

Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route
Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route
National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) in Maryland, focusing on the
Contributions of the Eastern Shore to the Victory at Yorktown and the Role of
Western Maryland in the Yorktown Campaign

Final Report prepared
for
Preservation Maryland

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Overview and Project Description

Consultant was tasked with researching the properties, roads, and cultural, historical and natural resources connected with 1) the movement of Continental Quartermaster supplies, logistics, and shipping from the Maryland Eastern Shore to the Continental Army before, during and after the siege of Yorktown in the fall of 1781, 2) Colonel Tench Tilghman's ride in October 1781 from Yorktown to Philadelphia to deliver the news of the victory to the Continental Congress, 3) to document the 1781 movement of Continental Army Forces under General Anthony Wayne to Yorktown, 4) to trace the movements of the British prisoners of war taken at Yorktown and Gloucester on their march across Maryland to Camp Security in Pennsylvania in November and December 1781, 5) to place these resources and the events of the fall of 1781 into their proper historical context and 6) to create a written report suitable for posting on the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route – National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) and the W3R-US (NHT Partner) website.

Goals

This “Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) in Maryland focusing on the Contributions of the Eastern Shore to the Victory at Yorktown and the Role of Western Maryland in the Yorktown Campaign” sets itself four goals. In Eastern Maryland it aims

- 1) to document the 1781 movement of Quartermaster supplies, logistics, and shipping from the Maryland Eastern Shore to the Continental Army before Yorktown.
- 2) to document the ride of Colonel Tench Tilghman in October 1781 from Yorktown to Philadelphia to deliver the news of the victory over Lord Cornwallis' army as well as the surrender documents to the Continental Congress.

In Western Maryland this survey of the cultural and historic resources aims

- 1) to document the 1781 movement of Continental Forces to Yorktown but will focus on forces not under Washington's immediate command.
- 2) to document the movement of the Yorktown Prisoners of War across Maryland to Camp Security in Pennsylvania in November and December 1781.

To achieve these goals it collects, interprets, and evaluates American, French, British, and German primary and secondary sources for information concerning these cultural and historic resources with a view toward explaining the reasons, goals, and results for and of the existence of those sites.

Purpose

The “Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) in Maryland focusing on the Contributions of the Eastern Shore to the Victory at Yorktown and the Role of Western Maryland in the Yorktown Campaign” undertakes a historical and architectural survey of resources and suggests recommendations for interpretation of these resources. In addition, it is intended as a tool to provide information to support potential archaeological surveys and/or excavations of campsites, routes, and other physical evidence of the presence of American and French forces in Maryland in 1781. This dual approach adheres to the template developed and followed for similar research in other states that participate in the W3R-NHT project. The W3R-NHT in and through the State of Maryland will constitute one element of the greater project aimed at interpreting the entire nine-state network of land and water-based routes within the context of the W3R- NHT administered by the National Park Service.

Scope

With regards to this report the scope of this “Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) in Maryland focusing on the Contributions of the Eastern Shore to the Victory at Yorktown and the Role of Western Maryland in the Yorktown Campaign” is focused on the geographical area of the Eastern Shore and in Western Maryland that were directly impacted by the Yorktown Campaign of 1781. It encompasses the following geographical areas and times:

- 1) the movement of Continental Quartermaster supplies, logistics, and shipping from the Maryland Eastern Shore to the Continental Army before, during and after the siege of Yorktown in the fall of 1781
- 2) Colonel Tench Tilghman’s ride in October 1781 from Yorktown to Philadelphia to deliver the news of the victory and surrender documents to the Continental Congress
- 3) the 1781 movement of Continental Forces under General Anthony Wayne to Yorktown
- 4) the movements of the British prisoners of war taken at Yorktown and Gloucester across Maryland to Camp Security in Pennsylvania in November and December 1781

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.

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 commonalities.

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 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 *système 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*, 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 the 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 divisions set out from Providence for Waterman's Tavern.

By 6 July 1781, the combined allied forces, some 6,000 Americans and a little over 4,000 French, were encamped around Philipsburg in modern-day Greenburgh. Rochambeau's force was quite small by European standards: a review on 10 July 1781, following arrival in White Plains showed 4,200 NCOs and enlisted men under his immediate command.¹³

Strength of the French Army on the March to Maryland

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

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.

The "Grand Reconnaissance" of 21-23 July to probe British defenses around New York City convinced Washington that his forces were not strong enough to conduct a successful siege of the city. But the selection of the object of the 1781 campaign was not his. That decision would be made by Admiral de Grasse, whose fleet was indispensable to any successful operation. Enter the frigate *Concorde* with a letter from Admiral de Grasse informing the two generals that he was sailing to the Chesapeake rather than New York. De Grasse' letter arrived in White Plains on 14 August: the Chesapeake and the capture of a British army under Lord Cornwallis would be the objective of the campaign. Washington quickly shifted gears: on 18 August, four days after the arrival of de Grasse' letter, the two armies were on their way to Virginia.



Rhode Island Regt.



American Rifleman



Canadian Regt.



Artillery Regt.

Continental Army Troops

Continental Army Strength at White Plains, 6 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 Scammel	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:		
2 nd Cont'l	Col. Elisha Sheldon	234 officers and men
Artillery:		
2 nd Cont'l	Col. John Lamb	163 officers and men
3 rd Cont'l	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

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

from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York & Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up Works on the 6th. Inst." The risks the two generals had taken were beginning to pay off as the pieces of the campaign were falling into place.¹⁴ But while Rochambeau all of his forces with him to Virginia, Washington had to leave about half of the Continental Army behind to keep an eye on Sir Henry Clinton in New York City.

Strength of the Continental Army on the March to Maryland

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

Having crossed the Hudson in late August, the allied armies quickly marched across New Jersey in three columns and on 1 September the first elements of the Continental Army entered Pennsylvania. The French were not far behind: on 1 September, the 1st Brigade of French infantry marched from its camp at Princeton to its camp at Trenton. The following day, 2 September, as it crossed by ferry and ford, the 2nd Brigade arrived in Trenton as well. Over the next few days the troops paraded past Congress in Philadelphia, and set up camp along the banks of the Schuylkill River. Following a brief rest, the allies resumed their march with the first units of the Continental Army reaching Head of Elk in Maryland on 6 September. On 7 September, the First French Brigade joined them; once the Second Brigade had arrived on 8 September, about 7,000 American and French troops were encamped at Head of Elk. Washington had hoped that there would be a sufficient number of watercraft assembled at Head of Elk to transport his troops to Virginia but he soon learned, much to his chagrin, that his needs far surpassed the resources available: only twelve sloops and eighteen schooners were waiting at Head of Elk. Though they were enough for most of the Continental Army, only Rochambeau's grenadiers and chasseurs, most of the officers and men of the Auxonne artillery, for the infantry of Lauzun's Legion, a little over 3,000 troops in all, could be embarked. The remainder was ordered to continue on land to Baltimore.

The Continental Army was the first to embark. The "Order Book" of the Light Infantry under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Scammell (1747-1781) recorded the organizational structure of the Continental Army for the sea journey.

"Division Morning Orders Sept 8, 81

*The Commander in Cheafe guards, Light Troops, Genl Heasons Regt artillery Sappers & Miners & the artificiers Will imbarck as the first divison of American troops, care will be taken to keep as much as poseble Corps togather."*¹⁵

Since "Genl Heasons", i.e. the 2d Canadian Regiment (Congress Own) under Brigadier Moses Hazen (1733-1803) also included the Rhode Island Regiment, the First American Division numbered about 1,450 officers and men. The combined New Jersey regiments, about 400 officers and men and the 1st and 2d New York, about 800 officers and men, were to form the Second American Division and march with French forces to Baltimore.

Somehow shipping space for the combined New Jersey Regiment was found, however, since Colonel Philip van Cortland (1749-1831), commanding officer of the 2d New York Regiment, could write to his father Pierre from Baltimore on 15 September that "the french army march'd this morning by land from this Town for Anapolis which is about 30 miles distant General Lincoln was at the last mentioned place with the light Infantry Jersie Brigade Hazens and the artillery – they have been detained waiting for the French Fleet to Return which put out the other day after the English".¹⁶ That brought the First American Division to some 1,850 officers and men as it embarked for College Creek in Virginia. Next embarked the grenadier and chasseur companies of Rochambeau's four infantry regiments, most of his campaign artillery, i.e., approximately 200 officers and men of the 2d Battalion of the Auxonne Artillery Regiment¹⁷ as well as a little over 200 chasseurs and grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion, a good 1,200 men.

On 9 September, even before the Head of Elk contingent had embarked, the remainder of the troops, around 3,500 French with their wagon trains, began their march to Baltimore. The French left on 9 September; the 1st and 2d New York Regiments, around 390 and 420 officers and men resp., followed on 10 and 11 September.¹⁸ Having crossed the Susquehanna River on 9 September the way the French infantry went into bivouac at Lower Ferry, today's Havre de Grace, on the other side of the river. From here it marched on 10 September to its next camp at Bush/Bush Town at the head of the Bush River. Concurrently the artillery, the wagon trains, and Lauzun's cavalry took a detour to cross the river at Bald Friar Ford and encamped on the south side of the Susquehanna. While the

hussars received orders to rush on to Baltimore on 10 September, the baggage train and the artillery followed at a slower pace and rejoined the French infantry at Bush Town after a 36-mile march on 9 September, early in the morning of 10 September. On 11 September French forces marched into Baltimore followed by the 800 men of the 1st and 2nd New York Regiments on the 13th. Here all but a few men of the Continental Army embarked but the *baron de Vioménil* refused to embark his men on vessels he deemed unseaworthy.

On 17 September, Vioménil and the forces under his command, still about 75% of the troops of the *expédition particulière*, left Baltimore on MD SR 1 for their next camp at Spurrier's Tavern at the intersection of MD-SR 175 and US 1. Here a courier reached Vioménil in the evening with news that transports from Admiral de Grasse had reached Annapolis. Vioménil immediately changed his plans and in the morning of 18 September, his troops turned south-east to their next camp at "Scott's Plantation", i.e. Belvoir, near Crownsville about 7 miles from the center of Annapolis. By 7:00 a.m. the following day, 19 September, they had reached Annapolis. Over the next few days the French infantry and their baggage as well as the field artillery embarked on 15 vessels sent by Admiral de Grasse and sailed for Virginia late in the afternoon of 21 September 1781.



The Bourbonnois and the Royal Deux-Ponts formed the First French Brigade



The Saintonge and the Soissonnois formed the Second French Brigade

Rochambeau's Infantry

The movement of Continental Quartermaster supplies, logistics, and shipping from the Maryland Eastern Shore to the Continental Army before and during the Siege of Yorktown in the fall of 1781

Gathering the supplies needed to feed these thousands of men and animals tested the limits of the state of Maryland and the abilities of the quartermasters tasked with procuring these supplies. The disengagement of allied forces from Crown Forces in New York City in the days after 17 August, the crossing of the Hudson and their march into New Jersey had been achieved with as much secrecy and deception as possible to keep Sir Henry Clinton uninformed of their real destination. By 25 August the last French forces had crossed the Hudson, by 28 August they were resting at Whippany, Washington with a detachment of the Continental Army was quartered at Chatham, and the remainder of the Continental Army under General Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) lay in Springfield. This was the last point from where the pretense of an attack on New York City could be maintained. Once the allies started moving toward Millstone, New Brunswick and ultimately Princeton and Trenton, the fact that Lord Cornwallis in Virginia was the target of the campaign could no longer be concealed. Upon arrival in Chatham on 27 August, Washington therefore dropped all pretense and began to make active preparations for the march to the southward. First he informed Congress from his headquarters in Chatham, that

my Expectation of the Arrival of the Fleet of Monsr. De Grasse, in the Chesapeak Bay, with some other Circumstances, of which Congress were informed in my Letter of the 2d. Augst., and in which very little Alterations have since taken place, have induced me to make an Alteration in the concerted Operations of this Campaign. I am now on my March with a very considerable Detachment of the American Army, and the whole of the French Troops, for Virginia.¹⁹

From Chatham, he instructed Samuel Miles (1749-1802), Deputy Quarter-Master General for Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, on 27 August 1781 that

In consequence of a total alteration in our Plans, and the movement of a large Body of Troops to the Southward; I have despatched a Messenger for the sole purpose of having Provision made at Trenton, for the Transportation of them to Christiana by Water. You will therefore be pleased to have the greatest possible number of Sloops, Shallops and river Craft of all kinds, fit for the transportation of Men, Artillery and Baggage collected from every quarter where they can be found, and brought to Trenton by the 31st. Inst. at which time the head of the Column is expected to arrive: Let others be procured and ordered to

follow to the same place, as fast as may be, untill Orders are received to the contrary.

You will use every exertion to have this business carried into execution without loss of time. I have also written to Mr. Morris on the subject, with whom I wish you to converse and advise respecting the Places Mode &c. of obtaining the Craft; and I am persuaded he will afford you any assistance in his power.

I have delayed having these preparations made until this moment, because I wished to deceive the Enemy with regard to our real object as long as possible, our Movements have been calculated for that purpose and I am still anxious the deception should be kept up a few days longer, untill our intentions are announced by the Army's filing off towards the Delaware.

These Arrangements would have been made through the Quarter Master General, but he having been left at Kings ferry to execute some business in his Department, and the time of his arrival being uncertain, I have thought proper to write to you myself on the subject, and to desire in the most earnest Manner, that neither labour or expence may be wanting in the performance of the important business now committed to you. I am &c.

P.S. Be so good as to obtain Quarters for myself and family (half a dozen Gentlemen) at some convenient Private Lodgings, without mentioning particularly who they are for; if one house will not accommodate the Whole, the nearer the lodgings are the better. Also be pleased to forward the Letters to the Southward by Express.

That same day he wrote to Maryland Governor Thomas Sim Lee (1745-1819) that

Official Accounts which I have received, giving me reason to expect the Arrival of a powerful Fleet of our Allies very soon in the Chesapeak, if not already Arrived; this Expectation, together with some other Circumstances not necessary at present to detail to you, have induced me to make a total Alteration in the concerted operations of this Campaign. In consequence, I am now marchg. a very considerable Detachment from the American Army, with the whole of the French Troops, immediately to Virginia.

