹ On 12 July, Washington and Rochambeau inspect defenses at Dobbs Ferry. The next day, 13 July, the New Jersey Regiment arrived on the New Jersey side of the Hudson and served as escort when Washington, Rochambeau, Béville and DuPortail crossed the Hudson on 18 July “in order to reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island”. Washington “Took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side” with him as a guard. On 15 July the Second Artillery Regiment under Colonel John

Lamb departed from West Point for Philipsburg where it arrived on 27 July. Washington was anxious to get closer to New York City to reconnoiter its defenses. On 14 July already his diary contains the entry that "Near 5000 Men being ordered to March for Kings bridge, to cover and secure a reconnoitre of the Enemys Works on the No. end of York Island, Harlaem river, & the Sound were prevented doing so by incessant rain."

Concurrently the allies kept up the pressure on Sir Henry Clinton as well. Coming from Newport the 44-gun *Romulus* together with the frigates *Gentille*, the *Ariel*, and the cutter *Prudence* with about 250 soldiers on board entered the Sound between Long Island and the mainland on 12 July in an attempt to capture Fort Lloyd (or Fort Franklin near Huntington, Long Island).⁷⁰ The enterprise failed but Sir Henry did not remain idle either.

"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. 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."

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"⁷¹ The British captured 1,000 rations of bread on board a small vessel commanded by William Dobbs of Fishkill and a few military supplies.

133

Return of Officers & Men in the American Camp, under
the Command of Major Gen. Lord Stirling. 22nd July 1781

| Regiments | Field Officers | | | Commis ⁿ Officers | | | Non Comm ⁿ Officers | | | Rank & File | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------|------------------------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|----------|-------------------|
| | Colonels | Lieut. Colonels | Majors | Captains | Serjeants | Ensigns | Staff | 2 ^d M ^r . Serjeant | Serjeants | Drum. M ^r s | Infantry | Sold ^r |
| Connecticut Line - 2 Regiments | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 65 | 58 | 123 |
| Massachusetts | 1 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 4 | 36 | 20 | 56 | | |
| | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 5 | 56 | 18 | 74 | |
| | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 6 | 7 | 46 | 7 | 53 |
| New Hampshire | | | 1 | 5 | | 1 | 5 | 13 | 5 | 42 | 24 | 66 |
| Asst. Col. Terry | | | 1 | 4 | 8 | 2 | | 10 | 4 | 267 | | 267 |
| Total | 2 | 5 | 16 | 19 | 3 | 13 | 9 | 36 | 35 | 512 | 127 | 639 |

100 Infantry: Commanded by Major Woodbridge }
 Totaque party }
 40 Jersey Infantry Detach.
 30 - Lt. Capt. Galt
 30 Whale boat Men
 42 French Artillery }
 25 American } Commanded by a }
 French Officer }

Note how the Artillery is "Commanded by a French Officer".
 Vioménil Papers LB0074, fol. 133,

A detachment of a sergeant and twelve soldiers of the Soissonnois Regiment, dragoons of Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Second Continental Light Dragoons and two 18-lb cannon kept the British from landing. In his diary Washington recorded on 16 July: "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 a Mile, and obliged them to remove lower down & move over to the West shore. 17th. The Vessels being again fired at in the position they took yesterday run up the River to Tellers point & there came to burning the House of the Widow Noy<e>ll.” In the morning of 19 July, “The Enemy's 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.”⁷² In response to this incident Rochambeau detached an additional 140 men artillery to Dobbs Ferry to re-enforce the artillery there.⁷³

Washington considered these events primarily as distractions from his primary goal for 1781: the siege and capture of New York City, the center of British power in North America. On 12 July, the two generals had inspected the defenses at Dobbs Ferry, but they still lacked detailed knowledge of the lay-out and strength of British fortifications. On 13 July Washington issued orders for 2,000 Americans and 2,000 Frenchmen to be ready by 8:00 p.m. for a reconnaissance in force toward Manhattan Island but heavy rain forced the postponement that night and a series of both false and real alarms the following nights and days kept him from carrying out his plans. At daybreak on the 18th, Washington, Presle du Portail, Washington's French-born chief engineer, Rochambeau, Quarter-Master General de Beville and his chief engineer Desandroüins, accompanied by 100 dragoons, crossed the North River to reconnoiter the west side of Staten Island but returned at night. Following their return from the Jersey shore, Rochambeau, who did not favor an attack on New York, probed Washington one last time for a "plan définitif" before the long-delayed reconnaissance began. Following the pattern established at Hartford and at Wethersfield, he posed Washington on July 19 a series of written questions. When he asked whether preparations for a march southward should not be made, Washington responded that unless certain conditions were met, "the enterprise against New York and its environs has to be our principal object." It was 21 July already when American and French forces set out around 7:00 p.m. for what became known as the "Grand Reconnaissance".

Rochambeau's First Brigade as well as the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Second Brigade, some 2,200 men plus their 175 or so officers were on their way by 8:00 p.m. So were about 2,000 Americans under Major Generals Lincoln and Robert Howe (1732-1786), who formed the right column, marching, in modern terms, roughly by the Saw Mill River Road. They may have gotten an even later start, however. Nathan Beers entered into his diary: "21 Saturday at 9 Clock night the army began their march from Phillips Burgh." On their right

flank marched Connecticut troops under Major General Samuel Holden Parsons (1737-1789) and 25 of Sheldon's dragoons. The center column was led by a battalion of French grenadiers and chasseurs with four artillery pieces marching down Sprain Brook Parkway to Central Park Avenue. Behind them came the First Brigade with four artillery pieces and two 12-pounders. Washington and Rochambeau were both in this column. The left column, commanded by Chastellux and composed of the grenadier and chasseur companies of the Second Brigade and Lauzun's Legion, marched with its four artillery pieces down the Bronx River parallel on SR 22 (the old East Chester Road) to Tuckahoe Road. Rather than turn left at Hunt's Bridge to cross the Bronx and continue on to Williams Bridge, Chastellux turned right and joined the other two columns at the place of rendezvous on Valentine Hill, eight miles from the encampment in Philipsburg and four miles from Kingsbridge. The Legion was quickly rerouted.⁷⁴



Courtesy of Chauncey DeVoe

ANDREW CORSA
1762-1852

Guide to Washington and Rochambeau

It was already 1:00 a.m. on the 22nd, a Sunday, before the troops reached Valentine Hill. Andrew Corsa of Fordham, age 89, one of the guides who led Rochambeau and Washington, provided this eyewitness account on October 7, 1848. "In July 1781 [...] we found Generals Washington and Rochambeau and the Duke de Lauzun waiting for us, opposite the gate that now leads to Dr. Powell's at Fordham.⁷⁵ In conducting the force to Morrisania we followed the old road along the Bronx till we came to Graham's point and then turned to the right and advanced to Morrisania." As they approached the high ground around 5:00 a.m. on 22 July "the British batteries opened upon us from Randall's Island, Snake Hill,

Harlem and from the ships of war. We (the guides) stopped at the Ridge, not liking the cannonade, which was very furious, but Washington and the French commanders moved forward as though nothing had occurred. We returned in the afternoon and the army encamped for the night near my father's I think, but am not certain, a little north of our

house." The Continental Army spent the night of 22/23 July in Van Cortlandt Park (near West 246th Street and Broadway in the Bronx) while 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. Nathan Beers wrote: "22d 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." Corsa deposed that "The next day (23 July) we went down again but this time advanced no further than the Mill. Both times we returned in a pretty direct line across the fields of Fordham. The last time the army (as I heard) encamped for the night somewhere towards Valentine's Hill."⁷⁶ A few days later, on October 19, Corsa added that "It was just before sunrise on Sunday the 22d. of July 1781 that I was awakened in my bed (in my father's house where the Roman Catholic College now stands,⁷⁷) by the guides Cornelius and John (*Isaac* written above John) Oakley and James Williams, and requested to accompany the combined French and American armies as a guide to Morrisania." This I had agreed to do when I was up at Appleby's, General Washington's Headquarters some days previously. I dressed in haste and followed the Oakley's and Webbers to where a gate led to an adjacent farm house. This very spot is now designated by the gate which conducts to Dr. Powell's house and buildings. Here we found Washington, Rochambeau, the Duke of the French horse and other officers setting abreast on horseback and facing the the (sic) highway. General Washington spoke kindly and directed them to furnish me with a horse.

The guides enquired if there were any Refugees in the neighbourhood. I told them of two, vizt: Sergeant Hilliard and James Travis* (*there is a star behind the name and in the margins is written: "Sometimes written Travers.) who were to be found on the route we should take to West Farms, but added that Hilliard must be surprised before he got on horseback, for if once in his saddle they would not overtake him. They were very anxious to capture Hilliard and his horse, and asked and obtained permission." The chase ended with Hilliard getting away and Washington and Rochambeau continued their route toward West Farms past Major Bearmore's old headquarters and onto "the Fordham road leading to Delancy's Mills" past the homes of Cornelius Leggett Robert Hunt into West Farms Village. "About a mile and a half or so below Delancy's bridge ... we turned west and arrived at a spot which commanded a full view of part of Long Island Sound." Next they retraced there steps about half a mile and followed the road to Morrisania coming from the East by Governor Morris' house. "The moment we attained these grounds and came in sight of the enemy, the British opened fire upon us from their Forts at Mont tresors Island, Harlem, and Snake Hill and from their vessels of war at anchor in Harlem river. The fire was very heavy and was renewed when we approached Mill Brook."

Count Rechteren-Limpurg, a captain *à la suite* of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, "rode with Captain von Esbeck [also of the Royal Deux-Ponts] to assist the Generals Washington

and Rochambeau and their entourage. From a distant entrenchment, where, with the naked eye, we could distinguish the Hessian and Ansbach soldiers by their blue uniforms, shots were fired at our generals who were standing on an elevation. A horse was tethered about 30 paces away. A cannonball hit the ground near its hooves which drove the horse quite wild. Not long after this on, another cannonball hit into soft earth close behind the generals, so that clods shot up very high. A third one flew past them. I do not know how long this lasted, but this I know for sure, that no one was hit."⁷⁸ Baron Closen, who accompanied Rochambeau, recorded that while Lauzun's Legion veered east to Williamsbridge at Valentine's Hill, the rest marched on to Kingsbridge close to the destroyed Fort Independence on Tedard's Hill east of Kingsbridge. In the afternoon, Washington and Rochambeau took a closer look at Morrisania.⁷⁹ That night the 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. It was 9:00 p.m. when 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."⁸⁰ The "wretched house" was the home of Isaac Valentine, today's Valentine-Varian House on Bainbridge Avenue and 208th Street.

It was but 4:00 a.m. on the 23rd when the aides were in the saddle again and "went to call for General Washington." By 6:00 a.m. the two generals set out for Frog's Neck and the second day's reconnaissance. Just where Rochambeau's aides "went to call for" Washington, i.e., where he had spent the night, is unclear. In a letter of 2 September 2000 to me, Mr. Ultan wrote: "Washington stayed with his troops, encamped along the ridge that forms the Riverdale neighborhood today, and in Van Cortlandt Park. He slept in the Van Cortlandt House."⁸¹ When the two armies returned to Philipsburg around mid-night on 23/24 July, having lost but a single man, a dragoon of Washington's bodyguard, Washington had achieved his objective, though the results were sobering. Washington knew that he was severely lacking in materiel and manpower for a siege of New York City.⁸² Closen gave his allies a glowing compliment: "I admire the American troops tremendously! It is incredible that soldiers composed of men of every age, even of children of fifteen, of whites and blacks, almost naked, unpaid, and rather poorly fed, can march so well and withstand fire so steadfastly."

Washington and Rochambeau had spent 22 and 23 July reconnoitering British defenses. Officers such as Beers with time to spare went sightseeing: "23 Monday all things quiet Rode with [Capt. Benjamin] Frothingham [3d Regt Artillery] to Colo 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."



Detail from "Reconnaissance juillet 1781", Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Lauzun's men, who together with Waterbury's Connecticut State Troops had orders to "scour the Necks of Morrisania and Frogs" for Refugees, instead went on a pillaging rampage. Encouraged by the bad example set by American troops,⁸³ French troops, especially Lauzun's hussars, engaged in disreputable practices. Brissot de Barneville recorded that the house of de Lancey, "where no one but his mistress was at home at the time, was pillaged as well as several other houses around Morrisania, especially by the mounted troops," i.e., the hussars.⁸⁴ The Abbe Robin reported how "These Americans, so soft, so pacific and benevolent by nature, are here transformed into monsters, implacable, bloody and ravenous."⁸⁵ Blanchard accused his fellow countrymen of "having pillaged a great deal and committed some disorders of which, up to this time, there had not been the least example."⁸⁶ Gaspard de Gallatin thought the Legion guilty of "a rapine and a pillage ordinary in troops not restrained by severe discipline."⁸⁷ The *comte* de Charlus, in command of the Second Battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs stationed at DeLancey's Mill to maintain contact with Lauzun's Legion at Williamsbridge, wrote his father: "The American army set a cruel example for our grenadiers; if I had not had a hundred blows with the flat of the sabre meted out in my battalion, if I had not placed sentinels every twenty-five paces and had the roll called every half-hour, I don't think I could have managed. ... I had no idea war was waged this way. The English have unfortunately adopted it and the Americans make reprisals; but we hope by the

force of our discipline to prevent it from happening with us.”⁸⁸ Palys de Montrepos entered into his journal that the troops brought back a few prisoners, about 30 horses, and that “a few houses were pillaged.”⁸⁹

Strength of British Forces in New York City on 15 August 1781⁹⁰

| Corps | Fit for duty | | | Effectives | | | Want[in]g R&F |
|------------------------|--------------|-----|-------|------------|-----|-------|------------------|
| | S | D | R&F | S | D | 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[neers] | 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 |

Reviewing the results of the Grand Reconnaissance, Lauberdière noted in his *Journal* that given the size of the garrison, estimated at 16,000 by the young *comte*, the strength of the

fortifications, the necessity of naval superiority, and the weakness of the combined Franco-American army, "should all have made the Americans and their commanding officer turn away from the idea of a siege." But the decision was not Lauberdière's to make. He would have to wait with Washington and Rochambeau for news from Admiral de Grasse. Both men were aware that without additional troops, American or French, and at least temporary naval superiority, any attack on New York was doomed to fail. The combined strength of their armies outside New York was less than 10,000 men and there was little hope of additional American troops joining that late in the campaign. Arrayed against them were a wide variety of British, German, and American regular and irregular units in and around the city. As the summer was slipping away without a word from de Grasse, Washington was getting nervous. On 26 July, 41-year-old Colonel Jonathan Trumbull Jr., Washington's private secretary, wrote to his father, the governor of Connecticut: "The Genl is exceedingly anxious & finds himself in a most perplexing & ridiculous scituation, not being able to determine on any fixed plan of operation, from the uncertainty of his expectations & prospects. I wish the states would reflect that the first of August is already nearly come, & not one encouragement made by them yet fulfilled."⁹¹

On 27 July, Duportail nevertheless submitted a plan for the siege of New York City. But no matter how he looked at it, the French-born general put the minimum number of troops necessary (besides a French fleet in the harbor) at 20,000, almost twice the effectives available. Washington knew that Duportail's numbers were correct, but he also knew that the odds of collecting the men and material outlined in Duportail's plan were slim. Disappointedly he wrote in his diary on 1 August that "every thing would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the States had furnished their quotas of men agreeably to my requisition." But they had not, and so he "could scarce see a ground upon wch. to continue my preparations against New York; especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had done before) to an operation to the Southward". The next day he wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that unless he received supplies in men and materials immediately, he was afraid "that the campaign will waste fruitlessly away" though he still harbored "hope that our force will still be sufficient to carry our intended operations into effect."⁹²

But rather than Washington and Rochambeau it was Clinton in New York who received reinforcements. Much to their dismay, Washington and Rochambeau had to learn on 3 August that the garrison of Pensacola had sailed into New York harbor on 13 and 14 July. It had been paroled under the condition only of not fighting against Spaniards: French and Americans were fair game.⁹³ To make matters worse, a convoy of 23 sails brought 2,400 English and German recruits on 11 August 1781.⁹⁴ Since he had not heard from de Grasse Washington still assumed, had to assume, that New York City would be besieged. Planning

continued, and "About the 12th of August," his Colonel Jonathan Trumbull wrote into his diary, "Gov^r. Trumbull and his council met at Danbury to consult with General Washington respecting the attack on New York." Though a successful siege of the city had become more and more unlikely, Washington could not make any decisions before he had heard from de Grasse in the Caribbean informing the American of his plans and destinations and from the marquis de Lafayette in Virginia with the latest information on the movements of Lord Cornwallis. As this information arrived in Greenburgh "between the 12th and 18th" of August, the "Plan of Operation was totally changed."⁹⁵

14 August 1781: The Day that Would Shake the World

Around noon on Tuesday, 14 August 1781, a letter written by Admiral de Grasse at St. Domingue on 28 July and sent via the frigate *Concorde* reached White Plains after a three-day journey from Newport, RI, where *La Concorde* had arrived on 11 August. In his letter de Grasse informed Rochambeau that he would be sailing from St. Domingue for the Chesapeake on 13 August, "pour se rendre en toute diligence dans la baie de Chesapeak, lieu qui me paraît indiqué par vous, Monsieur le Comte, et par MM. Washington, de la Luzerne, et de Barras comme le plus sûr à opérer le bien que vous vous proposez -- to render himself in all diligence to the Chesapeake Bay, 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."⁹⁶ 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."⁹⁷ When de Grasse chose his destination and the time-frame for his presence in North American waters, he had determined 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 Grasse's (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."⁹⁸ Now began the "most perfectly executed naval campaign of the age of sail."⁹⁹

"I was obliged ... to give up all idea of attacking New York." Though the commander in chief, these lines implicitly concede that Washington was the militarily weakest link in the triumvirate of Rochambeau and de Grasse. If the French navy did not cooperate, there was no hope of executing Washington's favorite project and goal for the year 1781: the siege and capture of New York City. "Other circumstances, it is true, have had their weight in this

determination; ... the fleet of the Count de Grasse, with a body of French troops on board, will make its first appearance in the Chesapeake."¹⁰⁰ Now that the focus of the campaign had shifted to the southward there was no time to lose. On 15 August he informed Lafayette of de Grasse' letter and his decision to march for Virginia and ordered him "to prevent their sudden retreat thro' North Carolina. ... You will be particularly careful to conceal the expected arrival of the Count, because if the enemy are not apprised of it, they will stay on board their transports in the Bay, which will be the luckiest Circumstance in the World." Neither on 14 August nor the next day did Washington know where Cornwallis was or what he was doing. It was only on 16 August that he learned through a letter from Lafayette of 11 August that Cornwallis "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: de Grasse could only be of assistance if British forces were stationed in a coastal area or town where the French fleet could complete the siege ring around them. If Cornwallis were allowed to retreat into North Carolina, up the James River toward Richmond, or continue his march northward toward Baltimore, as Maryland Governor Thomas Sim Lee feared, a French fleet would be of little use no matter how large or how long it would remain in North American waters.

Secrecy, speed and deception were sine-qua-non for the success of the revised plan of operations, and in both armies as few officers as possible were informed of the change of plan. If Sir Henry were to receive information of Washington's move to the south he might send vessels up the Hudson River to interfere with the crossing of forces to the New Jersey side, march troops into Westchester County just as the allies were taking down their tents and loading their wagons, send forces to Springfield or Chatham and try to block the allied march toward Princeton and Trenton, and, if all else failed, send vessels to Yorktown to evacuate Lord Cornwallis.

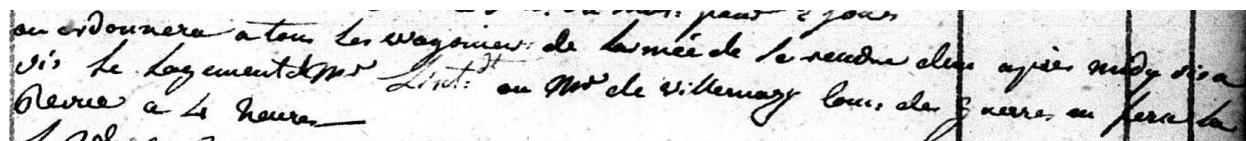
For the next few days after 14 August life in the allied camp went on with the usual round of dinners, distribution of rations and upholding of military discipline. On 16 August, Nathan Beers (1753-1849) of Samuel B. Webb's 3d Connecticut Regiment, dined "at Baron Entersines and QM Ancineau of the regiment Deux Pont Bourbonne Regiment reviewed."¹⁰¹ General Heath's adjutant Henry Sewall also "Saw the regiment of Bourbonnois perform their manoeverings & firings at 8 in the morning. – Dined with Gen^l Heath &c. &c. at his excellency count De Rochambeau's. – Saw the regiment of Deux Ponts perform in the evening."¹⁰² Philadelphian William Rogers (1751-1824) who was visiting the encampment "Breakfasted with Col: Olney" on 16 August and "Introduc'd to the Acquaintance of Major Lyman A. D. Camp to Gen^l. Heath who Invited me on my Return to Tarry at his Quarters. After Breakfast got ready to Renew my Journey & Made a Halt at the French Encampment to see the Manuvers of the Barbonnois Reg^t. which afforded the highest satisfaction."¹⁰³ That same day French forces received their usual distribution of meat for the next two days at 5:00 a.m., the

next day, 17 August, 33-year-old Corporal Jean Pierre Verdier of the Bourbonnois was hanged for desertion despite 15 years of service in the regiment.¹⁰⁴ Undeterred by his comrade's fate, 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 Colonel Christian de Deux-Ponts the man was spared the humiliation of hanging and shot instead.

Preparations for the Departure for Virginia

But preparations for the march had to be made nevertheless. Armies need food for man and beast to survive, firewood and horse-shoes and a whole assortment of other items. The task of providing for French forces was Jeremiah Wadsworth's, who informed his wife from Philipsburg on 16 August: "My dear, I am well in Camp. Count Pherson", i.e. Rochambeau's Swedish aide-de-camp Axel von Fersen (1755-1810) who had been sent to Newport with Washington's and Rochambeau's reply to de Grasse, "will call on his return he must not come to this place but to King's Ferry where he will find or hear of the French army. Keep This [to] your selfe as it is a secret."¹⁰⁵ On 17 August, Wadsworth sent John Lloyd his instructions 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.¹⁰⁶ On 18 August Wadsworth repeated this order in a letter to David Reynolds which included an "Account of the Articles necessary to be provided at the different Posts where the french Army will march". This letter included a postscript that "If any Calves are to be got let four or five be procured at each Post".¹⁰⁷

Quietly, and only obvious from hindsight, preparations for the departure commenced. Laying-in of supplies required means of transportation, wagons and teams needed to be in working order, and it is before the background of the impending departure that an entry of 14 August in Rochambeau's *Livre d'ordre* takes additional importance. It illustrates the speed with which decisions were now made when it ordered "tous les wagoniers ... all waggoners of the army this afternoon" i.e. without prior warning, "to betake themselves to the lodgings of M the Intendant M de Villemanzy. An inspection will take place at 4:00 p.m."



se ordonnera a tous les wagoniers de la mée de se rendre chez moi vers six heures a la heure

Detail from the *Livre d'Ordre* recording the order for the wagoners to report to the quarters of Jacques Pierre Orillard, *comte de Villemanzy* (1751-1830) in the afternoon of 14 August.

Concurrently Washington and Rochambeau also employed the need to supply the troops as part of their plan. In the French army, bread constituted and constitutes an important ingredient of a meal. The establishment of large bakery operations could be interpreted as a sign that the army was going to stay in a given location for a while. In the context of the campaign of 1781, the bake ovens in Chatham, though necessary to feed the army on the march, also served a function in the scheme of confirming in Clinton in the conviction that New York was the intended target of the campaign.

On 19 August, Washington informed Colonel Elias Dayton that "There will be a French Bakery established at Chatham. You are to furnish a small Guard for it, and give them any assistance they may want."¹⁰⁸ Rochambeau's son recounted that "in order to disguise our movements and to convince General Clinton that we were going to join action with Monsieur de Grasse on the right bank of the North River in order to take Staten island and make it easy for the fleet to force its way past Sandy hook, we had Villemanzy, commissaire des guerres, leave at once to establish a bakery at Chatham, New Jersey, which is only three leagues from Staten Island. His work was protected by a small body of Americans until the arrival of our advance guard. He was let into the secret and he was told that it was our intention to nourish the army from that bakery in its march to Philadelphia, but that we must persuade the enemy by all kinds of pretenses that the chief object was an attack upon Staten Island. He did so well with this that he caused himself to be fired upon by the English batteries in trying to collect the bricks which were at the mouth of the Raritan."¹⁰⁹

At the same time, these ovens, which produced much-needed bread for the French army, represented a potential target for a raid, and needed protection. On 28 August, Rochambeau requested military protection for the ovens, which Washington readily granted and informed the Frenchman from Chatham that he "will agreeable to your request, order a Detachment of Troops for the purpose of covering your Bake house in this place." Later that day, Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron de Vioménil* repeated this request to Washington from "Whippany's Camp at 8 O'clock in the night". In his letter, Rochambeau's second in command asked Washington "to protect our Bakers in Chatam till we could be done with them. The Intendant told me today that it is a strong necessitée to keep them till the Second of September on purpose for to be able of giving bread to the army which would not be able to get any. I have the honores to beg your Excellency to give the orders that the use necessary to protect our establishment in Chatam till the day mentioned." The following day, Washington assured Vioménil that "A Detachment of Militia consisting of a Sub: and 25 Men, are already ordered for the Protection of your Bakery; about 400 more Men will lye near this Place which I think will be full Security so long as you mention."

If the attack on New York City was going to come from the New Jersey side of the Hudson, the allied armies would need boats. Washington integrated that aspect of an assault on New York into his plan as well. "During the passing of the French Army I mounted 30 flat Boats (able to carry about 40 Men each) upon carriages--as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there," he recorded in his *Diary* on 21 August. Letters were written and sent via the most dangerous routes with the full intent that they be captured, and different rumors as to the purpose of the troop movement were spread. In addition, "Contracts are made for forage to be delivered immediately to the French Army on their arrival at the last mentioned place. Here it is supposed that Batteries are to be erected for the security and aid of the Fleet, which is hourly expected." And though "some were indeed laughable enow", these ruses seem to have achieved their purpose, for as Colonel Trumbull recorded, "by these manœuvres and the correspondent march of the Troops, our own army no less than the Enemy are completely deceived".¹¹⁰

Trumbull's assessment, especially when combined with his remark that some of the ruses were "indeed laughable enow", invites a closer look at what and how much the British command knew of allied movements in Westchester County. Not surprisingly, the highly efficient intelligence service Major John André (1750-1780) had built up since the summer of 1780 kept Sir Henry in New York City well apprised of developments on the American side.¹¹¹ André's execution had been only a temporary setback; his successor Adjutant General Major Oliver de DeLancey (ca. 1749-1822) with a staff that included, among others Major Frederick Mackenzie and Captain George Beckwith, expanded and refined the system considerably. Clinton's spies had penetrated deep into the heart of the American camp: on 16 August, two days after Washington and Rochambeau had read de Grasse's letter informing them of that fact that he was sailing to the Chesapeake, and when all but a handful of high-ranking officers were ignorant of the change in plans, one of Clinton's spies informed Colonel Beverly Robinson that the French admiral was on his way north with 28 ships of the line. Clinton read the letter on 17 August, when no French or American soldier had yet taken down his tent.

Throughout this first critical phase of disengagement Sir Henry was well informed of allied movements on both sides of the Hudson. Just two examples: in the evening of 18 August, Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment was the first American unit to set across the Hudson from Dobbs Ferry and marched toward Second River, i.e., Belleville, half-way between Passaic and Newark, where it spent the night of 20/21 August; the New Jersey Regiment lay near-by. On 21 August, Sergeant-Major Hawkins recorded that "At Day Break our Regt. struck Tents, the Baggage was loaded and the Regt. marched. Came to Orange Town in Essex County where

the Regt. halted one Hour to rest and take some Refreshments, after which proceeded and about 2 o'Clock arrived in Springfield."

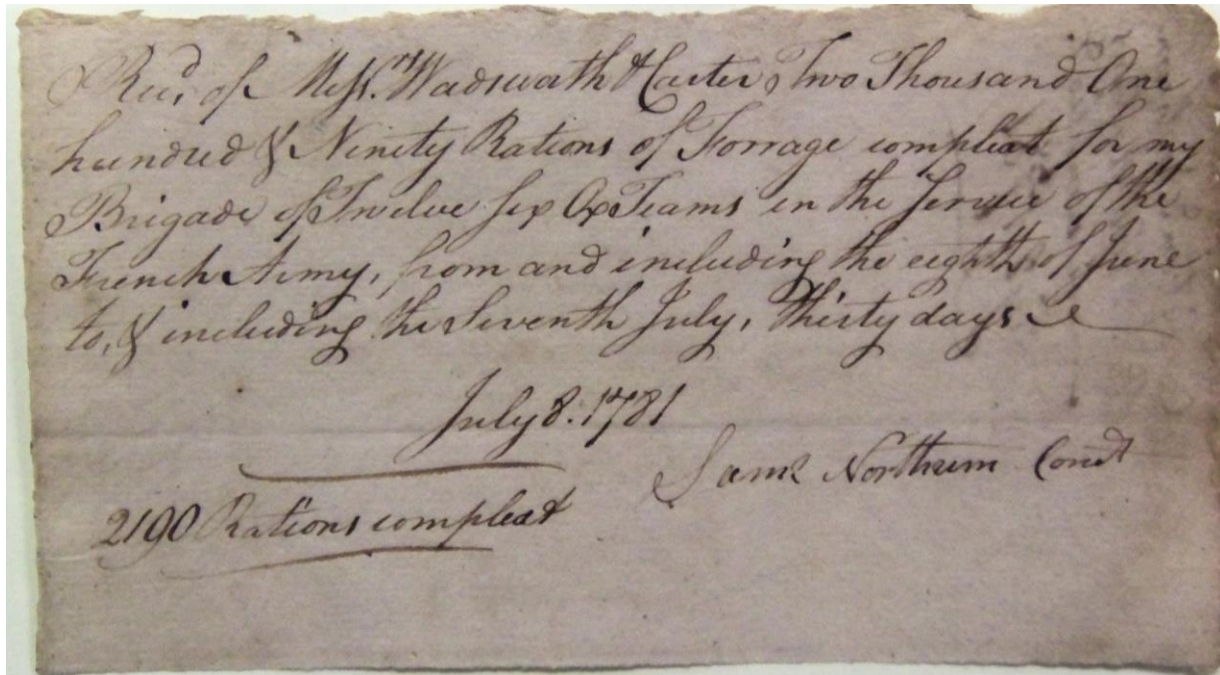
Sir Henry knew about it: that same 21 August DeLancey informed Major Thomas Ward that he had "information that a body of Troops are moving down towards New Ark, pray send out as many People as you can to find out the truth of it, and I will pay them, I must request you will be good enough to exert yourself on this occasion."¹¹² On 24 August a "G. Ross" reported that "The french Army was at Remapoh Yesterday on their march to Chatham, where a Number of their Artificers have been some time building Ovens, and other Conveniences for the Cantonment of Troops— Part of Dayton's Brigade is at Chatham, and some of the New York State Regiment at Vaux-Hall" about 10 miles west-south-west of the center of Newark.¹¹³ Which is exactly where they were that day.

While these reports were coming in from New Jersey, Clinton's information-gathering network did not remain idle on the east side of the Hudson either. By "2 o'Clock P.M." on 19 August – only a few hours after Washington had led his column up the Hudson - Captain Marquard of the Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode and aide-de-camp to Hessian General Wilhelm von Knyphausen (1716-1800) could inform DeLancey that earlier "Information of the French and rebels moving is confirmed by some refugees come in from Horseneck this moment."¹¹⁴ Trying to learn more about allied movements, DeLancy on 20 August sent out a patrol "to Vallentine's hill about 150 horse and foot, and returned again."¹¹⁵ Concurrently naval patrols went up the Hudson and on 22 August, Marquard could inform DeLancey "that Capt. Blanched with his Boats [had] landed at Dob's Ferry, where the rebels have demolish'd their Works. According to all reports from the Country People they were gone to King's Ferry."¹¹⁶

Mackenzie suspected on 21 August already -- the French had not yet reached the Hudson -- that the combined armies were on their way south: "I think it probable that if M. de Grasse does come" – which Sir Henry had known since 17 August – "he will endeavor to go into Chesapeake. In this case their design is the destruction of Lord Cornwallis's Army." The next day he wrote: "I am strongly of opinion that the design of the enemy is against Lord Cornwallis. Should M. de Grasse come to America, and take possession of the Chesapeake with a Superior fleet, it will be impossible for us to give Lord Cornwallis any assistance."¹¹⁷ The ovens in Chatham briefly confused the diarist, but by the 29th Mackenzie accurately predicted Franco-American plans. Information from spies on the ground confirmed what he was strongly suspecting: on the evening of 29 August, Isaac Ogden sent DeLancey a note with the headline: "The Chesapeak is the Object, all in motion."¹¹⁸

Historian trying to analyze the reasons and motivations behind Sir Henry's inactivity in late August 1781 have yet to arrive at a generally accepted and acceptable explanation. The

fact remains that his spy service kept him exceedingly well informed of allied movements, that the warning signs were there. But the fact also remains that the Royal Navy did not set sail from New York to meet the challenge until 31 August, fully two weeks after allied forces had begun to depart and their van was marching into Trenton.¹¹⁹



A handwritten receipt on aged, yellowed paper. The text is written in cursive and reads: 'Rec^d of Mess^{rs} Wadsworth & Carter, Two Thousand One Hundred & Ninety Rations of Forrage complet for my Brigade of Twelve sex Oxen in the service of the French Army, from and including the eighth of June to, & including the seventh July, thirty days'. Below this, the date 'July 8. 1781' is written and underlined. To the right, 'Saml Northum Comd' is written. At the bottom left, '2190 Rations complet' is written and underlined.

Receipt over 2,190 forage rations for 72 oxen in the French service for the time from 8 June, the eve of departure of the first French regiment from Newport to 7 July 1781, the day after the arrival of French forces in Greenburgh.

Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

ENDNOTES

¹ Much of this chapter was first published in different form in my *The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of New York, 1781-1782. An Historical and Architectural Survey* (Albany: Hudson River Valley Greenway, 2001).

² For a brief history of Dobbs Ferry in the American Revolutionary 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 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.

³ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 249.

⁴ Lauberdière, Journal, fol. 74v. The Weckquaeskeck Indians called the area "Quarropas" or white marshes or plains. The eighteen settlers who were granted a patent to the area from King George II in 1721 simply translated the Indian word. I am grateful to Ms Susan Seal for pointing out the real source of the name to me.

⁵ Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 89-91.

⁶ Sometime before 1 August, the Legion "returned to its first camp on the other side of the Bronx; the battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs commanded by M. de La Valette (of the Saintonge) occupied the camp abandoned by Lauzun." Acomb, *Closen*, p. 103.

⁷ McDonald Papers vol. 4, p. 480. vol. 4, page 493.

⁸ A marker listed in *Historical Area Markers of New York State* (New York, 1970) describing the 139 large "Historical Area Markers" put up at rest areas along state roads in the 1960s and on the web under www.nysm.nysed.gov/srv/largemarkers/index.html with this inscription could not be located:

⁹ Today the hillside is covered with tall trees; in Closen's days it was but a "wasteland, almost uninhabited and full of heather and thorns," i.e., low-growth shrubbery.

¹⁰ *Memoirs of Major-General William Heath By Himself* William Abbatt, ed. (New York, 1901; originally Boston, 1798), p. 272.

¹¹ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 249

¹² His pension application, No. S 28 830, which mentions his services as a guide throughout the war, is available at fold3: <http://www.fold3.com/image/1/27240862/>.

¹³ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 138.

¹⁴ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 187.

¹⁵ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 138. See the interview with Andrew Corsa of Fordham in vol. 5, p. 690: "In July 1781, I was up for several days at General Washington's headquarters at Appleby's in order to reclaim a horse which had been taken from me." The location is determined beyond any doubt by James Owen, "Location of Washington's headquarters in 1781 at Appleby's in the Town of Greenburgh." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 3, (July 1932), pp. 101-108. Owen already suggested in his article almost 75 years ago that a marker be placed on or near this site. See also Morgan H. Seacord, "Site of the Appleby House." *Ibid.*, vol. 10 no. 1, (January 1934), pp. 8-13.

¹⁶ Chastellux inherited the title of "marquis" only at the death of his elder brother in 1784.

¹⁷ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 263. Interview with Zipporah Davis, wife of Abraham Davis.

¹⁸ A photograph of Falconer's home is reproduced in Elizabeth G.H. Coles, "Washington in White Plains and Vicinity." *Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 1, (January 1931), pp. 1-18, p. 8.

¹⁹ McDonald Papers vol. 3, p. 403.

²⁰ Pension Application of Enoch Breeden, King William County Militia, S1747, NARA.

²¹ McDonald Papers vol. 4, p. 493, on 7 September 1846.

²² Berthier as quoted in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 250. Here also the other descriptions. John Tomkins remembered that "The French general whose tent was near my father's gave a great entertainment while there, erecting a bower for the purpose on the large flat rock there. (Dumas?)"

²³ Lauberdière, Journal, fol. 74v.

²⁴ Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 90/92.

²⁵ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, pp. 33/34.

²⁶ Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North America* (Philadelphia, 1783), p. 35, in a letter dated Philipsburg, August 4, 1781. Since he wrote his "Letters" after the fact Robin in particular is not always a reliable witness.

²⁷ Robin, *Travels*, p. 36

²⁸ For a recent discussion of Franco-American conceptions - and misconceptions - see Robert A. Selig, "Old World Meets New: Franco-American Encounters and the expédition particulière, 1780-1782." *The Brigade Dispatch. Journal Of The Brigade Of The American Revolution* vol. 37, no. 1, (Spring 2007), pp. 2-11.

²⁹ Lauberdière, Journal, fol. 75.

³⁰ Quoted in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 34, note 37.

³¹ James Thacher, *Eyewitness to the American Revolution. The Battles and Generals as seen by an Army Surgeon* (Stamford, 1994). Originally published as *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1823), p. 265.

³² Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 34.

³³ Warrington Dawson, ed., "Un Garde-Suisse de Louis XVI au Service de l'Amérique: Le Baron Gaspard de Gallatin." *Le Correspondent* 324 no. 1655 (September 10, 1931), pp. 672-692, p. 676.

³⁴ Quoted in Samuel F. Scott, *From Yorktown to Valmy: The Transformation of the French Army in an Age of Revolution* (Niwot, CO, 1998), p. 57. Here and in Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783* (Westport, 1977), p. 118, are additional examples for tensions between the two allies.

³⁵ *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* 2 vol., (Cambridge, 1932), vol. 2, p. 583. The abbreviations "lb" and "lbs" stand for the Latin *librum* or pound. Similarly the abbreviation "cwt" used later in the text stands for "centum weight" or "hundredweight", *centum* being Latin for one hundred. Weights and measures in use in the U.S. are still those of eighteenth-century Britain. Up to and including the pound, the American and British systems (weights and measures in use in the U.K. were redefined in a series of laws in 1824 and 1835/36) are the same, but the hundredweight in England is 112 pounds while in the U.S. the hundredweight is 100 lbs. There are 20 cwt to the ton, which makes a ton in the U.S. weigh 2,000 lbs (a short ton), and 2,240 lbs (a long ton) in the U.K.

16 drams = 1 ounce = 437.5 grains (1 grain = 0.0648 gram)

16 ounces = 1 pound = 7,000 grains

25 pounds = 1 quarter

4 quarters = 100 pounds = 1 hundredweight (= 45.36 kg but 112 lbs or 50.80 kg in the U.K.)
20 hundredweights = 1 ton = 2,000 pounds.

³⁶ *Livre d'ordre* for 13 July and 9 August 1781. Rochambeau's *Livre d'ordre contenant ceux donnes depuis le débarquement des Troupes a Newport en Amerique 7^{entrionale}*. (May 1780 to 17 August 1781) is in the Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy (France), call no. E 235. These are the daily orders issued by General Rochambeau between his arrival in Newport, R.I., on the march through Connecticut to Westchester County, N.Y., to 17 August 1781.

³⁷ This letter by Benjamin Tallmadge to Jeremiah Wadsworth from Cortlandt Manor on Croton 14 July 1780, describes a 5-day engagement/forray into White Plains with 60 horse and 200 infantry. In this letter he also writes that "We have just been rejoicing on acct of the arrival of the French Fleet. How long before they will be ready to cooperate with us? When will be their first movement? For God's Sake let us go about business soon & as you are Qgenl [Quartermaster General] for the French I shall not be disappointed to find thro the Campaign that they are well fed & our Troops starving."

³⁸ McDonald Papers vol. 5, p. 722.

³⁹ McDonald Papers vol. 5, p. 722. Americans habitually called the silver *livres* "French crowns".

⁴⁰ Though the letter was published in Rivington's *Loyalist Gazette* on 14 August and may have been contrived by Rivington it did express feelings shared by officers and enlisted men alike.

⁴¹ William Alexander, Lord Stirling (1726-1783), formerly a British Army officer and long-time acquaintance of George Washington served as a Brigadier general in the Continental Army since 1776. See Paul D. Nelson, *The Life of William Alexander, Lord Stirling* (Tuscaloosa, 1987). The quote is taken from a letter by Beckwith to Marquard, Morris's House, 28 July 1781. University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 167, item 10. "Morris's House" denotes the Morrisania Manor, home of Lewis Morris (1726-1798). A history of the manor in Bolton, *Manors*, vol. 2, pp. 451-503.

⁴² McDonald Papers vol. 6, p. 937.

⁴³ McDonald Papers vol. 5, p. 716.

⁴⁴ Timothy R. Walton. *The Spanish Treasure Fleets* (Sarasota, 1994), p. 183. Spanish Milled Dollars and French *écu* remained legal tender in the United States until 1857.

⁴⁵ James A. Lewis "Las Damas de la Havana, el precursor, and Francisco de Saavedra: A Note on Spanish Participation in the Battle of Yorktown." *The Americas* vol. 37, (July 1980), 83-99.

⁴⁶ Kennett, *French Forces*, p. 68.

⁴⁷ Gregory D. Massey, *John Laurens and the American Revolution*. (Columbia, 2000), pp. 190-191.

⁴⁸ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 132.

During research for this project the Connecticut Historical Society renumbered the boxes and partly resorted their content as well. Researchers wanting to check these sources will need to inform the staff at CTHS that the box number cited may be an old number.

⁴⁹ Diary of Samuel Canby, Nov 1779 to Dec 1796. Photostat in Historical Society of Delaware from the original at Yale University.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 584-585. Entries listing French deserters can be found almost daily, e.g., two deserters on 11 July, five on 30 July, four farriers from the Legion on 1 August, "several" on 7 August, four from Saintonge on 16 August, etc. It must be pointed out, however, that the British forces in New York suffered their share of desertions. Baurmeister also reported the

arrival of French deserters to Baron Jungkenn: 14 hussars, 11 grenadiers, 9 fusiliers and 5 artillerymen by 19 August. Baurmeister, *Letters*, p. 459.

Besides these contacts there were others which show how much the spirit of noblesse oblige was still alive in the eighteenth century. On August 4 "an English packet arrived from Falmouth. It brought open letters addressed to French officers in Rhode Island and sent in care of Count Rochambeau. Captain Marquard, who at present is with his Excellency General von Lossberg, took charge of them and was treated very kindly at the French outpost. A courteous reply came back for General Clinton." *Ibid.*, pp. 459-460.

Eventually the sending of flags became so frequent in mid-August and was so obviously abused for spying on the French and Americans that Rochambeau informed Clinton that flags would no longer be admitted in camp. Examples of spying can be found at "Spy Letters of the American Revolution from the Collections of the Clements Library" at <http://www.clements.umich.edu/spies/index.html>.

⁵¹ Scott, "Strains," p. 96. Six deserted in New England, the other twenty left in Virginia.

⁵² McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 325.

⁵³ J. Leonard leViness, "Taxes! Ever Irksome!" *The Westchester Historian* vol. 46 no. 4, (Fall 1970), pp. 85-87, p. 86, tells "that my great, great grandmother Tompkins one June morning in 1781, went out to the spring for a pail of water and found two French soldiers in bright blue uniforms standing guard beside it. They politely bailed the water for her." The two soldiers could have been men of the Royal Deux-Ponts or the Auxonne Artillery.

⁵⁴ McDonald Papers vol. 4, p. 493.

⁵⁵ McDonald Papers vol. 4, p. 480.

⁵⁶ McDonald Papers vol. 4, p. 493.

⁵⁷ McDonald Papers vol. 3, p. 403.

⁵⁸ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 193.

⁵⁹ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 215. The Vincent smithy, later owned by William Stevens Smith, one of Washington's aides-de-camp in 1781, and future son-in-law of President John Adams and known as the Vincent-Halsey House, was located on Provost Avenue in the Bronx between the original Boston Post Road and Coles Road.

⁶⁰ vol. 6, p. 823. See also Frederick Rich, age 80, of Mile Square in vol. 4, p. 506, in September 1846: "Elijah Vincent ambushed the French because they killed his brother, a smith of East Chester, who refused to shoe the horses of the French dragoons." vol. 4, p. 510, contains an interview with Philemon Fowler of East Chester in September 1846. "Vincent was a blacksmith, and killed because he would not shoe a horse for them (a party of French) in consequence of which Elijah Vincent vowed revenge and soon after shot a French Captain." The only dissenting voice is found in vol. 1, p. 196, in a note written 8 October 1845. "Mr Jackson Odell tells me he has ascertained from Mr (blank) that Vincent's brother lived though cut to pieces, and that this barbarity was practiced not by the French but by Americans."

⁶¹ Mackenzie, *Diary*, p. 568. Mackenzie gives the date of the incident as July 17.

⁶² Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 272. The story is also told in Acomb, *Closen*, p. 96. The listing in Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 439 of Maurice Pichon, adjutant in the Legion, "*Tué en patrouille*" killed while on patrol, is erroneous. Pichon was promoted to sous-lieutenant and replaced Hartmann. His position was taken by Jacint Laval of the Second Squadron of Hussars. American newspapers also reported on the event, viz. the *Massachusetts Spy* of 2 August 1781. The account, however, is far removed from reality. "A few nights ago, a French Lieut. (going the rounds) was shot dead from his horse, by some lurking enemy."

Trumbull's letter is in Trumbull Family Letters, call no. 920 T 7721, # 105, Connecticut State Library, Hartford, CT.

⁶³ See Catherine S. Crary, "Guerilla Activities of James DeLancey's Cowboys in Westchester County." In: Robert A. East and Jacob Judd, eds., *The Loyalist Americans: A Focus on Greater New York* (Tarrytown, 1975), pp. 14-24.

⁶⁴ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 30. I have been unable to identify the French commissary mentioned here. Robin, *Travels*, p. 40, in a letter dated September 1, 1780, reports that the Refugees "have lately hanged a Secretary belonging to one of our Commissaries, and assassinated an officer of the legion of Lauzun."

⁶⁵ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 53.

⁶⁶ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 68. Gallatin tells how Lieutenants Joseph von Berg and Gaspar de Custine of his regiment brought one of the Refugees into the American camp. Washington ordered the man hanged immediately. "Gallatin," *Le Correspondent*, p. 679.

⁶⁷ Gallatin, *Le Correspondent*, p. 679.

⁶⁸ Gallatin. *Le Correspondent*, p. 680. The officer was Lieutenant Charles baron de Guntzer de Plobshein (1760-1809) of the Royal Deux-Ponts. Lauberdière recounts the encounter with the British dragoons as well but does not mention the killing of one of them.

⁶⁹ The fortifications on the left bank had recently been constructed under the direction of Louis Le Bègue Duportail. Work on the fortifications on the right bank was to be supervised by Jean Baptiste Gouvion.

⁷⁰ On the evening of 10 July, the French vessel *Romulus* and three frigates left Newport for the Lloyd's Neck post. The French were unable to land their troops at night as had originally been planned, and when the attack was launched against the fort at daybreak it was easily repulsed by the British, who had already been warned of the French enterprise (Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 93-94). For an eyewitness account of the raid, see the Verger journal in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, pp. 130-43.

⁷¹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 96.

⁷² The incident is mentioned in virtually journals and diaries and also recorded in great detail in the *Massachusetts Spy* of 2 August 1781.

⁷³ The artillery detachment at Dobbs Ferry is first listed separately in the French strength report for 1 August 1781.

⁷⁴ Hufeland, *Westchester County*, pp. 397-398.

⁷⁵ The six main American guides John Odell, Cornelius Oakley, Abraham Dyckman, Michael Dyckman, Isaac or Uck Odell, cousin of John, and John Pine received the pay of captains. See "Andrew Corsa" *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 2, (April 1932), pp. 55-58. See also Hufeland, *Westchester County*, pp. 207/08 who writes: "General HEATH, in Jan 1777, organized a militia group in Westchester county. The English depended upon Tories who had joined them, while the Americans had a regular body of guides many of whom became deservedly famous, not only for their knowledge of the land, but for their skill and daring in the fights which occurred when the rival parties met. The services of these 'Westchester Guides' were so important that their names deserve to be recorded. They were Abraham and Michael DYCKMAN of Kingbridge, Isaac and Cornelius OAKLEY of Westchester; the three brothers John, Abraham and Isaac ODELL of Greenburgh; Isaac or 'UK' ODELL and Martin POST of Yonkers; the brothers John and Peter PYNE from the country along the Croton; Samuel YOUNGS and John McCHAIN of the Manor of Philipsburgh; David HUNT of Westchester; William GREENE of Lower Yonkers and William N. DYCKMAN.

To these names may be added Andrew CORSA who on account of his youth only acted on two or three important occasions during the later years of the war." Note that some of the close relatives of the CORSA and VERMILYEA family served in this Militia. Isaac ODELL had married Hannah VERMILYEA, a half-sister of Thuenis CORSA (Dennis DeCOURSEY). Two other half-siblings had married DYCKMANs. Andrew CORSA was a cousin, the son of Isaac CORSA and Mary GIBB."

Fordham University takes its name from the Manor of Fordham, granted in 1671 to John Archer by the Royal Governor Francis Lovelace. Fordham Manor was built on Rose Hill in 1751. The site of the Fordham University campus was known as the Corsa Farm. Benjamin Fletcher Corsa, named after Governor Benjamin Fletcher, who arrived in the colony in 1692, the same year Corsa was born, was the grandfather of Andrew Corsa. Most of the estate, including the remains of Andrew Corsa's home, is now part of the Rose Hill Campus of Fordham University. I am grateful to Drs. Allan Gilbert, Professor of Anthropology, and Roger Wines, Professor of History at Fordham University, for showing me this site and for providing much information.

⁷⁶ Corsa's photograph is reproduced on the title page of *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 8 no. 2, (April 1932). His obituary is printed in *Littell's Living Age* No. 468 (7 May 1853), p. 350-51.

⁷⁷ i.e., St. Joseph Seminary on Seminary Ave/Valentine Street near Tibbett's Brook Park. See Samuel B. Hawley, "General Washington's Headquarters on Valentine's Hill, Yonkers." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* Vol. 7 No. 1, (January 1931), p. 33; the picture of the marker attached to the site form is reproduced *ibid.*, No. 4, p. 117. See also the article by Dudley F. Valentine, a great-great-grandson of Thomas, "Valentine Hill." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* Vol. 5 No. 4, (October 1929), pp. 97-99.

⁷⁸ Rechteren-Limpurg, *Adventures*, p.101.

⁷⁹ 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. 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. Forts 5, 6, and 7, were also abandoned already in 1781. Only No. 8 was operational and occupied by British troops at the time of the Grand Reconnaissance.

⁸⁰ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 100.

⁸¹ I am grateful to Mr. Lloyd Ultan, The Bronx Borough Historian, for this advice. In a phone conversation on 4 May 2001, Mr. Ultan confirmed this information though he could not provide proof just then. Since it is beyond any doubt that the Continental Army camped in the vicinity of the Van Cortlandt House that night, and since it would be perfectly logical for Washington to have stayed at the house, I have decided to include it as a site in this report.

⁸² The only casualty on the French side seems to have been the horse of comte de Damas, which was shot under him by a cannon ball as he tried to ford a stream. William Derbyshire, born 1770, of Philipsburg, who lived in British-occupied New York on July 22, 1781, was watching Washington and Rochambeau when "a French officer's horse was shot. The officer, dismounting in the water, coolly took off the saddle, bridle, and holster and waded back, all the time under fire." McDonald Papers Vol. 6, p. 997, and Acomb, *Closen*, p. 100. There could

easily have been another casualty in the person of Baron Closen who lost his hat during that same encounter with Refugees near Morrisania in the afternoon of July 22 and retrieved it under a hail of bullets. Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 99-100.

⁸³ Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 22, pp. 416-17.

⁸⁴ Barneville, "Journal," p. 268.

⁸⁵ Gallatin, "Garde-Suisse," p. 681.

⁸⁶ Blanchard, *Guerre*, p. 84; Deux-Ponts, Cromot du Bourg, and Lauberdière all report similar incidents.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Kennett, *French Forces*, p. 120.

⁸⁸ Charlus letter of 29 July 1781 as quoted in Kennett, *French Forces*, p. 120.

⁸⁹ Palys de Montrepos, *Journal*, p. 22.

⁹⁰ *The Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* (Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 588.

At the same time the civilian population of New York City was around 20,000 men, women, children and servants. 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 population, civilians, 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, and presumably many other sailors, refugees (of which there were thousands in New York City, more every year as the war went on) or children. It also gave the number of dwelling houses and stores in the city as 3,200, and the total number of militia on Manhattan, Staten and Long Islands as 7,900 officers and men."

⁹¹ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fifth Series* vol. 10, (Boston, 1888), pp. 256-257. Washington had offered Trumbull the position as private secretary to succeed Alexander Hamilton on 16 April 1781 and written to Trumbull on that occasion that he would be in his "highest confidence and estimation from the nature of the office." The appointment was announced in General Army Orders of 8 June 1781.

⁹² *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fifth Series* vol. 10, (Boston, 1888), p. 251.

⁹³ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 103.

⁹⁴ Mackenzie, *Diary*, vol. 2, p. 585.

⁹⁵ "Minutes of Occurrences respecting the Siege 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. 331-228, p. 331. The "Minutes" begin with the entry for 12 August 1781 as cited. Jonathan's letters to his father contain little information for this study. A number of them can be found in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Seventh Series* vol. 3, (Boston, 1902). The otherwise unrecorded visit to Danbury, about 40 miles from headquarters, is confirmed, albeit indirectly, in Washington's papers. For 11 August, there are the General Orders and two short notes, there is no letter for 12 August, only General Orders, and the next letter is dated 13 August at 10:00 a.m.

⁹⁶ 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. He set sail on 6 August and anchored off Cape Henry on 31 August.

⁹⁷ Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 254.

⁹⁸ Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 2, p. 254.

⁹⁹ Dull, *French Navy*, p. 239.

¹⁰⁰ The letter to Trumbull is printed in *Collections of MA Historical Society* vol. 10, p. 254. De Grasse departed on 5 August with 28 ships of the line, supporting frigates and 3,289 officers and men from the Gâtinois, Agenois and Tourraine Regiments of infantry, the Metz Regiment of Artillery and about 100 cavalry.

¹⁰¹ The "baron" could be Henry Sigismond d'Eggloffstein, a sub-lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts but more likely Louis Eberhard *baron* d'Esebeck (1740-1817), the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. The quartermaster is Nicolas Anciaux (1744-1810) who resigned his commission on 25 May 1782 in Virginia to get married in the United States. Anciaux died in Atlanta; his commission as quartermaster of 17 January 1779 is in the John Berrien Papers of the Georgia Historical Society in Savannah.

¹⁰² Sewall *Diary*, and Rechteren, *Adventures*, p. 100, with a description of the exercises.

¹⁰³ W. Rogers, "Journal of My Visit to the Eastward Commencing in August, 1781." *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* vol. 15, (April 1940), pp. 39-44, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ Scott, *Yorktown*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁵ Jeremiah Wadsworth to Mrs. Wadsworth, 16 August 1781. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 132.

¹⁰⁶ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 23, French Army Papers, 1778-1783 Folder 3, Correspondence Nov 1780-August 1781. A "Return of Goods supplied the Army of France at Bolton on their March" lists "8 oxen, 11 sheep, 7 calves, 12 tons straw, 19 tons 18 cwt Hay, 25 cords wood, 94 bushels rye, 105 bushels corn." Another 148 bushels rye and 5 bushels corn that had been waiting for French forces at Bolton were shipped to Stanford. Upon arrival in Newtown, Connecticut, Wadsworth had waiting for them 2.520 bushel of corn, 316 1/2 bushels of oats, 62 tons 5 cwt. of hay, 19 tons of straw, 22 1/2 cords of wood, and 20 head of beef cattle. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 143.

A cord is defined as 8 feet by 4 feet by 4 feet and measuring 128 cubic feet. A tree with a usable height of 40 feet and an average circumference of 75 inches contains about one cord of wood.

¹⁰⁷ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 24, Letter Book, Folder 3, 1 to 25 August 1781.

¹⁰⁸ On the ovens, which stood "East of River on the Union County Side of the Passaic, just south of the turnpike," see John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack* (Chatham, 1967), p. 37. They were dismantled only in 1835.

¹⁰⁹ Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son. A life of the Maréchal de Rochambeau and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau* (New York, 1936), pp. 224/5.

¹¹⁰ Trumbull, "Minutes," p. 332.

¹¹¹ This is not the place to discuss why Clinton did what he did in July and August 1781. In justification of his actions Clinton would later write that the intercepted letters "gave me to understand that the enemy had in a grand conference come to a resolution of attacking New York with all the force they could collect." Quoted in Kennett, *French Forces*, p. 107. Some of his subordinates such as General Robertson were baffled by the inactivity displayed by the Commander in Chief who was usually well informed of Franco-American plans. When Clinton suspected on 2 September that he was no longer the target of attack, it was too late:

the Continental Army had already marched through Philadelphia. For Clinton's point of view see *The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-1782, with an Appendix of Original Documents*. William B. Willcox, ed., (New Haven, 1954).

¹¹² University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 83, item 9.

¹¹³ University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 172, item 12.

¹¹⁴ "Genl. Lossberg has sent out pretty strong Jager and refugee Patroles, in order to get all possible information." Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 171, item 4. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. Horseneck is today's Greenwich just across the state line in Connecticut.

¹¹⁵ Heath informed Washington on 22 August 1781 that "The day before yesterday (i.e. on 20 August), the enemy came out ...".

¹¹⁶ University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, vol. 171, item 31.

¹¹⁷ Mackenzie, *Diary*, p. 595.

¹¹⁸ University of Michigan, William L. Clements Library, Sir Henry Clinton Papers, vol. 172, item 32.

¹¹⁹ See Roger Kaplan, "The Hidden War: British Intelligence Operations during the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 47, no. 1 (January 1990), pp. 115-138.

Feeding the Allied Armies in Greenburgh

When the allied armies put up their tents in what is today the Town of Greenburgh, the population of Westchester County went from around 20,000 to well over 30,000 mouths to feed.¹ But the area around White Plains, and even more so the Neutral Zone to the southward and New York City, had been devastated and thoroughly gleaned by both sides during the preceding years. Writing from “Camp near Dobb’s Ferry Augt. 1st: 1781”, Washington’s geographer Simeon DeWitt described the ravages of war to his friend John Bogart at Queen’s College, today’s Rutgers University. “You see where we now are, in a Country which bears the melancholy Vestiges of War; the whole is almost one vast common in which Weeds, Briars and grass promiscuously cover its surface and not a creature to disturb its before the Arrival of the Army; not a hand to cut down the overgrown meadows except in a very few places. Even the high ways were lost and not to be known but by the Ruins of the stone fences which formed the lane – What cruel changes does the destructive had of war make where ever it approaches!”³

The need to provide for these men and their thousands of animals required constant foraging in force. Once the encampment had been set up, the two armies spent much of their time gathering supplies for man and beast, always closely watched by British and Loyalist forces with whom they were competing for, and sometimes fought for, the same resources. Setting up an encampment for thousands of men required planning and preparation. Pierre François de Bévillé (1721-post1792), *maréchal général des logis* on Rochambeau's staff had instructions to precede the column, to select and lay out the camp, have provisions ready for the troops, and organize the constant supply of foodstuffs..

French Camp Organization and Layout

When the combined armies camp of more than 12,000 officers and men, wagoners, cooks, servants, women and children put up their tents in Westchester County, they created almost overnight the fourth-largest city in the United States. In 1781, the colonies had about 2.5 million inhabitants; Philadelphia, the largest city, had about 28,000 inhabitants in 1781, New York City had around 20,000 (excluding the garrison). The next larger cities were

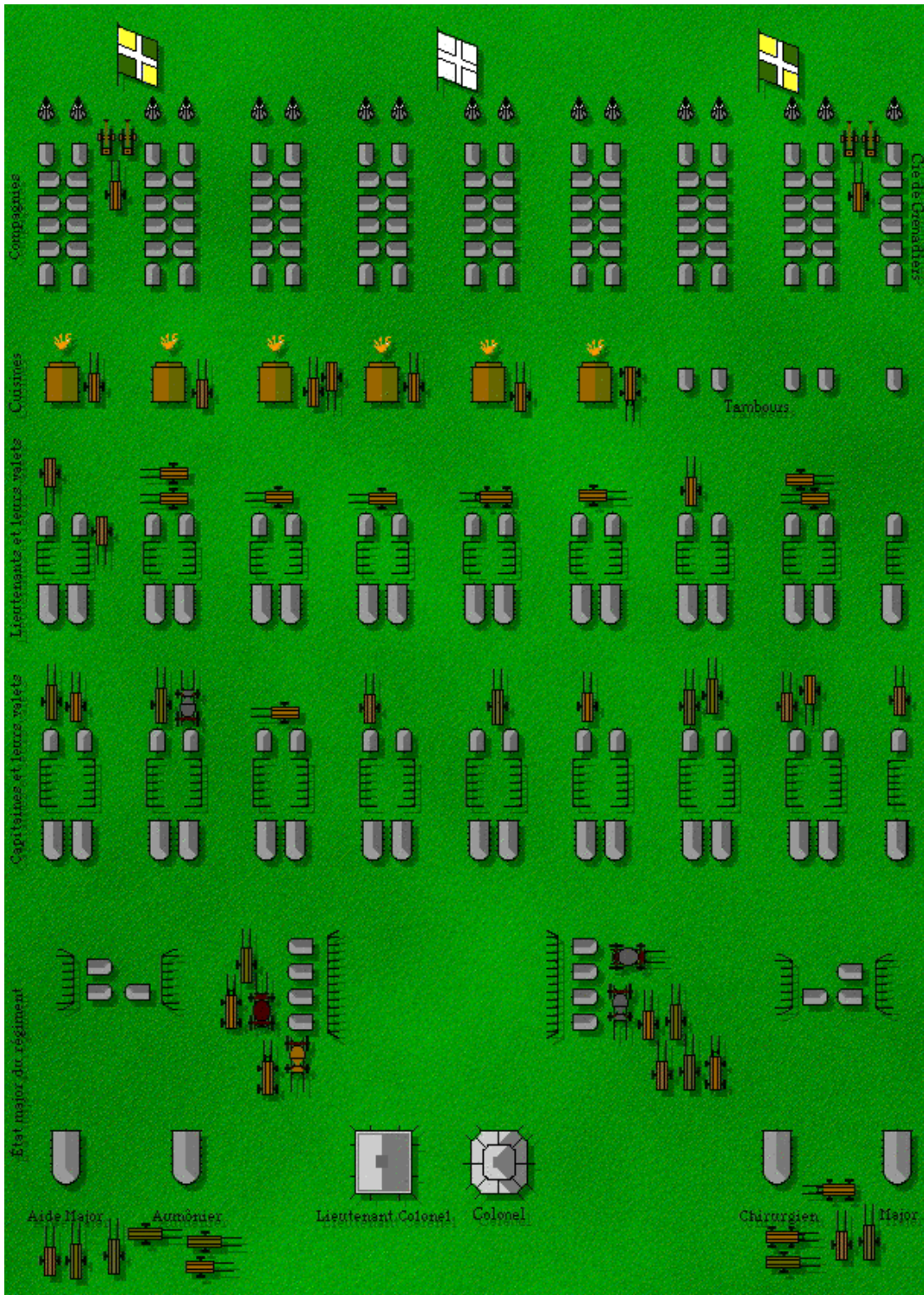
| | |
|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Boston, MA | < 16,000 |
| Charleston, SC | < 12,000 |
| Newport, RI | ~ 11,000 in 1776, fell to about 4,900 whites in summer of 1782 |
| Baltimore, MD | < 7,000 |
| Providence, RI | ~ 4,500 |

The encampment worked like a city with hospitals, markets, bakeries, butcheries, smithies and almost anything else that was needed for a large agglomeration of people to function. It is unknown where these installations were located and it is almost by accident that we learn of the locations viz in the General Orders of Rochambeau's forces we read under 29 July 1781 that the general smithy had been "Etabli sur le chemin de La riviere de Sawmille a 1 ½ mille a peu près du quartier de Son Excellence Le Gal Washington – on the Sawmill River Road about 1 ½ miles from the quarters of His Excellency General Washington."

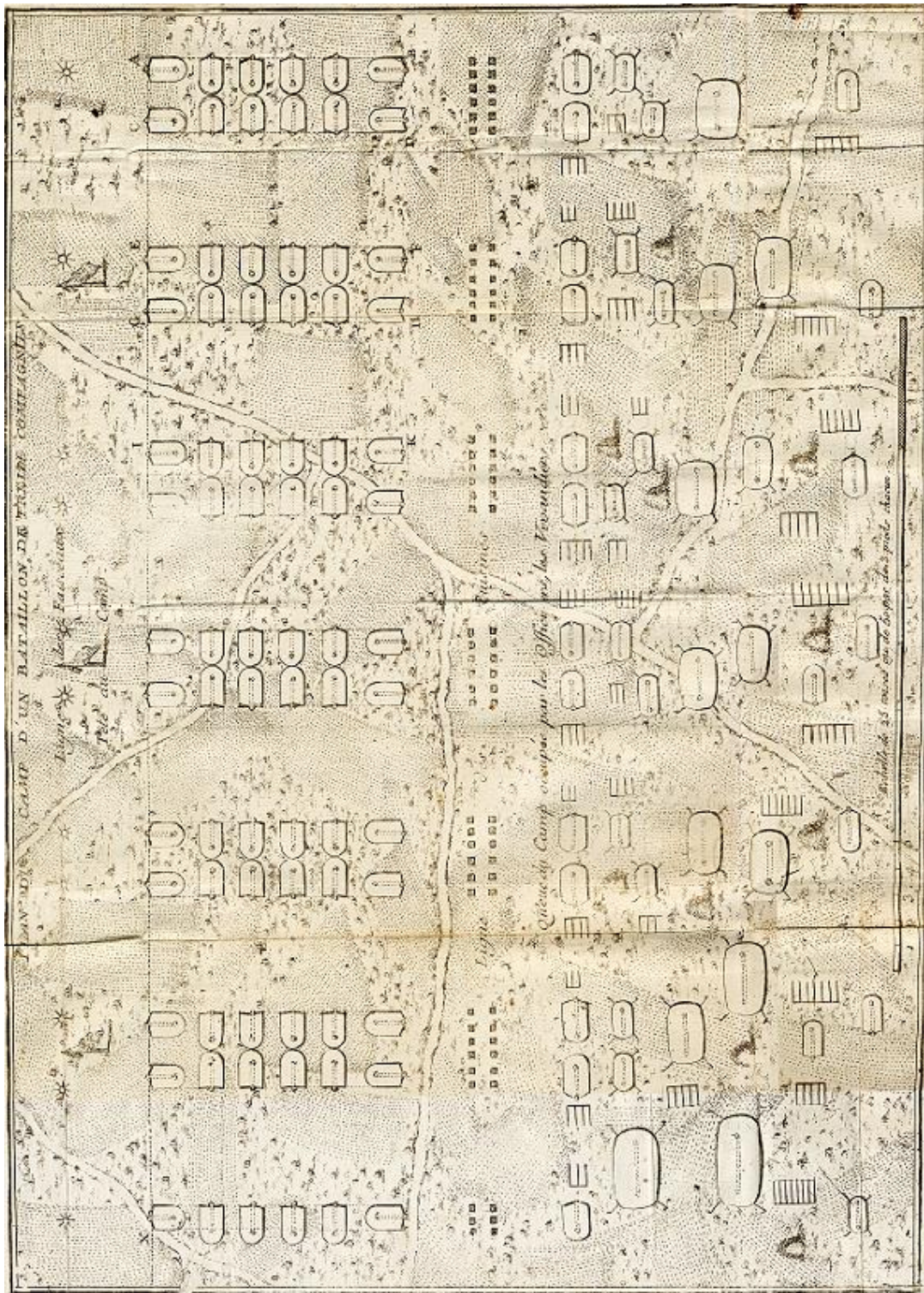
As in any town there were rules for "construction" – in our case for setting up camp. We already heard how "The Americans are camped in the English manner in two parallel rows of tents," and the French army had precise regulations concerning lay-out and organization of an encampment as well, in particular the *Ordonnance portant règlement sur le service de l'infanterie en campagne* of 17 February 1753, and the *Ordonnance sur l'exercice de l'infanterie* of 5 June 1755. Concerning the basic camp-lay-out, the 1753 regulation states that each row of tents is made up of only one company, but the 1755 exercise manual changes that regulation in that companies are now paired to form platoons which will camp together, meaning that each row of tents is now composed of two companies except for the grenadier company in the First Battalion and the chasseur company in the Second Battalion (following the army reforms of 1776 which created two-battalion regiments), which as elite companies always camp by themselves.² The drawing represents the battalion camping on the left (grenadiers are on the left); the second battalion camping on the right would be an exact mirror image of the drawing with chasseurs on the right. As shown in the camp lay-out, *vivandiers*, i.e., the sutlers, camped in the same row as the tambours, right after the kitchen fires but before the *officiers subalternes*. The set-up of a French army camp was based a set of rules determined by the number of brigades, squadrons, or battalions and the seniority of regiments and of the captains of the companies. "When all regiments of infantry, cavalry and dragoons camp such that each one, following its seniority, occupies the place that it must, according to its rank, either in first or second or third line, that is called to be camped *in order of battle*, because it is the same order that they keep when they *present battle* to the enemy".³

Therefore, a camp was established hierarchically from the right to the left and from the rear to the front of the camp. It was made on two, three or four lines according to the lay of the land. Places were assigned by the *maréchal général des logis de l'armée*, with the cavalry on the wings, and the infantry in the middle. When the *maréchal général des logis* had determined the site of the camp he put the detachments of infantry, cavalry or dragoons that accompanied the vanguard in charge to delimit with stakes driven into the ground, the place to be occupied by each battalion or squadron, the width of streets, the place of tents. What is described here is a French infantry camp for a battalion consisting of sixteen fusilier companies of 40 men and one grenadier company of 45 men for a total of 925 r&f. In 1776,

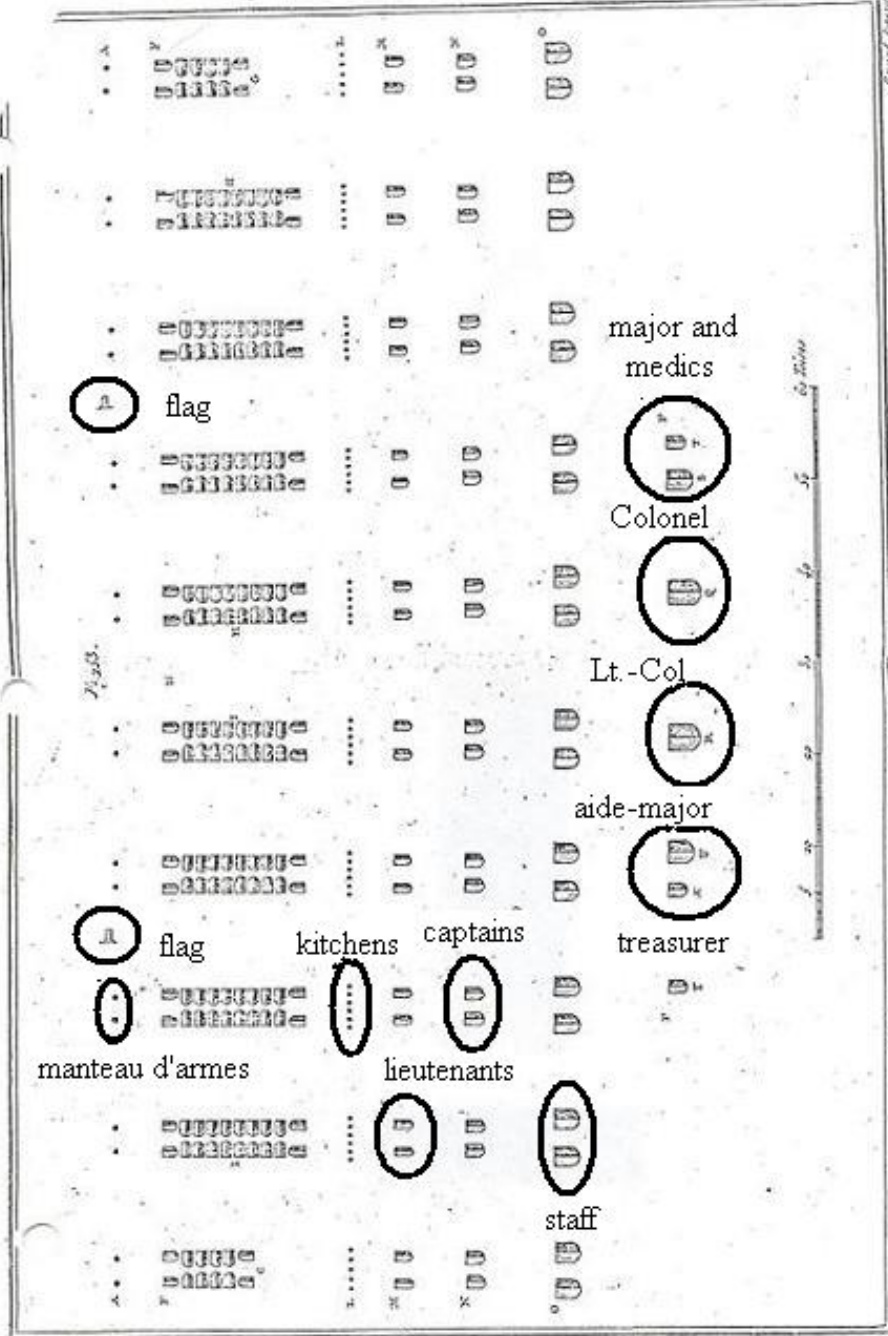
the infantry regiments were re-organized into two-battalion regiments of 20 companies and a strength of 1,007 men, necessitating a slight change in the camp set-up.⁴



French campsite for one battalion by Jean-Louis Vial.⁵



Campsite drawing from Guillaume LeBlond *Essai sur la castrametation, ou, Sur la mesure et le tracé des camps: contenant les premiers principes pour l'arrangement des troupes : la formation de l'ordre de bataille & la distribution ou construction du camp: avec un précis des différentes gardes qui en font la sûreté* (Paris, 1748), Plate 6.⁶



This 180-tent lay-out of a regimental camp is about 140 toises (840 feet) wide and 80 toises (513 feet) deep plus latrines, butcheries and pasture for horses further off in the distance. The *ordonnance* of 1776 changed the size of a regiment, but the drawing provides a rather accurate idea of the camp layout.⁷

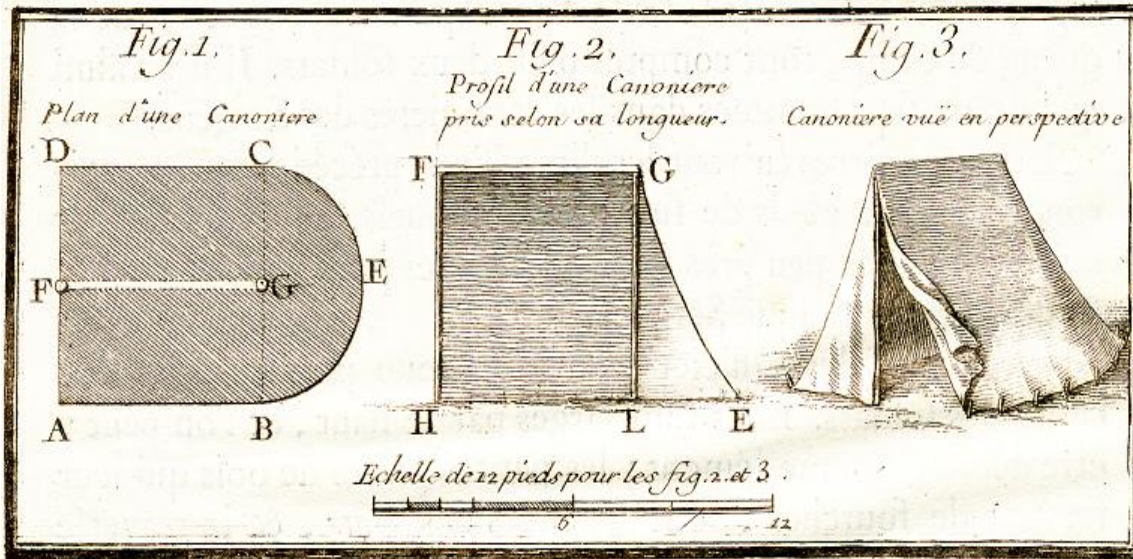
In the front of the battalion were placed on the same alignment the stacks of arms, situated at almost 10 pas (9m 75 cm) in front of the line of the first tents. Stacks of arms were opposite to each company and covered with a coarse linen or drill called coat of arms (*manteau d'armes*) to protect arms from inclement weather. To construct a stack of arms the quartermaster from each company traced a circle of approximately 8 *pieds* (2m 60 cm) of circumference on ground for the guns of his company, soldiers dug around this circle a groove of approximately 3 *pouces* (8 cm) in depth and 1/2 *pied* (16.5 cm) in width, and they put earth in slope against the stack of arms, they filled in the groove with grass and drove small wood stakes of half foot in length into the middle of the groove to sustain the gun crooks and thus to insulate them from the humidity of the ground. They drove in center a stake of 8 *pieds* (2m 60) in length and 8 *pouces* in circumference along which they hung the coat of arms that formed a cone. This model of stack of arms was only built for instruction or stay camps. For temporary camps the circumference was simply fitted with branches intertwined on which rested crooks. There was one coat of arms per company and one more per battalion for the picket. The coat of arms measured 6 *pieds* high and 1 *pied* 9 *pouces* in circumference in the upper part and 19 *pieds* in circumference on the lower part of which 2 *pieds* were needed to close the opening. Tents and coats of arms were marked in black letters with the name of the regiment and the company number (Instruction of 17 February 1753).

In the right part of the battalion camp was the grenadier company, then further at left were the colonel's company and then that of the lieutenant-colonel, called "lieutenance" in French if he commanded a company; then came the other fusilier companies. During campaigns regiments camped by brigade, a brigade being a unit of two regiments, the older regiment occupied the right and the younger regiment the left.

According to the instruction on 17 February 1753, infantry tents measured 10 *pieds* 4 *pouces* (3 m 35 cm) in length with the apse, 6 *pieds* (1 m 95 cm) width and 5 *pieds* 8 *pouces* (1 m 84 cm) height, they were held up by two wooden forked stakes of 10 *pieds* and one strut of 8 *pieds* (2 m 60 cm) and stretched with 21 small stakes, the name of the regiment had to be written in black on the linen. These tents were not large yet had to lodge a *chambre* of eight soldiers, though in practice they housed fewer as there were always detached or invalid soldiers in a company. A sergeant counted for two soldiers, one camped in the first tent and the other in the last of its company.

Therefore, for a regiment there were 7 tents for the grenadier company, 96 tents for the sixteen fusilier companies, and 3 tents for drummers for a total of 106 tents. Since Rochambeau's 10-company infantry regiments were hardly ever at their full strength it is safe to assume a similar number of tents. The first tents of each company opened toward the head of the camp, the last toward the outside and the others toward the great streets, they were back to back keeping a space between them of one *pas* (1 m approximately) called the

small street. Only the grenadier company did not put up its tents according to this principle, but side by side looking at the exterior of the battalion camp.



French tent from LeBlond, *Essai* (2nd ed., 1758), plate 2.



Planche X Page 246
Tome 1^{er}

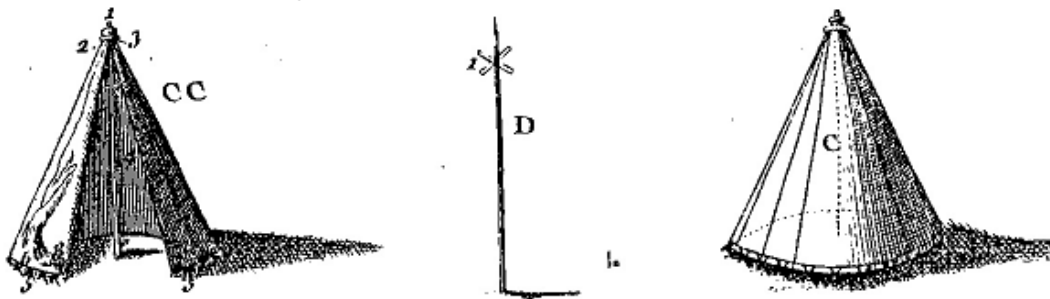
Plan pour faire voir comment sont couchés neuf soldats dans une tente, tirée de l'ouvrage de Puysegur "L'Art de la Guerre"

In his *Art de la Guerre* of 1749, Puysegur shows this engraving with nine soldiers in a tent of 8 *pieds* square excl. the apse and 7 feet (2 m 27 cm) high.⁸

Since the *ordonnance* of 1749 there were two flags per battalions, placed at 5 *pas* (5 m approximately) before the first tents, opposite the great street of the center. Each of these flags was guarded by a soldier, holding his sword in hand with a loaded gun deposited nearby on small two wooden forked stacks driven into the ground.

From January 1757 onward the infantry was provided with battalion support guns composed of one light 4-pounder *à la suédoise*.⁹ This piece and its limber were probably placed before the first tents on the alignment of the stack of arms of the great street, between the colonel company and that of the lieutenant. Each piece was served by a crew of sixteen gunners: eight detached from the Royal Artillery Corps, eight were pulled out the regiment plus one supernumerary. The 1774 *ordonnance* for the artillery increased the number to two Gribeauval 4-Pounders per battalion; their crews most likely camped next to their pieces.¹⁰

The arms stand was built at the right part of the battalion camp across from the tents of grenadiers, one *pas* before the first stack of arms. The arms stand was used to keep the arms of soldiers that were at work. It was built with two wooden forked stacks and one strut, sometimes covered with branches; it also served to deposit the arms of the forty-eight fusiliers appointed for different services and was called a *picket*. A guard consisting of one man per company was posted at hundred *pas* before the battalion camp.



Arms Tent (*manteau d'armes*)¹¹

Kitchens for the soldiers were located 10 *pas* behind the company tents, the *vivandiers* were another 10 *pas* behind the kitchens with their horses, wagons, wood and forage arranged around their tents. There were three *vivandiers* per battalion that lodged in three tents similar those of the troops. There was one earth kitchen per company and one more for the drummers. The kitchens measured approximately 3 *pas* in length and 4 *pieds* in width, based on the lay of the land. The soldiers dug a pit of 2 *pieds* 3 or 4 *pouces* deep. They were

built opposite of the small street that separate companies. On the same alignment as the kitchens behind the first companies of the right were the three tents of the battalions' drummers and the sixth tent of the grenadier company.

The Lieutenant's Camp was placed at twenty *pas* from the *vivandiers*, each lieutenant camped behind his company, in the interval of these twenty *pas* they placed their servants, their horses, their kitchen, their wood and forage. Twenty *pas* further back were the tents of captains and their servants similarly arranged.

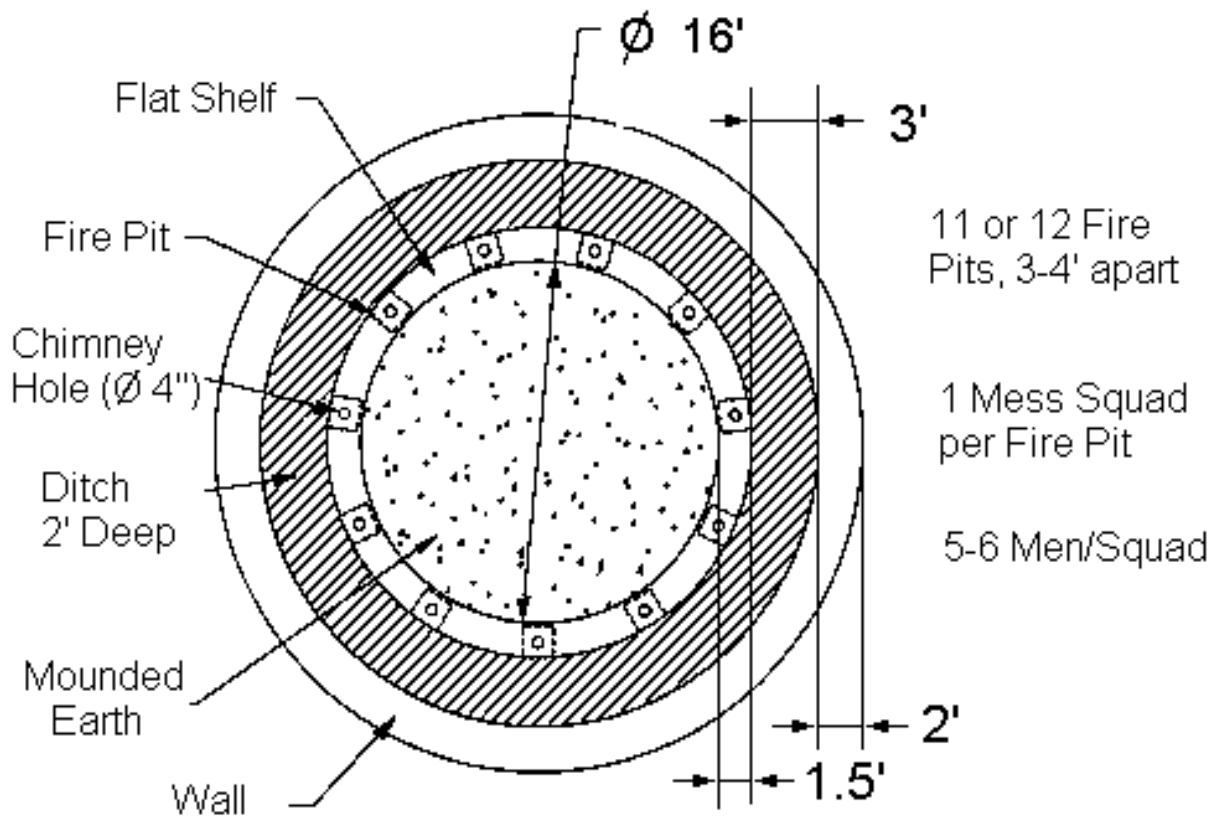
Finally, in the rear of the camp, was the regimental headquarters at fifty *pas* back from the captains. The colonel and colonel lieutenant in the center, the first at right and the second at left of the interval of the middle of the battalion. In the two-battalion regiment of Rochambeau's army the colonel and lieutenant colonel would have moved to the rear center between the two battalions. The major at right on the alignment of the grenadier company and the aide-major at left behind the last company of fusiliers. The surgeon was located between the colonel and the major, the chaplain between the lieutenant-colonel and the aide-major. These superior officers were theoretically required to lodge in their camp, but as the itinerary of Rochambeau's forces shows usually lodged in a near-by house or tavern. They had far more spacious tents than the troops, round or square, with camp bed, chairs, tables etc. The tents of superior and subordinate officers opened toward the head of the camp; those of servants toward the rear or sideways.