As our Hopes of Success against Ld Cornwallis in a great Measure depend on the Dispatch and Celerity of our Movements, I have to request in the most earnest Manner all the Aid and Assistance from your Excellency that we may have Occasion for and have Reason to expect from your State; among these the Means of Transportation from the Head of Elk to the Point of our operations, will be among the most Essential; all the Water Craft, that can be procured suitable for the Carriage of an Army, with their Artillery, Baggage, etc., will be needed, and should be ready at the Head of Elk by the 8th of Septr. A quantity of Forage will also be necessary for the Cattle which will unavoidably attend the Army. As I shall probably be disappointed of a Quantity of salted Provisions, which cannot with safety be conveyed from the Eastern States, I must beg your Excellency to pay particular Attention to that Article, if any is to be obtained in your State. Other Aids as well in Provisions as other Articles, will probably be needed, which cannot at this moment be particularly specified.

I communicate My Intentions to you, and have Confidence, that I shall receive every Aid and Assistance that is in your Power, towards their Execution.

I expect to have no Occasion to call on you for the Aid of Men, further than your State Troops which are ordered to be raised, and which I hope you have already compleated.

Mr. Robert Morriss will have the principal Agency in procuring the Water Transportation mentioned in this Letter; perhaps nothing more will be expected from your Excellency in that Article, than to afford Mr. Morriss every Aid which he may stand in need of in their Procurement of The Craft, which I am persuaded you will do with Readiness and Decision.

The Moment is critical, the Opportunity is precious, the prospect is most happily favorable. I hope that no Supineness, or Want of Exertions on our own part may prove the Means of a fatal Disappointment.

*I have the honour to be, with great sincerity of esteem and regard,
Your Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,
Geo. Washington*

P. S. Our Forage will be principally wanted at the Head of Elk, and from thence on the Route to George Town.

In his reply of 30 August, Lee promised Washington every assistance in his power.

We are honored by your Excellency's letter of the 27th and we receive with the greatest Satisfaction the Intelligence of the Approach of the Fleet of our generous Ally.

You may rely Sir, on every Exertion that is possible for us to make to accelerate the Movements of the Army on an Expedition, the Success of which must hasten the Establishment of the Independence of America, and relieve us from many of the Calamities of war.

Orders have been issued to impress every Vessel belonging to the State, and forwarding them without delay to the Head of Elk.

But we are sorry to inform your Excellency, that since the Enemy has had Possession of the Bay, our Number of sea Vessels and Craft, has been so reduced by Captures, that we are apprehensive what remains will not transport so considerable a Detachment.

We have directed the State officers to procure immediately by Purchase or Seizure, five thousand Head of Cattle and a large Quantity of Flour. There is very little salt Provision in the State, [what] can be obtained, we trust will be collected.

Part of the Provision will be deposited at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town, and George Town. Most of the Cattle will be kept in good Pastures, not far distant from the Bay and Rivers, so that they may with Ease be forwarded to any Point where they may be required. We have directed sufficient Quantities of Forage to be laid in, at the Head of Elk, Baltimore Town and George Town for the use of the Army. The third regiment consisting of about six hundred Men under the command of Colo Adams marched from this City last Tuesday; and about seven hundred of the new Levies will move in a few Days.

Every Aid that can be given Mr. Morris will be afforded with the utmost Chearfulness and Alacrity.

The terse words in these letters do not even hint at the immensity of the task that lay ahead. The total population of Maryland in 1781 was a little over 300,000 white and black citizens and slaves, the city of Baltimore held no more than 7,000, less than one tenth the crowd of spectators of a *Baltimore Ravens* game at M&T Stadium. Annapolis, the next largest city in Maryland, held 1,326 inhabitants in 1775.²⁰ When Admiral de Ternay's flagship the *Duc de Bourgogne* set sail from Brest for Newport in 1780 it carried 1,432 persons on board! Yet the combined allied armies with their thousands of animals that Washington asked Lee to feed with the resources of Maryland were larger than the city of Baltimore, and time was short. Washington's letter had reached Lee on 30 August; the first elements of the Continental Army camped in Head of Elk on 6 September, by 10 September thousands of troops were encamped in Baltimore.

Lee and his council knew that there was little time to lose and mobilized the resources of the state. They also knew that the counties on Maryland's Eastern Shore and the Delmarva Peninsula, i.e. Caroline, Cecil, Dorchester, Kent, Queen Anne's, Somerset, Talbot and Worcester County (Wicomico is only created in 1867), would have to play a critical role in meeting Washington's requests. Although the Eastern Shore comprises more than a third of Maryland's land area it was and is more thinly populated than the Western Shore; even today less than 10% of the population of Maryland lives there. At the same time, however, the counties on the Eastern Shore had for decades been the bread-basket for the City of Philadelphia: in 1774 it supplied as much as one-fifth of the wheat and flour and one-half of the corn received in Philadelphia. Wheat shipments from the Chester River district equaled those of the entire western shore above Annapolis and Chestertown alone exported two and one-half times more than what was produced on the rest of the Eastern Shore.²¹

To get the resources of these counties to the troops was the task of Donaldson Yeates (1730-1796) who served as Continental Deputy Quarter-Master General for Delaware and Maryland since the summer of 1780. Among Yeates' most valuable collaborators and subordinates were men such as James Calhoun (1743-1816) of Baltimore, Deputy Quarter Master General (DQMG) for the Western Shore, Thomas Richardson (1726-1784), Assistant DQMG and purchasing agent for the western shore, Henry Hollingsworth (1737-1803), who served as DQMG and purchasing agents on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, David Poe (1743-1816), ADQMG for Baltimore, Patrick Sim Smith (1742-1792), Commissary for Purchases in Calvert County and Captain Levi Pease (1740-1824) of Somers in Connecticut, who served as the liaison officer for Maryland on the staff of Colonel Timothy Pickering (1745-1829), Quarter-Master General of the Continental Army.

Immediately upon receipt of Washington's letter, Lee instructed Hollingsworth on 30 August to collect 3,100 head of cattle on the Eastern Shore.²²

By Letters received by Express from his Excellency Gen' Washington and Robert Morris Esqr we are informed that a large Detachment from the main Army are on their March to Virginia by way of the Head of Elk to cooperate with the French Fleet hourly expected in Chesepeake, and are called on in the most pressing Manner for our proportion of the Supplies required by Congress to be delivered without Delay at the Posts of Baltimore and George Town, and the Head of Elk, we most earnestly request you to have all the wheat manufactured into superfine merchantable Flour, and deposited on the waters of Chesepeake the most convenient for Transportation.

We have given Directions to the Several County Commissaries to collect by Purchase or seizure immediately a Number of Beef Cattle as mentioned below and such salted Provisions as may be procured so as not to distress the Owners. We request you to attend to and forward that Business. ... Somerset 600, Worcester 600, Dorchester 400, Talbot 350, Queen Anns 350, to be put in good Pastures subject to the future orders of the Governor and Council; Kent 350, Cecil 250 Caroline 150, to be sent to the Head, the whole 3100 Head of Beef Cattle, Salted Provisions Cecil Kent and Caroline to be sent to the Head of Elk, Somerset to be lodged at Princess Ann, Worcester at Snow hill, Dorchester at Cambridge, Talbot and Queen Anns, the Head of Miles River.

Concurrently the governor instructed Calhoun also on 30 August to collect and deliver in the Western counties another 2,000 head of cattle.

without Delay at the Posts of Baltimore, George Town and the Head of Elk, ... with Expedition all the Flour and flesh Provisions within your district belonging to the Public, and have it deposited at the above mentioned places. We have given Directions to the several County Commissaries to collect immediately a Number of Beef Cattle, as mentioned below and salted Provisions, and we request you to attend to and forward that Business. You will also have a sufficient Quantity of Forage laid in at the Posts of Baltimore and George Town. We send you by this opportunity £250 of the new Money to expedite and enable you to comply with these requisitions. St Mary's County 200, Charles 200, Prince Georges 200, Calvert 200, Ann Arundel County 200, Montgomery 300, Frederick 400, Washington 300

Number of Cattle in each County
 Somerset 600, Worcester 600, Dorchester 400, Talbot 350, Caroline 150,
 Queen Anns 350, Kent 300, Cecil 350, Harford 300, Baltimore 400,
 Ann Arundel 200, Prince Georges 200, Charles 200, Saint Mary's 200, Calvert 200,
 Montgomery 300, Frederick 200, and Washington 300.
 Places of Deposit

Calhoun and Hollingsworth had been expecting these requests and already looked to the Eastern Shore as their most important and convenient source of supplies. On 29 August, already, Calhoun had written to Lee from Baltimore:

I yesterday received a letter from the Commissary Genl of the Army of the United States [Col. Timothy Pickering] informing me that it was necessary to lay in a small Magazine of about three hundred Barrels of flour and three hundred Barrels of Salt Provisions at the Head of Elk and that Col Hollingsworth could furnish the flour but had not a pound of Salt Provision and therefore they must look to me for that Article, and if salt Provisions could not be had requested that some Cattle should be immediately sent there and placed in Pastures. As I have neither salt Provision nor Cattle collected here submit it to Your Honble Board whether it would not be more proper to have them collected from the Eastern shore and sent there."

The gathering of supplies required "Places of Deposit" also specified Lee's order:

Places of Deposit
 Kent, Cecil, Caroline. The Cattle to be sent to the Head of Elk
 Salted Provisions
 Cecil, to be sent to the Head of Elk
 Kent & Caroline to the Head of Elk
 Somerset to be lodged at Prince Anns
 Worcester, at ~~Fredericksburg~~ Snow Hill
 Dorchester, at Cambridge
 Talbot & Queen Anns, at the Head of Charles River
 Somerset, Worcester, Dorchester, Talbot & Queen Anns, The Cattle to be put
 into good Pastures subject to the future Orders of the Board
 Saint Mary's - at above
 Harford & Baltimore, Cattle & Salt Provisions, to Baltimore Town
 Ann Arundel, Prince Georges, Charles, Calvert and Montgomery, at George Town
 Frederick } Cattle to Fredericksburg
 Washington } Salt Provisions to George Town

Not only was the Eastern Shore contributing considerably more provisions than the western shore, the farmers there, at least initially, also parted with their cattle and flour much more willingly than their counterparts on the other side of the bay. Pat Sim Smith of Calvert County wrote to Governor Lee on 29 August 1781 that “the people in General are much averse to parting with their Cattle on the Terms prescribed by the Law & some declare they will make a present of their Beef than, take Certificates — provided cash could be given I could Immediately procure a number & with great ease otherwise I know I must have a great deal of Trouble.” He was not alone. James Calhoun even requested militia from the Governor on 5 September 1781:

I wrote to you the 3d Inst to which refer Notwithstanding the very great demand that will be on us in a few days for Provisions I fear the County Commissaries are not making the necessary collection of Cattle Mr Griffith has done nothing in that business yet and says it is not in his power to procure them by Seizure without a number of people to assist him. I cannot devise any mode of carrying this business into effect without Your ordering some part of the Militia on this Service.

There will be near 3000 Horse & Oxen through here in a few days including the French, which will consume a very large quantity of Forage and it is not in my power to procure a sufficiency for new money. It was with great difficulty I got 200 Bushels of Corn this morning for that money and that by threatning to seize unless the owner would consent to part with it on those terms. I have wrote to Mr [Thomas] Beal at George Town to lay in a supply of forage there but cannot say whether he will be able to effect it please forward him some Money for that purpose what I have would go a very little way if it passed freely.”

John Smith Brookes from Upper Marlboro informed the governor on 15 September that

It is impossible to describe to you the difficulties I labour under in fulfilling your orders for matters where the money is not deposited, very few acts appear to come voluntarily from the people, especially where the demand amounts to a disposal of any part of their property, and this reluctance is rendered much greater when they find the money is not to be received.

Across the bay Charles Blake, Commissary for Queen Ann's County, was among the state's commissaries and purchasing agents who described a very different situation along Corsica Creek in a letter to Governor Lee of 6 September:

It is with the utmost Satisfaction I inform yr Ex: that the 350 Cattle will be obtain'd in a very few days, I now have upwards of 250 and have not been over one half of the Coty; the People over-joyed at the arrival of our Allies have in many places desir'd me to call and take any number I thought they could possibly spare; I have not yett Seized one and hope I shall not. The Cattle on Chews and Kent Islands I shall leave there till farther orders, the others I shall leave in those pastures ready. Those on Kent and Chews may Perhaps be order'd off by water, if not they shall be ready to go when order'd. If yr Ex: should order any to be Slaughter'd please to say what is to be done with the 5th Q[uar]te[r] I have found no Salt provisions yet.²³

Some of the cattle on the Eastern Shore was transported to Yorktown live on water, though that occasionally caused problems. In an age where the speed of communication was determined by the speed of transportation, i.e. how fast a horse could gallop, setting up a functioning collection- and distribution system took a while. On 23 September, Charles Blake had informed the governor from Corsica of a mishap conveying cattle to Kent Point. “[O]rder'd to deliver 150 head of Cattle on Kent Point”, Blake had

immediately collected 97 Head all that could have the least chance of getting there in time. I put them under the charge of Messrs Saml Betton and Levin Downes ... with orders to proceed as fast as possible to Kent Point. When they came to the little ferry [at the Kent Narrows] the wind was very high they drove them into Swim them across, but the Waves dashing in their faces forced them on the drivers and they got so mad that they ran at every thing in their way. I dispatch'd an Express to the Point to inform the Persons orderd to receive that I had a drove on the way but could not pass at any rate till the wind fell; and desir'd it it could be done to order the Vessels into Wye where I would put the whole number of 150 or 300 on board if required; on the 21st the express returned and inform'd that the fleet had sail'd and no one call'd at Kent Point.

I then orderd the cattle back to Pasture where they all remain but 9 which got out the night of the 20th and are still missing but expect every day to hear of them as there are two persons in search of them. I hope if yr Ex: should order any more Cattle by water you will order the Vessels into Wye where the whole Cattle from the County may be collected and put on board; there are 60 on Wye Island ready.