Butcheries were located 50 *pas* behind the headquarters. The latrines were dug at 150 or 200 *pas* before the battalion of the first line and at 100 *pas* behind the headquarters of the last line, they had a shelter with two forked stakes of 4 1/2 *pieds* length and a strut of 12 *pieds* length.

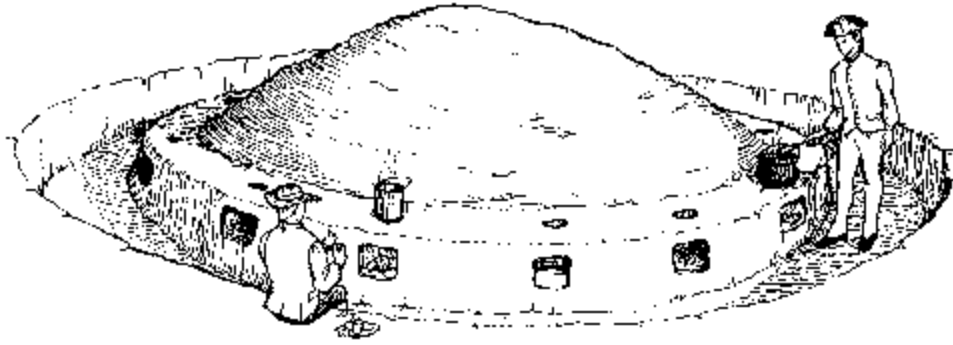
The responsibility for planning marches, selecting camps, and regulating transportation and supply rules lay with de Béville. As *maréchal general des logis* he was the officer on Rochambeau's staff who performed the duties of a modern chief of staff viz. on 15 June 1781, Carter informed Wadsworth that as the Bourbonnois left Providence, "M de Béville is to go before to Mark the Camp". De Béville performed that function both on the march to Yorktown in 1781 as well as on the march north in the summer of 1782, but like any officer with a similar task would have taken the lay of the land, roads and access to water into consideration as he performed these duties. But adherence to these rules was expected and commented upon with disapproval when ignored. For 8 July 1782, the ninth day of the return march from Williamsburg in Virginia, the itinerary for the Regiment Bourbonnois reads: "The Second division will leave its camp at Hanover town on 8 July to march to a camp two miles beyond Littlepages Bridge on the Pamunkey that had been occupied *primitivement* by the *Volontaires étrangers de Lauzun*."¹² *Primitivement* in this context means that Lauzun's

camp did not conform to any order or structure, did not meet the standards of a regular encampment.

Even the lay-out of the mess-kitchens was strictly regulated for both the American as well as the French armies and even though digging them for but an overnight stay seems unnecessary, these regulations were indeed followed. Capt. Samuel Richards, 3rd Connecticut Regt., wrote that as Rochambeau's army "passed thro' Farmington in Connecticut (25-28 June 1781) I being there at the time - had a fine opportunity of seeing them ... I viewed their manner of encamping over night, the perfect mechanical manner of performing all they had to do: such as digging a circular hole & making niches in which to set their camp kettles for cooking their food."¹³



Overhead view of earthen kitchen¹⁴



Camp kitchen in use

The tin or sheet iron kettles commonly used by armies in North America were placed on two pieces of sod to allow the draught of the fireplace to escape through the chimney hole. Barrel-hoop "broilers" made by the soldiers may also have been used for that purpose.¹⁵

Bread for Rochambeau's Soldiers

Most of the bread consumed at Philipsburg was baked in ovens set up in an area of the camp that is now part of the grounds of the Sunningdale Country Club, but much bread was also baked in ovens near Thomas Wright's Mill. The mill stood on Wampus Brook at the intersection of Route 128 and Cox Avenue; the ovens were just to the north.

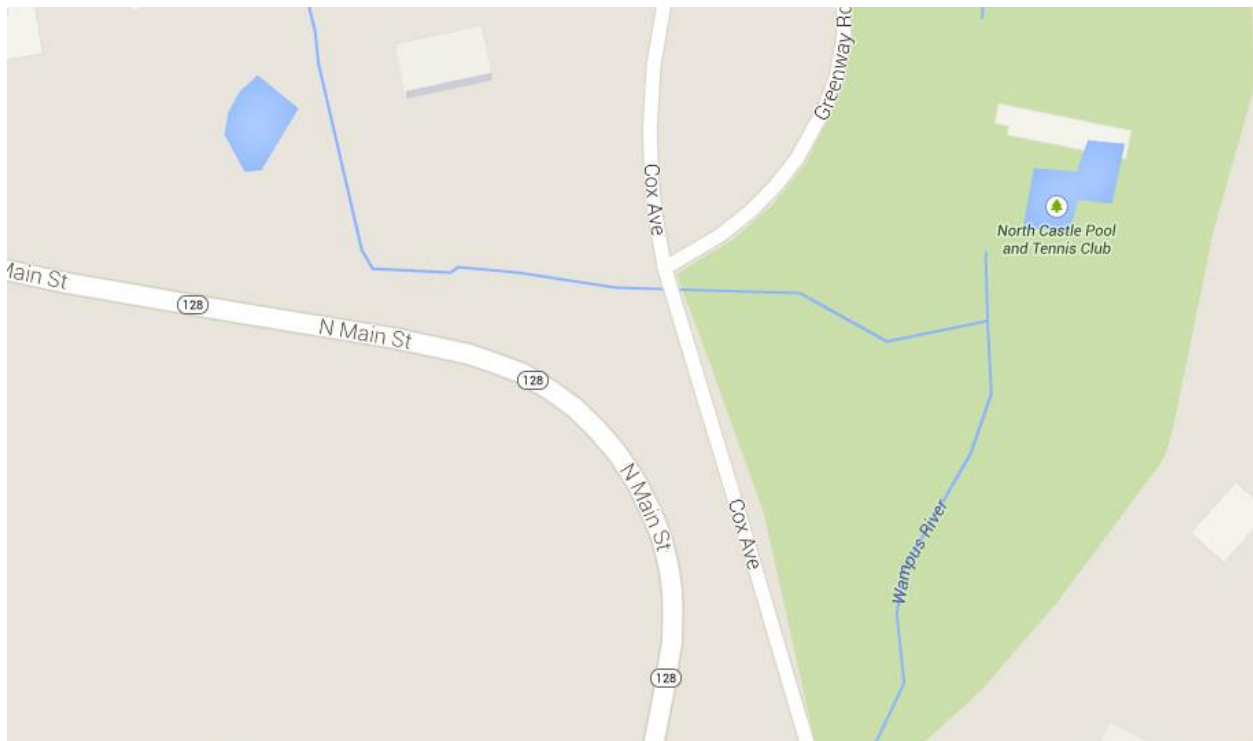


Detail from Robert Erskine "Map No. 60: About White Plains" (1779) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.



Detail from Robert Erskine "Map 59: Roads about White Plains" (1779) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

It is about 11 miles from here to the Odell House on Ridge Road.



Map of the area of Wright's Mill today



Wright's/Sands Mill before its demolition. ¹⁶

Additional ovens were constructed within the camp on "the fields east of the Odell house [where] the remains of seven huge ovens used by Rochambeau's men while encamped there could clearly be discerned. These were about six feet long and two and one-half feet wide, built mostly underground and made of cobblestone. They were destroyed when the Sunningdale golf course was laid out."¹⁷

Additional bread supplies were transported overland from Hartford but much of the flour had to be brought on ox-carts on journeys that took a week or more. It is about 100 miles from Hartford to Greenburgh and an ox walks about 1.5 miles per hour. Eight hours or around 12 miles constitute a day's journey which adds up to a sixteen to eighteen days journey from Hartford to White Plains and back. Finding transportation constituted one of the biggest problems of the encampment. July and August were harvest times and farmers and their cattle were needed at home: on 19 July, John Carter wrote to Jeremiah Wadsworth that "'No Grain arrives not a Bushell in the Magazine the Army crying out, and myself in great Uneasiness on this account."¹⁸ By late July grain and forage grain were transported on land from Newtown, Woodbury, Norwalk and other places in Connecticut and by sea from as far away as Boston.

Though at three to four miles per hour a horse pulling a wagon walks considerably faster than an ox, on the other hand the load of a four-horse wagon is much smaller than that of a

cart pulled by oxen: seven oxen will draw as much as 11 or 12 horses.¹⁹ In October 1778, Quartermaster General Nathanael Greene estimated that one such wagon held 7 ½ barrels; six barrels held 1,000 flour rations, which at 1 ¼ pounds of flour per ration measures out at 166.7 flour rations per barrel. In this case a full barrel held 208.39 lbs, a half barrel 104.20 lbs, but depending on the flour and the amount of humidity in it a barrel contained anywhere between 196 and 224 lbs of flour. Based on these figures a full wagon load weighed between 1,500 and 1,600 pounds - 1,563 pounds to be precise in the above example.²⁰ If the men received their full flour ration, which they often did not, the Continental Army alone consumed almost six full wagon loads of flour each day, and the smaller French army, where bread played a much larger role in the diet than in the American army, even more.²¹

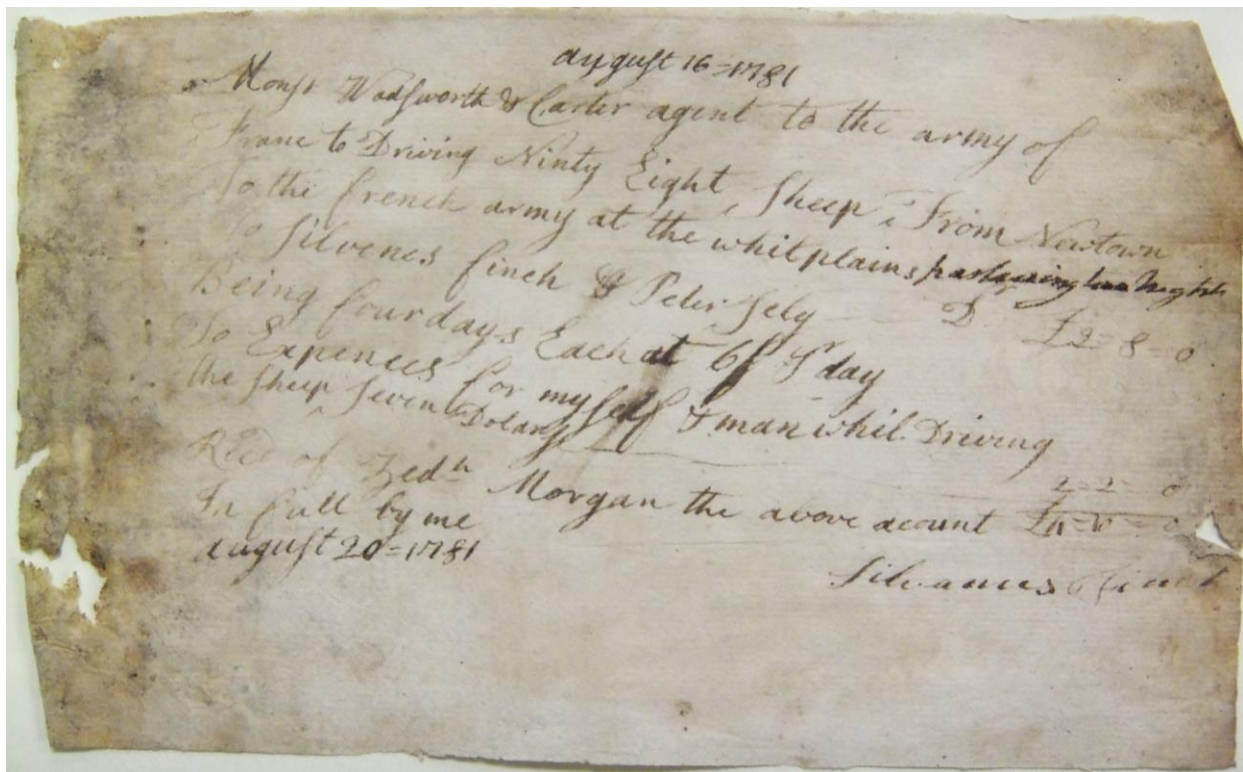
Meats for Rochambeau's Soldiers

Besides bread, meat, fresh or salted, constituted an integral component of the food of eighteenth-century armies. Most of the cattle slaughtered at Philipsburg came from Connecticut. On 27 July, Colonel Henry Champion (1751-1836) of Westchester, CT advised Wadsworth that he had brought 60 oxen to camp the previous day plus 184 sheep. On 28 July another 41 had arrived, 30 more would arrive on 30 July, 50 on 2 August and another 100 by 10 August. On 28 July, Wadsworth instructed John Lloyd from Danbury to dispatch up to 500 sheep to White Plains "with every other Creature you have that's fit for the Knife." Between 5 July 5 and 11 August, Colonel Henry Champion, delivered 927 oxen and 356 sheep to Philipsburg!²² John Tompkins remembered that "They slaughtered their cattle at a place between our house and the road in front, near which, and close to, the lane which now leads from our house to the road they built a round house of stone which has recently been removed by me. I don't know for what purpose they used it." The "round house" may have been used to store some of the grain, flour, and hay for the cattle shipped from Connecticut.

Much of the meat was also delivered salted and in barrels measuring "28 Inches in length & 17 ½ Inchs wide at the Heads" also weighing around 200 lbs.²³ On 18 May 1781, Nathaniel Blackman signed a receipt stating that he had "Recd of the Selectmen of the town of Stratford [in Connecticut] six Barrels of Pork Containing two hund. & ten pound Each which I promise to Deliver to Nath. Stevens Esq DCGI at the Fish Kill sd pork was purchased for the french and Exchagd having sined Duplacates for the same." The next month, on 18 June 1781, Nathaniel Blackman, now working as a wagon conductor for Jeremiah Wadsworth, certified that he had "Received of the town of Stratford nine barrels Pork Containing two hundred & Twenty pounds each, also eight barels beef Contg two hundred & forty pounds each."²⁴

The amount of beef, pork and mutton consumed by the French army was enormous. Detailed numbers for meat consumption during the encampment at White Plains in the summer of 1781 are not available, but those for the winter quarters of Lauzun's Legion in

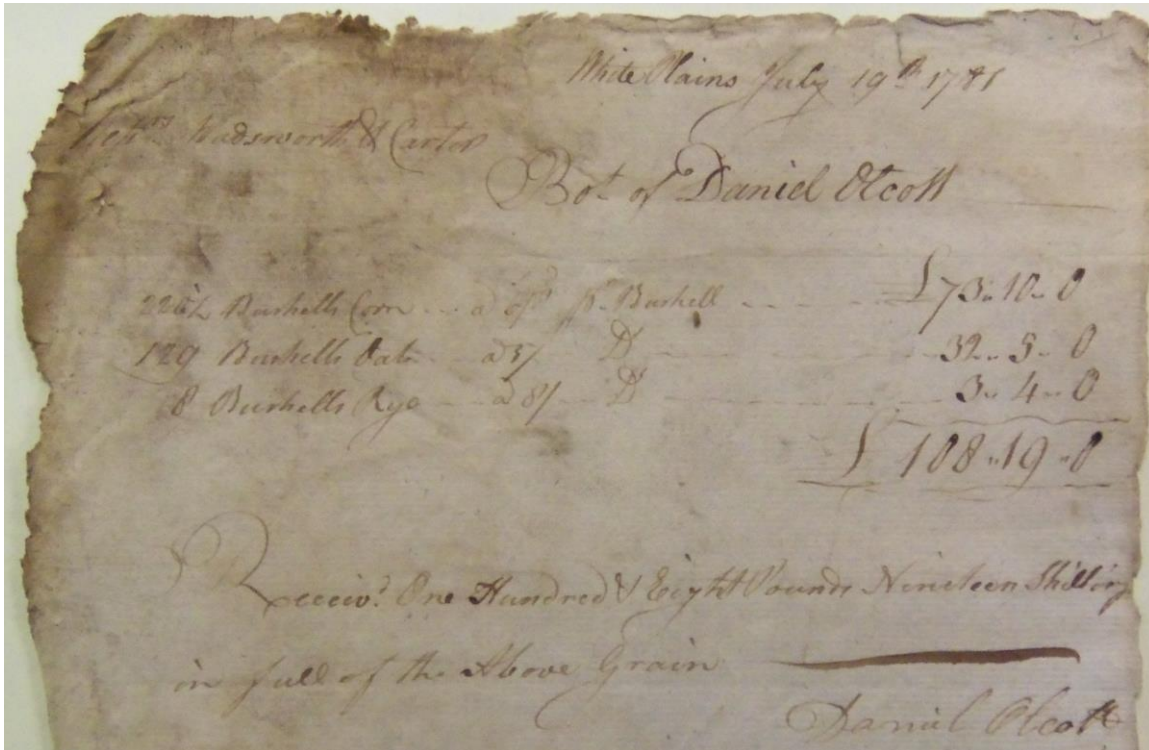
Lebanon should be fairly comparable. There the roughly 250 officers and men in Lebanon consumed over 20,000 lbs of beef and over 4,000 lbs of mutton or more than 2 lbs per head per day during the 50 days they spent in Lebanon in 1780/81.²⁵ The average weight of live Connecticut cattle in the late eighteenth century was around 900 lbs but could pass 1,000 lbs. In December of 1780, David Trumbull bought four oxen with an average weight of 634 lbs; on 2 January 1781, he purchased an oxen weighing 600 lbs, but the next day he estimated the weight of two oxen at 1,050 lbs each. When Wadsworth bought cattle for the French forces in Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1780, he calculated it to "average 400 lbs each of Meat Beef," i.e., slaughtered, after the "Fifth Quarter" is subtracted,²⁶ about half the weight of a head of cattle today.²⁷ For sheep comparable numbers are around 100 lbs useable mutton per sheep.



Receipt for £ 4 10/ of 16 August 1781 for driving 98 sheep from Newtown to White Plains
Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

On 15 July 1780, about two weeks after French forces arrived in Newport, Brissout de Barneville (1746-1837), aide-de-camp to *baron de Vioménil*, reported that "les boulangers," i.e., the bakers, and "les bouchers," i.e., the butchers, "sont établis au camp."²⁸ From now on the troops received their daily 1 1/2 pounds of bread plus 30 grams rice besides 1 pound of beef." Wadsworth estimated French needs in winter quarters at two hundred beeves averaging four hundred pounds of meat each yielding 80,000 lbs of meat and two hundred

sheep weekly. Once the campaign had started, Rochambeau's forces numbered around 4,500 plus close to 1,000 servants, wagoners and other staff.²⁹ On 8 June 1781 – French forces were about to embark in Newport, RI for the journey to Providence – Rochambeau in his *Livre d'ordre* set food rations for the march: "Distribution de pain demi mat[in] pour 4 jour La Ration Sera Lavenir D'une Livre de demie de Pain d'une once de Ris et d'une [livre] de viande fraiche – distribution of bread tomorrow morning for four days. The ration will be for the future 1 ½ pounds of bread, one ounce of rice, and one pound of fresh meat."



Receipt over 2,207 bushels corn, 129 bushels oats and 8 bushels rye delivered at White Plains on 19 July 1781. One bushel of shelled corn weighs 56 lbs; at a load of 1,563 lbs per wagon it had taken 79 wagons pulled by six oxen each to bring just the corn to camp.

Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

On 30 June, the daily ration was set at one pound of bread, two ounces bacon ("lard") and eight ounces Indian corn ("mais"). Though it is not mentioned explicitly – there was no need to mention it since it did not change? - it seems fair to assume that the daily meat ration remained the same.³⁰ If French forces in White Plains were supplied at the same rate as the hussars in Lebanon, their daily meat consumption would have reached upwards of 12,000 lbs - 30 head of cattle or 25 head of cattle and 20 sheep per day; if the rations were handed out as prescribed in the *Livre d'ordre* it would have been close to 6,000 lbs. The encampment lasted roughly 45 days, during which French forces alone consumed at the very least the 927 oxen and 356 sheep delivered by Colonel Henry Champion.³¹

American Camp Organization and Layout

Much of our information about the physical lay-out and location of, and life in, the American camp is drawn from French sources. There exists but a single map drawn by General Henry Knox showing the lay-out and organization of the American encampment, and three written accounts: 1) a letter by General Samuel Holden Parsons (1737-1789) of 8 July 1781, 2) information provided by John Hubill during his interrogation following his desertion to British forces on 17 July 1781, and 3) a letter by General William Heath of 27 July 1781.

The earliest account of the American encampment is contained in a letter by Parsons to William Heron dated "Camp, Phillipsburgh, 8th July, 1781". It reads:

"Dr Sir

We have now taken a camp within about 12 miles of Kingsbridge where I expect we shall continue until we know whether the states will in any considerable degree comply with the requisitions made of them, altho' we believe ourselves able to maintain our ground. You may easily conjecture what our future prospects are, when I assure you the five Regiments of our State [Connecticut] are more than 1,200 men deficient of their complement ; and the other States (except Rhode Island and New York who are fuller) nearly in the same condition.

The right of the front line is commanded by me, consisting of Connecticut and Rhode Island troops: the left by General Lincoln, consisting of the brigades of Massachusetts. The 2nd line, one brigade of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, commanded by General Howe. General McDougall commands at West Point."

An editorial note explains that "Parsons here gives the American front line, as it was at the date of this letter, July 8th, two days after the junction of the allied armies, and before a more permanent arrangement could have been made. Later the two lines were extended, enlarged, and the commands somewhat changed.

The account of the two lines, however, given on the 18th, ten days later, by John Hubbill (entry of that date post) agrees with this letter of Parsons, except that Hubbill gives no names of the commanders."³²

On 18 July, "John Hubbill, Pris^r of the 5th Connecticut Reg^t - and a Deserter of the 1st Cont^t Reg^t," provided this information regarding the American camp:

"Colonel Scammell with the Light Infantry is encamped between the North & Sawmill River, on the heights the other side of Dobb's ferry. Sheldon's Drag^s at garrisons, in Dobb's ferry plains. The Rebels in two lines. The 1st line with the Right to the Sawmill River, one mile above Pugsley's bridge, with the left at a small distance from Sear's house, consisting of the two Connecticut brigades, including the Rhode Island brigade, and one [Massachusetts] Bay brigade. The 2nd line about ½ mile in the rear of the 1st, consisting of the New Hampshire

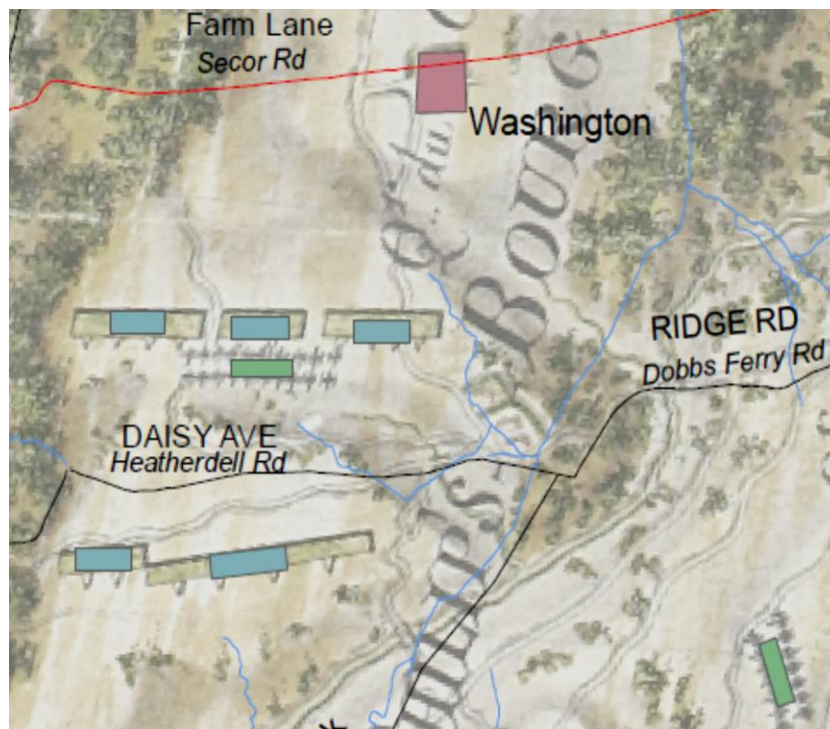
troops, and one Bay brigade. The French in one line, *aligné* with the Rebel 1st line, extending towards Chatterton's hill. The French Legion on the left of the whole, on Chatterton's hill; covering the left flank.

The French Artillery Park, behind Sear's, (no particulars about the French or the Rebel park).

Each French Regt. [has] some Field pieces; Each Rebel brigade two six pounders. The Connecticut Regt. 300 duty-men upon an average. Those of the other provinces about the same number, the Rhode Island Regt. excepted, being much stronger. Each brigade may be near 900 men. The Jersey brigade has not crossed the N. River. The shipping destroyed some provision sloops. Killed and wounded some of Sheldon's dragoons. A considerable quantity of salt meat and bread had been landed at Tarrytown the day before the ships came up. 300 men at work every day at Dobb's ferry. The armed ships [are] in Haverstraw bay.

The Rebel Generals in Camp are, Washington, Lincoln, Howe, Stirling, Hand, Parsons, & Huntington. There are now 2, 18 & 2 12 p^{rs}, and 2 Howitzers in the Battery at Dobb's ferry.

The whole of the Enemy's army constantly provided with two days dressed Provisions.”³³



Detail of “Philipsbourg Encampment”

Town of Greenburgh, New York

Produced by: Sarah Pawliczak

Data Source: Westchester County GIS Data,

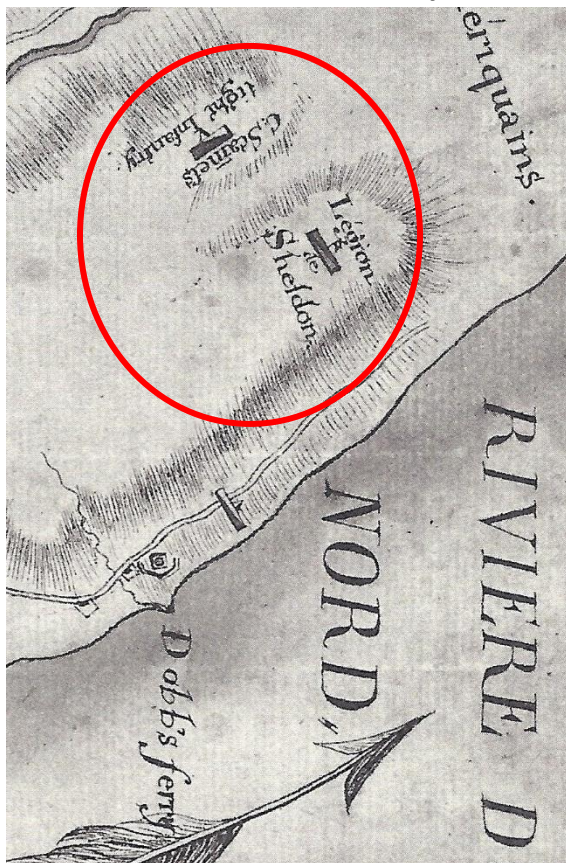
Town of Greenburgh, Hudson River Valley Institute, W3R

Date: April 2012

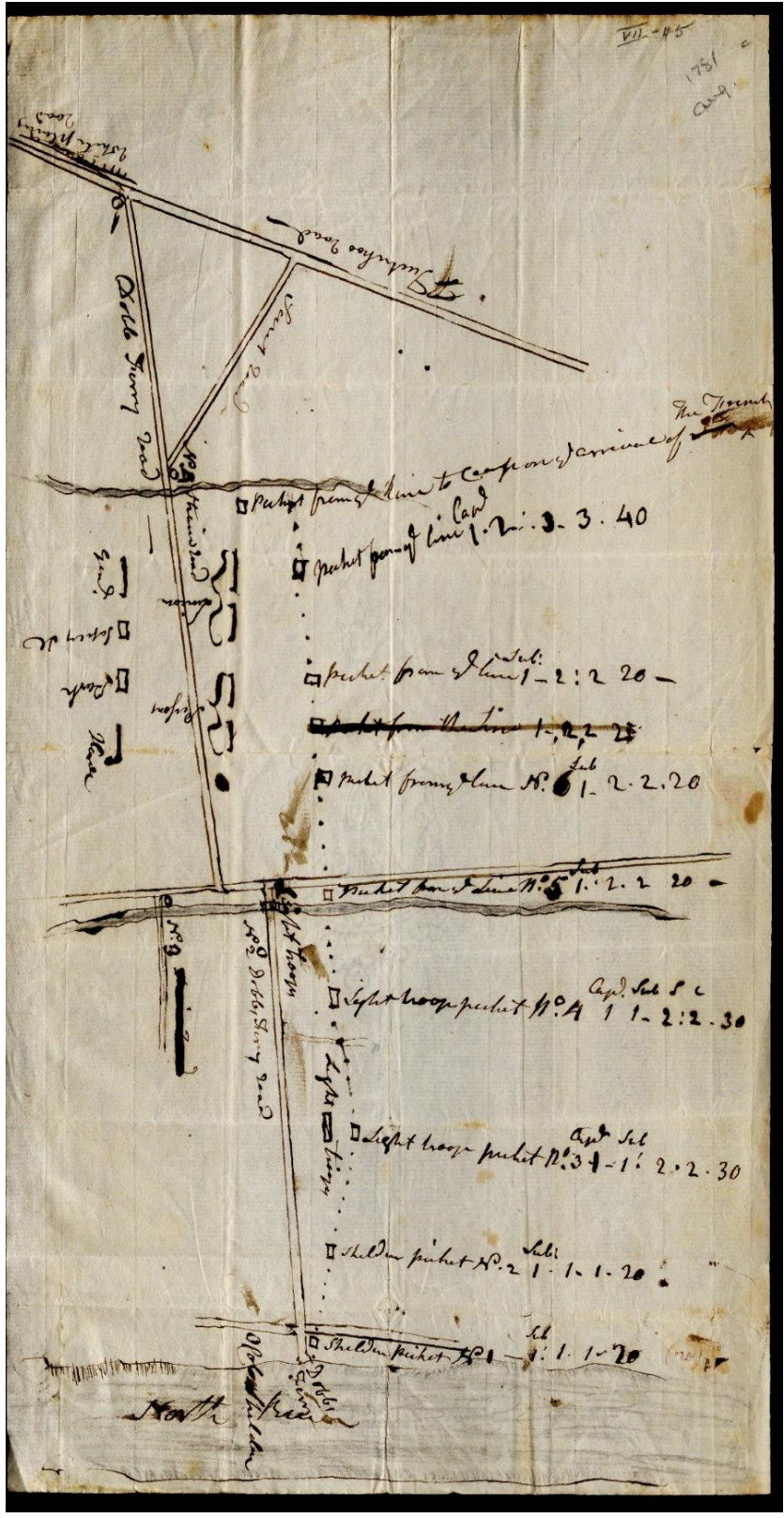
On 27 July, Heath found the army encamped “in two lines; the park of artillery in the centre of the second line. ... The French army, under Gen. Rochambeau, was encamped at a small distance, on the left of the Americans, in one line.”³⁴ A comparison of these three written accounts with French accounts and the French map of the encampment of the Continental Army shows how accurate Hubbill’s information had been, viz. the *comte* de Lauberdière reported how “The Americans are camped in the English manner in two parallel rows of tents, under arms they are aligned in two lines according to height. ... The American army composed the right wing, resting on the Saw Mill River to which you descend by a steep bluff; the American artillery park occupied the center; and the French composed the left wing, resting on the Bronx River, whose banks are very steep. The American light infantry and dragoons were strung out from the right of the line all the way to Dobbs Ferry on the Hudson River, where a battery of four 12-pounders and two howitzers was emplaced.”³⁵

Lauberdière points out an important difference between the two encampments: the Continental Army camp extended from the Hudson River across the Town of Greenburgh to Chatterton Hill in White Plains, occupied by Lauzun’s Legion and an American unit under Colonel David Waterbury. French maps show this distribution of forces, viz. 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 off of Dassern Drive. Additionally, the Continental Army provided the personnel for outposts

such as Thirty Deer Ridge located in advance on the most strategic heights, guarding all points at which the enemy could approach the camp.



Detail from “Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp] reproduced in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41.



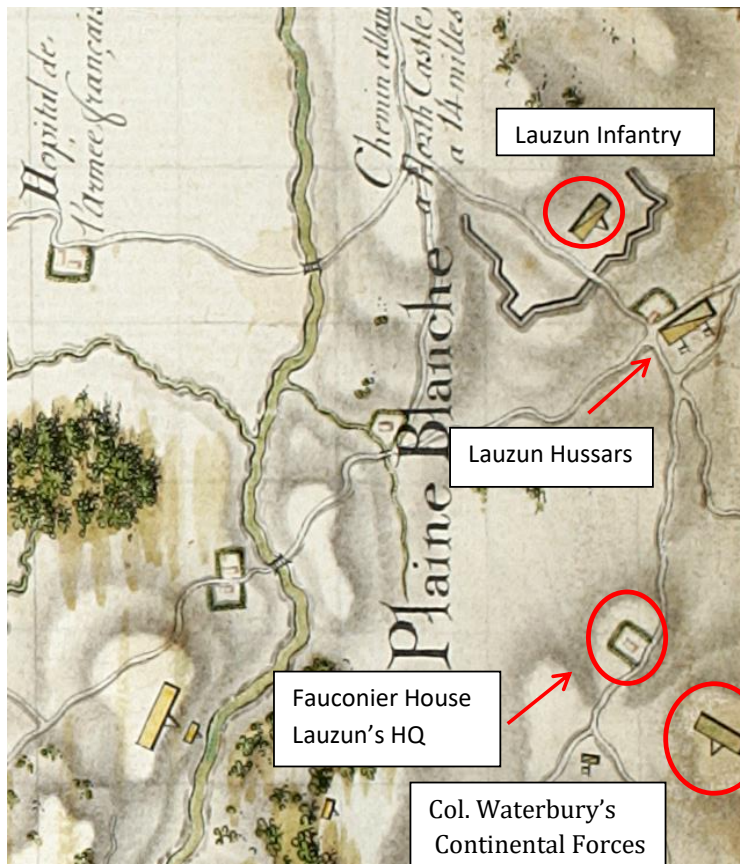
General Knox' map of August 1781 confirms this later distribution of forces. At the bottom of the map is Dobbs Ferry and the North (Hudson) River. Along "Dobbs Ferry Road", i.e. Broadway to Ashford Ave., are located a series of five pickets with their strength posted by Sheldon's Light Dragoons and Scammell's Light Infantry. Next comes the Saw Mill River and a picket between the River and Sawmill River Road. The Saw Mill River Parkway and NYS Thruway destroyed the old road. The Continental Army camped on either side of Heatherdell Road with Generals Parsons and Lincoln on the right. Just before Sprain Brook is a line that reads: "Picket from ye Line to camp on ye arrival of the French." "Dobb's Ferry Road" continues as Ridge Road and N Washington Ave. to Central Park Ave. and Battle Ave. into White Plains while "Second Road, i.e. today's East Hartsdale Ave.," leads to "Tuckahoe Road".

Plan of encampment at Philipsburg, in Westchester County³⁶

Though the encampment of Lauzun's Legion on Chatterton Hill lies outside the scope of this study, a report by Captain Marquard of 17 July 1781 is worth quoting since it not only provides information on Lauzun's Legion but on the line-up of Rochambeau's units as well.

Sir,

Captain Henricks who returned last night with the flag after having delivered the letters, says that he went by Stephen Ward's to the Whiteplains; that he met no Picket at all till he came to Chatterton's bridge, where there was a guard of a corporal and three men. No troops encamped on the east side of the Bronx. The French Legion at the Whiteplains, the horse on Chatterton's, and the foot on Hunt's Hill. On the road from Tuckey-hoe is a Picquet at a little distance from the camp, and another between the horse and foot of the Legion. The French Infantry under Count Rochambeau, near one mile and a half behind the Legion, having the 2nd position of Washington in the year 1776, in their rear. The French Artillery Park is [in] front of the Regt of Soissonnois. The communication of the troops on the other side of the Sawmill River, with those on this side, is by Storm's bridge. The French provision train drawn by oxen. He believes they receive their provisions by way of Bedford and North Castle. The Rebels get theirs by water from King's ferry to Tarrytown. It is said the heaviest French cannon were drawn by six horses.



The cavalry of the Legion consists of two squadrons, each 150 strong; but Henricks thinks them no more than 230 in all— 40 of them very good, 60 middling, the rest not good. Thirty-five men are armed with Lances, wear fur Caps, are the best mounted, and exempted from mounting guards. The whole Legion a fine body of men, and their accoutrements for horses and men very good. Eight men lay in a tent, from the number of which he concludes the foot of the Legion cannot be 600 strong. Their forage, fresh hay and Indian corn.”

Detail from *Position de l'Armée Americaine et Française a Philips-Bourg Distance de 12 Milles de Kings-bridge et 25 Milles de New-*

York, depuis le 6 Juillet 1781. New-York Historical Society, New York.

Supplying the Continental Army

At least on paper Continental Army forces were also entitled to a generous allowance of food. A company of Continental Army soldiers was organized into messes of six men each who ate and were billeted together both in the field and in garrison. The members shared duties and responsibilities such as drawing rations, preparing and cooking meals, and erecting and striking their tent. On 4 November 1775, Congress had resolved "That a ration consist of the following kind and quantity of provisions, viz: 1 lb. of beef, or 3/4 lb. pork, or 1 lb. salt fish, per day. 1 lb. of bread or flour per day. 3 pints of pease or beans per week, or vegetables equivalent, at one dollar per bushel for pease or beans. 1 pint of milk per man per day, or at the rate of 1/72 of a dollar. 1 half pint of Rice, or one pint of indian meal per man per week. 1 quart of spruce beer or cyder per man per day, or nine gallons of Molasses per company of 100 men per week. 3 lbs. candles to 100 Men per week for guards. 24 lbs. of soft or 8 lbs. of hard soap, for 100 men per week." Eventually, a small amount of rum or other alcoholic drink was also included, but the basic ration remained unchanged for the duration of the war.³⁷ On occasion, especially during marches, the messes would be issued provisions to last over several days. On 24 August at Stony Point, for example, General Lincoln ordered that the Continentals be issued a two-day ration of beef, a two-week supply of soap and candles, and three days of flour, along with instruction to bake their bread "this afternoon."³⁸ Given the financial straits of the Continental Army in 1781, the soldiers rarely ever received their full ration.³⁹

Although smoked or salted meat was included in an Army's supply of provisions, fresh beef was always preferable. An army's supply train included a drove of cattle on the hoof to slaughter as needed.⁴⁰ On 25 August 1781, General Benjamin Lincoln ordered: "The Commissary [with the Cattle] will daily precede the Troops, to the place of Incampment & have the Beef ready to be issued on their arrival, in order to prevent delays, the provision returns will be made out every Evening."⁴¹ In his *Reminiscences* Asa Redington paints a vivid picture of the departing Continental Army.

"During the march the weather was very warm, our provisions poor and scant, (to wit) 1 lb. of dry flour per day, and 1 lb. of very poor fresh beef, slaughtered every day, and 1/2 pint of salt to 100 lbs. beef. This constituted our whole subsistence, and without any other earthly thing during this long and fatiguing march, and having no other drink than such as the brooks and streams afforded over which we passed, the water of which was nearly milk warm at that hot season. We slept in tents, and every morning were moving at 2 o'clock precisely, were awakened by beat of drums and instantly formed in order for marching, halted at about 5 o'clock and took a bite of our small allowance, which we cooked the evening previous with some brook water, and then resumed our march till about 12 o'clock A.M., then halted and took the residue of our food, if perchance any was left in our knapsacks----at 1 o'clock

was again on the move till about 5 o'clock---at 7 the beef would be slaughtered and delivered to us, say 60 lbs. for 60 men, taken and cut up into pieces, and divided into messes, as equitable as could be, 6 men constituting a mess, and then drawn for by lot---after this procured some kind of fuel and boiled the beef, each mess having a sheet iron kettle of about 10 Quarts, added to the liquor [sic] a little flour to make a kind of soup, make the residue of the flour into bread by mixing it with water, bake on a stone by the fire, take the soup for supper,' pick the bones, cut *off* all the meat he could and deposit in his knapsack for his next day's breakfast and dinner, the last meal coming very short. This fare we should at this day call short allowance."

The comte de Lauberdière put it more succinctly: the Americans "trouble themselves little with provisions: actually they are given just a bit of corn meal of which each soldier makes his own bread." Lauberdière's description needs to be taken with a grain of salt, but lack of specie caused American soldiers to have to make do with considerably less than their French allies. Complaints that French purchasing agents paying in gold or silver made it impossible for American agents to purchase with Continental dollars preceded French troops wherever they marched.⁴² A poorly organized supply system only aggravated the situation. Just one example: On 3 July 1781, only a few hours before the troops were to arrive in Greenburgh, Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering instructed Colonel Charles Stewart, Commissary General of Issues, from Camp Valentine's Hill that "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. [...] The troops will suffer if provisions be not furnished to them to morrow, some especially who had not opportunity to furnish themselves previous to the late march." That did not give Stewart much time to transport supplies "to some convenient ground near Tarrytown", a rather imprecise description, where the camp was set up only to be changed a few days later.⁴³

Most of the beef cattle came from Connecticut, but some was driven to the Hudson from as far away as New Hampshire, almost 250 miles from Greenburgh. When there was beef cattle available, Stewart's employees frequently lacked personnel to herd the animals. On 27 July, Ebenezer Foote told Stewart that he had "two hundred and Eighty head of Cattle on hand together with Fifty Sheep and my Guard consists only of a Corp^l and four privates who are not able to prevent the Cattle from Straying [...] – I have rec^d one hundred and Sixty Seven Cattle and thirty Eight Sheep this morning from the State of Conecticut & would be glad of your order for the delivery of the Sheep as Soone as possible or they will be Lost there being no fences to prevent there Straying."⁴⁴ For much of the Greenburgh encampment, Americans borrowed food supplies, especially flour, from the French, and once the armies had departed for Virginia, Pickering gladly purchased whatever the French did not want to transport to the southward.⁴⁵

Food for the Animals

Flour, oats, salted beef in barrels and most other items had to be transported by ox-cart. Transportation relied on draft animals which also required large amounts of fodder. Timothy Pickering's "Plan for Conducting The Quartermaster General's Department" in the Continental Army of 15 July 1780 demanded "That the ration of forage shall consist of fourteen pounds of hay and eight quarts of oats for a saddle horse, and sixteen pounds of hay and twelve quarts of oats, or other short forage equivalent, for a draught horse, per day: that in cases where either of the above articles cannot be furnished a double quantity of the other shall be considered as a compleat ration." Oxen were to be fed 42 lbs of hay and 4 quarts of corn per yoke and day. These amounts could not always be provided: on 17 July 1780, Deputy Quartermaster General Moore Furman wrote to Thomas Anderson from Trenton that the teams in his brigade were to receive 1 bushel grain for 4 horses per day plus 10 lbs hay for each horse, if no short feed was available each horse was to receive 20 lbs of hay.⁴⁶

On the French side the *Règlement concernant la composition de la ration de Fourrages aux troupes à cheval du 18 September 1777* stipulated these year-round rations per horse and day independent of whether the troops are in campaign or winter quarters:

Ten pounds of hay

Ten pounds of straw and two thirds of a bushel of oats Parisian measure

When straw is rare, the substitute can be 12 pounds of hay and only 6 pounds of straw, and when there is no straw at all the horse was to get 15 pounds hay per day.

The measurements for the military were the *Boisseau de Paris* of 12.67 liters; 2/3 of that are almost 9 liters or 0.25 bushels or 8 quarts, which is almost identical to the American feed requirements. A four-horse team thus consumed around 80 pounds of hay, twice that amount if oats were not available. If a wagon must travel for 10 days it consumed 800 pounds of hay and 320 pounds of oats, which, if those supplies would have to have been carried along, would have added up to more than half of a full wagon load of 1,563 pounds. (one bushel of oats weighs 32 pounds = 32 quarts)

Rec^d of Mess^{rs} Wadsworth & Carter Eighteen Hundred
 & thirty Rations of Forage Complat, for my Brigade
 of Ten six Ox Teams, and my own Riding Horse, in
 the service of the French Army, from & including the
 Fifteenth day of July to and including the fourteenth
 day of August, thirty days
 White Plains Aug. 15th 1781
 George Seymour
 Cond:
 1830 Rations Forage }
 Complat - }

Receipt for 1,830 rations Forage for ten 6-ox teams from 15 July to 14 August 1781
 Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

How many oxen and horses are there?! A breakdown of teams for the Yorktown Campaign in the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers dated Hartford, 15 December 1781, shows that the French army employed 149 wagons-teams (=894) oxen for the journey from Providence to White Plains and during the stay of the army, another 46 teams with 276 oxen are hired along the way.⁴⁷ By 16 April, Wadsworth had engaged fifty teams and promised to have 150 four-ox teams ready in Providence by 15 May at the latest.⁴⁸ It had been Rochambeau who had requested 50 teams of four oxen each, but when Wadsworth insisted on at least six oxen per ton of freight, Rochambeau agreed to the six-ox teams, but wished that the 20 wagons of the general staff be drawn by four horses each.⁴⁹ To conduct these teams, Rochambeau hired 239 wagon conductors "for two dollars per day" and 15 mostly female cooks for the 210 wagons in the 15 brigades of his train.⁵⁰ By the time the column reached Hartford on 1 July he had hired 105 additional teams, mostly for carrying bread. Those teams accompanied the French army to White Plains but on 8 July Wadsworth informed Carter that "tomorrow all the Teams hired on the Road will be Discharg'd."

Supplying feed for more than 1,000 oxen and even more horses in the French army alone required by John Carter's estimate of early June about 4,000 bushels of grain per week.⁵¹ Weights of grain vary considerably - a bushel of oats equals 32 pounds (14.515 kg), a bushel

of barley 48 pounds (21.772 kg), a bushel of rye or corn 56 pounds (25.401 kg), a bushel of wheat 60 pounds (27.216 kg) – but even at an average weight of 50 pounds, 4,000 bushels weigh a total of 200,000 pounds, the equivalent of 130 loads of a six-ox wagon. Needless to say that these thousands of men and animals produced vast amounts of waste as well. The filth and smell must have been overpowering and one is reminded of a letter by General Nathanael Greene of 1 October 1778, to Colonel Charles Pettit from Coventry in Rhode Island that "the grand Cause of Destruction [the loss of his draft horses] was the innumerable Swarms of Flies created and collected by the Filth of the Camp."⁵² The encampment in Greenburgh was no different and General Heath recorded for 6 July 1781 already in his *Memoirs* that "The camps at this time swarmed with flies, which were very troublesome."⁵³ If anything the situation worsened in the summer heat and Heath wasted no time to get away from camp. In a letter to Washington of 22 August from "Upper part of Singing" Heath informed Washington that he had sent his baggage toward Croton in the afternoon of 20 August "to escape the flies."

For the cash-strapped Continental Army, but for French forces as well, foraging for feed was an absolute necessity that did not spare the locals. Baron Gallatin of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment wrote that "the plain where they had us camp was covered with the most beautiful wheat, close to being ready for harvesting: it happened faster than the owner could have guessed. Within half an hour there was not a single ear of wheat standing." The soldiers cut the wheat for their horses, oxen, and for other uses, and "it was in vain that the farmer, tears in his eyes, begged that his field be spared."⁵⁴ Only three days after their arrival in White Plains, at 4:00 a.m. on 9 July, French forces under the command of Major François-Louis Teissède de Fleury (1749–1799), now a Major in the Saintonge Regiment went on its first foraging expedition. Each infantry regiment was to supply one lieutenant and two squads ("escouades") infantry, one *capitaine en second* per brigade, the artillery one lieutenant and two squads. Each regiment was to provide enough wagons it thought it needed to collect forage for three days.⁵⁵

The French found out very quickly that a good 100 men with two field pieces was much too small a force to send foraging every few days. Outside the immediate area of the encampment toward New York City both sides had been foraging in, and in the process devastating, the same area of the "Neutral Ground" in Westchester County for years. As competition for these resources became fiercer the ever-smaller yields had to be collected by ever larger foraging expeditions. "These foraging expeditions," wrote Berthier, "covered an area between the camp and Long Island Sound extending from Rye, Mamaroneck, east Chester, and Chester to a point as close as possible to King's Bridge (... and) were always supported by a detachment of 1,500 men and a troop of hussars."⁵⁶ Baron Gallatin described a forage expedition to New Rochelle on 2 August that included four companies of grenadiers and chasseurs and Lauzun's Legion, i.e. close to 1,000 troops with four 4-lb pieces of artillery

to protect close to 300 wagons carrying oats and hay “which the English had cut a few days earlier” and stored in order to transport it by boat into New York City.⁵⁷

These numbers point to two of the biggest difficulties of moving armies in the eighteenth century: the need to establish supply depots for man and beast and why armies foraged extensively when traveling as well as when encamped.⁵⁸ Once encamped, however, be that on the road to Yorktown or during the encampment in Westchester County, the French and American camps just like any city, witnessed a constant coming and going of ox-carts loaded with oats, hay, bread, firewood, salt, writing paper, horseshoes – on 8 July a request for 15,000 horse shoe nails and 2,000 horse shoes went out from White Plains with the warning that another 12,000 horse shoes would be needed soon⁵⁹ - leather for saddles, harnesses and shoes, sheep-skins for the artillery and as well as cattle, sheep, pigs, goats and geese arriving to be slaughtered and eaten and an assortment of almost the same kind of merchandise any city would need. That Westchester County managed to feed and sustain the allied armies in the summer of 1781 despite occasional shortages and sometimes reduced rations stands as a tribute to the resourcefulness of its citizens and their sacrifices that led to America Independence in 1783.

ENDNOTES

¹ Robert Bolton, *A History of the County of Westchester from its First Settlement to the Present Time* vol. 1 (New York, 1848), p. xiii: Westchester County had 21,745 inhabitants in 1771, 20,554 in 1786.

² Since the *ordonnances* creating the two-battalion regiments do not address the camp layout it is assumed that the French army continued to pair its fusilier companies during the 1770s and 1780s.

³ Louis Charles Dupain de Montesson, *L'art de lever les plans de tout ce qui a rapport à la guerre et à l'architecture civile et champêtre* (Paris, 1763).

⁴ No drawing and detailed description of the camp layout based on the *ordonnance* of 1776 has been found.

⁵ The drawing as well as the following slightly edited essay are available at http://vial.jean.free.fr/new_npi/revues_npi/1_1998/npi_198/1_inf_camp_im

⁶ LeBlond's essay is available as a google book. 1 French *pie*d = 12.8 inches. See also his *Éléments de tactique, ouvrage dans lequel on traite de l'arrangement & de la formation des troupes; des évolutions de l'infanterie & de la cavalerie; des principaux ordres de bataille; de la marche des armées & de la castramétation, ou de la manière de tracer ou marquer les camps par règles & par principes*. (Paris, C.-A. Jombert, 1758).

⁷ Nicolas d'Hericourt, *Éléments de l'Art militaire* (1st ed., 1739); the description is taken from vol. 2 (1756) of the 6 vols. edition printed in Paris, 1756-1758, pp. 5-12.

1 *toise* = 6 *pieds* = 6 feet 5 in.

⁸ Jean-François de Chastenet, *marquis de Puysegur, Art de la Guerre, par Principes et par Règles* 2 vols., (Paris, 1749), vol. 1, plate X.

⁹ *Ordonnance du Roi portant établissement d'une pièce de canon à la Suédoise à la suite de chacun des bataillons de son infanterie, tant françoise qu'étrangère, qui serviront en campagne* of 20 January 1757.

¹⁰ See the *Ordonnance du roi concernant le corps royal de l'artillerie* of 3 October 1774, Titre huitième: "Du Service du Corps-Royal en campagne." It was re-confirmed in the *Ordonnance du Roi concernant le corps royal de l'artillerie* of 3 November 1776.

¹¹ Joseph-Ignace-Magnus de Spahr, *Instructions militaires*, (Paris, 1753) Plate 1^e.

¹² « Ordre de Marche pour porter l'armée Françoise aux ordres de M. le Cte. de Rochambeau de ses différens Quartiers en Virginie à George-town sur la Rive gauche du Potowmak où Elle doit rester jusqu'à nouvel ordre en 22 jours de marche y compris Quatre Séjours." Rochambeau Papers, vol. 4, 469-478. Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

¹³ *Diary of Samuel Richards, Captain of Connecticut Line War of the Revolution 1775-1781* (Philadelphia, 1909), p. 75.

¹⁴ The dimensions are those given in Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline* (1762).

¹⁵ John U. Rees "As many fireplaces as you have tents..." Originally published in *Food History News*, vol. 9, no. 2 (Winter 1997), 2, 8-9; vol. 9, no. 3 (Spring 1998), 2, and *The Continental Soldier*, vol. 11, no. 3 (Summer 1998), 26-32.

¹⁶ When Thomas Sands bought the mill in 1790 it became known as Sand's Mill and is referred to as such in the McDonald Papers. The event is confirmed in the McDonald Papers vol. 5, p. 738, by Josiah Quinby of Newcastle, aged 85, on 25 October 1847: "The French once lay south-east of Wampus Pond on lands belonging to Job Coxe and Marston Brundage where

they built ovens. I think the French were there a week or two." They stayed only three days, but there seem to have been ovens there: see Josham Carpenter of North Castle, on 30 October 1847, in vol. 5, p. 771. "The French army built two very large ovens about 40 rods north of Sand's Mills where they baked five hundred loaves at a time in the two." (1 rod=5.5 yards) Wright's (or Sand's) Mill, where John André's captors had handed their prisoner over to Lt.-Col. John Jameson on 23 September 1780, was north of Armonk near the intersection of NY-SR 128 and Cox Avenue near the A.L. Ehrmann Park/North Castle Pool and Tennis Club. It was demolished early in the 20th century. The photograph is reproduced from "An Historic Event Near the '... certain rock ... the letter "C" cut thereon ...'" *North Castle History* 32 (2005), pp. 22-25, p. 22. A stone monument commemorating the imprisonment of André here on 23 September 1780 was erected at the site of the mill in 1930, and a plaque was added in September 2005.

John Hallock had initially built the mill in 1737 on Wampus Brook; it was sold at public auction in 1757 to a Mr. Birdsell who sold it to Thomas Wright some time before 1764. Thomas was the proprietor during the War of Independence but sold the mills to his son William Wright in 1784. William sold to William Latting in 1790 who sold to Thomas Sands the same year. John Sands took over and operated the mills from 1794 until 1831.

¹⁷ J. Leonard LeViness, "Hartsdale in the Revolution." *The Westchester Historian* vol. 47 no. 3, (Summer 1971), pp. 65-68, p. 68.

¹⁸ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 132.

¹⁹ George Smith, *An Universal Military Dictionary* (London, 1779; Reprint, Museum Restoration Service, Ottawa, 1969), pp. 37 and 153.

²⁰ Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797; with an authentic Account of Lower Canada* 2 vols (London, 1799), vol. 1, p. 499 writes that one bushel of wheat weighs 60 lbs, five bushels yield a barrel of fine flour of 196 lbs besides some inferior flour and waste. Miller Thomas Lea in Wilmington, DE told him that 100 bushels of wheat yielded

19 barrels of fine four

2 barrels of second quality

3 barrels of thirs quality

30 bushels of bran

Or 5,920 lbs flour and 90 lbs waste

²¹ Nathanael Greene, "Estimate of Teams to be employed in transporting Provisions and Forage from Trenton to Kings Ferry," 19 October 1778, George Washington Papers, series 4, reel 53.

²² Chester M. Destler, *Connecticut: The Provisions State*. (Chester, 1973), p. 55.

²³ Dowsett Collection of Sands Family Papers, MSA SC 2095-2-33, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis, MD. This "Information from conversation with Mr. G. Middleton 12th Nov^r 1808 – as to the best mode of Salting and packing into Barrels Beef or Pork" includes detailed instructions on how to cut the meat, how to prepare the brine and how to pack the barrels.

²⁴ MG 4: Rev War Collection, Folder "John Fisher Papers 1778-1781". New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, NJ.

²⁵ Selig, *Hussars in Lebanon*, p. 65.

²⁶ The dressed carcass makes up about 60% of the live-weight of cattle; the remaining live-weight is taken up by the hide, blood, bones, horns, hoof, tallow, intestines/casings, fat and organs such as the tongue, heart, kidney and liver known as the fifth quarter.

²⁷ Wadsworth to Henry Champion, 15 July 1780. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Letterbooks, Box 151.

²⁸ In February 1781, Barneville estimated the weekly need at 50 head of live cattle. Brissout de Barneville, "Journal de Guerre de Brissout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" *The French-American Review* vol. 3 no. 4 (October 1950), pp. 217-278, p. 254.

²⁹ As officers completed their equipment in June 1781, they hired servants and purchased horses: even a poor *sous-lieutenant* kept two servants for the campaign; when Rochambeau's aides-de-camp Baron Closen and Cromot du Bourg traveled from Baltimore to Williamsburg in September 1781 they traveled with four and 10 horses. If this ratio of two domestics per officer was observed throughout Rochambeau's little army, the practice added as many as 1,000 *domestiques*, the equivalent of a whole infantry regiment, to the columns.

³⁰ Rochambeau used the French pound, the *livre de Paris*, at 489.5 grams, while the colonists used the slightly lighter avoirdupois pound at 453.6 grams.

³¹ In December 1782, Wadsworth purchased 85 head of cattle on the hoof in Boston weighing 630 lbs on average, leaving 350 lbs of meat per animal. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 144, Folder December 1782.

³² Parsons had sent the letter to William Heron, who in turn forwarded a copy to Sir Henry Clinton. On William Heron (1742-1819), who possibly may have been a double agent, see the biographical note at <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-06-02-0057>. "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. 12 No. 2 (August 1884), pp. 162-175, pp. 166/67.

³³ *Ibid.* p. 173. The last entry is dated 19 July 1781.

³⁴ *Memoirs of Major-General William Heath By Himself* William Abbatt, ed. (New York, 1901; originally Boston, 1798), p. 272.

³⁵ For a brief history of Dobbs Ferry in the American Revolutionary 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 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.

³⁶ Call No. GLC02437.10024, Gilder Lehrman Collection (New York, NY)

³⁷ *Journal of the proceedings of Congress, held at Philadelphia, from September 5, 1775, to April 30, 1776.* (Philadelphia, 1778), p. 31.

³⁸ At Head of Elk, Maryland, Lincoln's Orderly book entry for 8 September recorded that as the troops of the First Division were about to embark aboard transports for the move down the Chesapeake, they were to receive six days of flour, four days of pork and two days of beef. The flour was to be baked into bread that afternoon, and "for this purpose the inhabitants must be requested to lend their Ovens."

³⁹ Standard ration, 1781: A "memorandum ... found among some British papers at York Town Virginia," in October 1781, listed the soldiers' daily "Allowance of Provisions": 1 pound of beef or 9 ounces of pork, 1 pound of flour or bread, 3/7 pint of peas, and 1/6 quart of "Rum

or Spirits." Seven days' allowance of 1/2 pint oatmeal or rice and 6 ounces of butter was also issued. It was noted that "Since the troops have been upon this island, spruce beer has been issued at 8 quarts for 7 days. N.B. When the small species are not delivered, 12 oz of pork are allowed."³⁴ (The "small species" for British troops at Yorktown included sugar, chocolate, and coffee. Sauerkraut was also issued on occasion to minimize the effects of scurvy for troops in garrison or winter quarters.) "... memorandum ... among some British papers at York Town Virginia," October 1781, Numbered Record Books. Natl. Archives, 151.

⁴⁰ The cattle herds with the troops could be quite large. John Hudson remembered that in Baltimore, where the army "encamped on Howard's hill ... six hundred heads of cattle were slaughtered and salted for our use" on the final leg of the journey to Williamsburg.

⁴¹ Orderly Book for MG Lincoln's Brigade 1781. Codex Eng 67, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI.

⁴² E.g. on 17 July, Timothy Pickering informed Stewart that the boat builders and artificers at Fishkill and Fishkill landing stopped work because there are no provisions for them. Colonel Charles Stewart Papers, Collection Number 262, New York State Historical Association — Research Library (Special Collections) Fenimore Art Museum, Cooperstown, New York. The collection is organized chronologically by date.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ebenezer Foote to Stewart, 27 July 1781. Ibid.

⁴⁵ See N Stevens, Deputy Commissary General of Issues to Stewart from Peek's Kill 28th August 1781

I have received four orders from the French Intendant, by Esqr Pye, for the delivery of what flour they have at Albany, Rhinebeck, Kings-Ferry and Peek's 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.

⁴⁶ MG 608, Anderson Family Papers Box 2: Military Correspondence, Folder 12. New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, NJ.

⁴⁷ Wadsworth and Carter engage 46 extra teams along the way. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 155, Folder 1-20 July 1781.

⁴⁸ Wadsworth to Rochambeau, 16 April 1781, Rochambeau Family Papers, Gen Mss 146, Box 1, no. 61, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

⁴⁹ Wadsworth to Rochambeau, 16 April 1781. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, and Rochambeau to Wadsworth, 18 April 1781, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9, Letterbook 1. By 18 April, Rochambeau had requested 150 wagon teams be at Providence by 5 May, among them 20 with four horses, the rest drawn by either four or six ox-teams if case Wadsworth insisted on the larger number. Once the march had begun, Rochambeau very quickly (on 20 June from Windham) began to complain about slow speed and the "great inconvenience with the wagons drawn by oxen, which don't arrive in camp until night and a very long time after the arrival of the troupes". Rochambeau to Washington, 20 June 1781, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9, Letterbook 1.

⁵⁰ This includes the 14 wagons for Lauzun's Legion, though it is unknown whether that brigade was in Rochambeau's train. The names of drivers and cooks are listed in Kenneth Scott, "Rochambeau's American Wagoners, 1780-1783" *The New England Historical and*

Genealogical Register vol. 143, (July 1989), pp. 256-262, based on *Etat Générale des voitures attelées chacune de quatre [cheveaux] ... dont la distribution à été faite le 15th de ce mois [June 1781]* in the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

⁵¹ Carter to Wadsworth on 8 June 1781. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 131, correspondence December 1780 to June 1781.

⁵² *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Richard K. Showman, ed., vol. 2, (Chapel Hill, 1976), p. 533.

⁵³ Heath, *Memoirs*, p. 274.

⁵⁴ Gallatin, *Le Correspondent*, pp. 675-676.

⁵⁵ *Livre d'ordre contenant ceux donnes depuis le débarquement des Troupes a Neuport en Amerique 7^{entrionale}. May 1780 to 17 August 1781. Call no. E 235 in the Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy (France).*

⁵⁶ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 249. For other examples of foraging expeditions in force see Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 38, note 52.

⁵⁷ Gallatin, *Le Correspondent*, p. 679, and Acomb, *Closen*, p. 103.

⁵⁸ "Agricultural commodities such as wheat are traditionally sold by the bushel, but because commodities tend to settle and compact in shipping, disputes over the volume delivered arise easily. To avoid these disputes, traders in a market or a country generally agree on a standard weight for one bushel of the commodity. Often this standard weight is set by law. Although the bill of lading still shows "bushels," it is really the weight rather than the volume that is sold and guaranteed."

<https://agriculture.sc.gov/content.aspx?ContentID=724>

The form used in the U.S. was legalized by Parliament in 1696. One U.S. or Winchester bushel equals 4 pecks or 32 (dry) quarts; this is a volume of 2150.42 cubic inches or about 1.2445 cubic feet, and represents the volume of a cylindrical container 18.5 inches (47.0 cm) in diameter and 8 inches (20.3 cm) deep. The U. S. bushel holds about 35.2 liters.

<http://www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/dictB.html>

⁵⁹ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT. Box 23, French Army Papers, 1778-1783, Folder 3, Correspondence Nov 1780-August 1781.

George Washington's Headquarters in the Joseph Appleby House

There is no trace left of "Washington's Head Quarters ... at Joseph Appleby's about half a mile from the Dobbs Ferry Road about the same (as much) from the Saw mill river."¹

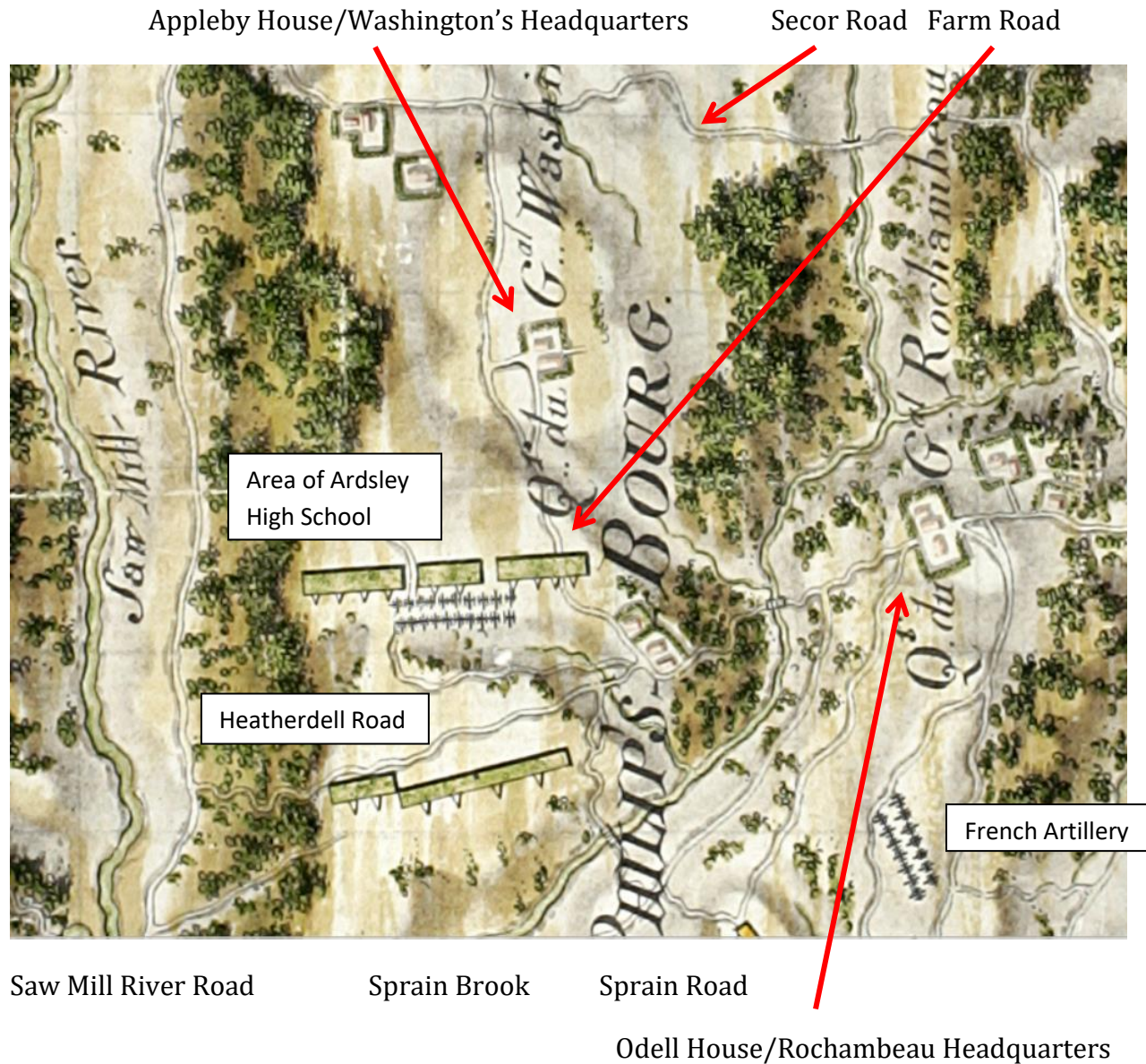
Home of David Pugsly (1759-1841), a loyalist, who moved to Nova Scotia after the war where he died. A British spy report places Lord Stirling and "a French General" in Pugsly's home but the French headquarters map shows no French officer lodged in the direction of the Continental Army.

John Appleby House = Washington's Headquarters on Ridge Road. The house shown here is that of John Appleby (1764-1830). John was a son of Joseph Appleby (c.1732/1708 - before 1792)



Detail from Robert Erskine map No. 59, New-York Historical Society. Erskine sites the house directly on today's Secor Road, contradicting the detailed maps drawn by French engineers in 1781, which show the John Appleby House a bit off to the south and away from the road.

In 1781, there existed a direct road connection from the Odell House to the Joseph Appleby House, indispensable for the communication between Washington and Rochambeau. A comparison of contemporary and early twentieth-century maps of the encampment area still show that road connector.



The distance from the Appleby House to Secor Road on this map is less than one third of a mile. The road leading from the Appleby House to Secor Road was abandoned at an unknown point in time.

Detail from *Position de l'Armée Americaine et Française a Philips-Bourg Distance de 12 Milles de Kings-bridge et 25 Milles de New-York, depuis le 6 Juillet 1781*. New-York Historical Society, New York.

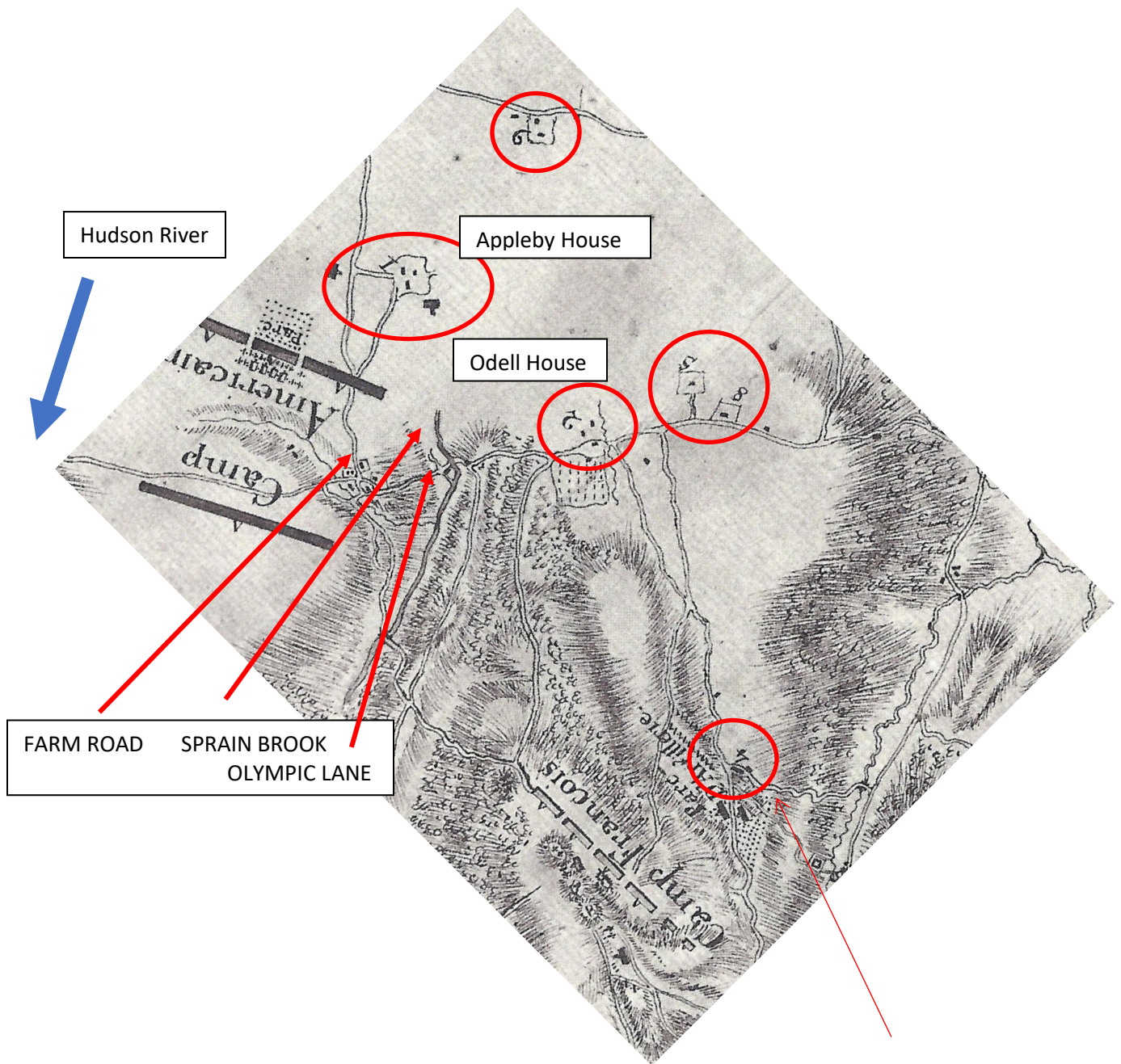


Farm Lane Heatherdell Road Sprain Brook Sprain Road

“L” indicates Washington’s headquarters in the Appleby House

“R” identifies Rochambeau’s headquarters at the Odell House on Ridge Road

Detail of a map of the encampment at White Plains from the journal of an unidentified grenadier officer (?) in the Soissonnois Regiment of Infantry.²



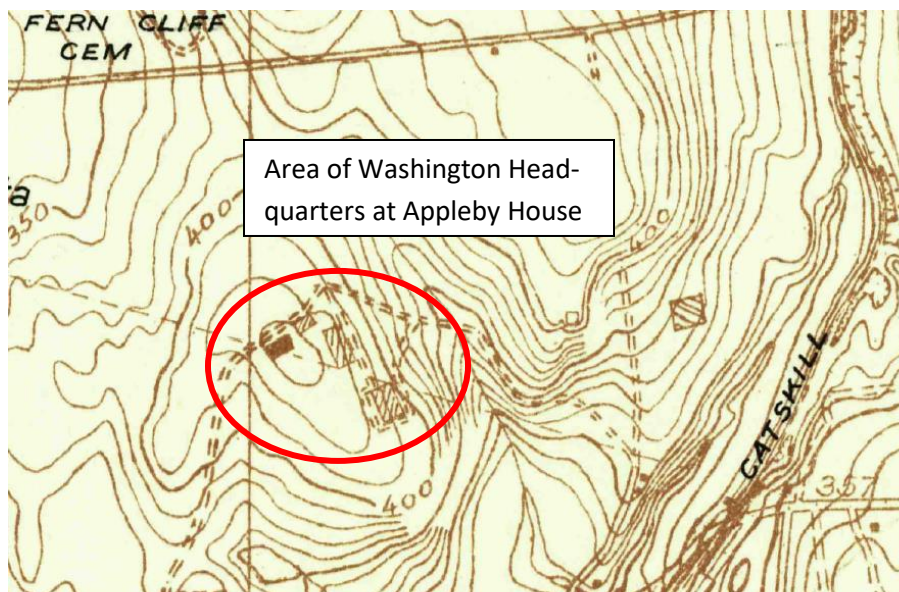
- 1 = Washington Headquarters
- 2 = Rochambeau Headquarters
- 5 = *baron* de Vioménil
- 8 = César Louis de Baulny (treasurer)
- 9 = Revoux de Ronchamp (provost)

4 = Quarters of the chevalier de Chastellux on 8 South Healy Street. South Healy no longer connects to Birchwood Lane and Ridge Road.

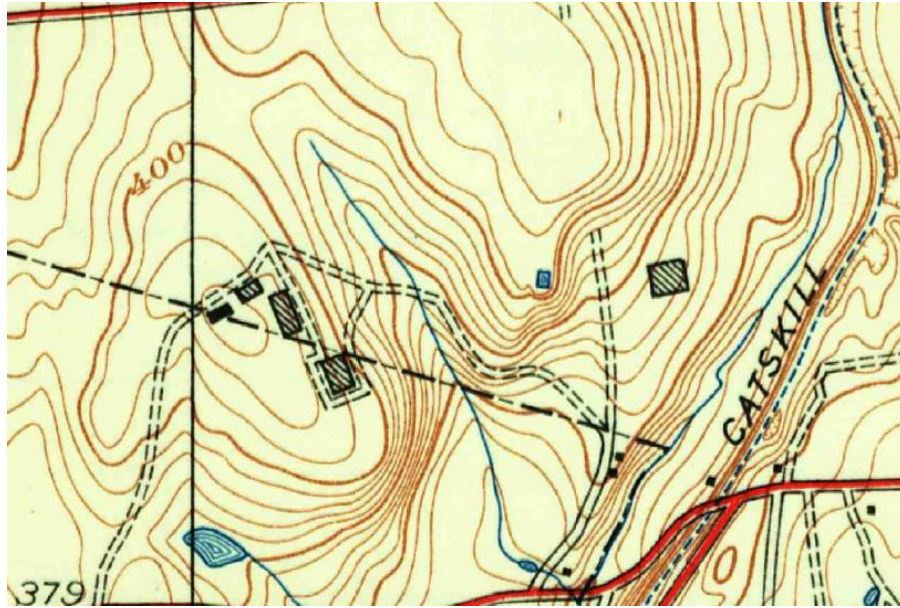
Detail of "Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp]".³



Detail of Frederick W. Beers, *Town of Greenburgh, Westchester Co., N.Y.* (New York, 1868), map 30. The Odell House is identified as the headquarters of “Col. Rochambeau” [sic]; Secor Road is indicated with a dotted line; but no roads are shown leading off of Heatherdell Road, Ridge Road, or Secor Road any more, and no building is shown where the Appleby House used to stand. “Washington Hill” presumably received its name from its vicinity to Washington’s 1781 headquarters but there is no proof for this derivation.



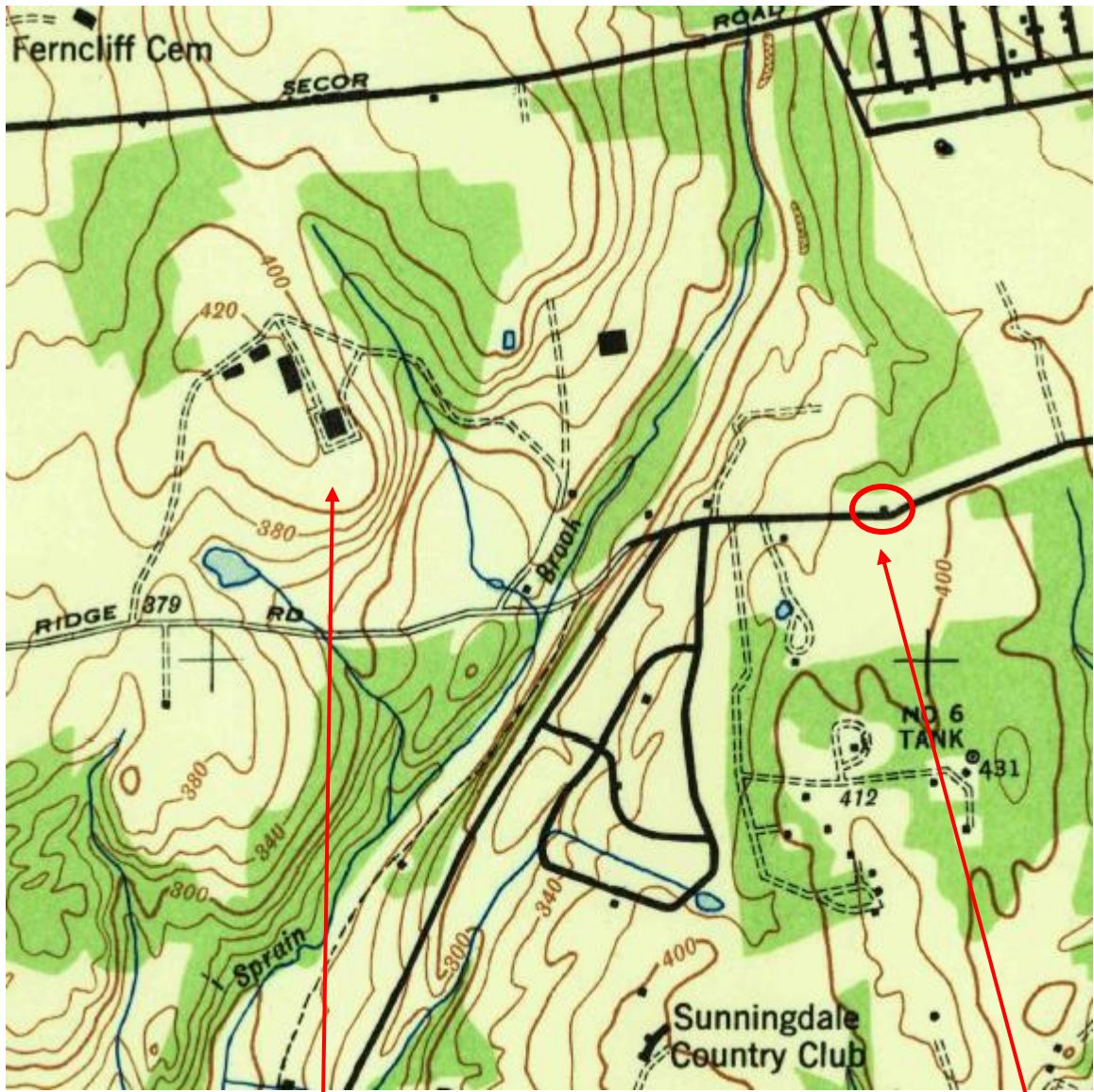
Detail from USGS map “White Plains” (1932). No USGS map between 1902 and 1932 exists for the area, making this the first post-Revolutionary War map indicating buildings in the area where the Appleby House stood. Note the similarities in the road pattern and the arrangement of the buildings with the 1892 USGS map.



A similar housing pattern is shown on USGS map "White Plains" (1938). In view of Morgan H. Seacord's research it is unlikely, however, that these buildings represent the Appleby House. These remnants of the house still in existence in the 1930s on the wooded lot behind the WFAS radio station just south of Secor Road have since disappeared.⁴



End of the lane leading to the site of the Appleby house and buildings.

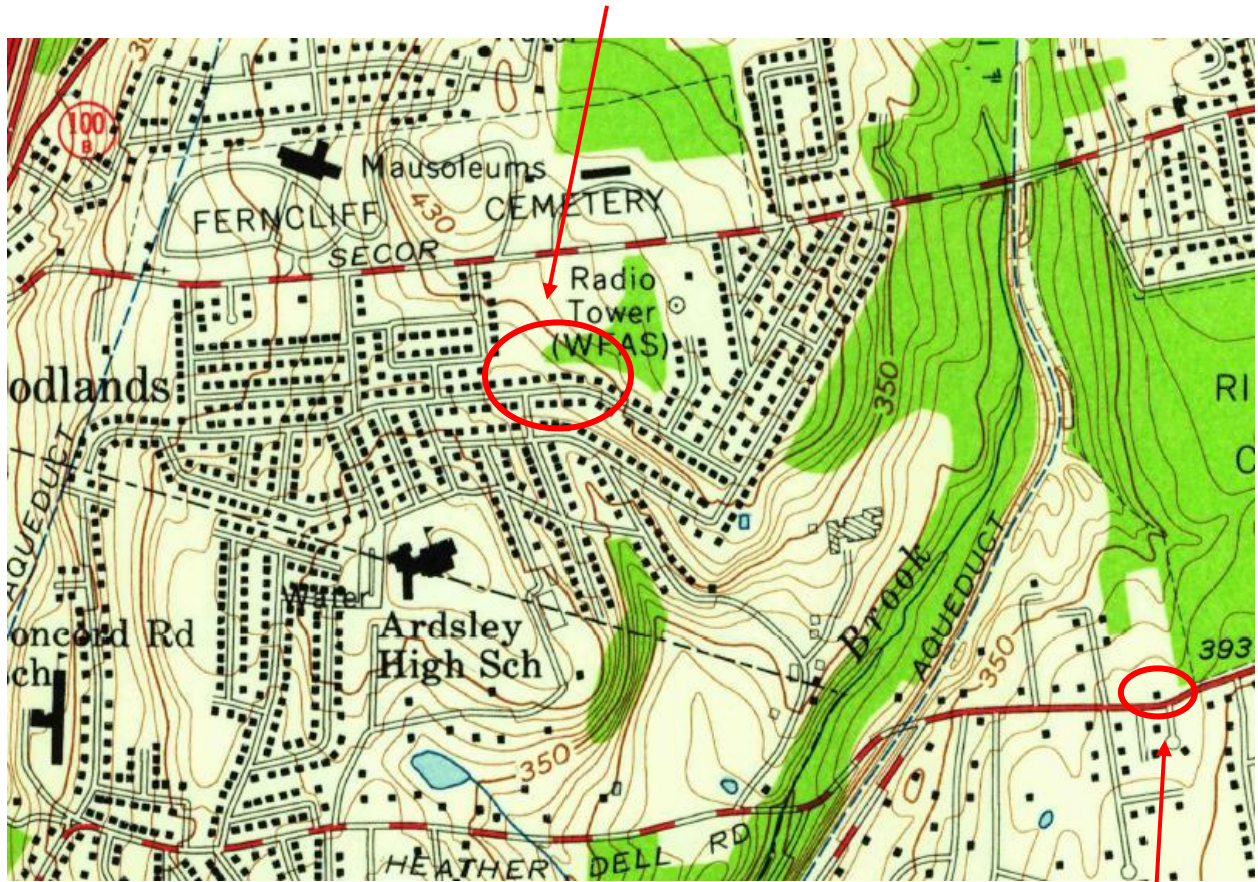


Appleby House area

Odell House

Area of the American encampment and Washington's headquarters on USGS map "White Plains" (1947).

Approximate are of Washington Headquarters at Appleby House.



Odell House

Detail from USGS map "White Plains" (1957). Housing and development has completely altered the landscape and road patterns. The buildings shown on the 1947 map where the Appleby property used to be have disappeared and been replaced by Ardsley High School. Note the WFAS Radio tower.

Burkewood Road no longer connects to Olympic Lane. It became a dead-end street when power lines were set up. The original Olympic Lane, the eastern of the two lanes, has now been changed into a long oval leading to Secor Woods Park, the building that stood at the end of the lane is now the site of Anthony F. Veteran Park owned by the Town of Greenburgh.

ENDNOTES

¹ McDonald Papers Vol. 1, p. 138. See the interview with Andrew Corsa of Fordham in vol. 5, p. 690: "In July 1781, I was up for several days at General Washington's headquarters at Appleby's in order to reclaim a horse which had been taken from me." The location is determined beyond any doubt by James Owen, "Location of Washington's headquarters in 1781 at Appleby's in the Town of Greenburgh." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* Vol. 8 No. 3, (July 1932), pp. 101-108. Owen already suggested in his article more than 80 years ago that a marker be placed on or near this site.

On 11 August 1781, "Benjamin Husseff, servant to Coll: Tupper of the 10th Massachusetts Regiment deserted yesterday morning. The Regt. lies about two miles eastward of Dobb's ferry. Mr. Washington's house is about a Quarter of a mile in the rear of the Army at Applebys house - he has a guard of eighty men with him constantly." Deserter Interview Benjamin Husseff. Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 170, item 9. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

These were the men of Washington's Life Guard under Lieutenant William Colfax (since 1 January 1781), established in April 1777 and composed exclusively of Virginians. It consisted of four sergeants, four corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and fifty privates for a total of 60 men. While in the Appleby House, the Colonel Elisha Sheldon's Second Continental Light Dragoons provided an additional bodyguard and escort. "Customarily, in camp two sentries were assigned to the front and two in back of Washington's residence day and night." See Harry M. Ward, *George Washington's Enforcers. Policing the Continental Army* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2006), pp. 59-72; the quote on p. 61. Its role in the failed raid of 3 July 1781 is discussed on p. 69.

² Microfilm. Call No. HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. On the identification of the author see Robert A. Selig, "A New View of Old Williamsburg. A Huntington Library Manuscript Provides Another Glimpse of the City in 1781." *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* vol. 22, no. 1, (Spring 2000), pp. 30-34.

³ Reproduced from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) in Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780,1781,1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41.

⁴ Morgan H. Seacord, "Site of the Appleby House." *The Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* vol. 10 no. 1 (January 1934), pp. 8-13, p. 11. The caption in the *Bulletin* reads:

Courtesy of New York Evening Journal.

This picture shows the end of the lane leading to the site of the Appleby house and buildings.