Yr Ex: desires an additional number tho the People are all willing still it is with difficulty they can spare the 350 without breaking in on their family provision. However if you'll inform me that it is necessary that I should collect a farther number by seizure (tho it will distress me to take from those, whats for their own use, who have already spared all the rest) I'll lay by all my own feelings rather than lett the expedition suffer. I hope the troops have suffer'd nothing for want of those Cattle I did all I could from the shortnes of the notice, and ever shall strain every thing to forward the Service.

It was only on 27 September, the day before the opening of the siege of Yorktown, that Colonel Ephraim Blaine (1741-1804), Commissary General for the Middle District of the Continental Army, could inform Governor Lee from Williamsburg that

His Excellency the Commander in Chief approves of three places of Deposit upon the Eastern Shore of your State for the col lection of Beef Cattle. Viz. Oxford landing upon Choptank River for the Supplies of Queen Ann, Talbot & Caroline Counties — Vienna upon Nanticoke River for Dorchester, and Snow Hill for the County of Worchester. I will Order Agents to attend at those places to receive and forward the Stores. Your Excellency will please to Order the Contractors to bring in their Cattle to those places agreeable to the Orders they receive from my Agents, and to be punctual in a compliance therewith — they must also provide good pasture convenient to the places of slaughter, and I beg Sir you will give them Orders to afford every necessary Assistance in this Business. I shall order what Public salt remains in your State to be collected to those places but am doubtful it will by no means equal our demand. Packing down Meat at this early Season requires large quantities of Salt. Your Excellency & Council will please to order the purchase of five or Six hundred Bushels, one half of which to be sent to Oxford & the residue to Vienna & Snow Hill.

...

The whole Army moves down towards York to morrow morning at five oClock, and its said they will not halt until they are within one Mile of CornwalliSts Works. It is reported he is strongly fortified therefore in a few Days the Operations of both Armys will become very serious.

In general, however, it was easier to slaughter Eastern Shore cattle and ship it to Virginia as salted beef. That, however, required large amounts of salt, which was in

short supply in Maryland as well as in Virginia. On 13 September, Governor Thomas Nelson (1738-1789) of Virginia had informed Lee that

The great consumption of Salt, which so large an Army as is now collecting in this State, will necessarily occasion, makes me apprehensive that it will be difficult for us to furnish sufficient supplies of that article, as I imagine it will be in your Power to afford us assistance in this respect, I must request that you will have measures taken for this purpose.

I also beg leave to remind you of what I mentioned in a former letter, that a supply of flour from your State, will be very acceptable if not absolutely necessary.

Lee was unable to provide any salt to her southern neighbor, but it did supply vast amounts of flour needed to bake the bread to feed the Continental Army outside Yorktown. On 15 September General Benjamin Lincoln wrote to Governor Lee from Yorktown

I am, this moment, informed by Colo. Stewart that all the Flower, which he can now promise, is two hundred Barrels at the Head of Elk, three hundred at Baltimore and one thousand Barrels at George Town.

This is a Supply for fifteen Days only and much less, if we pay what we have borrowed of the French. From this short View of the matter, your Excellency will see how totally unequal that number is to what will be our Demand, and how dangerous it is to the Safety & Intrest of America to suffer so important an Expedition as the present to rest a moment on so precarious a Basis. Pray give me Leave to solicit an Exertion of the Powers & Interest of this State to collect & forward to the Army, or collect, at least, one hundred Barrels of Flower per Day. A collection of Beef will also require every Exertion Your Excellency is too fully possessed of the necessity of supplies to need my saying more on the Subject.

1,500 barrels of flour, more than 210 tons, constituted no more than a 15-day supply for the Continental Army. The equally large French army needed just as much if not more flour, and there was the French navy of some 28,000 soldiers and sailors off Yorktown that needed to be fed as well: including Crown forces inside Yorktown, the little port town in October 1781 had grown to the largest settlement in North America, larger than the city of Philadelphia and about as large as the British-held City of New York.

American Land Forces

Continental: 350 officers & 5,500 men (return of 9/26/1781; incl. 411 sick)
Militia: 3,300 officers & men
→ 9,150 Americans

French Land Forces

Rochambeau's Forces: 425 officers & 4,500 men (return of 11/11/81; incl. 423 sick)
St. Simon's Forces: 225 officers & 3,300 men
→ 9,250 French incl. 800 men line infantry doing duty as
Marines on de Grasse's vessels sent to Gloucester

French Navy

French Marines: 5,200 officers and men (minus ca. 800 Marines at Gloucester)
Ship crews: 24,000 officers and men (18,000 de Grasse, 6,000 de Barras)

Crown Forces

(incl. German Auxiliaries and American Loyalists)

8,885 effectives & 840 naval personnel: about 9,700 r&f on 15 September 1781.
On 19 October 7,087 r&f (~ 4,750 fit for duty) and 840 men naval personnel surrender²⁴

But cattle and flour were not the only items the Eastern Shore was called upon to provide. On 11 September, General Henry Knox requested planks for gun embankments and platforms from the governor:

I have the honor to state to your Excellency the importance of an immediate supply of Thirty thousand feet of white oak plank, of 2 1/2 or 2 inches thick, which is wanted for the intended operations against the enemy in Virginia. The difficulty and indeed impracticability of transporting this article from any other quarter has induced a full dependence for it on Maryland. I have written to Genl Gist, who is at Baltimore, on this matter, but as his powers must be very limited, I take the liberty earnestly to pray your Excellency to take such decided measures as will ensure the quantity above mentioned, or such part of it as can possibly be procured, in a few days.

Lee could not help Knox: wherever he turned he was rebuffed. Unless he could pay with specie, in gold or silver, no-one in Maryland would provide the planks. In a letter of 15 September 1781 Henry Hollingsworth had pointed out to Lee what he, and everyone else in Maryland, already knew: the Maryland State currency was virtually worthless. In the summer of 1781 it was exchanged at a rate of 75 : 1 to bullion and worse and even then hardly anyone was willing to accept it was only good for paying taxes and assessments since the state could hardly refuse to accept its own emissions.

the flour I now have on hand is about 500 Bbls and about one hundred head of Cattle for this State with about five hundred Head of large Oxen belonging to the continent, difficult to obtain pasture ... shall be obliged to send them over to the Delaware state where pasture is plenty, (though they wont take one shilling of our State money)."

If the state was bankrupt, Governor Lee pointed out the other root of the evil in a letter to Washington of 19 September 1781. Lee told the Commander in Chief that

... 1185 Barrels [of flour] are at George Town, and the public wheat in Washington and Frederick Counties now manufacturing and transporting to that Post, will, we are satisfied, afford from fifteen hundred to two thousand Barrels more.

There are at Baltimore Town about four hundred and fifty Barrels and at the Head of Elk three hundred Barrels which last Quantity must be greatly augmented in a short Time unless the French Purchasers (who have hard Money to procure what they want) interfere with our Measures and render them inefficacious. If that Event should happen, we shall be constrained to resort to Seizure which will procrastinate our further Supplies and from its Odiousness ought if possible to be avoided. The Credit of our new Money, our only Medium, has been greatly wounded and the Circulation in some Measure stopt, since the French Contractors have been in the State, who have parted with their Specie with great Liberality, and we expect for some Time to meet with Difficulties in obtaining what is required."

Flour, cattle and other supplies could still be purchased and transported to Yorktown but only if paid for in specie. With the agents of Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743-1804), sole supplier for French forces, swarming the state and paying in silver or gold, no Marylander would sell his cattle or wheat for worthless paper money. Impressment with all its negative side effects became more and more frequent as a means of last resort. On 22 September the Council wrote to David Poe telling him that

You are hereby authorized and directed to impress as many Vessels as are necessary to transport Flour and Salt to Head Quarters in Virginia and Waggon to transport the Public Salt to Baltimore Town. Both Flour and Salt are much wanted by the Army and we request you to lose no Time in forwarding every Barrel of Flour you can procure; you will supply to Mr Calhoun to turn over all in his Possession.

In Council 9th Oct. 1701

Col. Blaine desires to have a good Boat of about twenty Tons, impressed, to go to Corsica to take in a Quantity of Beef to carry to the Army; We request therefore that you will impress such an one, or two, if one is not large enough.

John Bullen Esq.

In Council 6th Oct. 1701

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Sir

There is a Quantity of public Flour at Waters Mill at the Head of Maggothy River. You will please to take the most effectual Measures to have it brought here without Delay, by impressing a Boat for the Purpose of bringing it by Water, or having it brought in Waggon by Land.

No 869
John Bullen Esq.

The ever more frequent Impressment of wagons as well as supplies only aggravated a situation where supplies were showing signs of exhaustion. On 23 September already Blake had warned from Corsica that “Yr Ex: desires an additional number tho the People are all willing still it is with difficulty they can spare the 350 without breaking in on their family provision.” Thomas Beall of Georgetown [in Montgomery County in 1781], had been informed on 30 August that the quota for his county was 300 head of cattle. Upon receipt of the letter he had warned the governor on 10 September that he found the “Beeves in General very Poor & Scarce from present Appearances I don’t belive I shall be able to get above two hundred ... and if there is as many as three Hundred in this County I will have them.” On 11 October he informed Lee that “[I] dont believe I shall be able to get any more Cattle in this County, without greatly distressing the People; our County has been seling all this Spring and Summer to the Butchers at Baltimore and Anna[poli]s which has made Cattle fit to slaughter very scarce, I have no prospect of geting any Liquors: red money has almost ceased Circulating hard money is the General Cry”.

Fortunately (for the time being) the siege was quickly coming to an end and the people of Maryland would get a reprieve, even if only ever so briefly. On 7 October, Charles Steward (1729-1800), Continental Commissary General of Issues, was pleased to inform James Calhoun from “Camp before York Town” that “Since my arrival in this State the

Troops have not wanted Bread or Meat & the prospect in future is not discouraging in those Articles but much is in regard to Liquors." Liquor was nowhere to be had in Maryland but beyond that the state, and foremost the Eastern Shore, had done its duty to ensure the victory at Yorktown. By the time Steward's letter reached Calhoun on 16 October 1781, the siege was almost over. The following day Cornwallis beat a parley; on 19 October the defeated Crown forces laid down their arms.

Elated though (most of) the Marylanders were at this happy turn of events, the victory caused its own set of problems: 1) what to do with the supplies collected for the siege that were no longer needed in Yorktown, 2) how to feed the Continental Army forces and their animals returning north across an exhausted Maryland not even two months after they had crossed the state on their way south, and 3) how to house and feed and keep warm the prisoners General Washington was sending to Fort Frederick?²⁵

Peter Chaille (?-1802), Commissary of Purchases of Worcester County, told Governor Lee on 8 November that

I have Collected four Hundred and forty Beef Cattle have Slaughtered, by order of Colo Ephraim Blain C: G. Purchases, three Hundred and thirty Six, Beef Cattle I have one Hundred and four on hand, which I am Feeding Lightli, to keep them in order, as ouer Pasture is geting Very Short shall be glad to have sum directions Respecting them Colo Blain has directed me not to send the Beef forward that I slaughterd, Last, which I have taken from on Board the Vessel, and shall save it According to Col: Blains Orders, in the best maner I Can, he Informs me that Part of the Cattle I have on hand will not be Wanted Until next Summer, if So I think it will be best to desist from, Collecting aney more, then what will be paid in discharge of Taxes you will pleas to give me direction here to Proceed, as I have no Salt, pleas to direct me whether I must Purchase, aney or not, and what Quantity, at the same time I shall want money to pay for it, as their will be a Large Quantity of Pork paid in discharge of Taxes this winter, the Salt had better be procured in time.

P. S. if the Cattle Shuld be slaughter'd, this winter think they had better, be slaughterd at this Place as they will decline much in driving, and the Expenxe of Transportation much Cheaper by Wayter then by Land, Pleas to give me Orders by the Bearer as I shall be at a Loss to know how to Conduct Myself.

Other commissaries reported similar situation. On 14 November Charles Blake reported from Corsica that the “Publick Cattle in my possession ...are daily loosing.

I hope your Ex. will give immediate directions what to do with them. If it can be done some desire to have them again. A Gentr has made an offer to receive the Cattle at the Red Lion near New Castle there have them judg'd and in June next deliver half the quantity in good order. I think those that will receive them again had better be permitted (if they can be spared) and the rest drove to Elk where if not wanting Colo Hollingsworth may probably dispose of them to advantage. If any are wanting. to be Salted there is a very large proportion of them yett fine beef and I have plenty of Salt. I hope yr Ex. will send directions by Express; as every day is of vast importance, and a letter may lay ten or twelve days if not sent in that way.

Unaware that the siege had ended, Charles Blake inquired of the governor on 23 October what to do with the

17729 pounds of Beef Salted” he had on his hands. “I wish to have Vessels as soon as possible to send off the rest, as they are growing worse. I have 3 large odd of three hundred head, have sent off 55 head by Middleton; as soon as the hurry is over I shall do myself the pleasure to wait on yr Ex : with my Accts but cannot spare time at present.

He need to have worried: the “hurry” to get supplies to Yorktown was over. Another “hurry”, that of providing for the Continental Army on its way to the Hudson and of British prisoners from Yorktown that would enter the state within days, was about to begin. Blake would be able to “spare time” - the citizens of the Eastern Shore were only marginally affected by those events.

Colonel Tench Tilghman's Ride in October 1781 from Yorktown to Philadelphia to deliver the News of the Victory to the Continental Congress

"The drums are now beginning to beat for parade. I must now break off and hast to receive, a haughty cruel, unjust but now crest fallen foe." The time was shortly after 10:00 a.m. on 19 October 1781, when Elias Dayton, Colonel of the Second New Jersey Regiment, wrote these lines to his son Elias B. Dayton.²⁶ Around noon that day the approximately 5,500 regulars of the Continental Army had finished lining up on the east side of the road to Hampton - the left if you were headed that way, the right side if you were facing Yorktown - with a little over 3,000 Virginia State Militia in the rear. Article 3 of the instrument of surrender had set the time "at 2 o'clock precisely", but it was closer to 3:00 p.m. when the garrison began to "march out to a place ... appointed in front of the posts ... with Shouldered Arms, Colors cased and Drums beating a British or German March."²⁷ Led by General Charles O'Hara (1740-1802), the faces of the approximately 3,300 officers and men that filed out of "Little York" on that cool autumn afternoon revealed, in the words of a



British officer, a "mortification and unfeigned sorrow [which] will never fade from my memory." Others were "sullen and cross" and angry enough to try and smash their flintlocks as they stacked them.²⁸ A large number appeared to be "in liquor," as the *Pennsylvania Packet* reported on 13 November 1781. All the while, their drummers were beating any number of tunes "as if they did not care how."²⁹ The "ragged Continentals" and their French allies past whom the dejected British troops were marching, basked in the glory of the day.