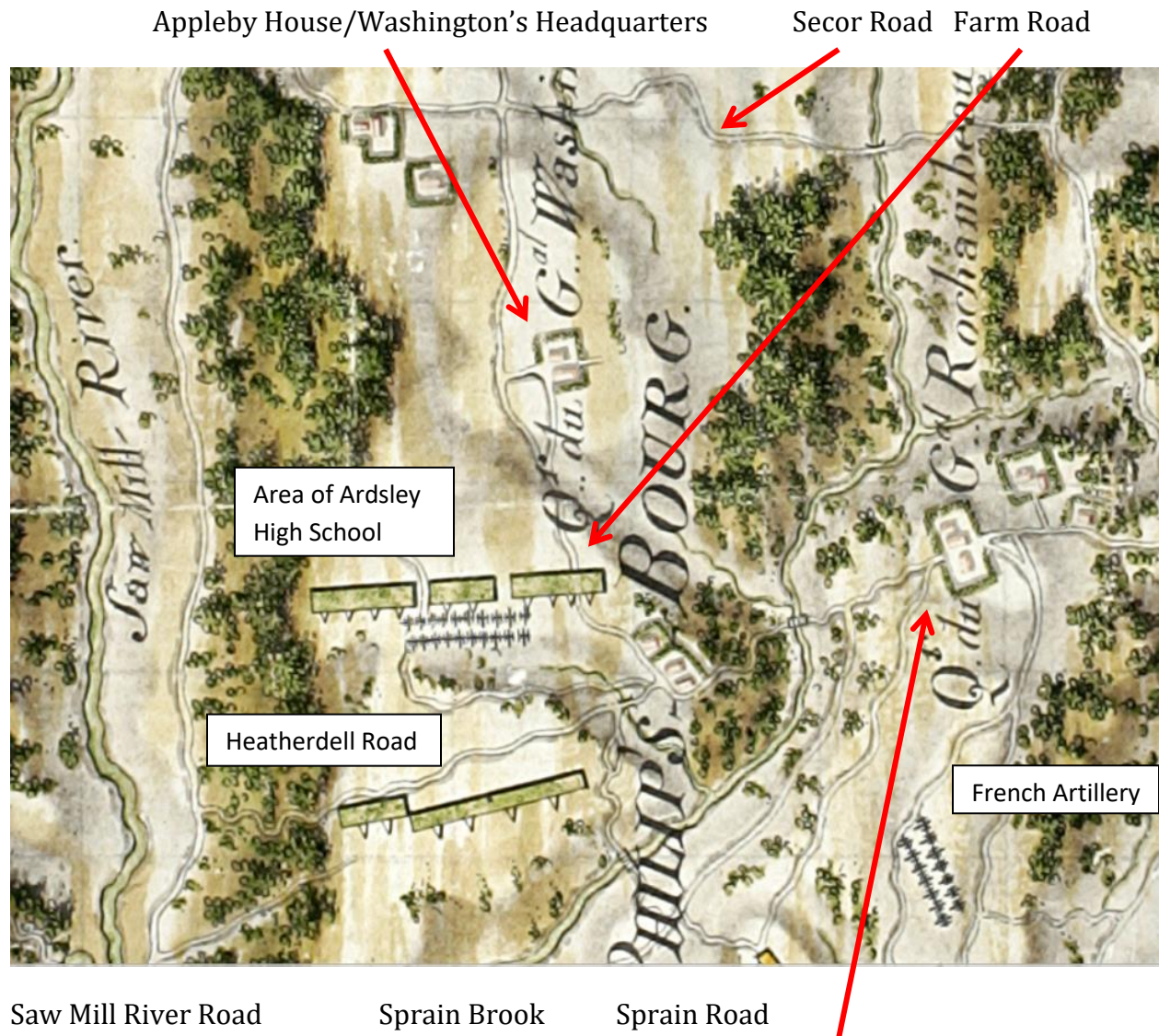
The *comte* de Rochambeau's Headquarters in the John Odell House



Rochambeau Headquarters at Odell House on 425 Ridge Road

"The headquarters," i.e. Rochambeau's quarters, wrote Louis Alexandre Berthier, "was set up behind the camp in several widely separated houses."¹ Berthier apparently was rather generous with his description: others, such as André Amblard, wrote "le quartier Gén^{al} était Composé de 3 ou 4 mauvaises Baraques – the headquarters consisted of three or four bad shacks."² One of those "shacks", known today as the "Odell House", was owned by Widow Sarah Bates, who became Rochambeau's hostess. It is located at 425 Ridge Road in Greenburgh. Colonel John Odell, after whom the house is named today, had been one of the guides of the Continental Army. His son Jackson Odell was still alive and living in the house in the 1840s. Interviewed by McDonald on 12 September 1845, he declared that "Rochambeau's Head Quarters were at Colonel John Odell's house then owned by one Bates and now by Jackson Odell."³ References to the headquarters are frequent in the McDonald interviews and leave no doubt as to the location. On Friday, 3 October 1845, a "Mrs. Churchill, born Taylor, living on the Tuckeyhoe Road near Hart's corner," told McDonald that she "was a girl 15 or 16 years of age in 1781 when the French army lay south of the Bates House now occupied by Jackson Odell. This house was the Head Quarters of General Rochambeau during all the time (sic) the French army was encamped on the high ground between the Allaire road [today's Sprain Road] and Sprain Brook on the south side of the Dobbs Ferry Road. While there General Rochambeau gave four or five large dinner parties to the French and American officers in the old barn northwest of the house which was then owned by Mr. Bates, afterwards by Colonel John Odell, and is now owned by Jackson Odell."⁴ John Tompkins of Eastchester built the central portion of the Odell House in 1732 and lived there until 1760. Gilbert Bates and following his death his widow Sarah occupied the farm from 1760 to 1785, when Col. John Odell purchased the property. His family was among the founders of Westchester in 1662.

In 1781 there existed a direct road connection from the Odell House to the Joseph Appleby House, indispensable for the communication between Washington and Rochambeau. A comparison of contemporary and early twentieth-century maps of the encampment area still show that road connector.



The distance from the Appleby House to Secor Road on this map is less than one third of a mile. The road leading from the Appleby House to Secor Road was abandoned at an unknown point in time.

Detail from *Position de l'Armée Americaine et Française a Philips-Bourg Distance de 12 Milles de Kings-bridge et 25 Milles de New-York, depuis le 6 Juillet 1781*. New-York Historical Society, New York.

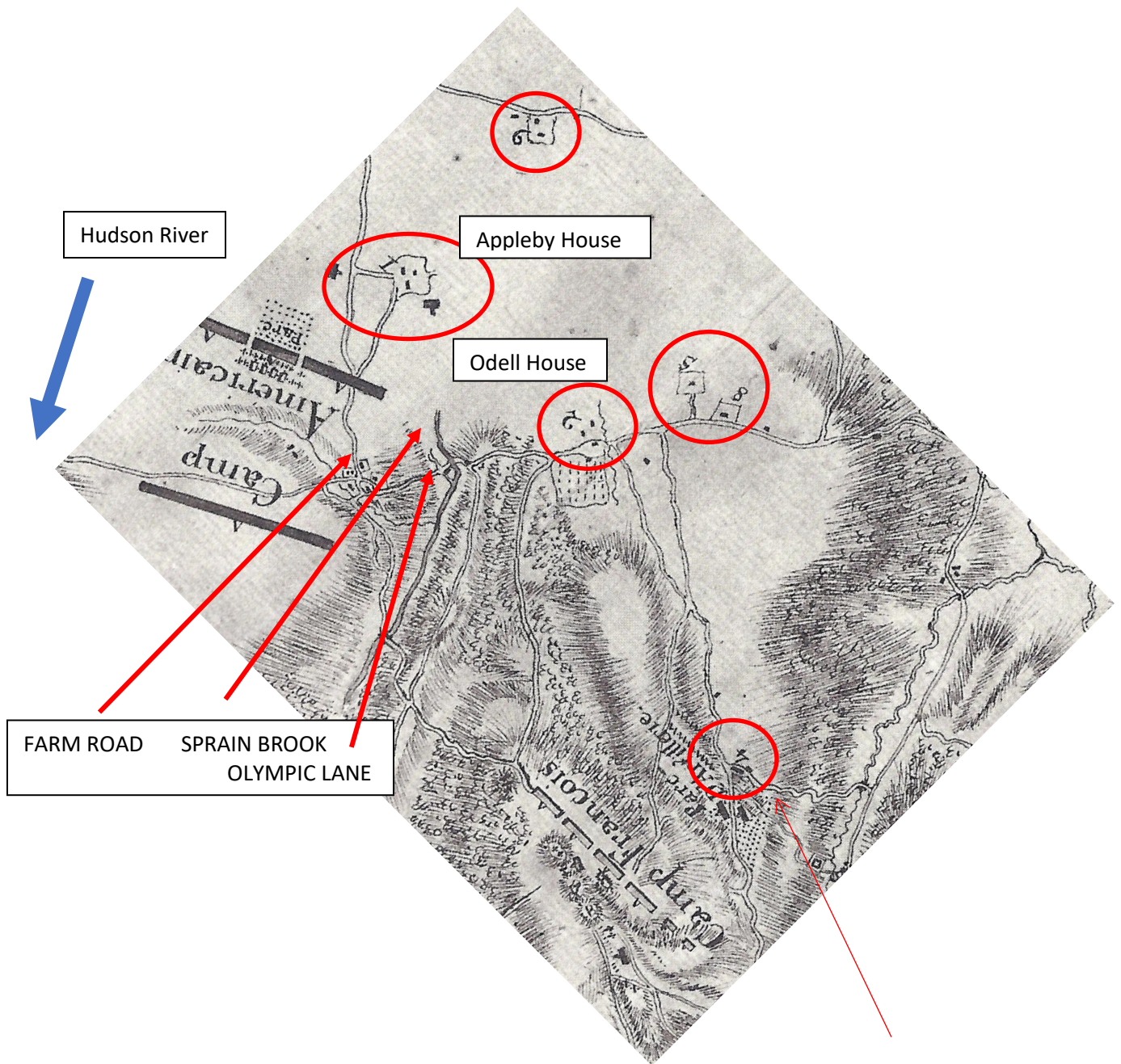


Farm Lane Heatherdell Road Sprain Brook Sprain Road

“L” indicates Washington’s headquarters in the Appleby House

“R” identifies Rochambeau’s headquarters at the Odell House on Ridge Road

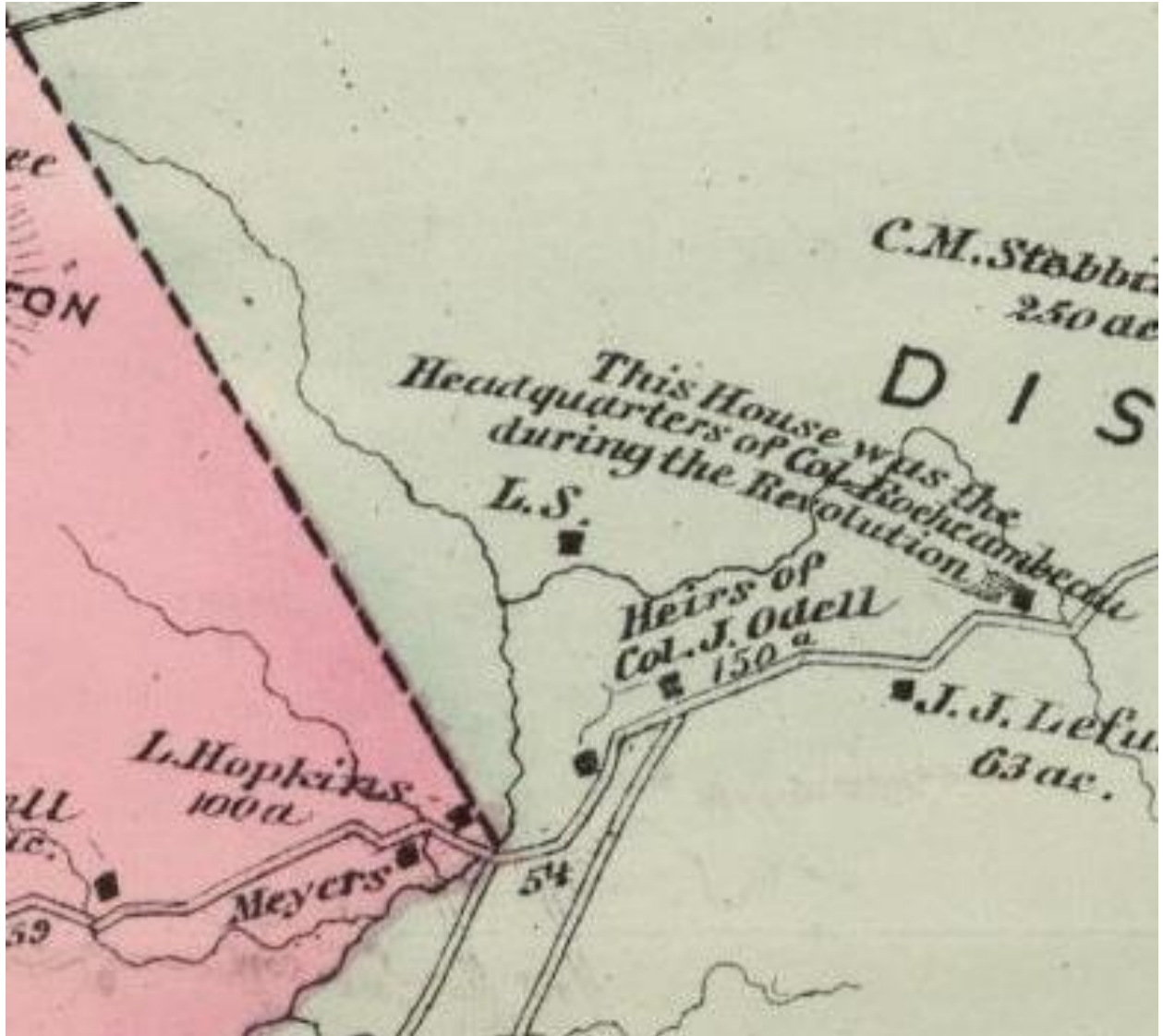
Detail of a map of the encampment at White Plains from the journal of an unidentified grenadier officer (?) in the Soissonnois Regiment of Infantry.⁵



- 1 = Washington Headquarters
- 2 = Rochambeau Headquarters
- 5 = baron de Vioménil
- 8 = César Louis de Baulny (treasurer)
- 9 = Revoux de Ronchamp (provost)

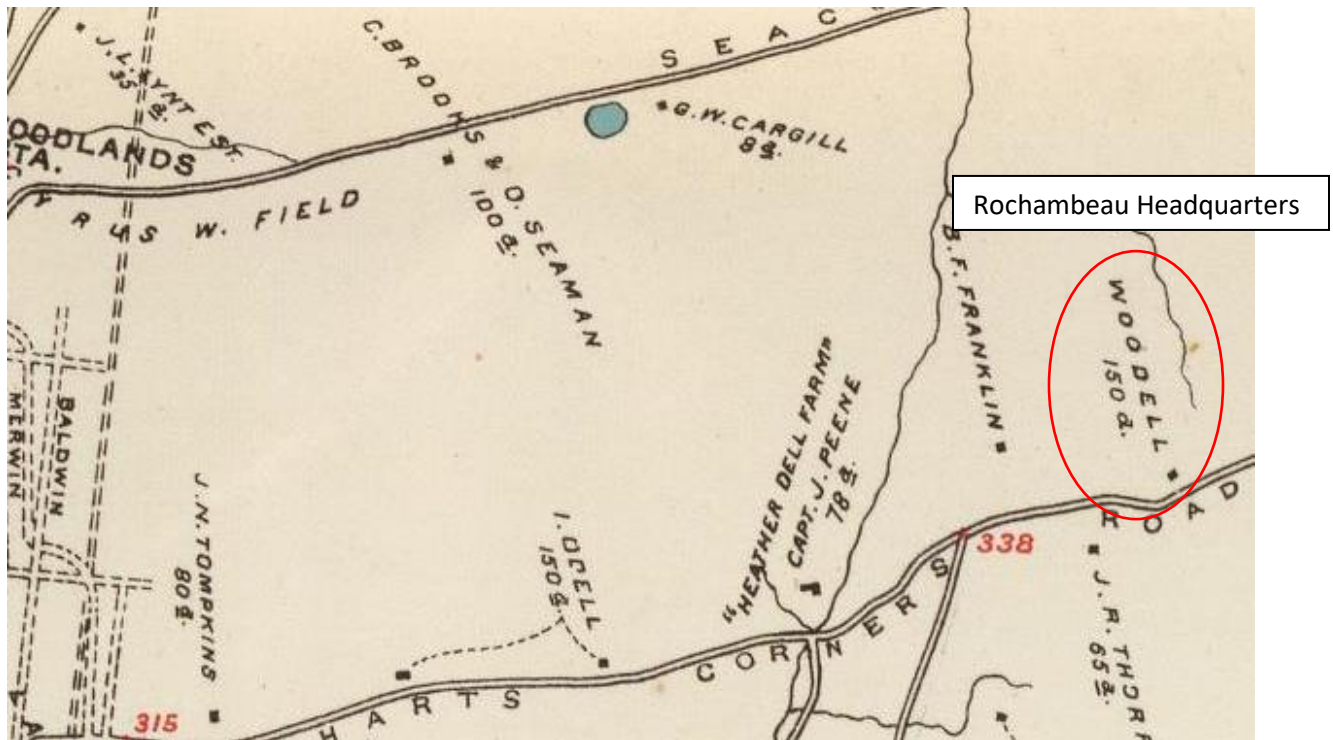
4 = Quarters of the chevalier de Chastellux on 8 South Healy Street. South Healy no longer connects to Birchwood Lane and Ridge Road.

Detail of "Lodgings of Staff Headquarters [Philipsburg Camp]".⁶

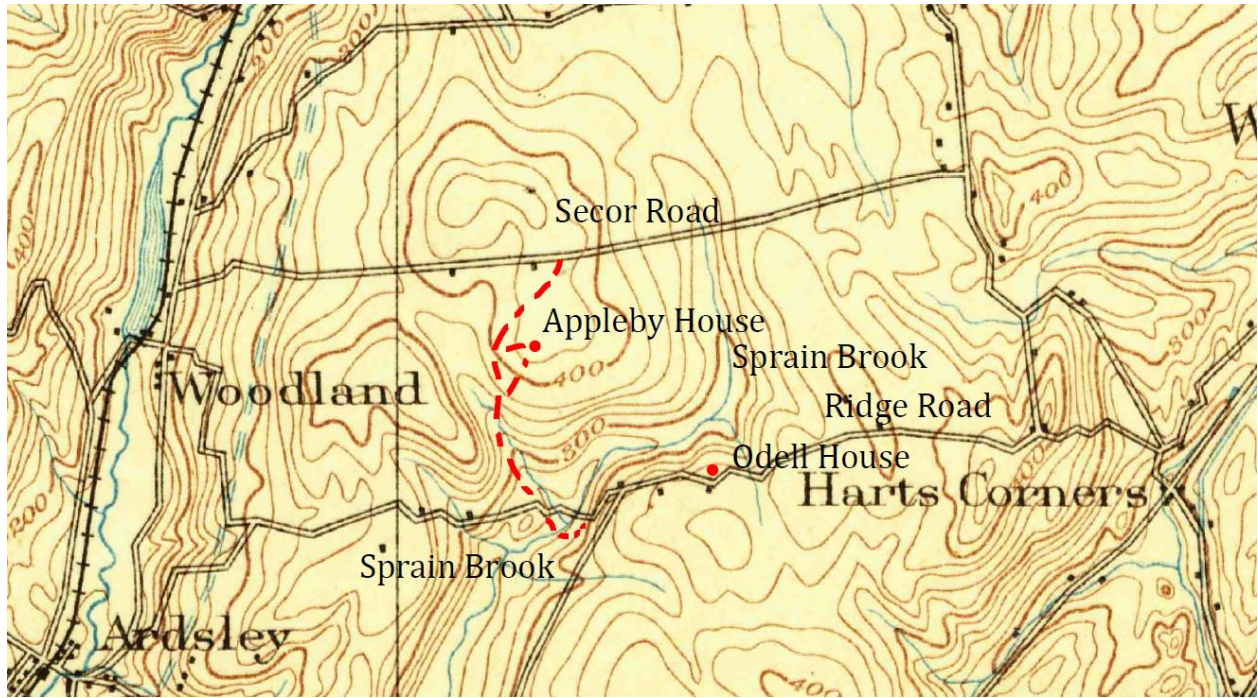


Detail of Frederick W. Beers, *Town of Greenburgh, Westchester Co., N.Y.* (New York, 1872), pp. 32-33.

The Odell House is identified as the headquarters of “Col. Rochambeau” [sic]; but no roads are shown leading off of Heatherdell Road or Ridge Road toward the Appley House.



Detail from Joseph Rudolf Bien, *Atlas of Westchester County, NY, page 20: Town of Greenburg* (New York, 1893) No roads are shown leading off of Secor Road.



Detail from USGS map "Tarrytown" (1892). No roads are shown leading off of Heatherdell Road or Secor Road, and no building is shown where the Appleby House used to stand.



PLATE 11

ODELL HOUSE, HARTSDALE: SOUTH FRONT

(Courtesy of New York Historical Society)
NO. 3 ON MAP

Rear view/away from Ridge Road of the Odell House



Front of the Odell House viewed from Ridge Road

The historical marker was placed by the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1905.
It reads:

|| THE HOUSE WITHIN WAS THE || HEADQUARTERS, || JULY 6 TO AUGUST 19,
1781, || OF || GENERAL DE ROCHAMBEAU, || COMMANDING THE FRENCH
ARMY, || THEN POSTED ON THESE HEIGHTS. || THIS TABLET WAS || ERECTED
IN 1905. ||



Endnotes

¹ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 249

² André Amblard, *Histoire des campagnes de l'Armée de Rochambaud (sic) en Amérique*. Unpaginated ms, Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche in Privas, France.

³ McDonald Papers vol. 1, p. 138.

⁴ McDonald Papers Vol. 1, p. 187.

⁵ Microfilm. Call No. HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. On the identification of the author see Robert A. Selig, "A New View of Old Williamsburg. A Huntington Library Manuscript Provides Another Glimpse of the City in 1781." *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* vol. 22, no. 1, (Spring 2000), pp. 30-34.

⁶ Reproduced from the original in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia) in Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S.K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780,1781,1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, map 41.

The Departure of Allied Forces, 18 - 25 August 1781

Now that the decision to shift the objective for the 1781 campaign from New York City to Yorktown had been made, now that news of the whereabouts of Cornwallis and his forces had reached the Appleby House, now that the troops that were to march to Virginia had been selected and logistical issues had been addressed, Washington and Rochambeau could give the marching orders. "General Orders" for Wednesday, 15 August 1781, had instructed "The Army [to] hold itself in the most perfect readiness to move at the shortest notice."¹

In August of 1781, the forces that constituted those components of the Continental Army selected to march to Virginia were however a) stationed at various locations across New York State, b) set off from those locations at different days and times, c) sometimes as small detachments of larger units, e.g. regiments, d) on different routes, and e) joined the bulk of the army at different times and locations along the march-route. One could even argue that the Continental Army deploying to Virginia was not fully constituted until the Second New York Regiment coming from Albany caught up with the rest at Trenton, NJ on 3 September, more than two weeks after the first units had departed from Westchester and Rockland Counties.²

Since only a small part of the Continental Army that marched to Yorktown departed from the encampment in Greenburgh, these issues need to be addressed in order to get a complete picture of the departure of the Continental Army for Virginia:

- a) which Continental Army forces are marching to Virginia in August 1781
- b) where these Continental Army forces are encamped in August 1781
- c) what their destinations are during the first week of the campaign
- d) which roads they are taking to their destinations/join-up points
- e) on which dates they are leaving for their destinations

A detailed analysis of the routes, times, dates and places of the departure of the two armies from Westchester County shows the complexity of the operation. It also shows the high degree of trust Washington did place in the ability of his company-grade officers to act independently as they disengaged successfully from Sir Henry Clinton in New York City.

On 19 August 1781, Washington wrote 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."

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, arriving on | 25 August |
| New Jersey Brigade | Colonel Mathias Ogden | 251 rank and file | Many already at Sneedens Landing across the Hudson since 13 July; remainder crosses on 18 August 1781 | 19 August |
| 2 nd Canadian Regt. (Congress' Own) | Brigadier Moses Hazen | 204 rank and file | Sets over from Dobbs Ferry to Sneedens 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 rank and file | | |

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.

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.³ 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 Hamilton's Light Infantry, not listed in the July report at all, is 533 r&f strong with 15 listed as "Sick present".

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.

As this tabulation shows, there seven places of departure and routes from Dobbs' Ferry and Albany to Peekskill, a distance of 130 miles, five departure dates between 18 and 23 August and two crossing sites at Dobbs' Ferry and Peekskill over the Hudson used by the Continental and French armies as they set out for Virginia. The crossing began during the night of 19/20 August and was not completed until 25 August when French forces which had marched to Peekskill on their on three separate routes had finished crossing as well. It also shows that at most 1,000 troops out of an army of 2,700, marched from Dobbs Ferry north along the Hudson between 18 and 20 August to cross from Peekskill to Stony Point.

The sequence for 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 (and presumably Scammell as well?) “marched from Dobbs’s Ferry about ten miles, and encamped.” A camp ten miles from Dobbs’ Ferry places Benjamin just short of Ossining.
- ➔ In the early afternoon of 18 August (prior to 4:00 p.m.) 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.
- ➔ 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 Second 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
- ➔ An unknown number (150?) of men from the Rhode Island Regiment set out on 20 August from West Point, the remaining 300 (?) depart 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 Second Canadian 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 23 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.

Rather than present chronologically a day-by-day account of troop movements between 17 and 23 August from widely dispersed locations along the Hudson, the disengagement of allied forces from New York City will be outlined on a unit-by-unit basis. The diary of Captain John Hutchinson Buell of the Connecticut Line shows how units not scheduled to march to Virginia were deployed along the river wherever they were needed.

17th August 1781

Major Darby was ordered to Wappings Crick after 35 new Boats I was ordered with all the Party 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

20 in the morning crost the Rhisland Regt then his Excellency's Baggage

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."⁴

The Commander in Chief and his Guard

No primary source that records the whereabouts of the Commander in Chief from 16 to 19 August is known to exist. On 17 August 1781, at "11 OClock A.M." Washington wrote a letter to David Forman from "Dobbs Ferry". After that he moved inland; in a letter written later that day to Admiral de Grasse he originally gave the location as "Camp near Dobbs Ferry" but he struck out "Dobbs Ferry" and replaced it with "Camp at Phillipsb[ur]g".

In the evening he apparently returned to Dobbs Ferry: his first letter on 18 August to Alexander McDougall was again written from "Head Quarters near Dobbs Ferry". That same day he also wrote to Congress from "Head Quarters Dobbs Ferry" as well as to Rochambeau and Admiral Barras in Newport. None of these letters give a time when they were written. Similarly the letters written on 19 August are simply dated "Head Quarters 19th Aug^t 1781"; "General Orders" are given at "Head Quarters near Dobbs ferry Sunday August 19th 1781".

19 August was the day of Washington's departure when his private secretary Jonathan Trumbull (1740-1809) wrote in his diary: "The general, with the troops, commenced his march from the camp at Philipsburg." 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".⁵ Later that day he passed Singing with the American column" he rode at least part of the way with his forces 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: it is ca. 11 miles from Dobbs Ferry to Ossining and 11 miles more to Peekskill.

Washington's diary contains no entries for 17 or 18 August, but on 19 August he wrote: "Passed Singing with the American column. The French column marched by the way of Northcastle, Crompond & Pinesbridge being near ten miles further." 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. "

The "head" of the American army Washington referred to consisted of the First New York Regiment though a detachment of Light Infantry had already crossed earlier in the day. Lt. Samuel Benjamin of the 8th Massachusetts who served as Scammell's adjutant during the campaign wrote: "August 18. Our detachment marched from Dobbs's Ferry about ten miles, and encamped. 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."⁶ Since it moved faster than the artillery the new Yorkers came next, followed by the van of Lamb's artillery and a second detachment of Light Infantry which on "August 20 Crossed the Ferry and camped in the evening near Stony Point."

"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 also 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."⁷

The crossing of the Hudson constituted probably 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 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."

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's 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." The next four days he simply recorded: "2d. 23d. 24th. & 25th. Employed in transporting the French Army, its baggage & Stores over the river."

French forces completed the crossing of the Hudson around mid-night 25/26 August, six days after a first detachment of the American Light Infantry had crossed on 19/20 August. Behind it followed a small hospital wagon train under Captain Thomas Loomis.

The Rhode Island Regiment

In mid-August 1781, about 2/3 of the regiment, 300 rank and file, were quartered in Westchester County and approximately 1/3, ca. 120 officers and men, at West Point. On 19 August Washington ordered General Alexander 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 men could have sailed on 20 August at the earliest (it is more than 30 miles from Dobbs Ferry to West Point) and reached Stony Point on 21 August.

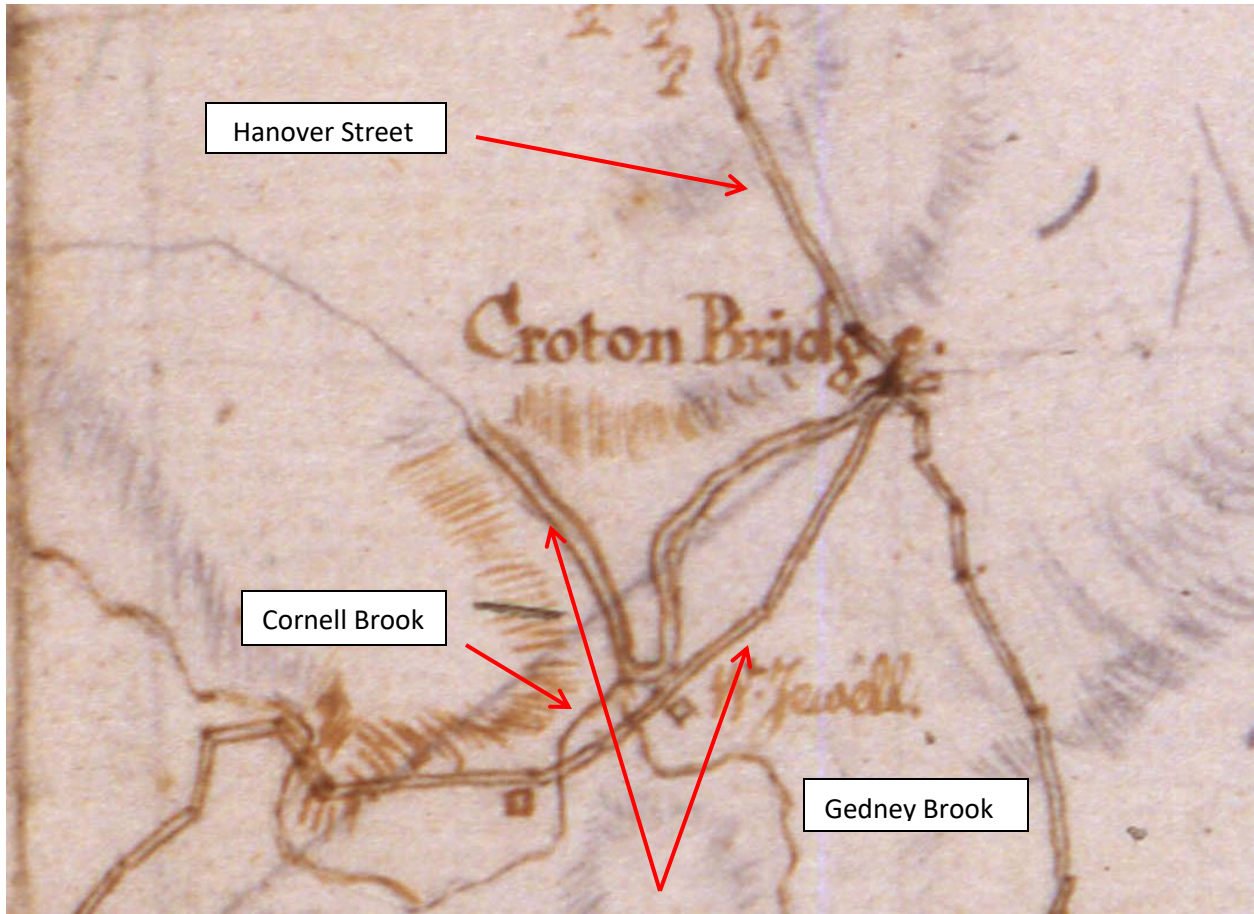
These were the troops General Henry Knox was referring to in his letter from his camp "near King's Ferry" to Major Baumann and the artificers on 23 August 1781. In it Knox ordered Baumann to stop at "some convenient Ground North of & near to Posts mills" since "Colonel Olneys regiment or part of it has march'd to serve as a guard to your charge. You must draw provisions from the nearest place where there are any public provisions - inform me when you arrived - you will soon receive further orders."⁸

On 23 August these men were encamped at Stony Point. In order to reach Baumann the Rhode Island Regiment would have taken the equivalent of modern-day NY-SR 17A going due east from Stony Point to its inter-section with NY-SR 17 just south of Southfields. Both in view of General Orders of 24 August and of Baumann's letter to Knox of 25 August it appears unlikely that this detachment of the Rhode Island met up with Baumann before his arrival in Pompton Plains.⁹

On 21 August, Washington wrote in his diary: "In the course of this day the whole of the American Troop, all their baggage, artillery & Stores, crossed the river." His diary for 21 August continues: "Nothing remained of ours but some Waggons in the Commissary's & Qr. Mr. Generals departmt., which were delayed, that no interruption might be given to the passage of the French Army."

Captain François Ignace Ervoil d'Oyré (1739-1799), one of Rochambeau's engineers, recorded the transportation of these wagons in his diary under 22 August:

"Third march to Peekskill. As advance guard the cavalry of Lauzun and the pickets taken from the line [infantry]. A battalion of grenadiers as the rear guard. The same day the wagon train of the American Army, escorted by a rather considerable body of troops, crossed the Croton at Pines Bridge; and went to an encampment three or four miles beyond the camp occupied by the French the previous night."¹⁰



Kitchawan Road (134)

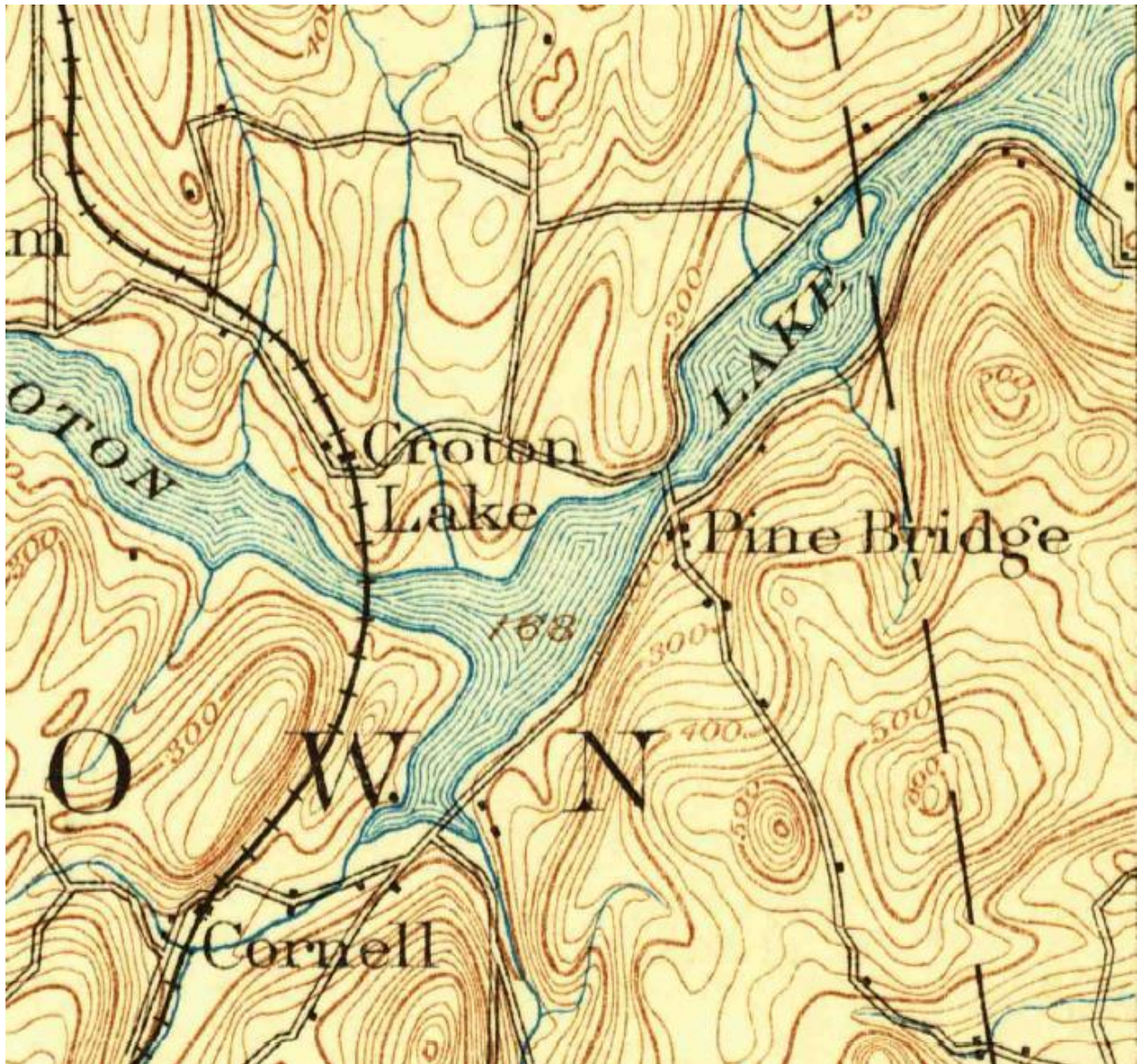
Saw Mill River Road (100)

Crow Hill Road ?

Detail from Erskine "Map No. 32: Roads from Peekskill to Pines Bridge on Croton River &c" (1778) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.



Detail from « Position des Armées américaine et française à Kings-ferry, Peaks-hill, Crompond et Hunts-taverne du 17. septembre au 20 octobre 1782. » Library of Congress



USGS Tarrytown (1892)

Damming the Croton River began as early as 1842 and has permanently altered the road patterns in the area.

The only “considerable body” of Continental Army forces available for this task were the remaining 300 men of the Rhode Island Regiment. As the experiences of the French army showed this was not an unnecessary precaution. Just the previous day, 21 August, Loyalist cavalry under Colonel James DeLancey had attacked the French rear-guard near Pines Bridge and had to be repulsed with the use of artillery.



Detail from Erskine “Map No. 32: Roads from Peekskill to Pines Bridge on Croton River &c” (1778), New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

Oyré’s description indicates that these wagons followed the path of the French forces from Greenburgh via Pines Bridge to Peekskill rather than march along the Hudson.¹¹ Oyré’s dates suggest that these “Waggons in the Commissary’s & Qr. Mr. Generals departmt” crossed the Hudson on 23 August; the columns re-assembled at Haverstraw on 24 August and continued their march the next day.

Both the dates as well as the task of the Rhode Island Regiment, i.e. accompanying and protecting the wagon train, are confirmed by the *comte de Lauberdier*. With the rest of the Continental Army well ahead of French forces, the Rhode Island Regiment was the last

American unit to cross the Hudson. As the French were crossing the Hudson “le Régiment de Rhode Island was of great use to us; pretty much all soldiers of this unit are good sailors. They were distributed on all the bateaux, which our soldiers could not have steered without risk for the passengers.”

The regiment continued its task of assisting the American wagons and supply train on the march from Stony Point across New Jersey until the column reached Chatham on 28 August. When Washington issued the order of march to General Lincoln on 24 August from Kings Ferry, “[t]he right column [was] to consist of the Parke of Artillery; Ordnance Stores; The Quarter Masters and Commissary Stores the Baggage of the Staff; the Cloathing, Boats, and other things, covered by Colo. Olneys Regiment and the Corps of Sapr[s] and M[in]ers.”

On 25 August, Washington wrote in his diary: “the American Troops marched in two Columns--Genl. Lincoln with the light Infantry & first York Regiment pursuing the rout by Peramus to Springfield--while Colo. Lamb with his Regiment of Artillery--the Parke--Stores and Baggage of the Army covered by the Rhode Island Regt. proceeded to Chatham by the way of Pompton & the two bridges.” That day regimental orders for the Second Artillery were issued at Ramapo. The Rhode Island Regiment not only departed for Virginia from two separate locations that were miles apart but those segments that marched north from Greenburgh did not travel via Dobbs Ferry and along the Hudson to Peekskill.



Pines Bridge crossing before the creation of the reservoir and the bridge on Route 100



The American Wagon Train

Chief engineer Louis le Begue de Presle du Portail's "Estimate of the number of Horses & Oxen of the Main Army for the Campaign 1781 & of the cost of the Forage requisite for their Support for 182 days" allowed the Commander-in-Chief and his guard 64 horses and 24 oxen. Each regiment of Infantry was allowed 22 horses and 32 oxen; an artillery regiment had 20 horses and 40 oxen. Moses Hazen's regiment was allowed 26 horses and 24 oxen, the artificers 11 horses and 40 oxen, the Sappers and Miners 22 horses and 8 oxen. Staff, commissary, artillery conductors, traveling forges, ammunition wagons and carts for provisions added dozens more animals. The total estimate of animals needed for the main army amounted to 3,106 horses and 2,132 draft oxen for the campaign.¹² In view of the financial situation both Washington as well as du Portail knew that it would be virtually impossible to acquire such a huge number of animals. The actual train of wheeled vehicles of the Continental Army during the march from New York across New Jersey depended on

funds and changed according to needs. The initial complement is outlined in Washington's General Orders for 22 August 1781:

To the Field Officer of a regiment, one covered waggon

To the regimental Staff Captains and Sub[altern]s: two covered and one open waggons

To every hundred men one open Waggon.

The intention of keeping vehicles to a minimum is evident from General Orders of 22 August which 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 Baggage which they can in any wise dispence with [...] As great inconveniencies have arisen in the transportation of Baggage from officers commanding regiments procuring a greater number of waggons than is their proportion and from not having the Tents and baggage of the officers conveyed in different Waggons from those that carry the Soldiers tents, to prevent such irregularities in future the Commander in Chief directs the following allowance of Waggons [...] And particularly enjoins it on commanding officers of regiments and corps to see that the tents and Baggage of the officers are convey'd in their proper Waggons ... the Waggon Master General is directed to throw away any officers baggage that he finds loaded in those Waggons that are appropriated for the Soldiers Tents.”

The 22 August orders begin by referring to “part of the Orders of the 19th. of June last which relates to the Transportation of Baggage”. That directive noted,

“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.”

Given the strength of the units involved the numbers of vehicles attached to the marching regiments based on the orders of 22 August 1781 should be as follows:

Officers and staff of six regiments (- 18 covered wagons, 6 open wagons (24)
Ditto of one light infantry battalion - 3 covered wagons, 1 open wagon (4)
2406 enlisted men - 24 open wagons (24)
Commander in Chief's Guard – circa 5 baggage wagons (5)
Sappers and Miners (incl. tools) – circa 2 covered wagons, 1 open wagon (3)
Artificers (incl. tools) – circa 2 baggage wagons (2)

The total number of wagons with the marching regiments and various corps between 22 August and arrival at Head of Elk was (should have been?) 62 wagons and 12 field pieces.

Additional information concerning the wagon train is provided by Continental Quarter-Master General Timothy Pickering in a 31 August 1781 letter to Henry Dearborn:

“The General has left it to me to determine what number of carriages shall accompany the troops or meet them at any given point ... I know that at the place of expected operation neither waggons nor horses are to be obtained. I am therefore decided ... That so many should go on as are necessary to move the detachment, without depending on the country thro' which we pass for assistance.

Mr. Meng now occupies 23 Teams
The cloathing 11
The Boats 30¹³
Spare provisions (under Davis) 11
Total 75

Mr. [Christopher] Meng [assistant deputy quartermaster general] I suppose will want for common services not exceeding --- 10.”¹⁴

Regimental and Corps Wagons: 62
Extra wagons as per Pickering list: 45 wagons
30 boat carriages
=====
Total for march to Head of Elk: 137 vehicles (incl. the 30 boat carriages)
= 107 wagons and carts plus 12 field pieces (3 per brigade)

The number of draft animals required these wagons was enormous: at six horses or oxen each 642 animals were needed for the wagons plus 240 for the 30 boat carriages drawn by

eight horses each and at least 48 horses for the field artillery, which adds up to more than 900 animals. Eventually this number was met, but only with great difficulty.

On 11 July, Major Thomas Cogswell informed Pickering that the army needed 500 horses as soon as possible for the campaign.¹⁵ His request came on top of a similar request by General Knox of 1 July, in which he had asked for 205 horses for artillery and another 40 to draw the wagons loaded with spare ammunition.¹⁶ By mid-August the army was still short of draft animals; as a result the forces under General William Heath were denuded of as many wagons, horses, and ox-teams as Washington needed for the march to Virginia. On 23 August, the eve of the army's departure from Stony Point, two brigades of 40 ox teams each were diverted to Knox.¹⁷ With these oxen in mind Washington told Lincoln on 24 August that "I do not hesitate in giving it as my opinion that every horse and Oxen should be Swam over the Delaware. A few Boats above and below the place they are made to enter the River, to give them a proper direction, will remove all difficulty and greatly facilitate the passage across." Since even that did not meet the needs of the army, Washington granted Pickering on 28 August from Chatham permission to impress whatever animals he needed. "In all cases on the present March, where the Draught Horses or Cattle of the Army shall fail, or where an additional number shall be absolutely necessary, and cannot be procured by hire, or in any other way, except by Military force; You are hereby authorized and directed to impress such numbers of Horses or Oxen as shall be required to perform the public Service, taking care to have it done in such a manner, as to secure the property of the owners as well, and with as little damage and inconveniency as the circumstances will admit."

The First New York Regiment

The First New York Regiment arrived in Albany on 5 July 1781, and promptly refused to embark unless it were first paid. After "Evry gentle measure was try'd, but without Effect" Governor James Clinton, as he informed Washington on 10 July, "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." The regiment arrived at West Point on 10 July. Here Washington's orders were waiting for it to immediately proceeded to Greenburgh together with Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment. The First New York arrived at Dobbs Ferry around 6:00 p.m. on 13 August.¹⁸

John Hudson's *Memoirs* published in 1846 are only known account of the march from Westchester County to Yorktown by a member of the First New York Regiment.¹⁹ Hudson, a Westchester County native born on 12 June 1768 and thus barely 13 years old in August

1781, had “joined” the regiment in April of that year while serving as a militia substitute for an elder brother. He writes that he

“remained at 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, on the Hudson river, under the command of Gen. *Washington* and Count *Rochambeau*. On the march I carried a British grenadier's musket, as much longer and heavier than the old-fashioned (illeg.) On this musket I carried a bayonet, which never left it only when it was taken off to be cleaned and polished, for it had no scabbard. Besides this weight I bore a cartouch box, with forty rounds ball cartridge, and knapsack with twenty rounds more, and my clothes, blanket and four days provisions. After reaching the grand army, we started up the east side of the *Hudson river* to *Verplank's Point*, and crossed over to *Stony Point*, memorable as the spot where Gen. *Wayne* retaliated on the British troops – the surprise and massacre of *Paoli*. I helped to draw cannon up into that very fort, which it became necessary to fortify when we were about to leave for Virginia. 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.”

The “boats” Hudson and the First New York picked up at Stony Point had been brought down the Hudson by the Second New York Regiment.

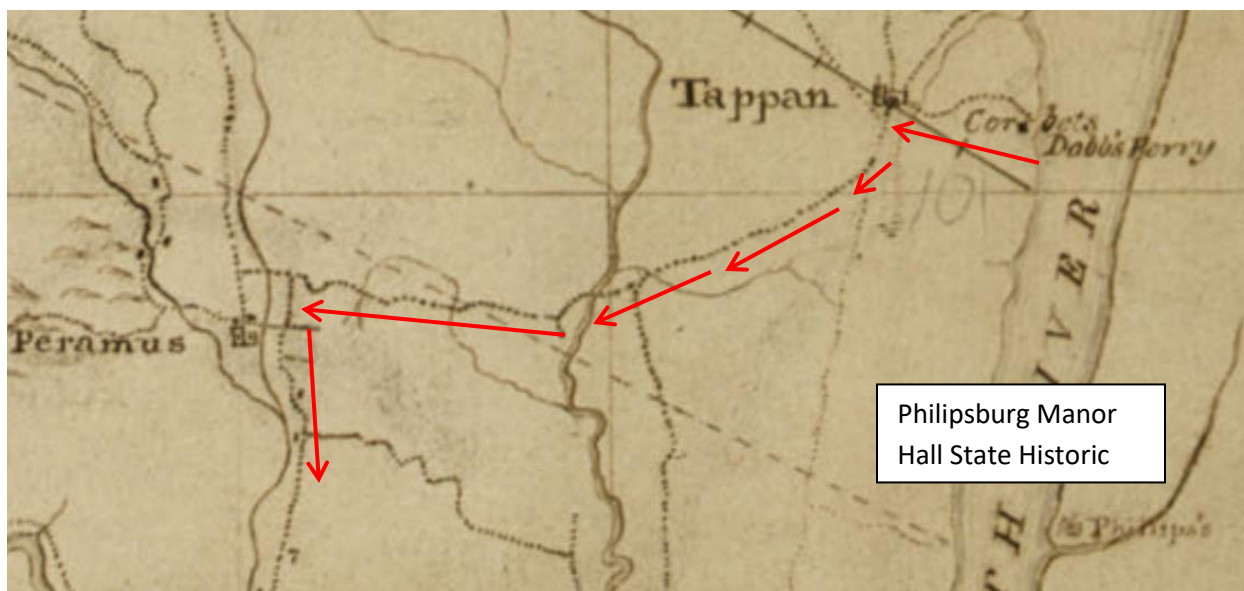
According to Sergeant-Major Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment, the First New York under Colonel Goose van Schaick (1736-1789) was also ordered to cross the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry:

“This Day about Noon [18 August] we rec. 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 Dobb's Ferry, where we found the NYork Line which came with us from West-Point, they arrived at the Ferry before us.”²⁰

Though Hawkins was across the river around 1:00 a.m. on 19 August and in bivouac “about half a Mile from the River”, i.e. probably along modern-day NY-SR 9W/Oak Tree Road, his regiment as a whole had not crossed until “two Hours after Day break”. Since “The Manoevre of crossing the River in the Night” took more time than anticipated, “ – Van Sesick's Reg^t not getting over in time, [Hawkins] heard marched to King's Ferry, for fear the Enemy would see them if they crossed Dobb's Ferry in the Day Time.” Next morning the troops marched west on Oak Tree Road to Tappan where they entered Old Tappan Road

before turning south on Washington Ave to Westwood Ave which becomes Washington Ave west of Westwood to Wearimus Road and their camp along the East Saddle River.²¹



Detail of Robert Erskine, “Map of part of the States of New York and New Jersey: Laid down, chiefly from Actual Surveys ... for the use of His Exce^{ly} Gen^l Washington” (1777)” showing the roads on the West side of the Hudson which the New Jersey Brigade and the Canadian regiments took to Springfield. “Corbets” refers to Captain Corbett who had and from whom Robert (c. 1710-1756) and his wife Molly, née Dobbs (1709-1810) had rented land and beginning in 1740 provided services on the western terminus of the Hudson for the ferry operated by her half-brother William Dobbs.

Call No. MA 508, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, on deposit at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY.

Once it became clear that the First New York would not be able to cross the Hudson during the night of 18/19 August 1781, the unit set up camp in Dobbs Ferry in the evening of 18 August and began its march to Peekskill the next morning.²² When Washington wrote in his diary on 20 August that “The head of the Americans arrived at Kings ferry about ten O'clock” he probably meant the First New York; moving faster than the Second Artillery it would have marched ahead to help prepare the crossing site for units coming after it. The distance from Dobbs’ Ferry to the ferry to Stony Point is about 20 miles; an arrival date of 20 August indicates that the regiment spent the night of 19/20 in camp somewhere along the Hudson, probably near the Second Artillery at Ossining.²³

The Second New York Regiment

In mid-August 1781, the Second New York Regiment under Colonel Van Cortlandt (1749-1831) was quartered in partly in Westchester County, partly at West Point, and partly in Albany.

General Philip Schuyler had informed Washington from Albany on 21 July 1781 that 84 bateaux were virtually completed and "fourty or fourty one" were ready to be sent forward "as soon as General Clinton orders the troops to take them." On 1 August Washington wrote in his *Diary*: "By this date all my Boats were ready --viz. --One hundred New ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Genel. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the Qr. Mr. Genl.; besides old ones which have been repaired."

On 29 July, he recorded that "Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen. Schuyler, & were finished. The light Infantry Company of the Regiment were ordered down with the next Boats & the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done."

When Washington wrote: "come down from Albany" he indicated that the boats and the detachment of the Second New York had arrived at West Point only, not at Greenburgh. Only the Light Infantry of the Second New York Regiment continued to headquarters as Washington recorded on 8 August: "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."

The remainder of the regiment was still either in Albany or at West Point with the boats. On 18 August, Washington 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."²⁴ That none but the Light Company of the Second New York was at Greenburgh is also apparent in Washington's letter of 19 August when he instructed McDougall to "hold the four Companies of Courtlands [i.e. the Second New York Regt] ready to move to Kings ferry the moment the others come down the River."

Colonel Van Cortlandt remained in Albany waiting "for the compleating of 34 Boats now building there". Upon completing "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". From King's Ferry, Washington ordered Van Cortlandt on 25 August 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."²⁵

The men of the Second New York at West Point therefore waited until the rest of the regiment, which had embarked in Albany on 20 August, arrived at West Point "about five OClock" in the evening of 23 August. The following day "the Regiment Embarked and sailed for kings ferry where we Joined the Grand army; together with the french Troops" on the left bank of the Hudson at Verplanck's Point. The next day "the French army Crossed the North River" and on Sunday, 26 August, the regiment, encamped at "Camp Stoney Point ... struck Camp about 3 OClock and Marched on to Harvistraw and Encamped."²⁶

In the evening of 26 August, Washington is already in Chatham while his column is encamped five miles south of Pompton, Lincoln two miles south of the Passaic and the New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment in camp in Springfield. The First French Brigade has left its camp at Suffern, crossed into New Jersey and was encamped at Pompton Plains; the Second French Brigade has pitched its tents in Suffern, and around mid-night 25/26 August, the last wagons and rear-guard of the French finish crossing over to Stony Point and without resting join the Second Brigade on its march to Suffern.

The Second New York Regiment never camped at Dobbs Ferry; coming down the Hudson it landed at Verplanck's Point on 25 August where it spent the night. It only caught up with the Continental Army at Trenton early in the morning of 3 September 1781 and embarked for Philadelphia on the boats it had been transporting from Wappinger's Creek.

The New Jersey Brigade

The New Jersey Brigade took up quarters at Sneed's Landing on 13 July 1781. On 30 July, Washington recorded in his *Diary* that he had "Ordered the Jersey Militia, who were directed to Assemble in the first instance at Morristown to Dobbs ferry and there join the remains of the Jersey Brigade". The New Jersey Militia under Colonel Silvanus Seely (1743-1821) arrived at Sneed's Landing on 7 August and was joined by four companies of New Jersey State Troops over the next few days.²⁷

Though Washington had ordered Silvanus Seely on 29 July to "remain at Dobb's Ferry" he was referring to Sneed's Landing on the New Jersey side of the Hudson. Sneed's Landing was frequently referred to as Dobb's Ferry in the eighteenth Century.

These forces remained on the right bank of the Hudson until 19 August, viz. the letter by Washington to Colonel Elias Dayton (1737-1807) of 17 August 1781: "Dear Sir, you will be pleased to detach from the Brigade under your command upon the receipt of this, a Capt & co, with orders to patrol the Country between Closter and the New Bridge. The Officer must not consider either of these places as his post, but continue to range the intermediate space until he receives further orders. ... "

Washington's diary for 18 July contains this entry: "I passed the North River with Count de Rochambeau Genl. de Béville his Qr. Mr. Genl. & Genl. Duportail in order to reconnoitre the Enemy Posts and Encampments at the North end of York Island. Took an Escort of 150 Men from the Jersey Troops on the other side."

On 19 August Washington wrote in his diary: "Hazens regiment being thrown over at Dobbs's ferry was ordered with the Jersey Troops to March & take Post on the heights between Springfield & Chatham." That same day he 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. You will give Colo. Seely orders to remain at Dobbs's Ferry until Wednesday when he is to march and join you. You will order him, in a very particular manner, to keep scouts and Patroles towards Bergen, and to take every precaution agt. a surprise. There will be a French Bakery established at Chatham. You are to furnish a small Guard for it, and give them any assistance they may want. I am &c."

Much or most of the New Jersey Brigade probably never crossed the Hudson to Dobbs Ferry but remained quartered at Sneedens Landing from 13 July to 19 August, when it joined the Canadian Regiment on the march to Chatham.

The Second Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment

The Second Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) arrived in Albany on 5 July 1781; here it embarked almost immediately for West Point, where it arrived on 10 July. On 10 August Washington ordered the unit to Greenburgh. Upon receipt of Washington's order

"Augt 12. Between 9 & 11 o'Clock Hazen's and Van Schaaick's Regts [First NY] left West Point, and embarked in upwards of 30 Batteaus with their Baggage and proceeded down the River. ... to King's Ferry (the East Side) a little before dark. Van Schaaick's Regt I heard went no further in Oar than Pecks Kill. The Regt immediately encamped near Verplank's Point 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. ...

Augt 13. "... 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 ... we all arrived (tho' scattered by two o'Clock at Dobbs's ferry (the East Side) ...

About 3 Miles below the 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. About 6 o'Clock Col. Van Schaaick's Regt arrived [in a footnote here: that Regt in upwards of 20 Batteaus all in a Body made a fine Appearance coming down the River ...] ... At length both Regiments was ordered a little distance from the River where they encamped.

Augt 14. Col. Sheldon's Dragoons lays about one Mile below our present Encampment.

About 11 o'Clock a Number of Teams arrived and when the tents of the two Regiments were struck the Teams loaded and went off, and the Troops followed, to their new Encampment. Our Regt to about two Miles being the Bank of the Main or Post Road, where it encamped in an Orchard. The other Regt took another Rout.

Augt 15. 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."

According to Sergeant-Major Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment, the regiment was ordered on 18 August to cross the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry:

"This Day about Noon we rec. Orders to march at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon.

Our Regt 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 Dobb's Ferry, where we found the NYork Line which came with us from West-Point, they arrived at the Ferry before us. We found but few Boats. Our Regt took the lead, and soon crossed the Hudson. The principal Part of the Baggage &c of our Regt arrived by one o'Clock 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 Regt 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 favorable to us.

This Morning (the 19th) the Appearance of the Clouds indicated that we should have more Rain. The Jersey Line passed our Regt about 1 o'Clock (sic; 11?), and about 12 o'Clock our Regt proceeded on. Just at dark our Regt halted and rested this night in Houses and Barns in Paramus, about 2 Miles from the Church."

Hawkins and his regiment had crossed "two Hours after Day break" but "The Manoevre of crossing the River in the Night - Van Sesick'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."

After the men had crossed the Hudson during the night of 18/19 August, Hazen's regiment "halted about half a Mile from the River, where "The Jersey Line passed our Regt. about 1 o'Clock [on 19 August], and about 12 o'Clock (sic) our Regt. proceeded on. Just at dark our Regt. halted and rested this night in Houses and Barns in Paramus, about 2 Miles from the Church. ...The Jersey Line lay about three Miles in our Front."

According to Sergeant-Major Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment, the First New York under Colonel Goose van Schaick was also ordered to cross the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry:

"This Day about Noon [18 August] we rec. Orders to march at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon.

Our Regt 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 Dobb's Ferry, where we found the NYork Line which came with us from West-Point, they arrived at the Ferry before us."²⁸

Though Hawkins was across the river around 1:00 a.m. on 19 August and in bivouac "about half a Mile from the River", his regiment as a whole had not crossed until "two Hours after Day break". Since "The Manoevre of crossing the River in the Night" took more time than anticipated, " - Van Sesick'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."

Once it became clear that the First New York would not be able to cross the Hudson during the night of 18/19 August 1781, it seems fair to assume that the unit immediately began its march to Peekskill in the late evening of 18 August/early morning of 19 August without setting up camp again in Dobbs Ferry.

Following a brief rest until day-break the Second Canadian Regiment joined the New Jersey Regiment Brigade of some 400 troops near Paramus. Later that day Washington wrote in his diary: "Hazens regiment being thrown over at Dobbs's ferry was ordered with the Jersey Troops to March & take Post on the heights between Springfield & Chatham."

The Light Infantry Regiment

Of all the units marching from Westchester County Lt-Col. Alexander Scammell's Light Infantry departure was the most disorganized. The confusion can be explained by looking at the chronology of how the regiment was created and last-minute changes on 18 August. 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.

Asa Redington (1761-1845) of Wilton, New Hampshire, was among the first drafted into the Light Infantry and paints vivid picture of life under Scammell. "This Corps contained 400 privates, with the usual number of officers, etc. This body of men was selected from the New England forces then in service. We were put under a severe discipline, maneuvering both by night and by day. Scammell commanded in person, and was very severe. Was a tall slim man, nearly 7 feet high, and being mounted on horseback could discover the least error while maneuvering, and which was punished with extreme severity. In fact every act or discipline must be executed with the exactness of clock work."²⁹

In early July, Alexander Hamilton threatened to resign from the 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 [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."

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.”

Since replacing the “York Levies” earlier might have aroused the suspicion of spies about the destination of the departing forces, Washington had to wait until 18 August before he could replace them with two companies from Connecticut. The line in the HQ Orderly Book reads: “Two Companies ... are to be immediately form’d from the Connecticut Line & join the Light Troops under the command of L^t Col^o. Hamilton.”

By 18 August, however, the campaign had already begun and some detachments of the Light Infantry had already left Dobbs Ferry. Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin of the 8th Massachusetts Regiment who served as Scammell’s adjutant during the campaign wrote in his diary: “August 18. Our detachment marched from Dobbs’s Ferry about ten miles, and encamped.” Ten miles from Dobbs’ Ferry places the detachment just south of Ossining. The following day, “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.” Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment who was among the Connecticut forces assigned to the Light Infantry on 18 July departed that very day. In his diary he entered under “Aug^t 18th . – Marched from Dobb’s Ferry – the night of the 19th crossed King’s Ferry.”³⁰

Dr. James Thacher (1754-1844), appointed surgeon in the Light Infantry on 17 July, departed with his detachment on 19 August.³¹

20th.—According to orders, we commenced our line of march yesterday, a party of pioneers being sent forward to clear the road towards King’s-bridge, and we expected immediately to follow in that direction; but an army is a machine, whose motions are directed by its chief. When the troops were paraded for the march, they were ordered to the right about, and, making a retrograde movement up the side of the North river, we have reached King’s-ferry, and are preparing to cross the Hudson at this ferry. Our allies are in our rear, and it is probable we are destined to occupy the ground on the Jersey side.

So did Dr. Daniel Shute (1758-1829) of Hingham, Massachusetts, who kept a journal for August 1781 to April 1782. 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."³²

Though the van of Scammell's Light Infantry was already across the Hudson the process of establishing the unit was only being completed. General Orders of 19 August contained the order that "Two Companies each to consist of a Captain, two Subs four Serjeants and Fifty Rank and File, are to be immediately formed from the Connecticut Line and join the Light troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton it is expected that the companies will be composed of good men engaged either for the War or three years."

The "Diary of Nathan Beers" confirms this order and provides yet a different account of the departure and marching routes of the Light Infantry. Nathan Beers (1753-1849) was paymaster of Col. Samuel B. Webb's 3rd Connecticut Regiment and detached to Hamilton's Light Infantry Battalion. His diary contains a gap for 17 and 18 August and continues with: "19 Sunday Part of the army Cross^d the River", confirming Sanderson's and Benjamin's accounts. On 19 August, Beers was still in Greenburgh, however, and it was only on "20 Monday Marched from Dobbs ferry Night halted near Storms Bridge", i.e. Elmsford. On "22d Wednesday Continued our march Encamped Crompon (= Yorktown Heights; that means that probably followed today's NY-SR 9A to NY-SR 129 and crossed at Pines Bridge to NY-SR 202). On 23 August he was "Encamped [at] Peekskill".³³

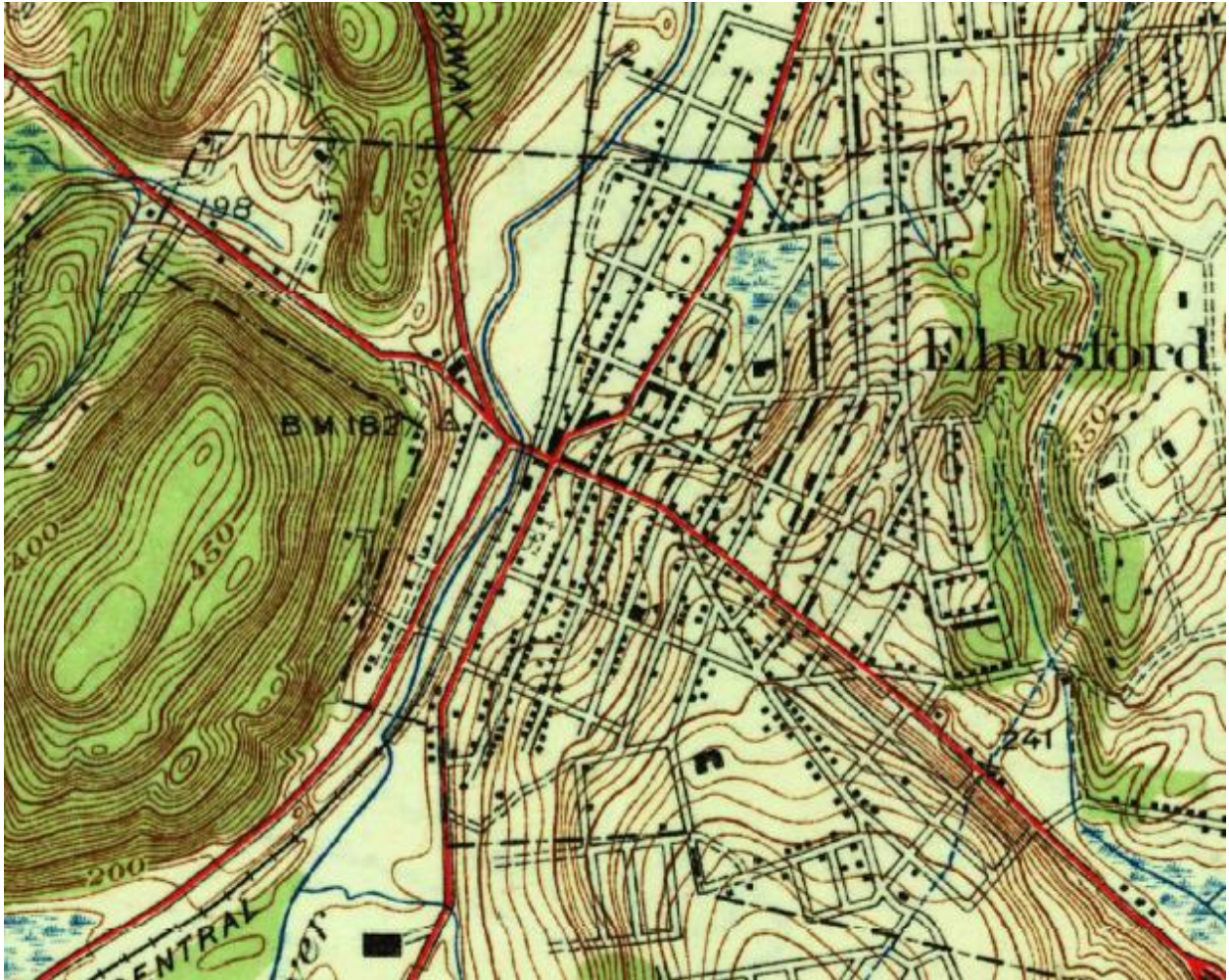


Detail from Robert Erskine "Map No. 60: About White Plains" (1779) New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.



Detail from Robert Erskine, "Map No. 59: Roads about White Plains (1779)" New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

"A: Storm" denotes the tavern of Abraham Storm, the "bridge" is also clearly identified. Both are now in the center of Elmsford.



USGS White Plains (1957)

This entry is important for three reasons. 1) a final detachment of Light Infantry did not depart until 20 August, three days after the first units had begun their march. 2) Beers and his unit did not march along the Hudson: in the eighteenth century, Elmsford was known as "Storm's Bridge". It derived its name both from the tavern Abraham Storm had built there as well as from the near-by bridge across the Sawmill River. The center of town is the intersection of Main Street (=White Plains Road/NY-SR 119) and NY-SR 2. 3) Beers used the term "Dobbs Ferry" loosely to indicate an area rather than a specific location. If he had departed from the ferry site proper, he would hardly have taken a route through Elmsford and Crompond/Yorktown Heights via Pines Bridge to reach Peekskill.



Detail from Robert Erskine, "Surveys in New York & Connecticut States for His Excellency General Washington: Anno 1778". New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

The Second Artillery Regiment

The only known primary source for Col. John Lamb's Second Artillery Regiment is the regimental Orderly Book.³⁴ Lamb's unit had departed from West Point on 15 July and reached Philipsburg on 27 July 1781.

Thereafter the Orderly Book contains no entry for 29 July through 17 August, but under "Augt 18th /81" is this entry: "The Park will move tomorrow Morning .The Tents will be struck at 6, and the March will commence at 7 oClock." As it departed from Dobb's Ferry along the Hudson Lamb's regiment formed part of a column which at some point included Washington and his Life Guard and consisted of at most 500 men: around 50 Sappers and

Miners, maybe 150 (?) members of Scammell's Light Infantry and 225 troops of Colonel Lamb's Second Artillery.

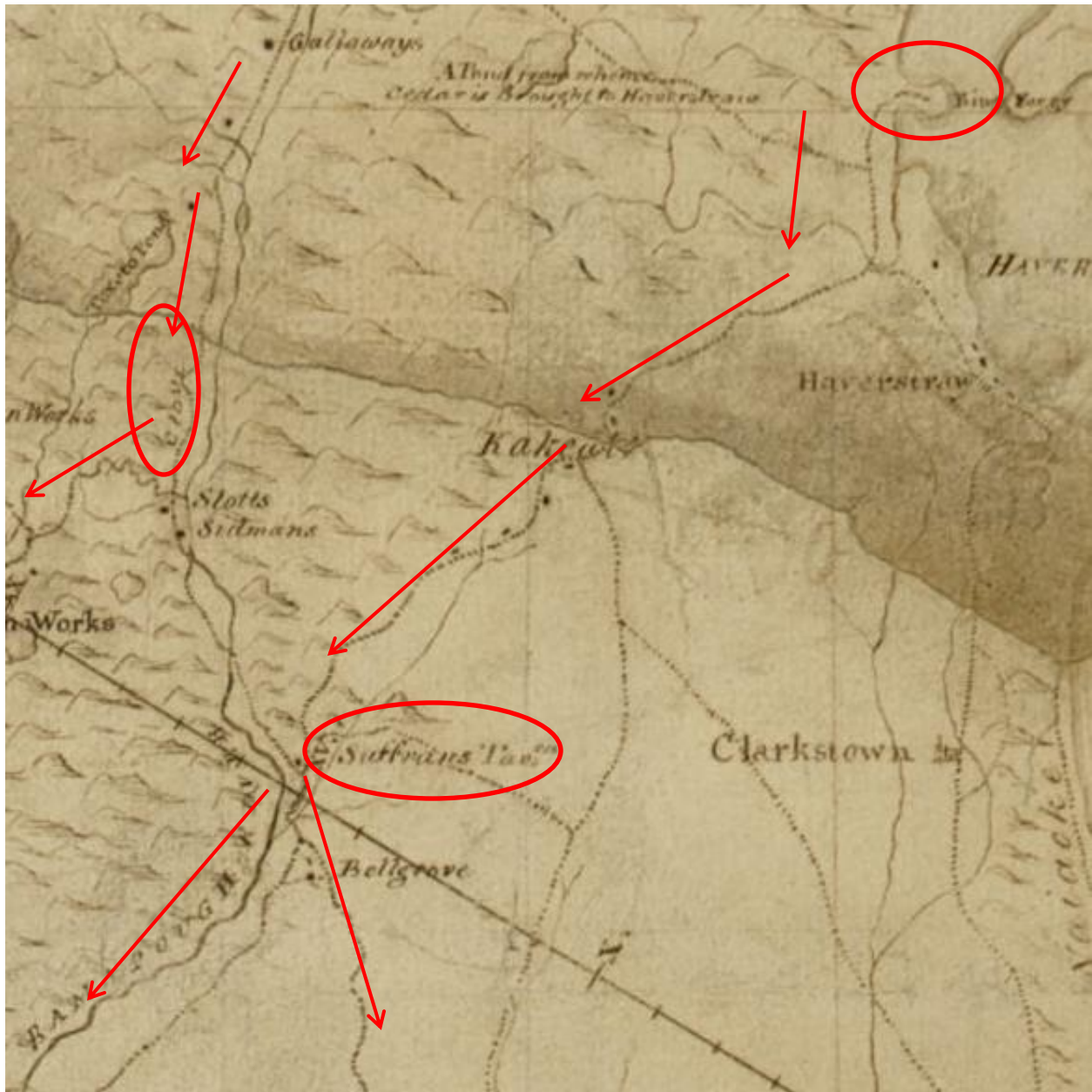
Camping for the night at Ossining the next regimental orders were issued in the evening at "Cinksing Aug^t 19th /81" and read: "The General will beat tomorrow Morning at ½ past 2 o'clock, the Assemble at three, and the march will commence at ½ past three _ the order of March the same as today, except that the Baggage of Artillery will precede the Park."

The regiment quickly covered the 11 miles to the landing and crossed over the Hudson in the afternoon of 20 August; the next entry in its Orderly Book reads: "Haverstraw August 2^{First} 1781. Tuesday 5 O'clock A.M. The General is to beat at 6 O'clock the Assemble at a quarter of an hour after, and the march will commence precisely at ½ past six." The regiment marched to "the ferry and assist Capt Lieut Miles in landing the Howitzers now on board a vessel at that place."³⁵

The howitzer had come down from West Point and formed part of the ordnance Knox was taking to Virginia. His 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.³⁶

These last-minute organizational issues solved the Orderly Book for 24 August reads: "The Troops will hold themselves in the most perfect readiness to march at 4 O'clock tomorrow Morning."

The crossing of the Hudson constituted probably 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 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."



Detail of Robert Erskine, "Map of part of the States of New York and New Jersey: Laid down, chiefly from Actual Surveys ... for the use of His Exce^{ly} Gen^l Washington" (1777)" showing the roads on the West side of the Hudson which the French and Continental Army troops took into New Jersey after having crossed the Hudson to Stony Point.

Call No. MA 508, The Gilder Lehrman Collection, on deposit at the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, NY.

The Company of Artillery, Laboratory and Artificers

The exact size of Major Baumann's "Company of Artillery, Laboratory and artificers" is unknown. It is not listed separately on any return. During the reorganization of the Continental Army in January 1781, Washington took two under-strength companies from Lamb's Second Artillery Regiment and merged them "with Gibbs Jones' separate Company of Artillery and Isaac Coren's company of laboratory technicians in the Regiment of Artillery Artificers." The two resulting companies were then assigned to the 4th Regiment of Artillery under Colonel Thomas Proctor. A regular company had a strength of 6 officers, 12 NCOs, and 53 rank and file.

A Company of Artificers to be raised under Captain Stephen Clapp in western Massachusetts and Connecticut in May and June 1781, consisted of two officers who had to be carpenters, four NCOs, 50 privates and six cooks. The trades represented in the company were carpenters (25), smiths (15) wheelwrights (6), boat builders (4), saddlers (2), harness-makers (2) and the six cooks. The smiths had to know how to shoe horses, oxen, as well as how to make nails. It seems fair to assume therefore that the strength of Baumann's detachment was considerably less than 100 officers and men.

On "20 August 1781, 10 o'clock AM", General Knox ordered Baumann from New Windsor "to meet him at this place. It will be proper to provide yourself with cloths and gear for a command of some considerable length. The General is very anxious for your arrival and requests you to be here before sunset this evening."³⁷ The next day he gave Baumann detailed instructions for his march:

"As soon as you join the Company of Artillery, Laboratory and artificers which march from this place today you will assume the General Command - their route will be by through Smiths clove,³⁸ Ringwood & Curtis's Tavern on Pompton Plains there you will receive further directions -- You will oblige the Party to be on the march by the break of day each morning until you arrive ... at Curtis Tavern ... Which must be by the day after tomorrow certainly. Should any teams be wanting on the march you will impress them".³⁹

As they marched toward modern-day Sloatsburg on 21 August on the Continental Road which ran from New Windsor/West Point, through Southfields and Tuxedo Park along Tuxedo Lake, the artificers reached Pompton Plains on 24 August. From "Pompton, Curtises Tavern" Baumann informed Knox on 25 August that he had "arrived here yesterday between two and three o'clock in the Afternoon - your letter of the 23rd Inst. Signified that the party & stores were to halt North of Posts mills, but the whole is one mile South and in front of Custises House, having got there before your letter came to hand - I have been

informed that the ground we lie on is marked out for the left wing of the French line." Baumann offers "to move when they arrive" to a different location shows that the First French Brigade had not yet arrived at Pompton Plains: it only camped there on 26 August.⁴⁰

One company (?) of artificers, however, departed from Philipsburg. The only known eyewitness account of the march of this group is provided by Thomas Graton (1757-1809), a teamster from Massachusetts, who had set out from home on 2 August and reached Fishkill on 11 August. On

"ye 12th marched to the Landing and Stayed till ye 14th and then went aboard of a Sloop and Sailed to west Point and Loadge^d ye 15th we took a boat and went down the River to Dobses Ferry and encamped ye 16th march'd to Phillipsburg 2 miles from the Ferry and joined our Company [of Artificers] and Stayed till ye 19th and then marched up 2 miles and Lodge'd ye 20th marched to Tarratown Sing Sing and encamped nigh Crotens Bridg. Ye 21st marched to Kings Ferry and crossed to the west Side and Stayd till ye 23^d and then marched to havestraw to work at the Park. Ye 25th to Cakeat into the State of New Jersey".⁴¹

Continental Army Forces under General William Heath

On 19 August Washington appointed General William Heath to command Congressional forces in the Hudson 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."

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 as well. On 17 August Washington had confidentially informed Heath of his plans. The next day, "Some of the corps began to move towards the ferries."⁴² On the 19th Washington appointed Heath commanding officer in the Highlands and gave Heath his instructions.

On the morning of the same day, the French army marched from their encampment towards King's Ferry, where they were to cross the river. The American park of artillery, Col. Olney's regiment, and the New York regiment decamped and moved the same way.

20th.—A little after noon, our General ordered off the baggage to the strong ground near Young's, which at about 6 o'clock was followed by the army, marching by the left in one column, which took a strong position during the night. The pickets after dusk were drawn back a little to the northward of the former encampment. The advanced parties under Maj. Scott¹ were ordered to join their respective regiments, and Sheldon's horse to patrol in the front.

21st.—Col. Putnam, with 320 infantry, Col. Sheldon's horse, and two companies of the New York levies, were ordered to form an advance for the army, and remain at or near their present ground. About 12 o'clock at noon, the army took up its line of march, and halted at night on the lower parts of North Castle. Two regiments had been detached on the march to Sing-Sing church, to cover a quantity of baggage belonging to the French army, assist in removing it, &c. and a detachment was sent to the New Bridge, to secure a quantity of flour lodged near that place.

22d.—The army marched from North Castle, and encamped at Crom Pond; all the French stores at Tarrytown and Sing-Sing had been secured.

23d.—The army marched from Crom Pond, and took a strong position at Peek's Kill; the first line encamping before the village, and the second behind it. After the troops were encamped, 80 wagons were sent off to assist in forwarding the stores of the army with Gen. Washington. Intelligence was received that a frigate and store-ship had arrived at Boston from France, with military stores, &c. for the United States.

24th.—The French troops had not all passed the Ferry—150 Americans were sent to aid them, and at evening 150 more. Intelligence was received that a large French fleet had been seen standing for the continent.

Heath's aide-de-camp Henry Sewall (1752-1845), had traveled with Heath from Boston to West Point, arriving at headquarters near Dobbs Ferry in the morning of 27 July also recorded the movements of forces under Heath into the Hudson Highlands following the departure of Washington and Rochambeau.⁴³

"Sunday 19. His excellency gen^l Washington decamped and marched towards King's ferry with all the French and the flower of the American army, in a manner which appeared very mysterious to the remaining part; the command of which devolved on gen^l Heath ___ Rained in the evening.

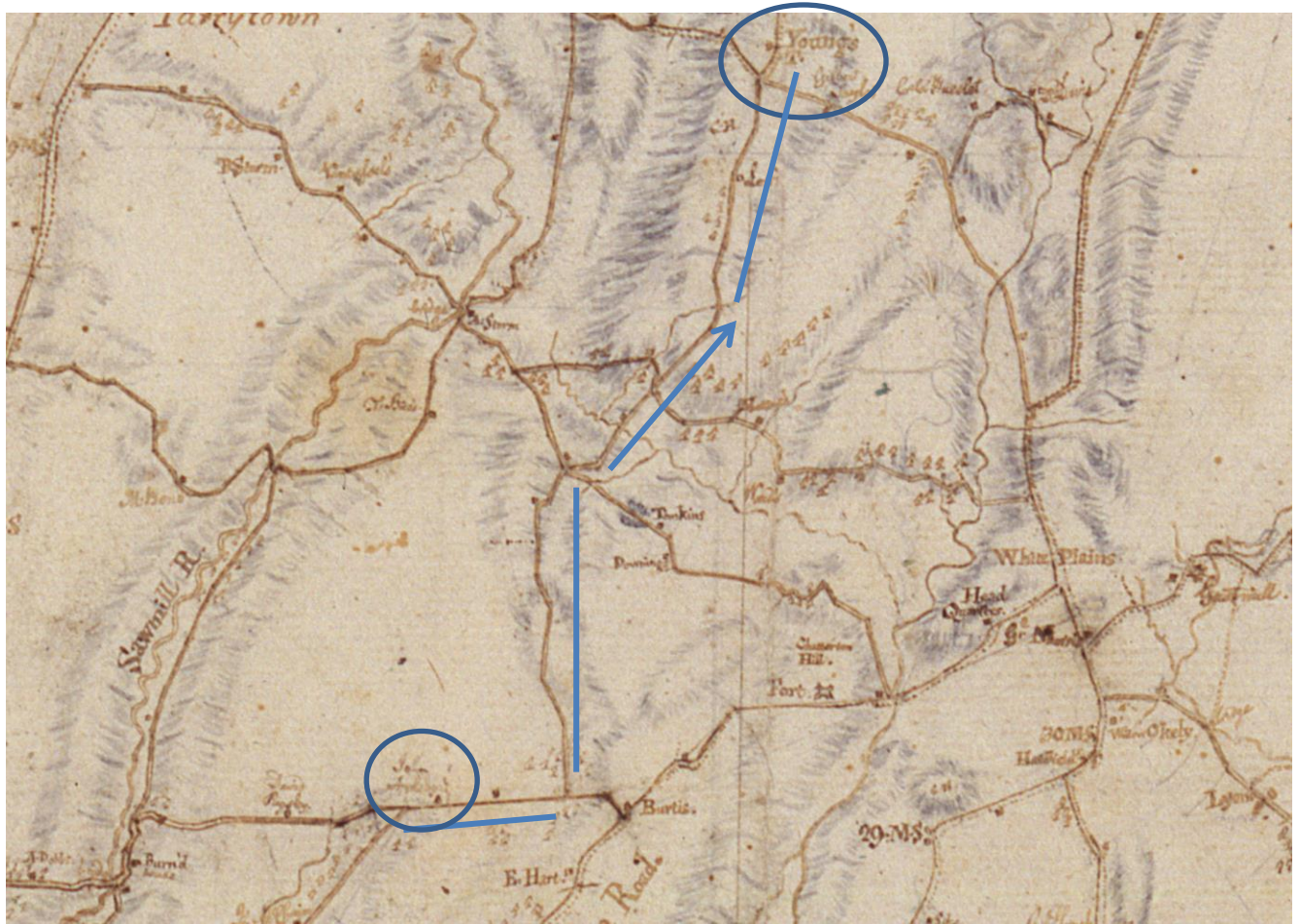
Monday 20. Gen^l Heath moved the baggage off about 3 o'clock P.M. and marched the troops under his command about an hour by sun towards West point arrived at Young's [5 miles] about 9 in the evening, where the army took post for the night, without tents."

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. ___ Colo. Putnam with 300 infantry & Sheldon's horse was left on the ground at Young's to patrol and cover the country.

Wed'day 22. The army under Gen. H. moved to and encamped at Crompond."

In a letter to Washington of 22 August from "Upper part of Singing" Heath informed Washington that he had sent his baggage toward Croton in the afternoon of 20 August while the army had camped in the high lands south of Young's" that evening. Concurrently he "left colonel Putnam with three hundred and twenty four rank and file infantry & Sheldon's dragoons, and the two companies of New York levies, to patrol and cover the country."

On Thursday, 23 August "The army under Gen. Heath arrived and encamped at Peekskill" where Heath established his "head-quarters at W. Birdsall's".⁴⁴ From there "The left wing of the army decamped & marched to the vicinity of Nelson's point & lodged in the woods under a heavy rain" on Saturday, 26 August. "Genl Heath & myself crossed to Westpoint & lodged with general Knox.⁴⁵ The next day "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." By 28 August Heath and the forces under his command were back in the highlands from where they had departed barely 12 weeks earlier.



Probable route of Continental Army forces under General Heath from the Continental Army encampment south of the Appleby House to Young's on 20 August 1781.

Detail from Robert Erskine, "Map No. 32: Roads from Peekskill to Pines Bridge on Croton River &c" (1778), New-York Historical Society, New York, NY.

Women and Children

Another issue concerned camp followers. Even though the army frowned on women and their children accompanying it on the 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 for use in the hospitals. At the beginning of the 1781 campaign in June, a return for the brigades encamped at New Windsor (except the Connecticut Line) shows 137 women, one for every 32 men. Male-female ratios varied from a high of 1 woman for every 11 men in the artillery regiment (429 men) and 1 for every 24 men in the Commander-in-Chief's Guard (69 men) to a low of 1 to 87 in the New Hampshire Brigade. Based on the research by John U. Rees, about 40 to 45 women, 1/3 of the 137 women listed in the return, can be reasonably expected to have accompanied the Continental Army on its march through New Jersey and on to Yorktown. Under 1781 garrison conditions, the number of female camp followers in the Continental Army stood at around 3% of the rank and file, somewhat higher for Washington's Lifeguard and technical troops such as the artillery, somewhat lower for Light troops. Under campaign conditions, numbers of female followers likely dropped to around 1.5 % or less of rank and file strength, again with the above exceptions.⁴⁶

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 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 | 7 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) |
| | ===== |
| | 46 women and an unknown number of children |

By the time the Continental Army had disengaged from the British at New York in August 1781 and was making its way across New Jersey, it numbered about 2,550 rank and file. Though the preceding table is based primarily on estimates and patterns established before 1781, it provides a generous, though reasonable, estimate of the number of women that accompanied the army to Virginia.