Detail of James Peale, "The Generals of the French and American Armies at Yorktown after the Surrender." (1782?) Tilghman is the American officer standing on the far right holding the surrender document. (Maryland Historical Society)

Once both sides had signed the surrender documents, news of the victory needed to be taken to the Continental Congress sitting in Philadelphia. Enter Tench Tilghman. Born on Christmas Day 1744 (N.S.)³⁰, the 21-year-old scion of one of Maryland's oldest families volunteered his services to General George Washington in August 1776 and became his aide-de-camp and military secretary. He served without pay until May 1781 when Washington was able to arrange a regular commission in the Continental Army for him.³¹



Tench Tilghman's Commission as a Lieutenant Colonel in the Continental Army dated 30 May 1781 but back-dated to 1 April 1777, the day he entered Continental Service. (Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC)

To reward Tilghman for his services (and to give Congress an opportunity to do as well), Washington chose Tilghman for the highly honorific task of officially delivering the news of Cornwallis' surrender to the Continental Congress, which was meeting at Independence Hall in Philadelphia. In his letter of 19 October 1781 to Thomas McKean (1734-1817), the President of Congress, Washington wrote:

"Sir,
Col. Tilghman, one of my aids-de-camp, will have the honor to deliver these dispatches to your excellency. He will be able to inform you of every minute circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my

*letter. His merits, which are too well known to need my observations at this time, have gained my particular attention, and I could wish that they may be honored by the notice of your excellency and congress."*³²

The "dispatches" Tilghman carried in his pouch contained a copy of the instrument of surrender and a letter to McKean which read:

Head Quarters near York, October 19, 1781.

Sir: I have the Honor to inform Congress, that a Reduction of the British Army under the Command of Lord Cornwallis, is most happily effected. The unremitting Ardor which actuated every Officer and Soldier in the combined Army on this Occasion, has principally led to this Important Event, at an earlier period than my most sanguine Hopes had induced me to expect.

The singular Spirit of Emulation, which animated the whole Army from the first Commencement of our Operations, has filled my Mind with the highest pleasure and Satisfaction, and had given me the happiest presages of Success.

On the 17th instant, a Letter was received from Lord Cornwallis, proposing a Meeting of Commissioners, to consult on Terms for the Surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester. This Letter (the first which had passed between us) opened a Correspondence, a Copy of which I do myself the Honor to inclose; that Correspondence was followed by the Definitive Capitulation, which was agreed to, and Signed on the 19th. Copy of which is also herewith transmitted, and which I hope, will meet the Approbation of Congress.

I should be wanting in the feelings of Gratitude, did I not mention on this Occasion, with the warmest Sense of Acknowledgements, the very chearfull and able Assistance, which I have received in the Course of our Operations, from, his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, and all his Officers of every Rank, in their respective Capacities. Nothing could equal this Zeal of our Allies, but the emulating Spirit of the American Officers, whose Ardor would not suffer their Exertions to be exceeded.

The very uncommon Degree of Duty and Fatigue which the Nature of the Service required from the Officers of Engineers and Artillery of both

Armies, obliges me particularly to mention the Obligations I am under to the Commanding and other Officers of those Corps.

I wish it was in my Power to express to Congress, how much I feel myself indebted to The Count de Grasse and the Officers of the Fleet under his Command for the distinguished Aid and Support which have been afforded by them; between whom, and the Army, the most happy Concurrence of Sentiments and Views have subsisted, and from whom, every possible Cooperation has been experienced, which the most harmonious Intercourse could afford.

Returns of the Prisoners, Military Stores, Ordnance Shipping and other Matters, I shall do myself the Honor to transmit to Congress as soon as they can be collected by the Heads of Departments, to which they belong.

Colo. Laurens and the Viscount de Noiailles, on the Part of the combined Army, were the Gentlemen who acted as Commissioners for formg and settg the Terms of Capitulation and Surrender herewith transmitted, to whom I am particularly obliged for their Readiness and Attention exhibited on the Occasion.

Colo Tilghman, one of my Aids de Camp, will have the Honor to deliver these Dispatches to your Excellency; he will be able to inform you of every minute Circumstance which is not particularly mentioned in my Letter; his Merits, which are too well known to need my observations at this time, have gained my particular Attention, and could wish that they may be conored with the Notice of your Excellency and Congress.

Your Excellency and Congress will be pleased to accept my Congratulations on this happy Event, and believe me to be With the highest Respect etc.

P.S. Tho' I am not possessed of the Particular Returns, yet I have reason to suppose that the Number of Prisoners will be between five and Six thousand, exclusive of Seamen and others.



Charles Willson Peale, "Washington, Lafayette and Tilghman at Yorktown (1784)" was commissioned by the Maryland legislature in November 1781. It is on display in the committee room on the left side of the entry door in the Maryland State House in Annapolis.

In a letter to General John Sullivan dated 11 May 1781, Washington called Tench Tilghman a "zealous Servant and slave to the public, and a faithful assistant to me for near five years."

Did Tilghman travel on water or on land or both? When did he depart from Yorktown? Which route or routes did he take? Where were his stops along the way? When did he arrive in Philadelphia? Among the very few sources describing the route is a letter Tilghman himself wrote from Philadelphia to Washington on 27 October 1781 announcing his arrival in the American capital.

Philadelphia, 27th Oct., 1781

Sir:

I arrived at this place early Wednesday morning [shortly after midnight on 24 October]. Although I lost one whole night's run by the stupidity of the skipper, who got over on Tangier Shoals, and was a whole day crossing, in a calm, from Annapolis to Rock Hall. The wind left us entirely on Sunday evening [21 October], thirty miles below Annapolis. I found that a letter from Count De Grasse to Governor Lee, dated the 18th, had gone forward to Congress, in which the Count informed the Governor that Cornwallis had surrendered. This made me the more anxious to reach Philadelphia, as I knew both Congress and the public would be uneasy at not receiving dispatches from you; I was not wrong in my conjecture, for some really began to doubt the matter.

... I beg you to be assured that I am with the utmost sincerity your excellency's

*Obedient servant,
TENCH TILGHMAN*

The first question to be answered is: how did Tilghman travel to Philadelphia? In pre-railroad days travel on water was usually faster, cheaper and more convenient than travel on horseback or in a coach. A look at Tilghman's point of departure and destination shows that (under normal circumstances) a combination of land and water travel provided the shortest, fastest and most convenient way of travel to Philadelphia. In his *Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*, Christopher Colles measured the distance from Yorktown to Alexandria as 213 miles and 134 miles from there to Philadelphia for a total of 347 miles. If he had gone on land from Yorktown to Philadelphia, Tilghman probably would not have made the detour to Annapolis but instead would have ridden from Bladensburg directly to Baltimore and on to Philadelphia, thereby reducing the route to 318 miles.³³ The distance on water from Yorktown to Annapolis is about 125 to 130 miles, the ferry from Annapolis to Rock Hall adds 15 miles, and from there it is 98 miles on horse-back to Philadelphia for a total distance of around 240 miles, 90 miles shorter than the land route. But just the 84 miles from Chestertown to Philadelphia required 20+ hours on horseback.

The second question is: when did Tench Tilghman set out for Philadelphia? Tilghman does not provide that information in his letter – there was no need to do so since Washington knew when Tilghman had departed Yorktown - and in a departure from his usual custom Washington unfortunately does not record a time of day either when he wrote the letters to Thomas McKean and to Congress informing them of the surrender. Cornwallis signed the surrender document around 11:00 a.m., Washington signed them shortly thereafter. Though they stipulated a time of “2 o’clock precisely” the first Crown forces probably did not arrived at the surrender field around 15:30.³⁴

Did Tench Tilghman stay in Yorktown to witness the surrender scene? It is difficult to imagine that he did not wait at least for the arrival of General O’Hara so that he could witness the ceremonial surrender of O’Hara’s sword. If he had remained even longer it would have been well after 17:00 or even 18:00 on Friday, 19 October, before he would have ridden to York Ferry and boarded what was most likely a small, open, sloop-rigged vessel and set sail for Annapolis. By then it would have been dark, not to mention that Tilghman would have missed the festivities, celebrations and meetings and greetings following the surrender. Not surprisingly, therefore, he decided to spend the evening and night of 19/20 October in Yorktown and depart “the American Camp on the day succeeding the completion of the capitulation” as he informed a Congressional Committee consisting of “Mr. Randolph, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Carroll” on 29 October.³⁵

Tilghman was not alone when he finally boarded the small vessel that was to take him to Annapolis; there may have been two or three people besides the skipper on board with him but certainly no horse. The horse not only would have needed to be fed and watered on the two-day journey but would have made tacking with a boom virtually impossible. Once out of the bay he sailed straight north. But after a good 50 miles of sailing the little boat hit Tangier Shoal in the evening and was stuck until the next tide set it free and the wind would again change as well: it had gone counter-clock wise from southwest to east.

In his letter to Washington Tilghman only wrote that he “*lost one whole night's run*” stranded on Tangier Island. Sailing about 50 miles in 12 hours does not constitute an exceptionally fast speed but it was certainly faster than on horse-back on land. That Tilghman set out for Philadelphia early in the morning of 20 October is confirmed in a report in the Thursday, 25 October 1781 issue of *The Maryland Gazette*. It announced that

By an officer who left the *allied army* on the 20th instant, we are favoured with the following narrative of *their* operations against, and the reduction of, the British posts at York and Gloucester.

The most realistic explanation of who that officer was “who left the *allied army* on the 20th instant” and provided details about the “operations against, and the reduction of, the British posts at York and Gloucester” has to focus on Tench Tilghman. It seems unthinkable that another Continental Army officer snuck out of Yorktown on water or on land with the intent of arriving in Annapolis or Philadelphia before Washington’s “official” messenger in the hope and with the goal of spoiling this most honorific assignment for Tilghman.

Having therefore spent the night of 20/21 October stuck on Tangier Island, the vessel was free again on Sunday morning, but then “on Sunday evening” 21 October some 45 miles further up the bay, “the wind left us entirely thirty miles below Annapolis”. Thirty miles below Annapolis puts him in an area north of Port Republic, east of Taylor’s Island, and south of Tilghman Island off the coast of Calvert County. In some 36 hours of sailing since the morning of 20 October he still had only traveled a good 110 miles.

It was Monday morning, 22 October, by the time Tilghman put into Annapolis for breakfast at Middleton Tavern on 2 Market Space, operated by George Mann at the time.³⁶ From there he planned to take the Middleton Ferry to Rock Hall ca. 18 miles across the bay.



Middleton Tavern

If he had lost one night's sailing stuck on Tangier Island and more time as the wind died down south of Tilghman Island, he now spent the "whole day", i.e. 22 October, crossing" the over to Rock Hall, where he arrived probably late in the evening of 22 October or early in the morning of 23 October. As he was waiting for the wind to pick up, Tilghman used the time to meet with Governor Thomas Sim Lee (1745-1819) and the Council of Maryland to them provide the details about the siege and Lord Cornwallis' surrender. The "Council Minutes" of 23 October 1781 contain a letter to General Washington which reads in part:

*We received by a Letter from the Count De Grasse, and verbally by Col^o Tilghman the important and most agreeable Intelligence of Lord Cornwallis's Surrender. Permit us to offer our most sincere and affectionate Congratulations to your Excellency on this great and memorable Event. At present, we are not informed of all the Particulars of the Capitulation, but understand the Refugees are to be Subject to the Civil Powers of the States from whence they fled. Many within that Description have absconded from this State, three of the Names of Hayman, Hayward and French, whose Conduct since joining the Enemy have rendered them peculiarly obnoxious. We think it incumbent on us to desire that all such Persons may be sent to this State and we flatter ourselves that the Negroes and other Kind of Property which were captured or plundered from the Citizens of this State may be recovered."*³⁷

Concurrently the Council informed the President of the Special Council of the news:

*We have the Pleasure to congratulate you upon the Reduction of the Enemy's Posts at York and Gloster. We have not seen the Particulars of the Capitulation, but in general they are nearly the same as those granted to Genl Lincoln at Charles Town. The English Troops marched out with cased Colours and laid down their Arms, then were marched back into Town unarmed, the Number between 5 & 6000 Men. The Officers to be on Parole and to keep their private Baggage, but all Property plundered or captured to be restored upon Proof to the Former Owners. The British Merchants and Traders to keep their Goods and Effects, but the United States to have the Right of Preemption. The Refugees to be delivered up to the Civil Powers. Count De Grasse has Notice of the Intention of Genl Clinton and the British Navy to relieve Lord Cornwallis, and is preparing to meet them. Altho we cannot depend to absolute Certainties, yet we will not deny ourselves the Pleasure of communicating what has come to our Knowledge."*³⁸

As if having lost valuable time on Tangier Island and in becalmed on the bay, Tilghman must have been rather unpleasantly surprised that Lee and his Council already knew of the victory at Yorktown. He was not the first to bring the news to Annapolis and would not be the first to take it to Philadelphia either. In the evening of 20 October, Lee had received "a Letter from the Count De Grasse" written from his flagship the *Ville de Paris* on 18 October.

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Sir,

I have the Honour to thank your Excellency for the ~~most~~ news which you have been pleased to communicate. I have just desired Genl. Washington to send me back my Troops of which probably he will no longer stand in need as Lt. Cornwallis has surrendered which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you; as soon as they are embarked I shall quit the bay of Chesapeake and I will still endeavour still to contribute to the welfare of the United States in stopping of Jean B. Arny Clinton — I have the Honour to be with the most respectful attachment

Your Excellency,
most Obedt. Servt.
De Grasse

La Ville de Paris
18 Oct. 1781

Copy of a translation of a letter from the Count De Grasse

His Excellency Genl Lee

When de Grasse wrote the letter on 18 October Cornwallis had not yet surrendered and surrender negotiations were still going on, but Tilghman's surprise had been spoiled. Upon receipt of the letter Lee had wasted no time to send the news on to Philadelphia.³⁹ In the evening of 20 October he sent this letter to Philadelphia:

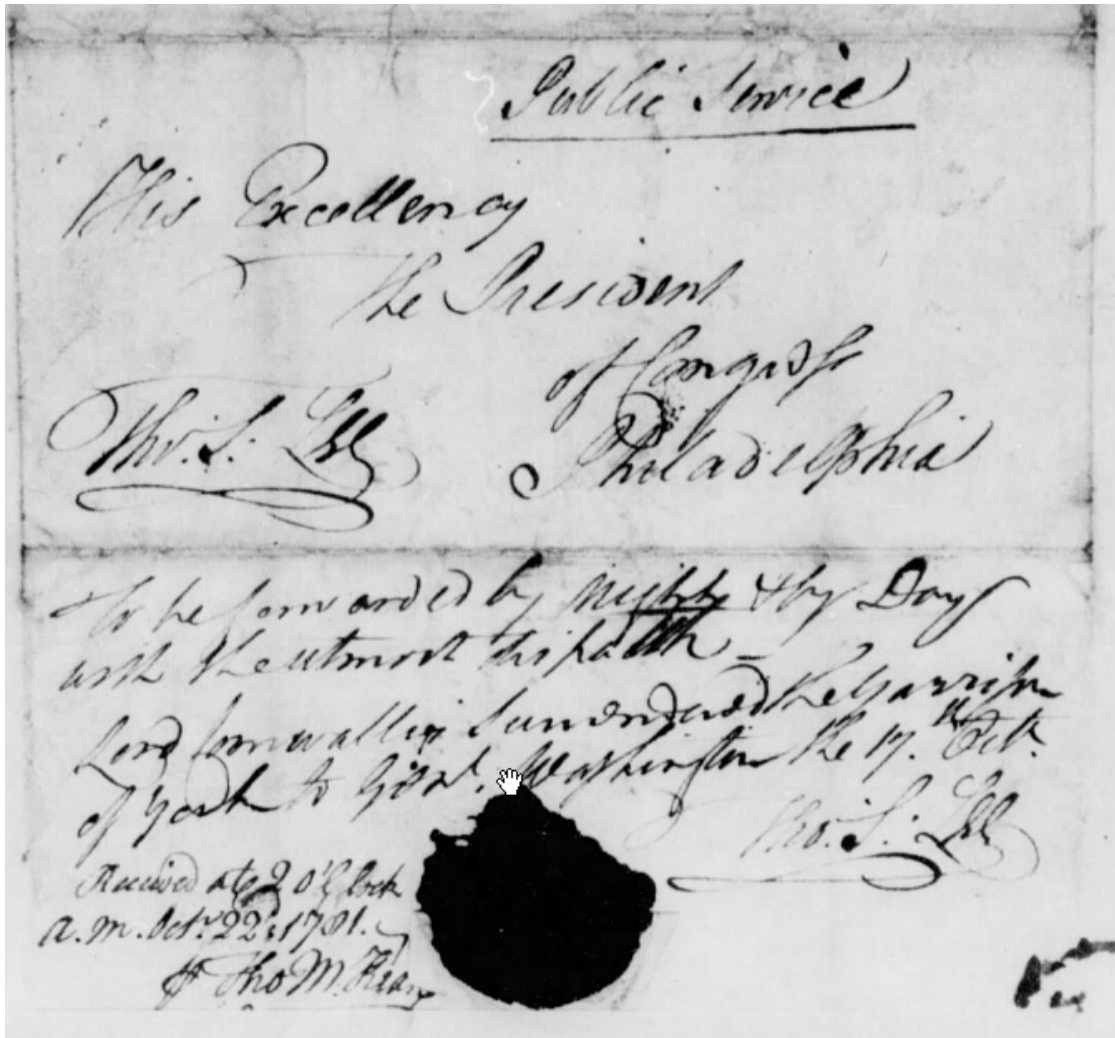
495 497
Philadelphia October 20th 1781

Sir

I have the honor to congratulate
your Excellency on the surrender
of Earl Cornwallis to His Excellency
the Commander in Chief of the Allied
Army. This most important and
interesting event was this moment
communicated to me by the Count
de Grasse, copy of whose letter, I
leave to enclose for the more perfect
satisfaction of your Excellency.
With sentiments of the highest
respect and petition, I have the

Honor to be Your Excellencys
M^t Obed^t Hble Serv^t
Tho. S. Lee

Within the hour “State House Messenger and Janitor” Jonathan Parker was on his way. If the wind was right it usually took around 2 ½ hours for the Middleton ferry to cover the around 18 miles to Rock Hall and by the early morning of 21 October, Parker was galloping north with instructions to spare no effort to get to Philadelphia “with the utmost dispatch”.



At “2 O'Clock A.M. Octr. 22d: 1781” as McKean recorded on the cover of Lee’s letter, a good 24 hours after his departure from Annapolis, he handed it to the president of the Continental Congress. McKean, however, was reluctant to order any public celebration before official word had arrived from Washington. The *Journals of the Continental Congress* for Monday, 22 October, only record receipt of “A letter, of 12 [October], from General Washington; and One, of 20, from Governor Lee of Maryland, enclosing a copy of a letter, of 18, from the Count de Grasse”.⁴⁰ Though they were obviously read, the text of the letters was not entered into the *Journal*. Nevertheless by daybreak the news was all over the city.

On 24 October 1781, *The Freeman's Journal* published this little anecdote:

A Watchman of this city, after having conducted the express rider to the door of his excellency the president of congress, on Monday morning last, the honest old German continued the duties of his function, calling out, "Bist dree o'—glock, und Corn—wal—lis ist da—ken!"

"Monday morning last" had been 22 October, and with the night watchman shouting news of the surrender every hour on the hour, the word was out. The Rev. John Pitman recorded in his diary on 22 October that "News came to Town that Cornwallis is taken in Virginia."⁴¹ Jacob Hiltzheimer (1729-1798), a German immigrant who had come to Philadelphia in September 1748 and who served as a liaison between the city of Philadelphia and the Continental Quartermaster General, too recorded in his diary for 22 October: "Early in the morning an express brought the news that on 17th Lord Cornwallis had surrendered to his Excellency General Washington."⁴² By sunrise letters announcing the victory to the world left Philadelphia as fast as the horses could carry their riders. At "8 o'clock in the Morning" New Jersey delegate Elias Boudinot (1740-1821), though he had "but a Moment", penned a letter to Governor William Livingston (1723-1790) "to Congratulate his Friends in Jersey on the surrender of Lord Cornwallis & his whole Army on Wednesday last. This comes by Express from Govr. Lee, who recd. the first intelligence from Count De Grasse. The Govr. will be pleased to let the Stage man carry this on to Eliz. Town."⁴³ Similarly he wrote to his daughter Hannah Boudinot on "Monday Morning [22 October] 8 o'clock. At three o'clock this Morning, an Express arrived with the glorious News of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis with his whole Army. God be praised. It was on Wednesday last. I congratulate you and all our Friends." Concurrently Maryland delegate Daniel of St Thomas Jenifer (1723-1790) thanked Governor Lee for his letter and promised a "politer acknowledgemt" (which apparently was never sent).

Sir, Oct. 22d. 1781 Parker delivered your Excels. Letter to the President of Congress about one o'clock this morning informing of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis. His Excellency informed me that Your attention required a politer acknowledgemt than he had at present time to make & therefore was obliged to delay his Letter of acknowledgement till to morrow.

I most sincerely congratulate your Excellency on this most important Event much heighten'd by little or no loss to the American Army. With my respectful Compliments to the Council, I am, Sir Yr. Excellencys most Obed Sevt, Daniel of St Thos Jenifer⁴⁴

Using the wrong date (19 October instead of 18 October as in the original letter), *The Maryland Gazette* reported the news in its issue of Thursday, 25 October 1781 as well:

Annapolis, October 25

On Saturday evening last an express boat arrived in this port, with a letter from the count de Grasse to his Excellency the governor of this state, of which the following is a translation:

La Ville de Paris, 08. 19. 1781.

S I R,

I H A V E the honour to thank your Excellency for the intelligence which you have been pleased to communicate. I have just desired general Washington to send me back my troops, of which probably he will no longer stand in need, as lord Cornwallis has surrendered, which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you; as soon as they are embarked I shall quit the bay of Chesapeake, and I will endeavour still to contribute to the welfare of the United States, in stopping if I can Sir Henry Clinton.

I have the honour to be, with the most respectful attachment, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

DE GRASSE.

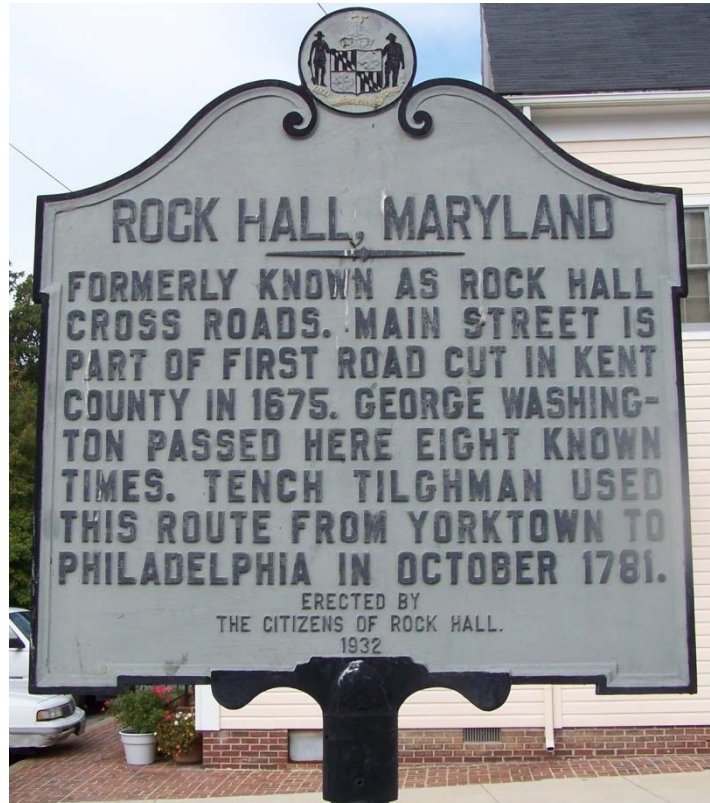
His Excellency Governor LEE.

This great and important intelligence was immediately announced by the joyful acclamations of the people, and soon after by the firing of the artillery, &c.

On Monday afternoon a feu de joye was fired by the artillery and select militia, and in the evening the town was beautifully illuminated.

By an officer who left the *allied army* on the 20th instant, we are favoured with the following narrative of *their* operations against, and the reduction of, the British posts at York and Gloucester.

Saturday evening was 20 October: while he had been moored on a sandbank on Tangier Island, news of the victory had reached the city 36 hours before Tilghman sailed into the harbor of Annapolis. While he was waiting anxiously to cross over to Rock Hall on 22 October to continue his ride to Philadelphia, its citizens were already celebrating the victory of Yorktown - as were the citizens of Philadelphia.



David L. Smith portraying Tench Tilghman at the landing site in Rock Hall. The William Preston Lane Jr. Memorial Bridge connecting Annapolis with Kent Island and the Eastern Shore is visible at center-left of the photograph.

In late October the sun sets shortly after 18:00 in Annapolis and by the time he was across the bay to Rock Hall, night had fallen. In Rock Hall, Tilghman mounted a horse and galloped off on Route 20 into the darkness toward Chestertown almost 14 miles or a good 3 hours (at 4 m/h for travel by horse) away. Once the citizens of Chestertown had heard the news, the celebrations began. The *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of 13 November 1781⁴⁵ reported:

Newtown on Chester River, October 23, 1781
—Last Evening the Hon. Col. Tilghman, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General Washington, arrived here, on his Way to Philadelphia, with Despatches for Congress, containing an Account of the happy Reduction of the British Army in Virginia, under command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis. — This Great Event was no sooner announced to the Public, than a large number of worthy Citizens assembled, to celebrate this signal victory, (in a high Degree auspicious to the Cause of Freedom and Virtue), which was done with a Decency and Dignity becoming firm Patriots, liberal Citizens and prudent Members of the community.—Amidst the Roaring of Cannon, and the Exhibition of Bonfires, Illuminations, &c. the Gentlemen (having repaired to a Hall suitable for the Purpose) drank the following Toasts, viz.:

1. General Washington and the Allied Army.
2. Count de Grasse and the Navy of France.
3. Congress.
4. Louis the 16th, a Friend to the Rights of Mankind.
5. The United States.
6. General Greene and the Southern Army.
7. Count de Rochambeau.
8. The Memory of the illustrious Heroes who have fallen in the Defence of American Liberty.
9. King of Spain.
10. The United Provinces.
11. The Marquis de la Fayette.
12. The Northern Army.
13. The State of Maryland

—the last in Order, but not the last in Love.

The next Evening an elegant Ball was given by the Gentlemen of the Town, that the Ladies might participate in the general joy of their Country.

A Brilliant Company of Freedom's Fairest Offspring assembled on this happy Occasion, and while they manifested the sincerest Attachment to the American Cause, they likewise showed that "Grace was in all their steps," &c.—*The*

The celebrations probably went on without Tilghman; by now it was late on 22 October and going on midnight. While he may have rested for a few hours he would have departed early in the morning of 23 October: sunrise was a few minutes past 07:00 in the morning. Depending on when he departed Chestertown and riding at the same speed and (most likely) on the same route as Parker before him, Tilghman had a good 20 hours to cover the 85 miles to Philadelphia in order to arrive there between 02:00 and 03:00 on 24 October.



Chestertown



A potential place for the festivities and certainly one of the participants was the home of Joseph Nicholson, today's White Swan Tavern.