In his General Orders of 22 August, Washington addressed that issue as well. He "cannot help advising them to take the present opportunity of depositing at West Point such of their

Women as are not able to undergo the fatigue of frequent marches." Anticipating this order, Colonel Lamb had already ordered on 19 August that a return be made "of all the Women and Children in Camp, distinguishing those that have husbands and also Returns of the Husband's Names & whether they be in this Division of the Army or not."⁴⁷

On 24 August, Lamb repeated in the "Orderly Book" of his regiment the General Orders of 19 June respecting women and children on the march. "No Women will be suffered to ride in waggons or walk in the ranks this Campaign unless there are very particular reasons for it, of which the General Officer or officer commanding the Division or brigade to which they belong is to be the judge; a written permission only will avail; without this the officers of the day or police are not only authorized to turn them out, but requested to inflict instant punishment upon those who shall be found transgressors of this order." And on 27 August, Lincoln issued this order: "Prior to the Commencement of our March this Morning the commanding Officers will inform the Women of their respective Corps that the General saw many of them, yesterday, from their proper Line of March strolling in gardens and Orchards – an irregularity which must not be repeated. Should any attempt it hereafter, they will be denied their Rations and prevented further from following the Army."⁴⁸

French troops were campaigning in a foreign country, far away from their home bases. This explains why there were few women and even fewer children with Rochambeau's forces. In addition women "were not considered necessary to the administration of the army", as René Chartrand has pointed out. Therefore "women did not officially exist." The army very rarely approved marriages, but when it did, the women, though not allowed to live in the barracks, at least received a daily bread ration. Both Rochambeau's *French* and *Foreign* regiments brought women with them from Europe. In *French* regiments, women were but tolerated, but *Foreign* regiments such as the Royal Deux-Ponts were allowed 30 women each in the *capitulation* between the colonels of the regiments and the crown of 1 March 1760. On the march, they received 1 *sol* pay per day and a bread ration. Officially Rochambeau could have brought but 30 women and their children from the Royal Deux-Ponts. The number of camp followers in 1781 approached this total, but only 1/4 were from the Royal Deux-Ponts.

The most reliable numbers are in the embarkation lists of 1782. When Rochambeau's infantry left from Boston on Christmas Day 1782, it embarked 25 women and 4 children:

5 women or children for the Bourbonnois

6 women and 1 child for the Soissonnois

5 women or children for the Saintonge

6 women and 3 children for the Royal Deux-Ponts (at least two girls, one but 4 years old)

3 women for the artillery

A slightly different list in the *Archives Nationales* gives 20 women and six children for the infantry regiments plus three for the artillery, with six women and three children for the Royal Deux-Ponts. The siege artillery as well as Lauzun's Legion wintered on the American mainland and left in May 1783. An embarkation list dated Philadelphia, 4 May 1783, gives 5 women as passengers "a la ration," i.e., wives of soldiers, though it is unclear to which unit they belonged. That would bring the total number of women and children in the French army to 34 women and children.

In June 1781, Rochambeau hired wagoners and cooks in Connecticut for the march south; seven of the 15 cooks were female, but they were Americans and had not crossed the Atlantic with the French army. If they are added to the known total of American and French women and children, we arrive at a combined total of about 80-85 women and children who accompanied the allied armies across New Jersey.

One of the women accompanying the armies to Yorktown was Sarah Mary Matthews, born in 1756 in Blooming Grove, Orange County, New York. After her first husband William Read had been killed in an early battle of the Revolutionary War, she married Aaron Osborn in January 1780. Osborn was a commissary sergeant in Captain James Gregg's company of Colonel Goose Van Schaick's First New York Regiment. In the summer of 1781, she and the other women in her regiment -- in her old age she remembered the wives of Lieutenant Forman and Sergeant Lamberson as well as a black woman named Letta -- traveled with the regiment across New Jersey, working alternately as a seamstress, washerwoman, and baking bread for the soldiers. In Baltimore she boarded a ship and sailed down the Chesapeake Bay to Williamsburg. At the siege of Yorktown she cooked for four soldiers besides her husband, carrying water and taking care of wounded soldiers. At some point she encountered General Washington who asked her: "Young woman are you not afraid of the bullets?" Her response was: "No, the bullets would not cheat the gallows".

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

French Forces

How large is the French army as it departs from Greenburgh? A review of 1 August 1781 shows 4,240 non-commissioned officers and enlisted men present.⁴⁹

Strength of the French Army on the Eve of Departure from Greenburgh

| UNIT | PRESENT on 10 July 1781 | LOSSES | REPLACEMENTS FROM FRANCE | PRESENT & UNDER ARMS | DETACHED | SICK IN HOSPITALS ALONG THE ROUTE | TOTAL on 1 August 1781 |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Bourbonnois | 1,030 | 1 | | 787 | 178 | 64 | 1,029 |
| Soissonnois | 1,054 | 2 | 4 | 896 | 116 | 44 | 1,056 |
| Saintonge | 1,012 | 1 | 32 | 851 | 115 | 77 | 1,043 |
| Royal Deux-Ponts | 1,024 | 1 | 20 | 842 | 172 | 29 | 1,043 |
| Artillerie | 511 | 1 | | 239 | 240 | 31 | 510 |
| Mineurs | 23 | | | | 23 | - | 23 |
| Workers (<i>ouvriers</i>) | 36 | | | 32 | - | 4 | 36 |
| Lauzun's Legion | 612 | 5 | 4 | 593 | 13 | 2 | 610 |
| TOTAL | 5,302 | 11 | 60 | 4,240 | 857 | 251 | 5,350 |

Note: The return of 10 July 1781 gave the total strength at 5,301 rather than 5,302; for unknown reasons the strength of the Royal Deux-Ponts is given here as 1,024 rather than 1,023 as recorded in the return of 10 July 1781.

Most of the detached infantry (326) were still with the French artillery in Newport (34) and Providence (66) as were all the *mineurs*; 140 artillerymen are listed as detached to Dobbs Ferry and 152 soldiers at various places along the route. The replacements were men that had arrived sick in Boston in early June and who were well enough to join their regiments. The sick were distributed in hospitals from Boston (74) to Providence (58), Newport (39), Hartford (3), North Castle (16) and along the road - *ambulante* - in unidentified places (63). It is unlikely that many of these men joined their units prior to departure from Philipsburg on 18/19 August. Some may have, however, but there were also deaths in August, e.g. three in the Royal Deux-Ponts, desertions, e.g. two in the Royal Deux-Ponts, and executions, e.g. one in the Royal Deux-Ponts and one in the Bourbonnois, in the French army as well in the days leading up to departure for Virginia. Six of the losses between 10 July and 1 August were deaths; all five losses in Lauzun's Legion were the result of desertions.

The table lacks the precise break-down in the margin detailing how many officers were detached to serve where, but the increase to 312 company-grade officers now listed is explained by the addition of two captains and eight lieutenants to the artillery who must

have arrived sometime after 10 July 1781 when the previous roll had been compiled. Barring any new information it seems fair to assume that the 12 officers and a *porte-drapeau* of the Soissonnois were still in Newport and the captain and four lieutenants of the Auxonne artillery still in Providence together with the two *mineur* officers. The sick artillery officer in Providence and the artillery officer in Boston had probably joined their companies in Westchester County. The same holds true for *Sous-lieutenant* Deseutre of Lauzun's Legion, who departed from Lebanon on 1 (or 2) July once the last accounts connected with the winter quarters of the Legion there had been settled, leaving Brigadier (= Corporal) Claude Bonnor of the First Escadron of Hussars in charge of the 12 hussars riding courier service between Hartford and Newport.⁵⁰

On the eve of departure Rochambeau had divided his forces into two columns pursuing different routes for the march to Peekskill. The center column consisted of the second battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs, i.e. from the Soissonnois and Saintonge regiments with the artillery and the heavy baggage. Since it would march slower than the infantry Rochambeau ordered it to depart one day ahead of the rest of his forces.

The French artillery, which had left only at 11:00 a.m. on 18 August as the center column, was scheduled to reach King's Ferry on 21 August.⁵¹ Progress was painfully slow and due to the rain, bad roads, and overloaded carts, it covered only four miles the first day. Berthier, who led the column, had to rent oxen which met up with the artillery at their bivouac only at 4:00 a.m. on 19 August. Departing "from their camp at Isaac Tompkins' they [or at least their artillery] retreated by the Allaire road [today's Sprain Road] where in several places they made cause ways of rails over low places for the passage of the cannon."⁵² Following the old Pines Bridge Road, more or less today's NY-SR 100A to NY-SR 100 to NY-SR 141, Bedford Road, through Elmsford, Hawthorne, Thornwood, Pleasantville to Chappaqua, they veered left/north via South Greeley Street to Quaker Street (NY-SR 120) and Seven Bridges Road, which led them to Pines Bridge, where the artillery finished crossed the Croton at 2 a.m. on 20 August and camped "200 paces beyond on the opposite bank."⁵³ The modern bridge is a bit to the west of where the eighteenth-century bridge, now covered by the reservoir, would have been. But the French had to ford the river anyway: "We crossed the Croton, quite a pretty river with a fine wooden bridge which was, however, in ruins."

Once across the Croton, the artillery spent 20 August in bivouac north of the crossing "working to repair the broken gun carriages."⁵⁴ On the 21st the column left for Peekskill marching north on Hanover Street to modern-day Yorktown past the Underhill House (at Hanover Street and California Road) where Major John André had had his last breakfast in freedom almost a year earlier, to where Hanover Street becomes Commerce (NY-SR 35), past Hunt's Tavern, until a bit further north NY-SR 35 turns west and becomes NY-SR 202,

Crompond Road, toward Van Cortlandtville and Peekskill. Since Berthier found the march too long to complete that day, he ordered most of the artillery to bivouac two miles east of Peekskill near Locust Avenue. The van of the French artillery managed to cross the Hudson on 21 August, but it was only the next day that the crossing of the artillery and baggage began. Some of the baggage train was still far behind, stretched out along the road. On 22 August, Heath told Washington that “about six o’clock last evening,” i.e., on 21 August, “I received a signification of your pleasure respecting the French baggage at Singsing, and immediately detached Colonel [Ebenezer] Sprout [Second Mass Regt] with two regiments and a field piece to cover the baggage, assist in loading it, &c.” Concurrently Heath “also sent a captain and fifty men to Tarry town specially to secure and assist in loading some flour belonging to our allies left at that place.”

The French infantry, which had departed Philipsburg at noon only (rather than at 5:00 a.m. as planned) on 19 August as a right-hand column, had retraced the route that had brought them to Philipsburg in the first days of July. Following NY-SR 22 to 128 to Mt. Kisco, it had veered left/north on Main Street to Crow Hill Road and on to Pines Bridge, where it was to cross the Croton. But it too was held back by the bad condition of the roads and bivouacked “in the mud all night in the pouring rain.”⁵⁵ “There were so many impediments, such as the bad weather that we had had for several days, the poor communications, the abominable roads, the large number of wagons, etc., that the army reached North Castle,” their 15th camp, or rather bivouac, “only during the night” of August 19/20.⁵⁶ Both the *comte* de Laubardière as well as Captain Charles Joseph Nicolas de Losse de Bayac (1741-after 1802) of the Bourbonnois Regiment give “5 heures du matin – 5 o’clock in the morning” of 20 August as his time of arrival!⁵⁷ To make up for the delay, Joseph Hyacinthe du Houx, *comte* de Vioménil (1734-1827), in charge of the rear-guard, changed the route on short notice, ordering it “to take the route to Pines Bridge over the Croton without going through North Castle, which made him gain four miles” i.e. shortened the route by four miles.

The 20th saw an unplanned rest day south of the Croton in North Castle as the infantry waited for its wagons. Only on the 21st could the infantry, the right column farthest away from the Hudson, join the baggage train in crossing the Croton River at Pines Bridge and, following the route taken by the artillery and baggage of the center column, reach its 16th camp, some 8 miles away near Hunt’s Tavern where it spent the night of August 21/22. The tavern stood on the north side of Crompond Road near the intersection with Hallock’s Mill Road, east of the Crompond and Mohansic Lakes; their camp was along the north side of Baldwin Road between NY-SR 202 and Hallocks Mill Road.⁵⁸ Three miles to the rear the grenadier and chasseur battalion as well as Lauzun’s Legion put up their camp.

Mess^{rs}. Wadsworth & Carter Crompond Aug^r 20th 1781
 Bots of Ephraim Knouth
 21 Cattle - - at \$20 - - - \$420
 7 Calves - - at 3 - - - 21
 \$441
 Received Payment
 Eph^m Knouth
 7500
 370
 7938

Two days into the march Wadsworth & Carter were purchasing live cattle and calves for the French army at Crompond.

Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

Forming the rear-guard of French forces, the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Saintonge and Soissonnois regiments left only on 20 August on the route taken by the center column, which stood under the command of the *comte* de Vioménil. The roads, softened up by days of rain and hundreds of vehicles, provided slow going and the two battalions "were forced to bivouac six miles from Philippsburg, because so many broken-down vehicles obstructed the way."⁵⁹ The next day, 21 August, the grenadiers and chasseurs continued their march to the Croton, crossed the river at Pines Bridge and marched on to Hunt's Tavern, a tiny settlement of five or six houses, where they joined up with the rest of the infantry for the night of 21/22 August.

The French Wagon Train

Rochambeau's wagon train was considerably longer than the American wagon train but took the same route. A waggoner from Sutton, Massachusetts, who drove for the First Division of the French army wrote: "on the 6 day of July we marched for Philips manor that Day and a very hot one in deed and Nothing hapning During this march more than common ond ly the Wagon run over Dwinel on our march and wounded him but he soon got over it a gain and their we Encamped with General Washingtons Armeiy untill the 20 of August and then we marched to Haverstraw Bay and arrived their the 25 ultimo three miles Below Kings ferey and marched from Haverstraw the 26 to Kings ferey and crossed over North river that night and then marched to the Sawpits and arrived their the 27 ~~and on~~ whair we had watermilions in Grate plenty and on 28 we marched To Prinstowen."⁶⁰



Receipt for supplying nineteen oxen plus wagon equipment to the French army.

Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT

A breakdown of teams for the Yorktown Campaign in the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers dated Hartford, 15 December 1781, shows that between 25 August and 22 September, i.e., on the journey across New Jersey to Annapolis, Wadsworth paid 195 teams with 1,170 oxen to transport supplies and equipment.⁶¹ This was however only the "official" wagon train; the actual train may well have been over 300 wagons long. As the French wagon train

left Annapolis for Yorktown on 21 September 1781, Berthier wrote that "Lauzun's Legion, the artillery horses, and the army wagon train formed a column numbering 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons." More than half of those wagons were private wagons of officers; the "official" French wagon train for which Wadsworth kept records consisted of 110 wagons of drawn by 660 oxen.⁶²

Dozens more "steaks on the hoof" accompanied the thousands of troops. Eighty horses drew the twenty staff wagons, the artillery added about 500 horses and Lauzun's Legion contributed the animals of the 300 mounted hussars plus a large number of pack horses. Almost all of the about 400 officers had at least three horses for themselves and their servants, which explains the 1,500 horses mentioned in Berthier's account. Consisting of thousands of soldiers and dozens of wagons with an average length of 42 feet per wagon, American and even more so the French columns stretched for miles across the countryside. James Hopkins of Bedford remembered the spectacle of the French army passing through for the rest of their lives. In the 1840s Hopkins recalled that "The French infantry next day passed towards Greenburgh by the West Road passing North Castle Church (I believe). Their drums were beating all day long." Benjamin Hoyt of Danbury recorded in 1830 of the return march of French forces from Danbury to Newton on 24 October 1782:

"I very well remember when the French Army under Count Rochambeau returned to Boston after the taking of Yorktown. ... When we had got on to the height of land above Deacon Hickok's we could see the Front of the Army had arrived as far as where Samuel Dibble lives and as far as we could see over Shelterrock Hill, a distance probably of two miles the troops continued to come in sight. ... I should judge now that they were 2 Hours in passing the Army and baggage waggons - which latter I think took up more space than the former I know that at the time I began to think had no End."

The British Reaction to the Movements of the Allied Armies

Crown Forces and Loyalists learned very quickly that the allies were moving toward King's Ferry. By "2 o'Clock P.M." on 19 August – only a few hours after Washington had led his column up the Hudson - Captain Marquard of the Grenadier Battalion von Minnigerode and aide-de-camp to Hessian General Wilhelm von Knyphausen (1716-1800) could inform Adjutant General Major Oliver DeLancey (ca. 1749-1822) that earlier "Information of the French and rebels moving is confirmed by some refugees come in from Horseneck this moment."⁶³ Trying to learn more about allied movements, DeLancey on 20 August sent out a patrol "to Vallentine's hill about 150 horse and foot, and returned again."⁶⁴

Monday 20 August brought more reports of allied movements and indisputable confirmation from William McKoy, a Scotsman who had deserted from the First New York Regiment at Dobbs Ferry “at Reviellie beating” around 5:30 a.m. In his interrogation McKoy revealed that the regiment had “struck tents half an hour before he came away, & were to cross the North River to join the Jersey brigade. He heard the Congress Regiment”, i.e. Moses Hazen’s regiment, “were to join them also.” That same day “Joseph Lockwood a prisoner brought in by the refugees – was taken near King street on his way from Genl. Waterbury’s Camp to Greenwich the day before yesterday – they were loading their baggage to march, as were also the French – some people say’d they were going to cross the North River, others that they were coming down towards the lines.”⁶⁵

Colonel James DeLancey (1747-1804) decided to take a closer look with the light dragoons of his Westchester County Militia. At 10:00 p.m. on 20 August Captain George Beckwith (1753-1823) informed Major DeLancey from “Morris’s House” that “Colonel DeLancey will send out a Patrole of Cavalry” the next day.⁶⁶ Besides the grenadiers and chasseurs the hussars of Lauzun’s Legion formed part of the rear-guard as well and DeLancey was itching to put his horse up against the French cavalry. DeLancey did not meet up with Lauzun’s hussars; instead around noon on 21 August he encountered just short of Pines Bridge the grenadiers and chasseurs rear-guard of the Soissonnois and Saintogne regiments. Discovering “un corps de cavalerie” which galloped “hell for leather toward four pieces of campaign artillery which were stuck in the mire.” Georges Cyr Antoine de Bellemare de Saint-Cyr (1749-1824), a *capitaine* in the Saintonge Infantry, “gathered the chasseurs and deployed them in a ditch behind a hedge where, almost like from behind a rampart, I ordered [the soldiers] to fire at will which stopped the charge and threw the squadrons into disorder.”

As DeLancey’s cavalry reformed and moved to turn Saint-Cyr’s flank, the *comte* de Vioménil “conseillait”, advised but not ordered, Saint-Cyr to abandon the pieces. “Croyez-moi, abandonnez ces pièces, plutôt que d’exposer ces braves gens à être écharpés – believe me, abandon these pieces, it is better than to expose these brave men to being hacked to pieces. Having said that he gave his horse the spurs and left me to handle the affair.” St. Cyr took his own council and as more infantry joined him the cannon were pulled out of the mud and lined up “en batterie” beyond the swampy area. At that moment he ordered his troops to file off to the left and to the right and to line up along the edge of a forest beyond the artillery which instantly opened fire “à mitraille”, with grapeshot. As DeLancey retreated “à pointe de gallop”, at least according to St. Cyr, the artillery was saved.⁶⁷ “During these different actions of the rear-guard, which will take too long to tell in detail, the army advanced toward King Ferry ... a short time before [we got there] the corps which Clinton had detached to harass us, believing that they were attacking us too far from their

bases, disengaged, having caused us no other losses than that of a wagon and a few men wounded and a few killed.”

By not pursuing allied forces as they disengaged Sir Henry Clinton, at least in the opinion of Christian de Deux-Ponts (1752-1817), commanding officers of the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment, had missed his best opportunity to “interfere with and retard our movements: there was a nice (“belle”) opportunity on our retrograde march from the camp in Philipsburg to North Castle; never was there one worse taken advantage of (?), a terrible rain added to the natural difficulty of the roads, eventually we spent 17 hours to make that march that is no more than 20 miles: the enemy could therefore disturb us and attack with advantageous our wagons as well as on our rear guard.”⁶⁸

The Crossing of the Hudson

The first elements of the artillery had reached the crossing at Verplanck's Point in the late afternoon of 21 August and began to cross immediately.⁶⁹ Those components of the French artillery that had bivouacked 2 miles east of Peekskill in the vicinity of Locust Avenue on 21 August now also crossed the Hudson upon arrival without stopping.⁷⁰ To ferry the artillery across, Washington had ordered that provisional ferries be constructed by fastening planks to the decks of two boats lying parallel in the water. Thus a fully loaded wagon, two pieces of artillery, or 60 to 80 men could cross the river at a time. Lauberdière noted with surprise that horses and oxen swam across the river. The French grenadiers and chasseurs were not far behind. Departing from Hunt's Tavern on 22 August, they took Crompond Road, more or less NY-SR 202, westward to Peekskill. From there it was south on South Street to NY-SR 9A and Westchester Street until the banks of the Hudson were reached near Fort Lafayette. Here the infantry assisted in crossing the French baggage as well as Lauzun's Legion.⁷¹ In the evening it went into its 6th camp in the State of New York and the 17th camp since departure from Newport.⁷² Despite strong winds and a choppy sea, the rest of the wagon train carrying the ammunition finished crossing on 23 August and on the 24th the First Brigade consisting of the regiments Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts set across the Hudson as well. While his troops were crossing the Hudson, Rochambeau did not want to miss the opportunity of seeing the fortress at West Point. Accompanied by Washington, two of his aides, Lauberdiere and the *comte* de Vauban, and Captain François-Ignace Ervoil d'Oyré of the engineers, he left Peekskill by boat around 8:00 a.m. on the 23rd for a one-day visit.⁷³

Once across the river it marched south on Route 9W to its camp near the home of Joshua Hett Smith, where Benedict Arnold and Major John André had had their last meeting before Arnold's treason. Here Washington established his headquarters from 21 to 25 August.⁷⁴ As the First Brigade, including Rochambeau, left its 18th camp in Haverstraw north of Cedar

Pond Brook in Stony Point Village about three miles from the Ferry on the 25th, the Second Brigade crossed the Hudson and occupied this campsite from 25 August to 26 August. It was only at mid-night 25/26 August, four days behind schedule, that the last wagons and the rear-guard of the army crossed over to Stony Point and without resting joined the Second Brigade in its march to Suffern.⁷⁵ A day or two behind followed the wagon train of the hospital department under Captain Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, CT whose Connecticut Militia Commission signed by Jeremiah Wadsworth was dated 24 August 1781.⁷⁶

On 18 August 1781, Continental Army and French forces were distributed over a wide geographical area on both sides of the Hudson River and as far north as West Point, New Windsor and Albany. Less than half of these forces marched through Dobbs Ferry along the Hudson to cross the river from Peekskill to Stony Point. The rest, primarily French forces, marched on various routes, unmolested by British forces, via Hunt's Tavern to Verplanck's Point. Once across the Hudson they had but a single destination: Yorktown. Only a few officers knew the destination. On 24 August 1781, Jeffery Whiting wrote to John Jeffery in Hartford "the French Army finished Crossing the Hudson this day-tomorrow we Cross and proceed to God only knows where."⁷⁷

ENDNOTES

¹ All correspondence to or from Washington as well as Washington diary entries are quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>, search by date and name.

² In order to make it easier for the reader to locate villages, geographic features and roads on a map, county names and boundaries as they exist today are used even here if they did not yet exist in 1781, e.g. Rockland County was created out of Orange County in 1798 only.

³ 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".

⁴ Buell Diary, unpaginated. The delays caused by the rainstorm are mentioned elsewhere as well, e.g. by Baron Cloisen and Christian de Deux-Ponts.

⁵ Trumbull, *Occurrences*, p. 278

⁶ Mary Louise Benjamin, *A Genealogy of the Family of Lieut. Samuel Benjamin and Tabitha Livermore, his wife* (n.p., 1900), p. 29.

⁷ Trumbull, *Occurrences*, pp. 331-32.

⁸ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7. "Post's mills" refers to a grist mill on Bear Brook in Ridgewood, Bergen County, owned by Peter P. Post.

⁹ Baumann wrote to Washington from "Pompton, Curtises Tavern 25 Augt 1781. Dear Sir, I arrived here yesterday [24 August] between two and three oClock in the Afternoon - your letter of the 23rd Inst. Signified that the party & stores were to halt North of Posts mills, but the whole is one mile South and in front of Custises House, having got there before your letter came to hand - I have been informed that the ground we lie on is marked out for the left wing of the French line." Baumann offered "to move when they arrive" to a different location Knox may have chosen for his detachment. The First French Brigade did not reach its camp at Pompton Plains until 26 August.

¹⁰ Oyré's "Notes Relatives aux movemens de L'armée françoise en Amérique » (124 pp plus 22 pp of notes) are held by the library of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, DC under the call number MSS L2008F163 M.

¹¹ The Rhode Island Regiment had spent much of the summer in close proximity of the French. The *comte* de Lauberdière, one of Rochambeau's aides-de-camp, recorded: « Le

Genéral Washington prit le commandement de celle de gauche et en passant par Tariton filant le long de la riviere du Nord en la remonta il se rendit à King's ferry en deux jours. Il ne emmener avec lui que le Régiment de Rhode Island qui avait été long temps avec nous dans cette été.«

¹² National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Miscellaneous Numbered Documents, Record Group 93, microfilm reel 92, no. 26624.

¹³ On 21 August, Washington 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."

Timothy Pickering recorded in his journal:

Journal.* — “ August 19th. — The removal of the stores of the American and French armies being effected, the two camps were this day broken up, and the two armies marched for King's Ferry. General Heath only remained with the residue of the N. H., M., and C. [New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut] lines about two days, when he marched and encamped at Peekskill.

“ 20th, Monday. — This morning the detachments from the American army reached King's Ferry, and began to cross; and such despatch was used that day, the following night, and Tuesday morning, that the baggage, park, and American troops had crossed by noon of the 21st. It was the 27th before the whole of the French army, their artillery and baggage, had crossed.†

Octavius Pickering, *The Life of Timothy Pickering* vol. 1 (Boston, 1867), p. 294.

¹⁴ Timothy Pickering to Henry Dearborn, 31 August 1781, Nod. Record Books, NA, vol. 82, target 3, reel 26, 175-178.

¹⁵ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 89, Letters received by Pickering, May 1781–August 1781, no. 341. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. The volume only contains acknowledgments of letters received, not the letters themselves.

¹⁶ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition Reel 26, vol. 89, Letters received by Pickering, May 1781 –August 1781, no. 304.

¹⁷ Timothy Pickering Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 127: Letters sent by Pickering, 10 May to 21 December 1781. When Heath demurred Washington repeated the order on 24 August, informing him that he had "to furnish the Teams required by the Qr. Mr. General without a moments delay; ... I am halted for want of them and have my movements, the success of which depends absolutely upon celerity, impeded."

¹⁸ After the amalgamation of its line on 1 January 1781, New York had two regiments in Continental service, the First New York Regiment under Colonel Goose Van Schaick, and the Second New York Regiment under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt.

General Orders at headquarters "near Dobbs Ferry" on 10 August announced that "At a General Court Martial held at Westpoint, July 19th. Edmund Burke, a Soldier in the first New York regiment charged with 'being concerned in the mutiny at Albany on the 6th ultimo' was found guilty [...] and Sentenced to suffer death." Washington approved the sentence and on 10 August sent Major General Alexander McDougall "a Warrant for the execution" of Burke. As late as 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."

¹⁹ Hudson's "Narrative of John Hudson, A Revolutionary Soldier, and now resident in Cincinnati" was printed in *Cists's Advertiser. A Weekly Sheet*. vol. 3 no. 3, 28 January 1846, vol. 3 no. 4, 4 February 1846, vol. 3 no. 5, 11 February 1846, vol. 3 no. 7, 25 February 1846, vol. 3 no. 15, 22 April 1846. The account of the march is in Part 1 published in vol. 3, no. 3 (28 January 1846).

²⁰ *Journal of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins, 1779-1781*. Manuscript Guide 273, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Hawkins' journal is unpaginated.

²¹ Hazen encamped "about 2 Miles from [i.e., north] the Church", the New Jersey Line about one mile south of the church. The exact location of the campsites is unknown, though in the case of the New Jersey Line the location was most likely at or near the Zabrieskie Mill.

²² Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 171, item 11. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

²³ See also T.W. Egly, *History of the First New York Regiment 1775-1783* (Hampton, NH, 1981), pp. 195-197.

²⁴ Wappinger's Creek" is about half-way (~ eight miles) between Beacon and Poughkeepsie on the left bank of the Hudson.

²⁵ In his *Memoirs*, Van Cortlandt described meeting with Washington at Stony Point. "Upon approaching him He took my (sic) by the arm and went some distance on the road and gave me his orders both written and verbill, which was to march to Chatham in N. Jersey taken all the boats Intrenching tool &c. and proceed with deliberation Informing him daily of my progress for which purpose he sent a dragoon every day, as my Command was of great importance being the Rear-Guard of the Army." *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* Jacob Judd, comp. and ed., (Tarrytown, 1978), p. 59.

²⁶ Almon W. Lauber, *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780. The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783 by Samuel Tallmadge and Others with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 758.

²⁷ Seeley's troops were militia he had been authorized to raise for three months duty on 27 June. A return dated Dobbs Ferry, 10 August 1781 in the Washington Papers shows the militia at a strength of 13 officers, 3 additional staff, 20 NCOs, 6 drummers and fifers, and 222 rank and file fit for duty, with more men coming in. His command also included four companies of the New Jersey State Troops consisting of seven officers, 10 NCOs, 7 drummers and fifers, and 110 rank and file "ready for action."

Some of the soldiers in the New Jersey Brigade, i.e. the 1st and 2nd New Jersey Regiments, crossed and re-crossed the Hudson. The New Jersey regiments were much understrength due to the detachment of Jersey soldiers with the light corps under Lafayette in Virginia.

On 7 July 1781, Washington gave these instructions to Colonel Elias Dayton:

"Head Quarters Dobbs's ferry, July 7, 1781.

Dear Sir: I have recd. your favr. of the 30th: ulto. I take it for granted that this letter will meet you upon your march from Morris Town. Should you not have advanced too far towards Kings ferry to turn off towards Dobbs' without much disadvantage you will be pleased to do it, and inform me of your arrival upon the West side, where you will remain 'till further orders." (Washington, *Writings*, vol. 22, p. 334)

Two weeks later he gave these orders.

"Head Quarters, Dobb's ferry, July 21, 1781.

Dear Sir: You will 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. It will go prepared for continuing out three days, unless sooner ordered in. I am &c.

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." (Washington, *Writings*, vol. 22, p. 409)

²⁸ *Journal of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins, 1779-1781*. Manuscript Guide 273, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Hawkins' journal is unpaginated.

²⁹ Redington provides no detail about the march to Verplanck. His "Reminiscences: Short Sketch of Life of Asa Redington" is catalogued as Ms Misc. 383, Special Collection, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

Uriah Ballard (1758-1840) who like Redington and Captain Frye was from Wilton, had first enlisted in January 1776 was discharged for the first time on 4 April 1780, having served three years as a drummer in the 3rd New Hampshire Regiment. Like Redington he re-enlisted in January 1781 and was discharged in December 1783. His pension application S 37568 does not contain any details about the campaign.

³⁰ The account is published in Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*. (1881; repr. 1975), pp. 170-173.

³¹ 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.

³² *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* vol. LXXXIV, (1930), pp 383-389.

³³ Diary of Nathan Beers for June, July and August 1781. The un-published diary is in the manuscript collections of the Stirling Library, Yale University.

³⁴ The 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.

³⁵ It is about 2.5 miles from the landing site at Stony Point to the "White House" or 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."

³⁶ 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."

³⁷ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

Sebastian Baumann (1739-1803) was born in Frankfurt on the Main and educated in Heidelberg. Following brief service in the Austrian army he immigrated to New York around 1755 and served with New York State troops during the French and Indian War. On 30 March 1776, he was appointed a Captain in the New York artillery company that was organized between 6 December 1775 and 27 May 1776 as Captain Sebastian Baumann's Artillery Company and assigned to the Main Army on 13 April 1776. In 1779, he became Commanding Officer of Artillery at West Point, a position he held until the summer of 1781. On 20 August 1781, he received orders to join the main artillery train that was marching through New Jersey toward Yorktown. He died on 19 October 1803, the 22nd anniversary of the victory at Yorktown. Baumann is best known for a 1782 map of the siege of Yorktown.

³⁸ "Clove" is derived from *gleuf* of *kloof*, Dutch terms for "pass."

³⁹ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

⁴⁰ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

⁴¹ Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 p., 1 August 1767-29 September 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325. Oyré confirms the route via Croton and Pines Bridge when he writes under 22 August: "les équipages de l'armée Américaine, escortés par un corps assez considerable, passèrent la Croton à Pin's-bridge; et vinrent camper sur le chemin de Peek's-Kill, 3 ou 4 miles au delà du camp occupé la veille par les François." Oyré, *Notes Relatives*, p. 44.

⁴² *Memoirs of Major General William Heath*, p. 275; the images are taken from pp. 279/80.

⁴³ 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.

The continuation of "Diary of Captain Henry Sewall, of the Army of the Revolution, 1776-1783" should have been in *Historical Magazine*, 2d Ser., vol. 10 no. 3 (September 1871), but no such issue was ever published since publication was suspended between September and December 1871 and again from April 1872 to March 1873. The issue for January 1872 does not contain the continuation of the diary. The next issue to be published after that was Third Series vol. 2, no. 1 (July 1873), but it does not have the continuation either.

Charles Elventon Nash, *The history of Augusta: First settlements and early days as a town, including the diary of Mrs. Martha Moore Ballard (1785 to 1812)* (Augusta, 1904), pp. 476-

517, publishes the diary from the end of the war on 25 August 1783 to 31 December 1843, shortly after Sewall's 91st birthday on 24 October.

⁴⁴ 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. 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. For Blanchard's account of his dinner with Washington see Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 115-117.

⁴⁵ "Nelson Ferry" was conducted by Caleb Nelson (1732-1796) during and after the Revolutionary War, and the main point of crossing the Hudson to and from West Point.

⁴⁶ 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.

⁴⁷ Lamb, *Orderly Book*, search under date.

⁴⁸ Orderly Book for MG Lincoln's Brigade 1781. Codex Eng 67, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI.

⁴⁹ 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.

⁵⁰ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 29 (Old Box 145) folder 7, January-October 1782.

On 17 August 1781, Lauzun recalled the hussar posts stationed between Hartford and Newport and asked David Trumbull in Lebanon to pay their bills and to send them on to Kings Ferry. Courier service between Hartford and Litchfield was provided by the Second Continental Light Dragoons, and between Washington's Headquarters at New Windsor and later at White Plains by Timothy Pickering's Quartermaster Department.

⁵¹ The delay was caused by the fact that no wagons had been assigned to transport a flour depot at Tarrytown. Rochambeau sent his aide-de-camp Joseph Louis César Charles *comte* de Damas (1758-1829), to arrange for transportation while Heath sent "a captain and fifty men to Tarry town specially to secure and assist in loading some flour belonging to our allies left at that place."

⁵² Interview with Jackson Odell, September 7, 1846. McDonald Papers vol. 4, p. 499.

⁵³ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol.1, p. 254. See also Frances Cook Lee, "The Washington - Rochambeau March and Encampment." *The Westchester Historian* vol. 57 no. 4, (Fall 1981), pp. 76-79.

⁵⁴ Berthier in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 254.

⁵⁵ Berthier in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 254. Rochambeau extremely upset about the slow pace and the supply problems "had a very lively scene with the intendant upon this subject." Blanchard, *Journal*, p. 127, and Lauberdière, *Journal*, fol 90.

⁵⁶ The location of this bivouac is unknown.

⁵⁷ Journal of Captain Charles Joseph de Losse de Bayac, Bourbonnois Regiment of Infantry, 2 vols., 1763-1783. Microfilm, accession no. 4976, Special Collections Dept., University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA 22903-2498. vol. 1, provides a retrospective historical summary of events in America from 1763 to 1779. vol. 2 is the author's journal of his American campaigns with Rochambeau's army, 1780-1783; the quote is from p. 51/1781.

⁵⁸ John T. Martino, *Yorktown at War 1775-1783*. (Yorktown, 1996), pp. 24 -33.

⁵⁹ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 106.

⁶⁰ RG 93 M 859 Roll 97, Doc 28325, Misc. Records in the War Department. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC. The diary has no title page or identification, it begins with: "Sutton June 12 1781. This day a Certain Number of men ... "

⁶¹ Once the equipment had been loaded on board vessels, Wadsworth discharged 85 teams at Annapolis, leaving 110 teams with 669 oxen to draw the empty wagons drawn to Williamsburg. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 156, Folder December 1781.

⁶² Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 83.

⁶³ "Genl. Lossberg has sent out pretty strong Jager and refugee Patroles, in order to get all possible information." Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 171, item 4. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. Horseneck is today's Greenwich just across the state line in Connecticut.

⁶⁴ Heath informed Washington on 22 August that "The day before yesterday (i.e. on 20 August), the enemy came out ... "

⁶⁵ Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 171, item 11. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

⁶⁶ Sir Henry Clinton Papers, Volume 171, item 6. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. "Morris's House" was the former residence of British colonel Roger Morris (1717-1794), today's Morris-Jumel Mansion (or Roger and Mary Philipse Morris House) at 65 Jumel Terrace in New York City.

⁶⁷ *Extrait des Mémoires du chevalier de Bellemare de Saint-Cyr, lieutenant-colonel d'infanterie [Régt. de Saintonge] régié par lui-même en 1815*. A typed copy of a transcript made in 1856 by his great-nephew L.A. de Captot is among the Warrington Dawson Papers at Duke University; the fire-fight on pp. 71/73. Saint-Cyr insinuates that there were more similar incident but unfortunately thought "qu'il serait trop long de [les] détailler".

⁶⁸ It is not clear whether Deux-Ponts speaks of the event described by Saint-Cyr specifically or the dangerous process of disengaging from British forces outside New York City. This account of the march of the allied forces called "Les mouvements de L'armée Alliée" is preserved in the Nachlass Christian Graf von Forbach, Freiherr von Zweibrücken (Signatur N 73), Pfälzische Landesbibliothek Speyer, Germany.

⁶⁹ See 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.

⁷⁰ Bivouacs of the march from White Plains to King's Ferry in August 1781 for

1) the center column:

On August 18/19: (four miles march only)

On August 19/20: north of Pines Bridge (Site 24)

On August 20/21: day of rest at North Castle, some of the artillery crosses Hudson on 21st

On August 21/22: bivouac near Peekskill in vicinity of Locust Avenue

On August 22: Heavy artillery crosses and camps in Stony Point Village

On August 22/23: camp in Stony Point Village

On August 23: wagon train and baggage crosses and

On August 23/24: camps in Stony Point Village

On August 24/25: camps in Stony Point Village

On August 25: First Division leaves for Haverstraw

2) the right-hand column (infantry)

On August 19/20: bivouac before North Castle

On August 20/21: day of rest at North Castle and camp in North Castle

On August 21/22: cross at Pines Bridge and camp at Hunts Tavern

On August 22/23 17th camp in Peekskill

On August 23/24: 17th camp in Peekskill

On August 24: First Brigade crosses Hudson, camp in Stony Point Village

On August 24/25: camp in Stony Point Village

On August 25: First Brigade leaves for Haverstraw; Second Brigade crosses Hudson

On August 25/26: First Brigade camps in Haverstraw/Second Brigade in Stony Point Village

On August 26/27: First Brigade camps in Suffern/Second Brigade in Haverstraw

3) grenadiers and chasseurs (rear-guard)

On August 20/21: bivouac six miles from Philipsburg

On August 21/22: camp at Hunts Tavern

On August 22/23: 17th camp in Peekskill

On August 23/24: 17th camp in Peekskill

On August 24/25: 17th camp in Peekskill

On August 25/26: 17th camp in Peekskill

On August 26: rear-guard crosses over to Stony Point four days behind schedule and camps in Stony Point Village

⁷¹ See Oyré's diary entry under 22 August: "Third march to Peekskill. As advance guard the cavalry of Lauzun and the pickets taken from the line [infantry]. A battalion of grenadiers as the rear guard."

⁷² 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.

⁷³ Lauberdière, *Journal*, fol. 91-93, and Oyré, *Notes relatives*, pp. 45-48, contain a detailed description of West Point from an engineer's point of view. Cromot du Bourg went by land via Continental Village. His description of West Point is in his "Diary," pp. 307-308. A description of the American hospital in West Point as seen by Blanchard on August 20 is in his *Journal*, pp. 130-132.

⁷⁴ Blanchard visited Washington here on the evening of 21 August; the next day, 22 August, Rochambeau breakfasted here with Washington.

⁷⁵ Berthier in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 255. Berthier's journal ends on 26 August 1781. In a letter to Rochambeau from Philipsburg of 17 August 1781, Washington had outlined this schedule for French forces:

- Sunday, 19th. To North Castle ... 14 Miles
- Monday, 20th. To Kings Ferry ... 18 Do.
Allowing for the common chances of Winds and Weather it may take 'till
- Thursday 22^d. to cross the North River.
- Friday, 23^d, to Suffrans ... 16 Miles

⁷⁶ In his 1832 pension application Thomas Loomis (1756-1842) of Lebanon, Connecticut, 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." Pension application of Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, Connecticut, NARA Series M805, Roll 536, File S17551. Pension applications are also accessible at www.fold3.com.

The letter from Wadsworth to Thomas Loomis, "Peekskill 24 August 1781" appointing him conductor of Hospital wagons is in Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 24: Letter Book Folder 3: 1 to 25 August 1781.

See also John Austin Stevens, "The Route of the Allies from King's Ferry to the Head of Elk." *Magazine of American History* vol. 5 no. 1, (July 1880), pp. 1-20.

⁷⁷ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT, Box 132.

Conclusion

We know of course where the troops were going: to Yorktown in Virginia, where they forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his troops in the early afternoon of 19 October 1781. The Franco-American alliance had undoubtedly won an important victory and most Americans today date the end of the war to 19 October 1781. Contemporaries were not quite as sanguine that the war had been won. Writing on 20 October, the day after the surrender ceremony, Washington thought Lord Cornwallis's surrender but "an interesting event that may be productive of much good if properly improved."¹ And on 26 October, General Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania used almost identical words in a letter to Robert Morris, in which he described the victory as "an event of the utmost consequence & if properly improved, may be productive of a glorious & happy peace."² Washington and Wayne knew all too well that the men taken prisoners constituted only about one fourth of the British land forces operating on the American mainland: Sir Henry Clinton still had over 10,000 troops available in New York City alone, with an additional 10,000 more stationed in Charleston, Canada and Louisiana. If General Clinton were to decide on some kind of offensive action, General William Heath in the Hudson Highlands would be in no position to stop him with his 2,500 Continentals. Within days of the surrender, the Continental Army was on its march back to the Hudson while French forces prepared for winter quarters in and around Yorktown and Williamsburg. In the same letter, Wayne also pointed out that "It was not to the exertions of America, that the reduction of the modern Hannibal (sic) is to be attributed, [but to] our power to Command 37 Sail of the line & 8,000 Auxiliary veterans." The "37 Sail of the line," Admiral de Grasse' fleet, had provided the (temporary) naval superiority that made the victory at Yorktown possible.

In September of 1782, French forces returned to New York for a joint encampment with their American allies in Peekskill before the French army entered an encampment at Crompond, soon to be incorporated as Yorktown Heights in 1788. None of them, as far as we know, returned to Greenburgh and the encampment from where they had set out on the march to victory. Every march, however, has a starting point and an end point. And while the end point of the Campaign of 1781 is known to most Americans, few are able to name the time and place when and where the march began. This historical overview and resource inventory of the Franco-American encampment in the Town of Greenburgh in July and August 1781 will begin to fill this void and help correct the impression that the war happened only at places such as Valley Forge, Boston or Yorktown, and that it was won by the Americans all by themselves. Westchester County and Greenburgh had suffered as much as any area in the young United States and it would take years for the area to recover and to heal the wounds of war that had torn families and communities apart.