“The site was used prior to 1733 as a tannery, operated by the shoemaker of Chestertown, John Lovegrove. ... Joseph Nicholson purchased the property from Lovegrove in 1733, and built his home on the location which comprises the front portion of the present structure. As a member of the Committee of Correspondence, Nicholson had a very real role in the revolution and emergence of the young Republic. He was influential in the founding of Chestertown's Washington College in 1782, the tenth oldest liberal arts college in the nation.”

<http://www.whiteswantavern.com/history.html>



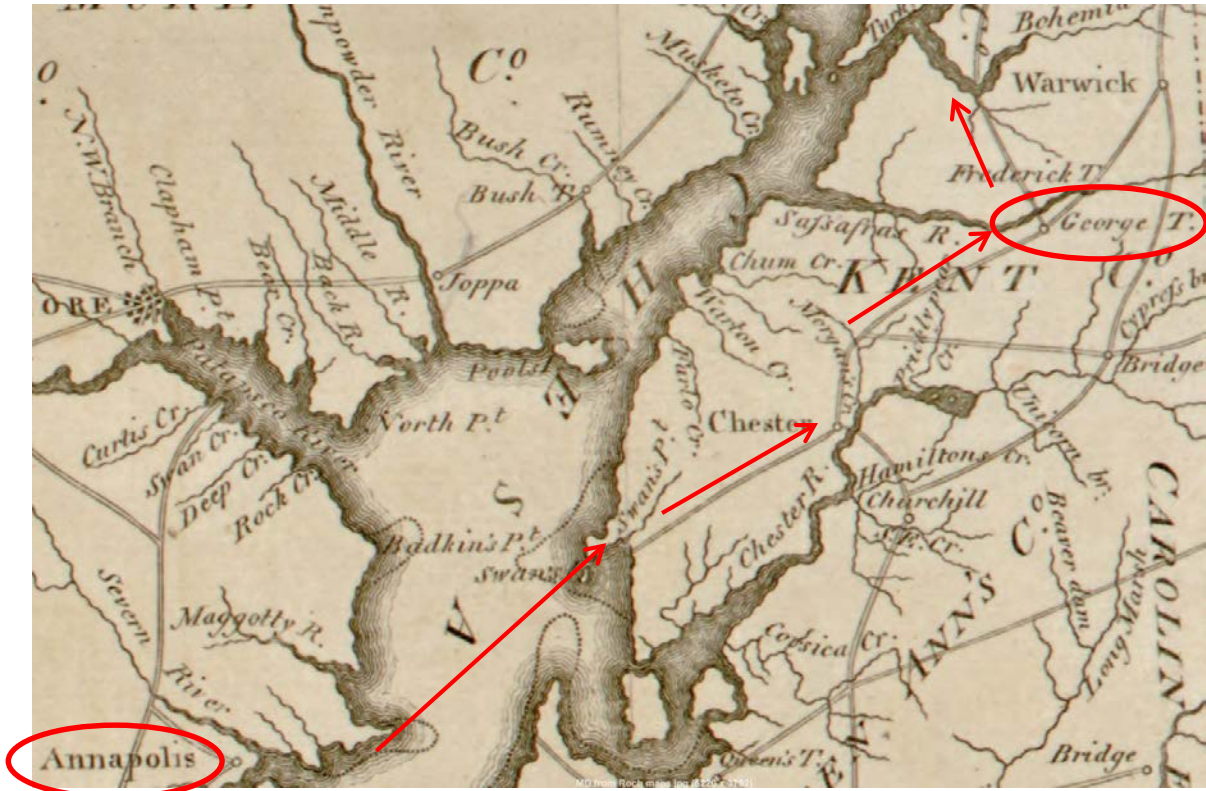
Joseph Nicholson (1733-1786)
Miniature by Charles Willson Peale

A biography of Nicholson, who represented the Eastern Shore in the Maryland Senate from 1776 to 1781 at <http://www.brucenicholson.net/JosephNicholsonJr1733to1786.html>

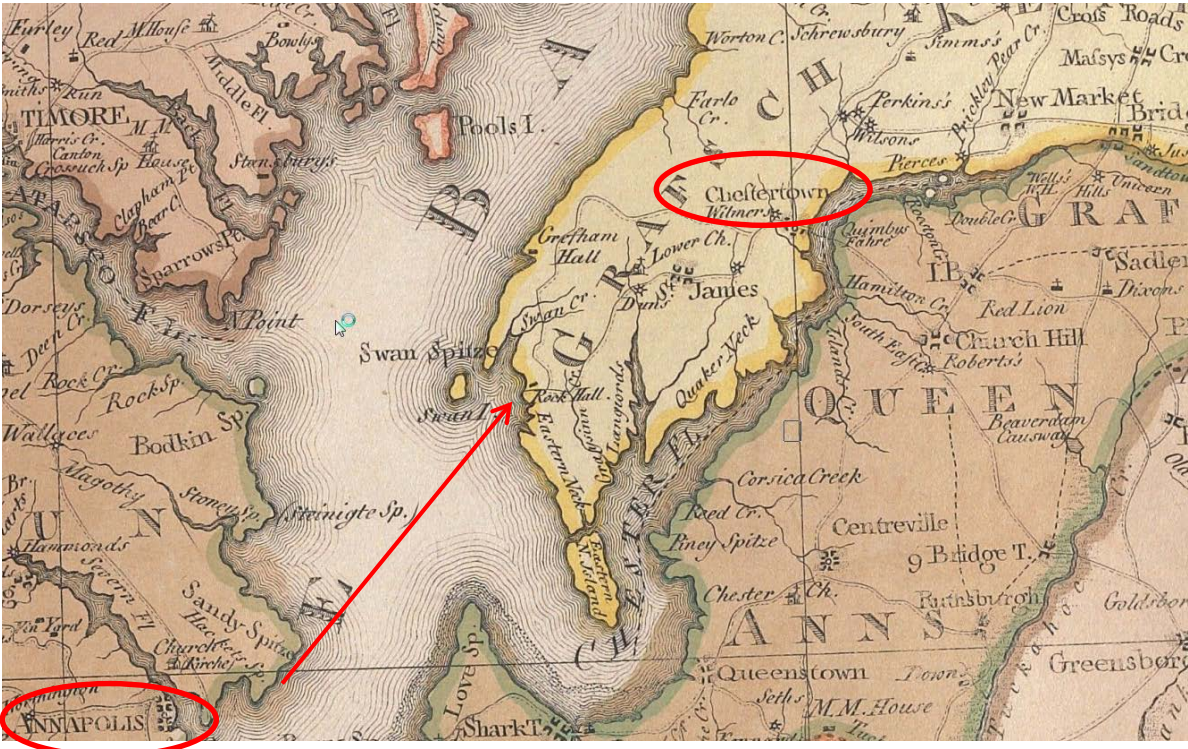


Robert Reyes and Dave L. Smith as Col. Tench Tilghman during a Route Reconnaissance on the Eastern Shore in October 2012 in front of the White Swan Tavern

From Chestertown it is about 15 miles to Kennedyville and Galena on MD-SR 213. Galena was founded in 1763 and was originally known as Downs' Cross Road safter the local tavern owner, William Downs. The name was later changed to Georgetown Cross Roads. Here he forded the Sassafra River to Frederick. Once across the Sassafra he continued on 213 to Chesapeake City where he crossed the Back Creek. By now he had ridden 29 miles from Chestertown. Six miles down the road lay Head of Elk, 35 miles from Chestertown. From there it was another 20 miles to Wilmington and then another 28 to downtown Philadelphia, almost exactly 84 miles from Chestertown.



Detail of Samuel Lewis, *The State of Maryland from the best Authorities* (Philadelphia, 1795)



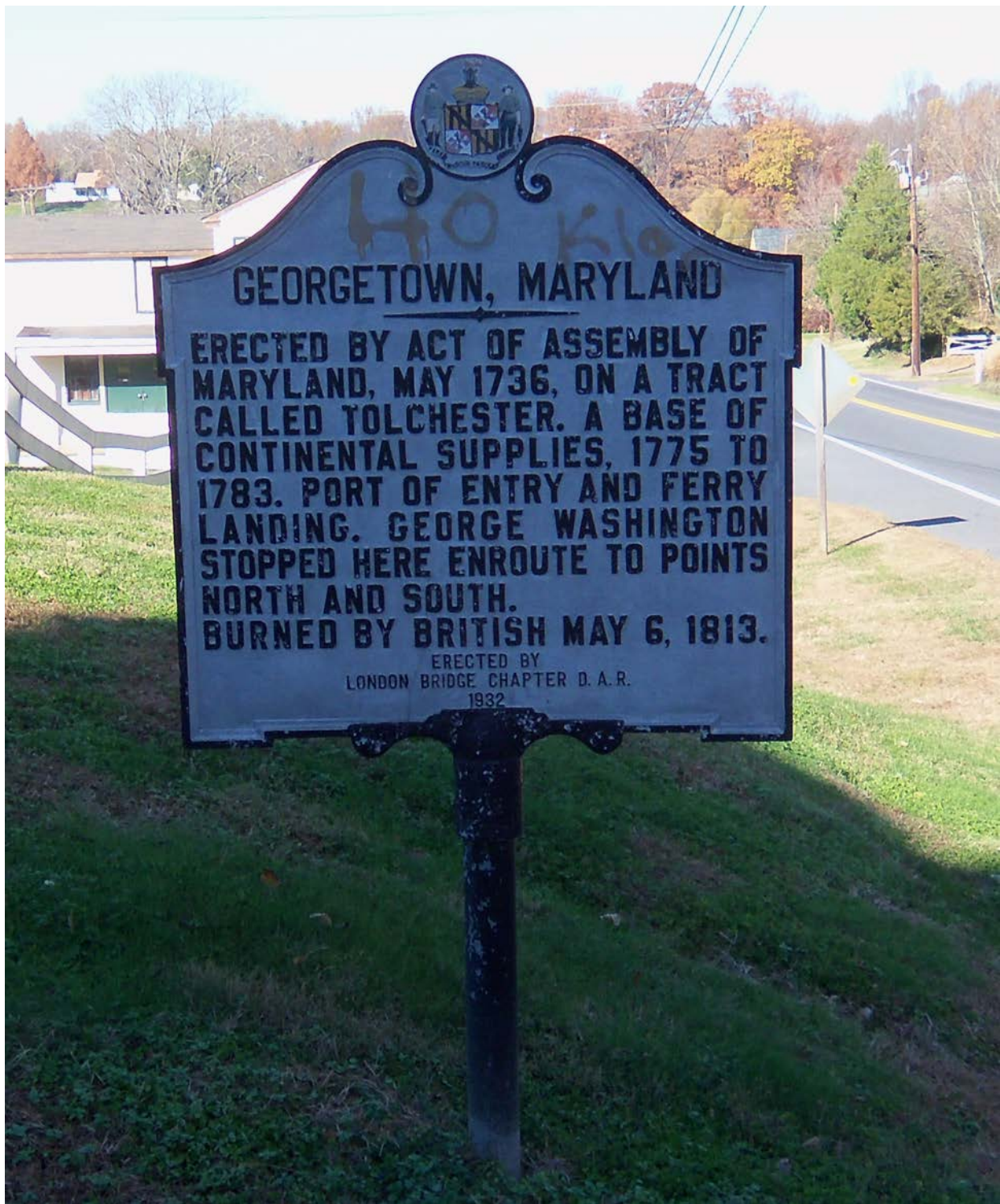
Detail of D. F. Sotzmann, *Maryland und Delaware* (Hamburg, 1797)



Detail of Samuel Lewis, *The State of Maryland from the best Authorities* (Philadelphia, 1795)



Detail of D. F. Sotzmann, *Maryland und Delaware* (Hamburg, 1797)



Georgetown on the Sassafras River



Kitty Knight House Inn and Restaurant

One of the landmarks Tilghman passed is the “Kitty Knight House Inn and Restaurant” at 14028 Augustine Herman Highway in Galena. It consists of two of the four houses that survived the burning of Georgetown on 6 May 1813 that were joined into one building in 1929/30. Archibald Wright purchased the southern lot (No. 37) in 1773 and the other (No. 30) some time before his death in 1783. “According to the general conditions set forth for the purchasing of lots, the house should have been started within 18 months from the time of purchase in order to retain ownership.” <http://www.kittyknight.com/pages/about.htm>)

Following Wright’s death, John and Catherine Knight purchased the property; their daughter Catherine “Kitty” Knight, (ca.1775-1855), is credited with saving the buildings from destruction in 1813 when she convinced Admiral Sir George Cockburn (1772-1853) not to burn them down.



“Kitty Knight House Inn and Restaurant

It was around 03:00 in the morning of 24 October when he reached the door of his old friend Thomas McKean between High Street and Second Street in Philadelphia and rapped on the door loud enough to tempt the night watchman to arrest him. Since he had stepped ashore in Rock Hall 30 hours earlier he had ridden more than 90 miles.

When Parker had arrived in Philadelphia early in the morning of 22 October with the inofficial news of Cornwallis’ surrender based on de Grasse’ note to Governor Lee, McKean had opted not to make a public announcement. Once Tilghman had handed him the letter from Washington and a copy of the terms of surrender, *The Journals of the Continental Congress* for Wednesday, 24 October 1781, record that

“A letter, of 19, from General Washington, was read, giving information of the reduction of the British army under the command of

the Earl of Cornwallis, on the 19th instant with a copy of the articles of capitulation; Whereupon,

On motion of Mr. [Edmund] Randolph, seconded by [sic]

Resolved, That Congress will, at two o'clock this day, go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning the allied arms of the United States and France, with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl of Cornwallis.

Ordered, That the letter, with the papers enclosed, be referred to the Committee of Intelligence.

Resolved, That the letter of General Washington, of the 19, enclosing the correspondence between him and the Earl Cornwallis, concerning the surrender of the garrisons of York and Gloucester, and the articles of capitulation, be referred to a committee of four: the members, Mr. [Edmund] Randolph, Mr. [Elias] Boudinot, Mr. [James Mitchell] Varnum, Mr. [Daniel] Carroll.

Resolved, That it be an instruction to the said committee, to report what in their opinion, will be the most proper mode of communicating the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, to General Washington, Count de Rochambeau and Count de Grasse, for their effectual exertions in accomplishing this illustrious work; and of paying respect to the merit of Lieutenant Colonel Tilghman, aid-de-camp of General Washington, and the bearer of his despatches announcing this happy event:

*Ordered, That the secretary of foreign affairs communicate this intelligence to the hon. the Minister Plenipotentiary of France.
Adjourned to 10 o'Clock to Morrow.⁴⁶*

By the time the honorable members of Congress made their way to the church they may well have been walking over shards of broken glass. The Rev. Pitman recorded in his diary that when "Genl Washenton's Aidecamp came with the Confirmation of Cornwallis's surrender the town was Illuminated" but then "the Mobb went about brak:g Windows." Jacob Hiltzheimer too recorded the ritual of window-breaking: "October 24.- The city was handsomely illuminated in consequence of Lord Cornwallis's surrender, but am sorry to

have to add that so many doors and windows have been destroyed in houses of Friends."⁴⁷
Once again Elias Boudinot wrote to William Livingston:

Dr. Sir, Philadelphia Octr. 24. 1781

This Morning we recd. an official Acct. of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis on the 19th, tho it was begun on the 17th Instt.(1) His Garrison consisted of upwards of 5000 regular Troops besides Sailors &c. They are Prisoners of War, and the Capitulation on the Basis of that allowed to our People at Charles Town. However I think it rather too favourable, tho' it was a great Point gained to finish so as to allow Count deGrass to get to sea before the British fleet arrived at the Chesepeak. I heartily congratulate your Excellency on this joyous Occasion,

And, Am, your very Hble Servt.

In the evening of 25 October there were "fireworks in the State House yard" in Philadelphia.⁴⁸ That same day the Connecticut delegates wrote to Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Sr. in Lebanon:

We have the honor now to transmit to Your Excellency An official Account of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis and the Army under his Command. The dispatches from General Washington were received yesterday morning, and at two O'Clock in the afternoon Congress went in a body to the Lutheran Church, where Divine Service (Suitable to the Occasion) was performed, by the Reverend Mr. Duffield one of the Chaplains of Congress. The Supreme Executive Council & Assembly of this State, The Minister of France & his Secretary and a great number of the Citizens Attended. In the Evening the City was Illuminated. This great Event we hope will prove a happy presage of a Compleat Reduction of the British forces in these States, and prepare the way for the Establishment of an honorable Peace.

When Governor Trumbull heard the news of the victory on 26 October at "about 7 o'Clo in the evening," he recorded a heartfelt "praised be the L^d of Lords!" in his diary.⁴⁹

Illumination.

COLONEL TILGHMAN, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, having brought official accounts of the SURRENDER of Lord Cornwallis, and the Garrisons of York and Gloucester, those Citizens who chuse to ILLUMINATE on the GLORIOUS OCCASION, will do it this evening at Six, and extinguish their lights at Nine o'clock.

Decorum and harmony are earnestly recommended to every Citizen, and a general discountenance to the least appearance of riot.

October 24, 1781.

PLIX

On Friday, 26 October, Congress issued the following proclamation:

Whereas, it hath pleased Almighty God, the supreme Disposer of all Events father of mercies, remarkably to assist and support the United States of America in their important struggle for liberty, against the long continued efforts of a powerful nation: it is the duty of all ranks to observe and thankfully acknowledge the interpositions of his Providence in their behalf. Through the whole of the contest, from its first rise to this time, the influence of divine Providence may be clearly perceived in many signal instances, of which we mention but a few.

In revealing the councils of our enemies, when the discoveries were seasonable and important, and the means seemingly inadequate or fortuitous; in preserving and even improving the union of the several states, on the breach of which our enemies placed their greatest dependence; in increasing the number, and adding to the zeal and attachment of the friends of Liberty; in granting remarkable deliverances, and blessing us with the most signal success, when affairs seemed to have the most discouraging appearance; in raising up for us a powerful and generous ally, in one of the first of the European powers; in confounding the councils of our enemies, and suffering them to pursue such measures as have most directly contributed to frustrate their own desires and expectations; above all, in making their extreme cruelty of their officers and soldiers to the inhabitants of these states, when in their power, and their savage devastation of property, the very means of cementing our union, and adding vigor to every effort in opposition to them.

And as we cannot help leading the good people of these states to a retrospect on the events which have taken place since the beginning of the war, so we beg recommend in a particular manner that they may observe and acknowledge to their observation, the goodness of God in the year now drawing to a conclusion: in which A mutiny in the American Army was not only happily appeased but became in its issue a pleasing and undeniable proof of the unalterable attachment of the people in general to the cause of liberty since great and real grievances only made them tumultuously seek redress while they abhorred the thoughts of going over to the enemy, in which the Confederation of the United States has been completed by the accession of all without exception in which there have been so many instances of prowess and

success in our armies; particularly in the southern states, where, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they had to struggle, they have recovered the whole country which the enemy had overrun, leaving them only a post or two upon on or near the sea: in which we have been so powerfully and effectually assisted by our allies, while in all the conjunct operations the most perfect union and harmony has subsisted in the allied army: in which there has been so plentiful a harvest, and so great abundance of the fruits of the earth of every kind, as not only enables us easily to supply the wants of the army, but gives comfort and happiness to the whole people: and in which, after the success of our allies by sea, a General of the first Rank, with his whole army, has been captured by the allied forces under the direction of our illustrious Commander in Chief.

It is therefore recommended to the several states to set apart the 13th day of December next, to be religiously observed as a Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer; that all the people may assemble on that day, with grateful hearts, to celebrate the praises of our gracious Benefactor; to confess our manifold sins; to offer up our most fervent supplications to the God of all grace, that it may please Him to pardon our offences, and incline our hearts for the future to keep all his laws; to comfort and relieve all our brethren who are in distress or captivity; to prosper our husbandmen, and give success to all engaged in lawful commerce; to impart wisdom and integrity to our counsellors, judgment and fortitude to our officers and soldiers; to protect and prosper our illustrious ally, and favor our united exertions for the speedy establishment of a safe, honorable and lasting peace; to bless all seminaries of learning; and cause the knowledge of God to cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas.

On Monday, 29 October, "The committee, ||consisting of Mr. Randolph, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Carroll,|| to whom were referred the letters of 16 and 19, from General Washington, delivered in a report, which was taken into consideration; and Thereupon,

Resolved, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to General Washington, for the expedition, eminent services which he has with which he led the allied forces of America and France against the British Army under Recommitted the command of the Earl of Cornwallis, for his arrangements, vigor, personal attention,

and military ability in the course of his operations, and for the prudence and wisdom of the capitulation.

Resolved, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to his excellency General Washington, for the eminent services which he has rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well concerted plan against the British garrisons in York and Gloucester; for the vigor, attention and military skill with which that plan was executed; and for the wisdom and prudence manifested in the capitulation:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, for the cordiality, zeal, judgment and fortitude, with which he seconded and advanced the progress of the allied army against the British garrison in York:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency Count de Grasse, for his display of skill and bravery in attacking and defeating the British fleet off the Bay of Chesapeake, and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the most effectual and distinguished aid and support to the operations of the allied army in the reduction of the British Army under the command of the Earl of Cornwallis in Virginia:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the commanding and other officers of the corps of artillery and engineers of the allied army, who sustained extraordinary fatigue and danger in their animated and gallant approaches to the lines of the enemy.

That General Washington be directed to communicate to the other officers and the soldiers under his command, the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, for their conduct and valor on this occasion.

Resolved, That the United States in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to the allied army under the command of general

Washington and Count de Rochambeau, in conjunction with the fleet under the command of the Count de Grasse. [his excellency General Washington, Commander in Chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his Most Christian Majesty in America, and his excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake.

Resolved, That two stands of colours taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented to his excellency General Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled.

Resolved, That two pieces of the field ordnance, taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented by the Commander in Chief of the American army to Count de Rochambeau; and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum, that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.

Resolved, That the secretary of foreign affairs be directed to request the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Most Christian Majesty, to inform his Majesty, that it is the wish of Congress, that Count de Grasse may be permitted to accept a testimony of their approbation, similar to that to be presented to Count de Rochambeau.

Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to present to Lieutenant Colonel Tilghman, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, a horse properly caparisoned, and an elegant sword, in testimony of their high opinion of his merit and ability.

With these resolutions the celebrations were not yet over, however. On Saturday, 3 November, Congress interrupted its meeting when

Advice being received that a messenger was arrived from head quarters with despatches, the President resumed the chair, and Colonel Humphry, one of the General's aids, was introduced, and delivered a letter from the General, dated 27 and 29 October, containing returns of prisoners, artillery, arms, ordnance and other stores, surrendered by the enemy, in their posts of York and Gloucester, on the 19 October; he also laid before Congress 24 standards taken at the same time, and a

draught of those posts, with the plan of attack and defence, and then withdrew.

Ordered, That the returns be published, and that the letter, with the other papers enclosed, be referred to the committee to whom was referred the General's letter of 19 October.

Pitman was not the only Philadelphian who went to the State House on 3 November where he "Saw the British Standards that were taken with Cornwallis laid at the feet of Congress their number was 24." David Humphreys (1752-1818) from Derby in Connecticut, another of Washington's long-serving aides (he had enlisted in July 1776) had been chosen to for this highly honorific task.⁵⁰ Congress was well aware of the symbolic importance of the arrival of the British flags on 3 November. Jacob Hiltzheimer recorded that "At the Schuylkill they were met and escorted into the city by our City Light Horse, commanded by Captain Sam Morris, and delivered to Hon. Thomas McKean, President of Congress, at the State House. At night the house of the French Minister was illuminated to a great degree."⁵¹

It was 24 March 1783, when the appropriately named French cutter *Triomphe* sailed into Philadelphia with the news of the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace on 30 November 1782. It took even longer until news of the "Declaration Signed in Paris by the American Commissioners" on 20 February 1783, (which also covered France, Spain, and the Netherlands), which suspended hostilities in the New World north of the equator beginning on 3 April 1783.⁵²

The 1781 Movements of Continental Army Forces under General Anthony Wayne from York to Nolands Ferry and into Virginia

Throughout the spring and summer 1781, Virginia was but a secondary theatre of a war that was focused on New York City, the military and political center of British power in North America. At the Wethersfield Conference on 21/22 May 1781, General George Washington (1730-1799) had won the reluctant consent of Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, *comte de Rochambeau* (1725-807), commanding officer of French forces stationed in Rhode Island, for a joint attack by American and French land and naval forces on New York City. Following his return to Newburgh, Washington informed Major-General Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, *marquis de La Fayette* (1757-1834), his commanding officer in Virginia, on 31 May 1781, that "an attempt upon New York with its present Garrison (which by estimation is reduced to 4500 Troops and about 3000 irregulars) was deemed preferable to a Southern operation.⁵³

Afraid that he might miss the "big event" of the year, Lafayette did not like the news, even though his presence in Virginia which drew valuable British resources away from Sir Henry Clinton would be critical for a successful siege New York City. On 31 December 1780, Benedict Arnold (1741-1801), now a Brigadier-General in the British Army, had disembarked some 1,200 British officers and men in Portsmouth. Arnold had left Sandy Hook on 19 December 1780, with the 80th (or Edinburgh) regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Dundas (1741-1820), Lieutenant-Colonel John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806) and his Queen's Rangers, a detachment of the New York Volunteers under Captain John Althause for a total of about 1,600 men. Without waiting for the arrival of three transports carrying some 400 troops, Arnold's forces sailed up the James River and quickly captured Richmond on 5 January 1781. The few Continental Army forces and militiamen under the command of Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730-1794) since 20 November 1780 were unable to prevent the destruction wreaked by Arnold's forces. Responding to Virginia's pleas for help, Washington on 20 February 1781 ordered Lafayette with the newly-established corps of some 1,200 men Light Infantry to Virginia.⁵⁴

After the Jersey companies joined the New England contingent on 26 February, the detachment made its way south. Two weeks later, Lafayette's Light Infantry had crossed Pennsylvania and Delaware, reached the northernmost tip of the Chesapeake Bay and was quartered at Head of Elk. On 7 March 1781, Donaldson Yeates, Continental Assistant Deputy Quarter-Master for Virginia, informed Quarter-Master General Colonel Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) that Lafayette was still at Head of Elk in Maryland, unable to move due to bad weather. By 10 March, Lafayette was finally able to embark his forces and reached Yorktown on 14 March. In Virginia, Lafayette was to co-operate with a French

naval force under Admiral Charles René Dominique Sochet, *chevalier* des Touches (1727-1793) and an infantry force of about 1,100 French grenadiers and chasseurs, under Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron* de Vioménil (1728-1792) sent from Rhode Island with the express purpose of capturing Arnold. Following an indecisive naval engagement with Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot (1711–1794) on 16 March, known as the "First Battle off the Capes", the French squadron returned to Newport, taking the infantry with them.

As Lafayette was making his way back to New York, a British fleet carrying Major-General William Phillips (1731-1781) and some 3,000 regular British troops sailed into the Chesapeake on 20 March. Upon arrival at Head of Elk on 8 April, Lafayette received Washington's dispatch of 6 April from New Windsor instructing him to reverse his course and to join his forces with those of Major-General Nathanael Greene (1742-1786) in North Carolina. By the time Lafayette had reached the Susquehannah on 12 April, Washington had changed orders once again: Lafayette and the forces under his command were to remain in Virginia and take on Crown forces there in order to keep them from joining Cornwallis in the Carolinas. Having crossed the Susquehannah on 15 April, Lafayette reached Baltimore on 16 April, one day ahead of his troops. On 19 April 1781, the detachment left Baltimore and re-crossed the Potomac into Virginia, camping in Alexandria on 24 April and in Fredericksburg on 25 April; on 29 April the troops reached Richmond.