Besides addressing the gaps of the contributions of communities that today form the Town of Greenburgh toward independence in the collective American memory, of reminding Americans that the war also impacted places such as the Town of Greenburgh, and was waged and won by thousands of French allies who camped here for six weeks before setting out for Virginia, the report has a second purpose. Demographic growth and economic development over the almost 250 years since the War of Independence destroyed most of the physical witnesses of the war. Roads have been altered and sometimes destroyed, campsites were paved over, and battlefields have become housing developments. As the country prepares to celebrate and commemorate the 250th anniversaries of the war, historic preservation of the remaining witnesses and the interpretation of the remaining sites should become the responsibility of every American. The Town of Greenburgh as owner of the John Odell House, the *comte* de Rochambeau's headquarters during the encampment of the French army in July and August 1781, has the unique opportunity of preserving and interpreting the site within the context of the American Revolution and the campaign that won American Independence. Located at the beginning of the march to Yorktown it has the potential of becoming the linchpin for the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail to Newport and Boston to the north, West Point and Albany to the west, and Williamsburg and Yorktown to the south. Surrounded by a number of publicly owned sites that provide free parking and recreational opportunities, the Odell House and related historic sites can easily be integrated into the existing trails network in the town and in Westchester and adjacent counties. Lastly, in the Friends of Odell House Rochambeau Headquarters the town already has a natural partner to work with toward achieving this goal in time for the 250th anniversary of the arrival of the Continental Army under General Washington and of the *comte* de Rochambeau and his forces on 6 July 2031.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Quoted in Dennis Montgomery, "A River Worth Fighting For." *Colonial Williamsburg Journal. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* vol. 17 no. 1 (Autumn 1994). Quoted from the online edition at www.history.org/foundation/journal/yorkriv.cfm.
- ² Wayne to Morris, 26 October 1781, Rutgers University Special Collections, call No. Ac 1023.
- ³ *The John Bogart Letters: Forty-two letters written to John Bogart of Queen's College, now Rutgers College, and Five Letters written by him, 1776-1782, with notes* (New Brunswick: Rutgers College, 1914), p. 30.

Pension Application John Odell

State of New York Westchester County SS.

On this sixth day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two personally appeared before Caleb Tompkins first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in and for the said County of Westchester now present at the House of John Odell hereinafter named in the Town of Greenburgh in the said County of Westchester, John Odell a Resident of the Town of Greenburgh In the said County of Westchester aged seventy six years on the twenty fourth day of October last who being first duly sworn according to law doth on his oath make the following Declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7th 1832.

That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as herein stated that is to say.

That in the month of May in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy six, he this declarant enlisted at TarryTown in the said County of Westchester as a private for six months in a company called six months men, commanded by Cap't Stephen Oakley of the Town of Westchester the said County of Westchester, belonging to a Regiment of Militia in the said County commanded by Col. Samuel Drake. That this declarant cannot recollect on what day in the month of May in the year aforesaid, he enlisted aforesaid, but according to the best of his recollection it was in the middle of said month of May.

That shortly after his said Enlistment the aforesaid company was mustered and this Declarant marched with his said company to the City of New York and were stationed at the Barricks near Greenwich and were engaged in erecting some fortifications on the Hudson River near Greenwich aforesaid. That this Declarant remained in New York doing duty as a private in said Company till sometime in the month of August of the last mentioned year when this Declarant was taken sick with with the Camp Distemper or Dysentary and returned home to his fathers near Dobbs Ferry in the said County of Westchester where this Declarant lay very sick for several weeks and as near as he can recollect six weeks.

Then as soon as he was recovered and able to do duty he returned to the City of New York and joined his said Company just before the American Army retreated out of New York and this Declarant continued serving as a private in his aforesaid Company till after the American Army retreated out of New York to Kings Bridge where this declarant recollects assisting in erecting some of the outworks round Fort Independence in the said County of Westchester near Kingsbridge where this declarant was taken sick again with the same

distemper and was obliged and did return home to his father's in Greenburgh aforesaid where he remained sick for some time, till late in the fall and till the American Army had retreated to Peekskill where this Declarant again joined his said company and was there honorably discharged with the rest of said company in the latter part of December in the year 1776 by Cap'n Gilbert Dean then in command of said Company and who had commanded said company for several months in consequence of their aforesaid Cap'n Stephen Oakley having fits & being unable to do duty.

That when this declarant enlisted in said Company as aforesaid said [sic] Gilbert Dean was the oldest Lieutenant & therefore had command as aforesaid on their said Captain becoming incapable of duty.

That this Declarant after his aforesaid Discharge from said Company at Peekskill aforesaid was there paid off by the said Lieutenant Gilbert Dean, his full pay for six months service as a private with in the aforesaid Company as above stated and no deduction whatever from his pay was asked or made by reason of his sickness and absence by reason thereof as aforesaid.

That this Declarant then returned home to his father's house in Greenburgh aforesaid and continued to do duty as a private in the Militia whenever they were called out on Guard and other Duty in said county of Westchester till the spring of the year 1778. But this Declarant cannot recollect the various times and occasions he done Militia duty as last aforesaid, but he recollects going down during that time with Genl Heath to Fort Independence to take that fort—but no attempt was made in consequence of a Reinforcement having been sent into said Fort.

And this Declarant further saith that in the month of May 1778 (but the particular day of that month he cannot recollect) he this Declarant attached himself as a volunteer and as a private to Captain Sybert Ackers Company of Levies—in Col. Morris Graham's Regiment of New York State Levies, and this Declarant continued to do duty as a private in said last mentioned Company in the said County of Westchester for the space of two months till the American Army under the command of Genl George Washington came into the said County of Westchester in the vicinity of White Plains in the said County of Westchester in the month of July 1778 as near as this Declarant can now recollect when Genl Washington's Army being encamped near White Plains aforesaid, this Declarant at the request of Genl Washington, through his QuarterMaster (as this Declarant verily believes) consented and attached himself as a volunteer and mounted Guide to the Continental Army then under Genl Washington at White Plains and this Declarant received pay for his services as such mounted Guide at the rate of two Dollars per day & rations for himself & his Horse.

That this Declarant continued to serve from the time last mentioned as such mounted Guide to the Continental Army remained on the said County of Westchester and till it removed to Frederickburgh in Dutchess County early in the fall of that year when this declarant remained in the said County of Westchester and continued to act as such Guide to the State Troops on the American lines in the said County of Westchester and particularly to Cap'n Daniel Williams Company of State Troops of Col. Morris grahams Regiment who was attacked & taken prisoner at Youngs House about Christmas of the last mentioned year.

That when this Declarent entered and commenced serving as a volunteer mounted Guide as aforesaid to Genl Washington's Army in the said County, four others viz. Abraham Dyckman, John Rice, Michael Dyckman and Israel Odell all of the said County of Westchester also commenced acting as mounted Guides with this Declarent to said Army. That in the early part of January 1779 This Declarant commenced serving as such Mounted Guide to Col. Aaron Burr who then had the command of the American Lines in the said County of Westchester, and this Declarant continued serving as such Mounted Guide to Col. Burrs troops, till Col Burr left those liens when he was succeeded by Major Wm Hull to whom this Declarent served as such Guide. Then to Major Oliver, who lay at King Street in the said County of Westchester this Declarent also served as a Guide. Then to Col. Thompson who was stationed at Youngs House in the said County of Westchester, till the Col. Thompson was attacked and defeated at Youngs House in the Month of February 1780. That this Declarant was present at the last mentioned engagement at Youngs House, and was then acting as a mounted Guide to said Col. Thompson & his troops stationed there. That about ten oclock in the forenoon of the day on which the attack was made on Col Thompson and his party at Youngs house aforesaid, this Declarant was present as such Mounted Guide to those troops. That Col. Thompson laving previously received intelligence of the approach of the enemy had ordered all the companies of his Detachment which were dispersed along the lines in that vicinity to repair to his quarters, but when the Refugee horse approached with a few Infantry and took Thompson on Picket Guard near Youngs House but three companies of Col. Thompson Detachment rode up to the house and called Col. Thompson out of the Line and advised him to retreat to the east or west as soon as possible, as a large body of the enemy were then in sight (advancing to join the Refugees) at a distance of about one mile and a half to which Coll Thomason replied "What shall I do I am ordered to defend this post, and the men have not all come in & this Declarent answered him. "Not against impossibilities."

Col Thompson then ordered this Declarant to go to the East and being in the Company on the left and from them on the Hill in his rear. This Declarant immediate started and found that Company retreating at a distance of two Miles and was obliged to desist, as it would be impossible to get them back in time to assist Col. Thompson.

That in that engagement Col. Thompson and all his men (but about 30 under Lieutenant Moulton) were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, and Youngs House burnt by the British Troops.

That in a few days after the last mentioned engagement Col. Bigelow with a Detachment of Continental Troops came on the American lines in the said county of Westchester and this Declarant served as such mounted Guide to Col. Bigelow & his Detachment who had his head Quarters at Wright's Mills in said County till he was relieved by Col Miller under whom this Declarant continued to serve as such Guide till the month of May 1780, when Jonathan P. Horton of the said county of Westchester in the name of Governor George Clinton offered this Declarant a Lieutenants Commission in Capn Daniel Williams's Company in Coll Morris Grahams Regiment of New York State Levies to go to the Northward, that this Declarant agreed to accept the commission and about the first day of May 1780 (but the precise day of that month he cannot recollect).

This Declarant went to Fishkill in Dutchess County and joined himself to a part of (Capt Daniel Williams) company of said last mentioned Regiment.

That had mustered there—from there this Deponent embarked with said part of said Company for Albany with orders to stop at Esopus or Kingston for his Excellency Govr George Clinton, which he did so where Govr George Clinton came on board the vessel & went with them to Albany. That while Govr George Clinton was on board of said vessel, he handed this Declarant his commission as a Lieutenant in said Company and this Declarant went on with his part of said Company to the German Flats on the Mohawk River, as such Lieutenant and there remained as such Lieutenant till his said Captain Daniel Williams and Lieutenant Michael Dickman of the same company joined them with the part of same Company [?] their command—

That this Declarant continued to serve as such Lieutenant in said Company Guarding the stores forwarding to Fort Stanwix till about the last of July in the last mentioned year when a Continental Recruiting officer came where said company was stationed and offered a bounty of 30 Bushels of wheat for each man that would enlist for one month longer after their present term of Enlistment of six months in Col. Graham's Regiment had expired. That according to all but about ten men of his Detachment's Company enlisted when this Declarant returned with said Remnant of his company and joined his said Regiment under the command of Col Morris Graham at West Point and this Declarant there remained with his said Regiment, till they moved down the Hudson River and encamped near Stony Point. Afterwards said Regiment was ordered again to the Northward to Repel Sir John Johnson who was in force along the Mohawk River. That this Declarant went with his said Regiment to Fort Plain on the Mohawk and there remained till the term of enlistment of six months

had expired & the men were discharged, when this Declarant returned to his home in the County of Westchester about the first of December 1780.

That this Declarant during all of the aforesaid service of six month served under his said Commission of Lieutenant and as such Lieutenant in his aforesaid Company commanded by Captn Daniel Williams as aforesaid in the aforesaid Regiment of Col Morris Graham and received his six months pay as such Lieutenant. That this Declarant on his return as aforesaid continued to do duty as a private in the Militia in the said County of Westchester when ever their services were required, till the month of June 1781, till Genl George Washington's Army came to White Plains in the said County of Westchester with the French troops when this declarant again volunteered to serve as a mounted Guide to said Army, and this Declarant received from Col. Timothy Pickering, Quartermaster General of said Army and this Declarant received from Col Timothy Pickering Quarter Master General of said Army or Certificate of his appointment as such mounted Guide enlisting under the hand of such Col Pickening which Certificate was in sustenance in these words. Viz "To John Odell you are hereby appointed a mounted Guide for which you shall received such wages as is allowed for that service and you will take care to obey the orders of your superiors as you shall from time to time receive them."

That his last mentioned appointment this Declarant had in his possession till several years after the Revolutionary War was ended and had often read it & well recollects the preceding to be substantially the contents thereof, but said appointment was many years ago either lost or destroyed and this Declarant cannot now find or produce the same. That this Declarant under his last mentioned appointment continued and did serve as such Mounted Guide to Genl Washington's Army in the said County of Westchester till it moved to the South and then to the different officers having command on the American Lines (but whose names this Declarant cannot now recollect) in said County till the month of June 1782 being one year from his last mentioned appointment as near as he can now recollect when there being no further need of this Declarant services as such Guide he ceased to act as such and returned to his home in Peekskill in the said County of Westchester where this Declarant continued to reside till Peace was declared.

That until this Declarant was acting as such mounted Guide as aforesaid during the Revolutionary War he was constantly In service and with the Army or Detachment on the lines at the quarters assigned him by the officers in command as much as a Regularly enlisted Continental Soldier and always received pay at the rate of two Dollars per day and rations with the Army or Troops on the lines for himself & his Horse.

That this Declarant while acting as such Guide always went mounted armed with sword and Pistols and the Duty performed by this Declarant as such Guide was very difficult &

hazardous and often in the night time and it was necessary for him to be almost constantly on the alert moving up and down the American lines to see if any enemy was out and to get intelligence of the enemy's movements and to lead and conduct the parties and troops when under march through the said County of Westchester. That this Declarant now recollects and states with a few to inform the Department of the nature and character of his services as such Mounted Guide the following as some of the expeditions in which he was engaged as such Guide viz in the year 1778 in the summer and fall of that year.

Col Guess (as he was called) a Continental officer from Virginia had a Corps of Riflemen under his command in the said County of Westchester and was stationed near Yonkers Mills (then called Phillips Mills) in the said County of Westchester and this Declarant served as a Mounted Guide to him & his Corps during that campaign and was stationed with him (but this Declarant has above omitted to name him).

That in the fall of the last mentioned year the night before said Corps was surprised near Yonkers Mills aforesaid, this Declarant was sent with a command under one Cap'n [Walls or Wales] to Guard the Bridge on the main road from King's bridge to Yonkers and prevent the enemy advancing in that direction along the Hudson River, during the night their Sentinel fired at some person attempting to Cross the Bridge near them (as this Declarant afterwards learnt a patrol from Emericks Corps coming up to get in the Rear of Guess & his Corps & cut off their retreat) which prevented an advance in that direction till about day light next morning when the enemy stormed the encampment of Col. Guess and took a number of his men – when this Declarant with his party retreated in time to cover the Retreat of Col. Guess and part of his Detachment and conducted them off in safety to the adjoining Hills although pursued by a Large force of the enemy.

That on another occasion, this Declarant while acting as such got intelligence that Elijah Vincent a Lieutenant in Delanceys Refugee Corps at Morrisania was in the habit of coming out & visiting a lady at Eastchester near the British Lines this Declarant by the permission of his commanding officer stated in the night from Youngs House with a Lieutenant of 20 men marched down to Eastchester & took said Vincent a prisoner while at Breakfast there and bought him off on another occasion the American Lines were kept at Wrights Mills in the same county of Westchester a distance of more than 20 miles from Kingsbridge this Declarant got information that one Cap't Benj'n Ogden of Delancey's Corps staid at the House of John Vermilyea near Kingsbridge within a quarter of a mile of the Kings Battery.

That this Declarant with 4 others started in the night from Wright's Mills aforesaid by order of Col. Millers & went down to Ogden's quarters Knocked him up & when he came to the door took him prisoner and brought him before day light to the American lines.—

That while Col Millers had the command on the American Lines in said County there was an order from Genl Washington for a detachment to proceed to Col. James Delancey's head quarters at Morrisania near to British Battery called No 8 to take said Delancey prisoner. This Declarant as one of the Mounted Guides under the command of Cap'n Cushing with Lieutenant McGaffie and Ensign Blake of Miller's Command (started from Mill Square in said County) a distance of over twenty miles from Delancey head quarters in the latter part of the day and arrived at Turkey [hoe?] about dark where we had the good luck to obtain a drink of cider for each man they then proceeded on in a dark night as I ever saw to Morrisania where we took a Refugee from whom we obtained the countersign and continued our rout to Delanceys head quarters & when challenged by the sentinel gave the countersign took him prisoner immediately entered the House.

The Guards were lying on the floor and demanded who comes there.

Ensign Blake answered it was Black John of the 5th Massachusets Regiment.

We took two officers, Cap'n Gilbert, Totten, and Cap'n Benjamin Ogden and twenty one privates prisoners but found that Col Delancey was not in his quarters to our great mortification and regret, he having left there only a few hours before. We then moved back with our prisoners as fast as possible. The enemy pursued with a large body of Horse and overtook us about ten miles from their head quarters they threatened a number of times to charge but were deterred by a fire which was kept up by a flanking party.

They followed us about three miles & then gave up the pursuit. We marched with our prisoners to our head quarters where we arrived about midday making a distance of forty miles and upwards and delivered our prisoners 23 in number without any loss without having a particle of Refreshment except the aforesaid Glass of Cider for nearly twenty four hours.

That this Declarant while acting as such Mounted Guide as aforesaid was engaged in many more expeditions of an equally hazardous & fatiguing character with those above related which he could relate but deems unnecessary.

That in consequence of his acting as such Guide he was a particular object of dread & hatred to the Refugees and British forces and obliged to be ever vigilant as certain death awaited him if taken prisoner.

That this declarant was twice wounded during the Revolution and suffered innumerable privations and hardships in his aforesaid services. That in consequence of his advanced age and present sickness he is unable to appear in Court before a Court of Record of the said

County to make his present Declaration and has been compelled to make it before the Honorable Caleb Tompkins first Judge of said County at his house this day.

That many of his companions in arms are dead and he cannot at present produce any other proof of his aforesaid services during the Revolutionary War than the annexed affidavits of Jacob Odell of the Town of Yonkers In said County. Wm Dyckman of the Town of Greenburgh in the said County and Samuel Youngs of the Town of White Plains in the said County which area hereto attached in support of his present application—and this Declarant further saith That he claims a pension for the following services of his above set forth as a soldier of the Revolution viz.

For his six months actual service as a private in the yar 1776, in Cap'n Stephen Oakleys Company as aforesaid. For his two months actual service as a volunteer & private in the year 1778 in Cap'n Sybert Ackers company of New York State levies as aforesaid. For his services as a mounted Guide from July 1778 til the month of May 1780 being 1 year & 10 months as aforesaid.

For his six months service in the year 1780 as a Lieutenant in Cap'n Daniel Williams Company in Col. Morris Graham's Regiment of New York State Levies as aforesaid. For his years service as a mounted Guide from the month of June 1781 till the month of June 1782 as aforesaid.

1st This Declarant states and answers that he has a record of his age in his family Bible which he now produces and by which it appears as well as by his information from his parents. That he was born on what was called Cortlandts Manor in the said County of Westchester on the 24th of October 1756. That he has always lived in the said County of Westchester (except when absent on Military Duty) during the Revolutionary War as aforesaid. That he was always living In the said County of Westchester when he entered the service of the Revolution as aforesaid—and has lived In the Town of Greenburgh where he now resides ever since the Revolutionary War. That he always entered the service of the Revolution as a volunteer but was never drafted or served as a substitute--.

That the names of the Regular officers, who were with the troops where he served the Continental and Militia Regiments he recollects and the General Circumstances of his service are as he as above set forth in his Declaration.

That he never received a Discharge from the service, but did receive a commission as Lieutenant Signed by Gov'r George Clinton in Cap'n Daniel Williams's Company in Col. Morris Grahams Regiment of New York levies as he has above stated, which he had after the Revolution but is onto lost or destroyed & he cannot find or produce it although he has made diligent search for it.

That he is known in his present neighbourhood to the Rev'd Thomas G. Smith a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Church near TarryTown and Wm N. Dyckman both residents of the Town of Greenburgh in the said County of Greenburgh in the said County of Westchester, who can testify to this declarents character for veracity their belief of his age and their belief of his services as a soldier of the Revolution.

And he hereby relinquishes every claim whatever to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any state.

(Signed) John Odell

Sworn to and subscribed the day & year aforesaid. Caleb Tompkins, first Judge of the Westchester County Court of Com. Pleas

Odell received an annual pension of \$ 112.55 beginning 4 March 1831until his death on 6 October 1835. It was continued to his children Jackson Odell and Nancy Underhill.

Supporting affidavits were provided by Jacob Odell, William Dyck and Samuel Youngs, all of whom served with Odell.

Pension Application of John Odell (1832) S 1176 S.28830

M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

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The goal of this historical overview and resource inventory of the Franco-American encampment in the Town of Greenburgh in July and August 1781 is the identification of the campsites, resources and routes of these forces and their location on the ground today. To achieve this goal an in-depth search and compilation of written and cartographic primary source-materials was conducted in archives along the East Coast as well as in Europe. These primary sources, often used for the first time ever, form the basis for the survey.

The single most important source by far on the American side to reconstruct the history around the marches are the papers of George Washington, which have been used extensively for this study and which are readily accessible via the internet.¹ Equally important were the papers of Henry Knox,² Benjamin Lincoln,³ Timothy Pickering⁴ and William Heath,⁵ all of which are available on microfilm. Beyond these large bodies of papers, dozens of journals, diaries, letters, pension applications and auto-biographies of Revolutionary War veterans published in the 1830s and 1840s listed *in extenso* in the footnotes were mined for the many details contained in this report.⁶ The following list is not complete but lists only most important among them on the American. First there is the unpublished journal of Sergeant-Major John Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment, located in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.⁷ Dr. Daniel Shute of Hingham, Massachusetts, kept a journal for the months from August 1781 to April 1782,⁸ as did Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment serving with the Light Infantry.⁹ Another fascinating account, not just because of the age of the writer, are the "Memoirs" of John Hudson, a 13-year-old boy-soldier in the 1st New York Regiment written decades after the war.¹⁰ Also among the lesser-known journal of great value for this study was the diary of Samuel Canby from November 1779 to December 1796 owned by Yale University. A unique source as the "Reminiscences: Short Sketch of Life of Asa Redington." Asa Redington (1761-1845) of Wilton, New Hampshire, served in Captain Isaac Frye's company of Light Infantry. His "Reminiscences", which he wrote down in 1838, are held as MISC 383 in Special Collections at Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA. The original of Captain Henry Sewall's diary is in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, call no. Ms. N-905. Only 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. 128-137.¹¹ Lieutenant Samuel Benjamin's papers are held at Manuscripts and Archives, Call No. MS 75, at Yale University, his un-published diary is in the manuscript collections of the Stirling Library, Yale University. "Extracts from Lieutenant Benjamin's Revolutionary Diary" were published in Mary Louise Benjamin, *A Genealogy of the Family of Lieut. Samuel Benjamin and Tabitha Livermore, his wife* (n.p., 1900),

pp. 24-38. Nathan Beers served in Colonel Samuel B. Webb's Third Connecticut Regiment, his "Journal, 1777-1782" is available on Microfilm 19.061 (reel 1), in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. 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. Lastly the "Diary of John Hutchinson Buell, 1780-1783." MSS L2013F229 M, can be accessed in the library of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, DC. The unpaginated diary consists of 37 pages and begins on 6 June 1780.

Also used were old stand-bys such as James Thacher, *Eyewitness to the American Revolution. The Battles and Generals as seen by an Army Surgeon* (Stamford, 1994). Originally published as *A Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1823), and the best-known memoir by an enlisted man, Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (repr. Boston, 1962), which covers the encampment on pp. 214-222.

Two unique accounts for the journey of the American and French wagon trains to Virginia are journals kept by waggoners. One was kept by Thomas Graton entitled "Thomas Graton His Book".¹² Graton was a teamster from Massachusetts, who attached his journal to his pension application. These applications of Revolutionary War veterans in the National Archives in Washington, DC are a unique and very valuable source on the experiences of individual soldiers in the American War of Independence. Graton joined the Company of Artificers for a five-month enlistment term on 2 August 1781 and marched to Yorktown and back with the Continental Army. It is a prime example of the autobiographies attached to these pension applications.¹³ An unidentified waggoner from Sutton, Massachusetts, who drove for the First Division of the French army also kept a diary of the march.¹⁴

On the American side there exists an extensive body of cartographic work not only for Westchester County but along both sides of the Hudson to well north of West Point, east into Connecticut and west into New Jersey. These maps were drawn by Robert Erskine (1735-1780) and after his death by his successor Simeon DeWitt (1756-1834). They are preserved in the New-York Historical Society and used extensively for the detail they provide. These maps are drawn to scale, with mile markers indicated on the maps where available. Unlike the French maps discussed below, they do not show the campsites but point out landmarks such as inns, churches, fords, ironworks etc, which makes these, in their majority unpublished maps, crucial resources for this project. In 1789, some of these maps formed the basis for Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America* (1789; facsimile, ed. Walter W. Ristow, 1961).

Reconstruction of daily life in the American camp is based on two sources: 1) the Orderly Books of the regiments and 2) the information provided in the oral history interviews in the

McDonald Papers. John McLeod McDonald (1790-1863) had been trained as a lawyer. After a stroke in 1835, he could no longer practice law and became interested in the history of the Revolutionary War. Accompanied by Andrew Corsa, Washington's and Rochambeau's guide during the Grand Reconnaissance of 21-23 July 1781, he traveled through Westchester County in the 1840s interviewing eyewitnesses and veterans in preparation for a history of the Revolutionary War. His interviews with 241 men and women, white and black, free and slave, fill more than 1,100 pages. McDonald never wrote his history, but these interviews form a unique oral history resource for events in the "neutral ground" between British and American lines. The interviews are held by the Westchester County Historical Society in Elmsford, NY. Like all oral history interviews recording events that had occurred 60 and more years earlier, the McDonald Papers too need to be read critically and with a good deal of caution as the claims/memories of the deponents can frequently not be verified.¹⁵

Orderly Books, which record the daily orders for each regiment, provide an immediate if uneven source. Most important for the reconstruction of the minutiae of the encampment is the *Orderly Book* of Colonel Lamb's Continental Artillery, which has survived in two versions (6/20 - 10/21/81 and 8/4 - 10/27/81) in the New-York Historical Society and is available on microfilm #143, reel 14, and N-YHS microfilm #118.1, reel 12. Lamb's Orderly book is the only surviving source of its kind; of the five infantry regiments that made the march to Yorktown in 1781 – First New Jersey, Second New Jersey, Canadian (Congress' Own), Rhode Island, First New York, and Second New York - only one copy of the Orderly Book of the Second New York, covering the days from 24 September to 10 October 1781, has survived in the New York State Library under catalogue No. 10464, vol. 10, part 1. Another copy covering the days from 26 September to 30 October 1781 is at N-YHS, microfilm #149, reel 15, but both versions are too late for this study. This gap is filled in part by the paper trail the Continental Army left behind in the form of interest-bearing Loan Certificates issued by DQMGs and regimental QMs. These certificates cover everything from purchases of food and firewood to crossing the Delaware at Trenton to ship rent for the passage to Yorktown to tavern bills to bridge tolls and compensation for pasturage are preserved among the 126-microfilm reel record group entitled *Miscellaneous Numbered Documents* in the National Archives in Washington, DC. More are found on the microfilms in Record Group M 926, *Letters, Accounts, and Estimates of the Quartermaster General's Department 1776-1783*, which occasionally covers French purchases as well, and in the well over 100 microfilm reels of Record Group 93, Revolutionary War Rolls. Insight into an individual quarter-master's work can be found in the Colonel Charles Stewart Papers, Accession Numbers NM-6.57-NM-8.57 of the New York State Historical Association - Research Library Special Collections, Fenimore Art Museum in Cooperstown.

On the French side, there are numerous indispensable collections of primary source materials. J. Henry Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France a l'Établissement des*

États-Unis d'Amérique presents an exhaustive transcription of correspondence relating to France's involvement in the War of Independence.¹⁶ Equally indispensable is the compilation of maps and route descriptions published by Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown in their *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*. 2 vols, (Princeton and Providence, 1972). Volume 2 re-produces maps of the routes and campsites as well as the road descriptions that are located in the Rochambeau Papers in the Library of Congress,¹⁷ the Rochambeau Family Cartographic Archive (GEN MSS 146) and the Rochambeau Papers at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and in other repositories world-wide.¹⁸ These maps were drawn mostly by Louis Alexandre de Berthier and, though not always to scale, provide the location of the campsites. These superbly edited volumes are indispensable for anyone interested in the march of Rochambeau's troops from Newport to Yorktown and the encampment in Westchester County. Rochambeau's "Journal des operations de Corps français depuis le 15. d'aout 1781" in the Rochambeau Papers held by the Library of Congress was published as *Relation, ou Journal des operations de Corps français depuis le 15. d'aout 1781* (Philadelphia, 1781); an abbreviated version was published in *Memoires of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau, Relative to the War of Independence of the United States* (Paris, 1838).¹⁹

Orders and arrangements for the marches and campsites as well as supply issues are addressed in itineraries and official orders for the march published in Volume 2 of Rice and Brown's *American Campaigns*. Assistant quartermaster-general Berthier provides detailed descriptions of the order and organization of each column of the march until August 1781, but just as French forces enter New Jersey on 27 August, his account ends abruptly in mid-sentence. Another invaluable source for French troop movements is the *Livre d'ordre* of Rochambeau's little army, which allows a minute reconstruction of the daily life of the soldiers in America as well as the order and organization of their marches and the encampment in Greenburgh even though it ends on 17 August 1781 just before the departure for Virginia. The *livre*, the equivalent of an Orderly Book in the Continental Army, is preserved in the Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle in Nancy, France, under the call number E 235. A second volume for the siege of Yorktown and/or the march north in 1782 has not been found. Another singularly important source for French army logistics without equivalent on the American side are the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers in the Connecticut Historical Society. Wadsworth was the chief supplier for the French forces in America, and his agents supplied Rochambeau's troops throughout their stay on the American mainland. They have been used extensively in this study.²⁰

If sources such as the *Livre d'ordre* or the Wadsworth Papers have hardly ever been used in historical analyses of the 1781-1782 campaigns, personal accounts, letters, diaries, and memoirs by American and French military personnel have always formed one of the backbones of the historiography of the war. In an appendix to Volume 1 (pp. 285-348), of

their *American Campaigns*, Rice and Brown provide a list of journals, diaries, memoirs, letters, and other primary sources available at the time of publication of their book. Since then, more than two dozen primary sources have appeared in European and American archives that can be added to the 45 accounts of events in America written by officers in Rochambeau's army listed by Rice and Brown. Most surprising is the fact that three journals/diaries/memoirs of enlisted men have come to light since 1972. The most important of these three is the journal of Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man in the Royal Deux-Ponts, located in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Strasbourg, France.²¹ Among the Milton S. Latham Papers in the Library of Congress can be found the *Journal Militaire* of an unidentified grenadier in the Bourbonnois regiment of Infantry.²² Finally there is the *Histoire des campagnes de l'Armée de Rochambaud (sic) en Amérique* by André Amblard of the Soissonnois Regiment of Infantry.²³

Also added can now be a most valuable new source, the papers of Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron de Vioménil*, Rochambeau's second in command. Some 300 items and about 1,000 pages long, the Fonds Vioménil is preserved in the Académie François Bourdon in Le Creusot, France. This material has never before been used and sheds much new light on the decision-making process at the top of the French military hierarchy. For Lauzun's Legion, long the only component of Rochambeau's army without a contemporary eyewitness account, a manuscript journal kept by its Lieutenant-Colonel Etienne Hugau entitled *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suite* has come to light in the Bibliothèque municipale in Evreux, France. Hugau's *Détails* do not contain information on the Greenburgh encampment.²⁴

Among new sources not listed in Rice and Brown are the correspondence of Captain Charles Malo François *comte de Lameth*, aide-de-camp to Rochambeau and *aide-maréchal général des logis* (May 1781), and of his brother Captain Alexandre Théodor Victor *chevalier de Lameth*, who replaced Charles Malo François in the Summer of 1782.²⁵ Also unknown in 1972 was the *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale* kept by *comte de Rochambeau's* 21-year-old nephew Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte de Lauberdière*, a captain in the Saintonge infantry and one of his aides-de-camp.²⁶ Also not listed is the journal of an unidentified grenadier officer (?) in the Soissonnois Regiment of Infantry.²⁷ Additionally, I have been able to locate the journal kept by Antoine de Bellemare de Saint-Cyr, a *capitaine* in the Saintonge Regiment of Infantry, in the Warrington Dawson Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University,²⁸ and the Journal of Captain Charles Joseph de Losse de Bayac of the Bourbonnois Regiment of Infantry, whose two volumes begin with a brief history of the American troubles and end in 1783.²⁹

The largest body of materials not listed in Rice and Brown concern the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment of infantry. One is a letter written by Jean-François de Thuillière, a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts preserved in the Archives Nationales.³⁰ Another are two letters by Louis Eberhard von Esebeck, lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Deux-Ponts, dated Jamestown Island, 12 and 16 December 1781,³¹ and the papers and letters by Colonel Christian de Deux Ponts, which have been in part deposited in and in part acquired by German archives.³² Through the good offices of the late Ms Nancy Bayer I have also gained access to four letters written by her ancestor William de Deux-Ponts from America.³³ Another recent publication is the journal of Agricole Joseph Xavier de Bertrand, *Journal de marche des opérations de l'armée de Rochambeau*, a lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts.³⁴ Another account of the Yorktown Campaign by an officer in the Royal Deux-Ponts are *The adventures of Friedrich Reinhard count of Rechteren-Limpurg in the Mediterranean and the American War of Independence 1770-1782*.³⁵ Also into this group belong the letters by Gabriel-Gaspard *baron* de Gallatin, a *sous-lieutenant* in the Royal Deux-Ponts,³⁶ the journals kept by Cromot du Bourg,³⁷ Brisout de Barneville,³⁸ William de Deux-Ponts,³⁹ Claude Blanchard,⁴⁰ Clermont-Crèvecœur,⁴¹ Baron Closen,⁴² the chevalier de Coriolis,⁴³ the Abbé Robin,⁴⁴ Rochambeau's son, the vicomte de Rochambeau,⁴⁵ Axel von Fersen⁴⁶ and the unpublished account by the *comte* de Lauberdière.

Due to the duc de Lauzun's penchant of hyperbole and distortion of facts in his favor his memoirs are of little value for this study.⁴⁷ Of much greater value for the ride of Lauzun's Legion to Gloucester in Virginia is the unpublished manuscript *Journal of Robert Guillaume Dillon, 1778-1779* owned by the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.⁴⁸ In late 2008, the Society of the Cincinnati, which owns some of the most important manuscripts for research into the role of France in the American War of Independence, acquired the papers of Captain François-Ignace Ervoil d'Oyré, an engineer in Rochambeau's army. They consist of a group of journals (gathered as four parts) entitled *Notes relatives aux mouvemens de l'armée françoise en Amerique* that span the period 1780-1782. In February 2009, the library also acquired one additional journal that fits into this series along with a collection of 37 letters of Captain Oyré written to a family member back in France, which cover his experiences in America.⁴⁹ Another recent acquisition of the Society of the Cincinnati is the *Journal de Campagne (1780-1783)* by Henri-Dominique de Palys, *chevalier* de Montrepos, a lieutenant-colonel in the Corps of Engineers, which ends on 4 August 1781 already with a "Reconnaissance du pais entre le camp de Philipsbourg et New-Rochelle."⁵⁰ The most recent publication of a primary source and also the most valuable is *La Marche sur Yorktown. Le Journal de Mathieu Dumas (16 Juin – 6 Octobre 1781)*.⁵¹ Dumas served as an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau and thus a member of his inner-most circle. Rochambeau appointed him his liaison with Louis Alexandre Berthier, assistant quartermaster-general tasked with selecting the campsites to Greenburgh and from there to Virginia.

Indispensable for biographical research on the 1,034 French officers serving in d'Estaing's, Rochambeau's, and St. Simon's forces as well as on the French officers in the Continental Army is Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance 1776-1783* 3rd edition, (Chailland, 2001). Enlistment records or *contrôles* of enlisted personnel in Rochambeau's corps, indispensable for statistical data on his troops are preserved by the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre in the Château de Vincennes;⁵² those of Lauzun's Legion are in the Archives Nationales in Paris.⁵³ On the American side Francis B. Heitman's, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1893; many reprints) is still indispensable.

Lastly the most important sources for re-constructing the movements of Crown Forces in the summer of 1781 – and what they knew about the activities of Continental Army forces - are the Sir Henry Clinton Papers at the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

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- ² The Henry Knox papers are held in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston, #3883121. There is an *Index to the Henry Knox papers owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society and deposited in the Massachusetts Historical Society* to the 55 reels of microfilm in this collection.
- ³ The Benjamin Lincoln Papers are held in the Massachusetts Historical Society. They are available on 13 reels of microfilm; an index is available as MHS Microfilm publication no. 3.
- ⁴ The Timothy Pickering Papers are held at the Massachusetts Historical Society, call no. Ms. N-708, microfilm P-31, 69 reels.
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- ⁸ *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* vol. LXXXIV, (1930), pp 383-389.
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- ¹⁰ John Hudson's Memoirs were published, without title, in *Cist's Advertiser*, a weekly newspaper published by Charles Cist in Cincinnati, Ohio, in five installments beginning with vol. 3, No. 3, 28 January 1846.
- ¹¹ 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.
- ¹² Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 p., 1 August 1767 - 29 September 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.
- ¹³ A representative selection of materials from pension applications is included in John C. Dann, *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence* (Ann Arbor: Clements Library Bicentennial Studies, 1999).
- ¹⁴ National Archives and Records Administration RG 93 M 859 Roll 97, Doc 28325, Misc. Records in the War Department.
- ¹⁵ 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.
- ¹⁶ 5 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892)
- ¹⁷ This collection of about 1,800 items was used in its microfilm edition.
- ¹⁸ GEN MSS 308, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
- ¹⁹ The *Memoires* were originally published in French in 1808.
- ²⁰ Most of the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers are preserved in the collections of the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, Connecticut, but some manuscripts can also be found in collections of the New-York Historical Society.

²¹ *Reisen Beschreibung von America welche das Hochlöbliche Regiment von Zweibrücken hat gemacht zu Wasser und zu Land vom Jahr 1780 bis 84.* Fonds Patrimoniaux MS 15 Médiathèque André Malraux, Strasbourg, France. See my "A German Soldier in America, 1780-1783: The Journal of Georg Daniel Flohr." *William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 50, no. 3, (July 1993), pp. 575-590.

²² Library of Congress, Milton Latham Papers MMC 1907.

²³ Amblard, who enlisted at age 19 in 1773, was discharged as a captain in 1793. His manuscript is held by the Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche in Privas, France. Excerpts were published in four installments by Francis Barbe, "De Lussas vers l'aventure . . . dans l'Histoire de France," *Revue de la Société des Enfants et Amis de Villeneuve-de-Berg*, new ser., vol. 57 (2001), pp. 183-198, vol. 58 (2002), pp. 239-56, vol. 59 (2003) and vol. 60 (2004).

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²⁶ *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.

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²⁷ Call No. HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

²⁸ *Extrait des Mémoires du chevalier de Bellemare de Saint-Cyr, lieutenant-colonel d'infanterie [Rég. de Saintonge] régié par lui-même en 1815.* The version at Duke University is a typed copy of a transcript made in 1856 by his great-nephew L.A. de Captot. The Warrington Collection consists of 7,846 items in 69 vols. Collection no. 1424. Transcripts and copies of mss by French officers are primarily in Boxes 38 to 42.

²⁹ Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, VA, Accession no. 4976.

³⁰ The letter is catalogued under B4 172, Marine.

³¹ John M. Lenhart, "Letter of an Officer of the Zweibrücken Regiment", *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, Vol. 28, (January 1936), pp. 321-322, and (February 1936), pp. 350-360.

³² The papers of Christian von Zweibrücken deposited in the Bayerisches Hauptstaats-archiv - Geheimes Hausarchiv - in Munich are owned by Marian Freiherr von Gravenreuth; those deposited in the Pfälzische Landesbibliothek in Speyer are owned by the library.

³³ Anton Freiherr von Cetto in Oberlauterbach, Germany owns the originals of these letters.

³⁴ It was published in Jacques de Trentinian, *La France au Secours de l'Amérique* (Paris: Editions SPM 2016), pp. 233-247, here also Rochambeau's "Journal des operations de Corps français depuis le 15. d'aout 1781" on pp. 247-255.

³⁵ 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), pp. 99-101. The firefight along the Hudson of 15/16 July on pp. 99/100, the Grand Reconnaissance on pp. 100/01, and the departure on p. 101. See also Hans-Peter Baum, "Friedrich Reinhard, Count of Rechteren-Limpurg-Speckfeld (1751-1842): A Dutch-Franconian Champion of American Independence." in: *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 53 (2018), pp. 35-47.

³⁶ Warrington Dawson, "Un Garde suisse de Louis XVI au service de l'Amérique" *Le correspondant* vol. 324, Nr. 1655, (September 10, 1931), pp. 672-692, pp. 683-688.

³⁷ Marie-François Baron Cromot du Bourg, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (June 1880), pp. 205-214, p. 214.

³⁸ "Journal de Guerre de Brissout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" *The French-American Review* Vol. 3, No. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278.

³⁹ William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America* Samuel Abbot Green, ed., (Boston, 1868).

⁴⁰ *The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution* Thomas Balch, ed., (Albany, 1876).

⁴¹ Clermont-Crèvecœur's account is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 15-100.

⁴² Acomb, Evelyn, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958).

⁴³ Chevalier de Coriolis, "Lettres d'un officier de l'Armée de Rochambeau: le chevalier de Coriolis" *Le correspondant* No. 326, (March 25, 1932), pp. 807-828.

⁴⁴ Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North America* (Philadelphia, 1783)

⁴⁵ Vicomte de Rochambeau, *The War in America. An Unpublished Journal (1780-1783)* in: Jean-Edmond Wheelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son* (New York, 1936), pp. 191-285.

⁴⁶ Frederik U. Wrangel, ed., *Lettres d'Axel de Fersen a son père pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance d'amérique* (Paris, 1929). English translations of some letters were published in "Letters of Axel de Fersen, Aide-de-Camp to Rochambeau written to his Father in Sweden 1780-1782" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 3, (1879), pp. 300-309, 369-376, 437-448. Eight letters from America to his sister were published in *The Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen and Barnave* O.-G. de Heidenstam, ed., (New York, 1929), pp. 6-13.

⁴⁷ *Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun*, E. Jules Méras, transl. (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company, 1912), pp. 316-19. The account of the failed 3 July raid can be found on pp. 316/17, the Grand Reconnaissance on p. 317, the disengagement from New York City on pp. 318/19. A slightly different translation was published in *Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun*, Edmond Pilon, ed., (Paris, 1928).

⁴⁸ Call number MSS L2015G152 M

⁴⁹ d'Oyré (1739-1798) was one of nine engineers to serve with Rochambeau's army in North America. His *Notes relatives aux mouvemens de l'armée française en Amérique* have the call number MSS L2008F163 M; his 37 letters are catalogued under MSS L2009F30 M.

His account of the arrival in Greenburgh begins on p. 35 of the typed transcription, the firefight of 15/16 July on the Hudson on pp. 37/38, the Grand Reconnaissance of 21-23 July with detailed descriptions of the British forts on pp. 39-41, the march north and the crossing of the Hudson to Stony Point on pp. 42-44 and 49-51; in-between is an account of his visit to West Point with a description of the fortifications. An undated letter to "ma bonne amie" [July or August, 1781?] includes description of General Washington. MSS L2008F163.6-44 M.

⁵⁰ Call number M 75.63 A 6855. The original ms has the call no. MSS L2014S1 M [Bound]). The firefight on the Hudson with the heroic actions of a sergeant of the Soissonnois sergeant of 15/16 July can be found on p. 22 of the typed copy.

⁵¹ Bertrand van Rymbeke and Iris de Rode, eds., (Editions Jean-Jaques Wuillaume, 2018). His account of the encampment at Greenburgh begins on p. 67 and ends on p. 124 with the arrival of French forces at their camp in Haverstraw on 24 August.

⁵² The Bourbonnois *contrôles* are catalogued under 1 Yc 188 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786), Soissonnois *contrôles* have the number 1 Yc 966 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786), the Saintonge *contrôles* are 1 Yc 932 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786), the Royal Deux-Ponts *côntrôles* are 1 Yc 869 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786). The *contrôles* of the Auxonne Artillery are listed as 10 Yc 1 (1776-1783 and 4 February 1784 to 1786).

⁵³ The Lauzun *contrôles* in the Archives Nationales have the catalogue number D 2c 32 (March 1780-1783) and 8 Yc 17 (beginning on 4 February 1784 to 1786).