Just as Lafayette was crossing into Virginia on 21 April, Crown forces under Phillips were joining forces under General Arnold at Westover *en route* toward Petersburg and Richmond. Leaving from New York with 2,500 soldiers in early March, Phillips, who had been captured at Saratoga in October 1777 while serving under Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne (1722-1792) but had been released in 1780, had entered the Elizabeth River on a British fleet carrying the English Light Infantry, the 76th Highland Regiment, the 80th Regiment, the Hessian *Erbprinz* Regiment and a contingent of Artillery. On 1 April, Phillips began to debark his troops in Portsmouth. As he left for his campaign up the James River on 18 April, Phillips ordered Major Robinson's Loyalist Regiment, the *Erbprinz* Regiment, and portions of the 76th and 80th to garrison Portsmouth. The remaining troops, the Rangers, *Jäger*, Light Infantry, the 76th and 80th regiments and the artillery embarked on long boats at Portsmouth. On 23 April, Phillips was encamped at Westover; in the morning of 25 April, he set out for Petersburg.

At Blandford just east of Petersburg roughly 1,000 Virginia militia and a few Continental recruits were nervously waiting for the arrival of Phillips' roughly 2,500 British troops. Both Baron Steuben as well as General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg (1746-1807) knew that Lafayette as well as Wayne were on their way but too far away to be of any assistance. Around 1:00 p.m., Phillips' men disembarked at City Point (now Hopewell) 12 miles east of

Petersburg and quickly dispersed the Virginia militia defending Blandford Bridge across the Appomattox. After a two-hour battle the militia retreat across the river to Richmond. The road to Petersburg and Richmond, capital of Virginia since 18 April 1780, lay open.

Upon arrival in Richmond on 29 April, Phillips was surprised to find Lafayette with about 900 continental light infantry already there and contesting the entry to the city. For the time being and until the arrival of Wayne's Pennsylvanians, Lafayette was too weak to oppose Crown forces and thus began three months of marches and evasive maneuvers that would stretch the stamina of the men under his command to the limit. By 9 May, Phillips was back in Petersburg but so ill that Arnold had to assume command of the army. Hard on his heels, Lafayette's little army arrived on the heights north of Petersburg (now Colonial Heights) on 10 May and briefly shelled the town. As Phillips lay dying of typhoid - he died on 13 May and was buried in the cemetery of Blandford Church - Cornwallis reached Petersburg with 5,300 men on 20 May and immediately sent Arnold back to New York. On 15 May, Lafayette sent a pleading letter to Wayne from Wilton: "Where this letter will meet you, I am not able to ascertain, But ardently wish it May Be Near this place where your presence is absolutely necessary."

When Lafayette wrote his letter Wayne had not even begun his march from York to Virginia. Following the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line, quartered in deplorable conditions at Jockey Hollow near Morristown, from 1 to 8 January 1781 and a settlement on 29 January that met most of their demands, Anthony Wayne was charge with reorganizing the remaining troops. Since approximately 1,250 infantrymen and around 70 artillerymen whose enlistments had expired - the single most important reason for the mutiny - were discharged, this required the disbanding of five regiments. The remaining 1,150 men or so were re-organized into six regiments. The rank and file of these new regiments (except the sergeants and musicians) were furloughed until 15 March 1781. On that date the regiments reassembled at their respective towns.

Recruitment to fill up the regiments - many of the soldiers discharged in January re-enlisted under better conditions - training them and equipping them and assembling the units at York to join Lafayette in Virginia went slower than expected, occasioned to a large degree by a lack of funds. As early as 8 April Washington already wrote to Wayne from New Windsor to "commend" him for

"the laudable efforts you made to have a Corps of the Troops of Pennsylvania in readiness to march with the Detachment under the Command of the Marquis De la Fayette, I deplore with you the causes

which have occasioned this delay, and hitherto frustrated your endeavours.

The critical situation of our southern affairs, and the reinforcements sent by the Enemy to that Quarter, urge the necessity of moving as large a proportion of the Pennsylvania line as possible, without a moments loss of time. Indeed I hope before this, by the measures you have taken, all the impediments to a movement, will have been obviated. I am persuaded, your utmost, and unremitting exertions, will not be wanting on this and every occasion of serving your Country so essentially, that they may ever be crowned with success, that nothing but propitious events may attend you on the march, and in the Field, is the sincere wish of Dear sir ..."⁵⁵

Washington and the Board of War in Philadelphia kept urging Wayne to get on his way but on 7 May Wayne had to inform Washington from Philadelphia once again of

"difficulties arising in the manner of payment &ca &ca and perhaps an Idea that their services might be wanted nearer this place, had hitherto retarded our march, however those difficulties are nearly surmounted.

The Artillery & Second regiments are at Wrights ferry on their way to York where they will be met by the first and fourth; the third will march from Easton tomorrow, & I expect to draw the Whole together, so as to take up our line of March from the General rendezvous in the course of next week, I shall proceed for that place tomorrow."

One week later on 13 May the Board of War repeated its plea for a speedy departure. The three Pennsylvania provisional battalions (listed as six "official" regiments on the Continental establishment) officially known as the 2d (Colonel Walter Stewart, 1756-1796), 5th (Colonel Richard Butler, 1743-1791) and 6th (Colonel Richard Humpton, 1733-1804) Regiments that Wayne was bringing to Virginia numbered fewer than 1,000 officers and men but they were urgently needed there.

"The Board do themselves the honor of inclosing you, Copies of the letters received this day from the Governor of Virginia and the Marquis Lafayette by which you will discover the necessity of Marching your Detachment immediately and of joining the Marquis without loss of time. The Junction of Genl. Philips and of Lord Cornwallis is at all events alarming when the present situation of our Southern affairs is

considered, but if there is not a greater number of regular Troops than the Marquis has with him to oppose them the worst of consequences are to apprehended – If your force was united with his and you were assisted by the Militia of the Country you might perhaps hold the Enemy in Check untill Genl. Greene's return from his Expedition towards Camden, or untill you received further assistance.

The Board are of opinion that it would be best to push on the Infantry in the first instance by forced Marches and leave the baggage and heavy stores to follow after. They trust however that you will pursue such methods on this critical situation, as will be most likely to effect a junction with the Marquis in the shortest space of time the nature of the case will admit of. “

By then the troops that were to march to Virginia with Wayne were finally on their way to York. Captain Joseph McClellan (1747-1834) recorded on “May 5. A detachment of 3 companies of the 2nd Regiment marched from Downingtown for York.” A week later, on 11 May, he too “Set out from Lancaster, with Captain [Jacob] Stake, and got to York at 5, P.M.”⁵⁶ 20-year-old Ensign Ebenezer Denny (1761-1822) also recorded the events of May 1781 leading up to the march to Virginia in his diary.⁵⁷

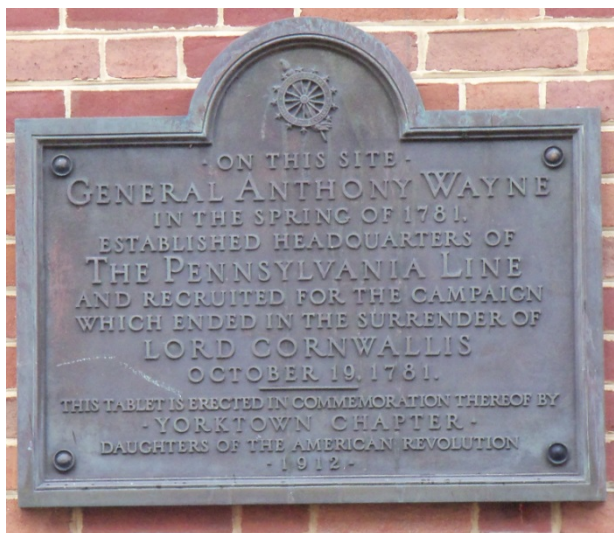
“Carlisle [Pennsylvania], May 1st, 1781. – The Pennsylvania Line, after a revolt and discharge of the men, last winter, were reduced to six regiments; the officers ordered to different towns within the State to recruit. An appointment of ensign in the 7th [Regiment] had been obtained for me in August last; the 7th and 4th were incorporated, and under command of Lt.-Col. Com[mandan]t. William Butler, rendezvoused at this place – companies now about half full. The effective men were formed into four companies, and marched to Little York; I was thus arranged to one of the marching companies, Samuel Montgomery, captain, and George Bluer, lieutenant. All the recruits fit for service, from the different stations, were brought to York, formed into two [actually three] regiments of eight companies each, destined for the State of Virginia. A few days spent in equipping, &c., and for the trial of soldiers charged with mutiny.”

Barely five months after the events at Jockey Hollow soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line had mutinied once again. Numerous journals and diaries report the unrest just days before the scheduled departure to join Lafayette. On 19 May, Captain Benjamin Bartholomew (1752-1812) of the 5th Regiment “March'd from Reading at 5 O'clock A.M. arived at

Dunkard Town – 19 Miles. “ the next night was spent at Lancaster; on 21 May he crossed the Susquehannah at “Wright Ferry” and having marched 14 miles spent the night “at the two Taverns.” Just as he marched his detachment into York on Thursday 22 May 1781, “ at ten O’Clock A.M. encamped with the detachment of the Pennya Line on the Commons near York Town, Four Men (i e) one belonging to the 1st Regt. One 2d D[itt]o. on[e] 3d. Do. & one of the 6th Do. were Shot for Mutiny.”⁵⁸ Ensign Denny described the executions in great detail:

“General Anthony Wayne ... influenced, no doubt, by experience of the revolt last winter, expresses a determination to punish, with the utmost rigour, every case of mutiny or disobedience. A general court martial continued sitting several days; twenty odd prisoners brought before them; seven were sentenced to die. The regiments paraded in the evening earlier than usual; orders passed to the officers along the line to put to death Instantly any man who stirred from his rank. In front of the parade the ground rose and descended again, and at the distance of about three hundred yards over this rising ground, the prisoners were escorted by a captain's guard; heard the fire of one platoon and immediately a smaller one, when the regiments wheeled by companies and marched round by the place of execution. This was an awful exhibition. The seven objects were seen by the troops just as they had sunk or fell under the fire. The sight must have made an impression on the men; it was designed with that view.”⁵⁹

On Saturday 26 May, Wayne sent Washington “a General return of the Detachment of Infantry under my Command, the return of the Artillery has not come to hand, it consists of One Major three Captains & Six Subalterns & ninety NonCommissioned Officers & Matrosses with Six field pieces ie four Six & two three pounders.” Wayne’s return for the infantry shows a total of 68 officers and 927 rank and file of whom 790 were “Present fit for Duty”, which once the artillery is added brings his strength to 78 officers and 880 r&f. Almost as an afterthought Wayne also enclosed “the proceedings of two Courts Martial held at this post which I thought expedient to confirm” and congratulated himself that this “prompt & exemplary punishment has had a happy effect, harmony & Discipline again pervades the Line.” A harsh lesson indeed but Wayne would



brook no disobedience in his ranks. Wayne ended his letter informing Washington that “the troops this morning commence their March after being retarded four days by a succession of extreme wet weather.” With discipline restored in the ranks he was ready to move out. Captain Bartholomew noted on

Wednesday May 23d Drew our arms, and were ordered to hold ourselves in readiness to march at seven O’clock tomorrow morning –

Thursday May 24th. Rain’d ordered to hold ourselves to march at a moments Warning –

Fryday May 25th. Rain’d orders as yesterday –

Saturday May 26th. March’d [from York] at 8 O’clock A.M. arived at Harsh Harsh’s Mills at 4 O’clock P.M. this day march 12 Miles –



Detail from D. F. Sotzmann, *Maryland und Delaware* (Hamburg, 1797)

Sunday May 27th. Marchd at 5 O’clock this day marchd through McCollisters Town, alias Hanover arrived near Peter Little’s Town, this day March’d 12 Miles –

Monday May 28th. March’d at five O’clock A.M. came through peter Little Town, one & hald Miles, Cross’d the State line four Miles, into Maryland; three mile, passd through Tawny Town two miles, thence to Bruces Mills on the Large pipe creek there encamp’d this day marchd 16 Miles –



Detail from D. F. Sotzmann, *Maryland und Delaware* (Hamburg, 1797)

Tuesday May 29th March'd at 4 O'Clock A.M. arrived at Manockasy [Monocasy] ferry'd over and Encamp'd on the West side (this Creek empties into the Patomack [Potomac River] about 15 miles below, [& this creek] is fordable in dry weather but is very Troublesome in



Monocasy River

the winter season or times of freshes) this day march 15 Miles of a very fine Country Wednesday May 30th- this day devoted to washing cleaning of arms, & was review'd at 5 O'Clock - Thursday May 31st. March'd at 5 O'Clock A.M., through Fredericks Town 4 Miles, (this Town is pleasantly situated, and

some very good houses in a very fertile country,)came to Patomach at 3 OClock P.M: & began to ferry over the Troops, had four boats, Detaind us until 9 OClocks P:M. when the Troops March 1 ½ Mile and lay in an Old fiels belonging to Col. Claping, without our Tents Raind all this Night, an Accident happened by ferrying over the Troops one of our boats being over loaden Sank about twenty yards from Shore we Lost four men drowned & two horses and Lost a considerable quantity of Amunition. A Corporal belong'g to the 1st Regt was left behind to bring up a soldier, some dispute arose six mil[e]s from the ferry when the Soldier Shot the Corporal, & made his escape

This day was treated with hospitality by a Mr. Wm Marshall who invited Mr. McKinney & myself to his house & gave us our Dinner &c&c - this for the first time in the State of Maryland this day march'd 17 miles - State of Virginia Loudo[u]n County -



Detail from D. F. Sotzmann, *Maryland und Delaware* (Hamburg, 1797)

That day Wayne wrote to Lafayette from "Nowlans Ferry"

"Yours of the 29th. from Gould Mine Creek, Southana River, came to hand as the troops were passing the Potowmack. The whole will be in Virginia tomorrow mornng. when we shall move as light as possible by divesting ourselves of all the heavy baggage. ... I have this morning mentioned the route we intend to take, i.e, thro' Lee'sburg, at which place we shall be tomorrow evening & from thence in the most direct course for Fredericksburg."



Noland's Ferry Road on the Maryland side of the ferry landing. Today a railroad track cuts off the road and access to the Potomac.

Bartholomew continued that on

Friday June 1st. March at half after three OClock P:M., being detained with our baggage Crossing the Patomach which is $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide and encamp'd at Shelburn Parish this day march'd 4 miles Showry all day



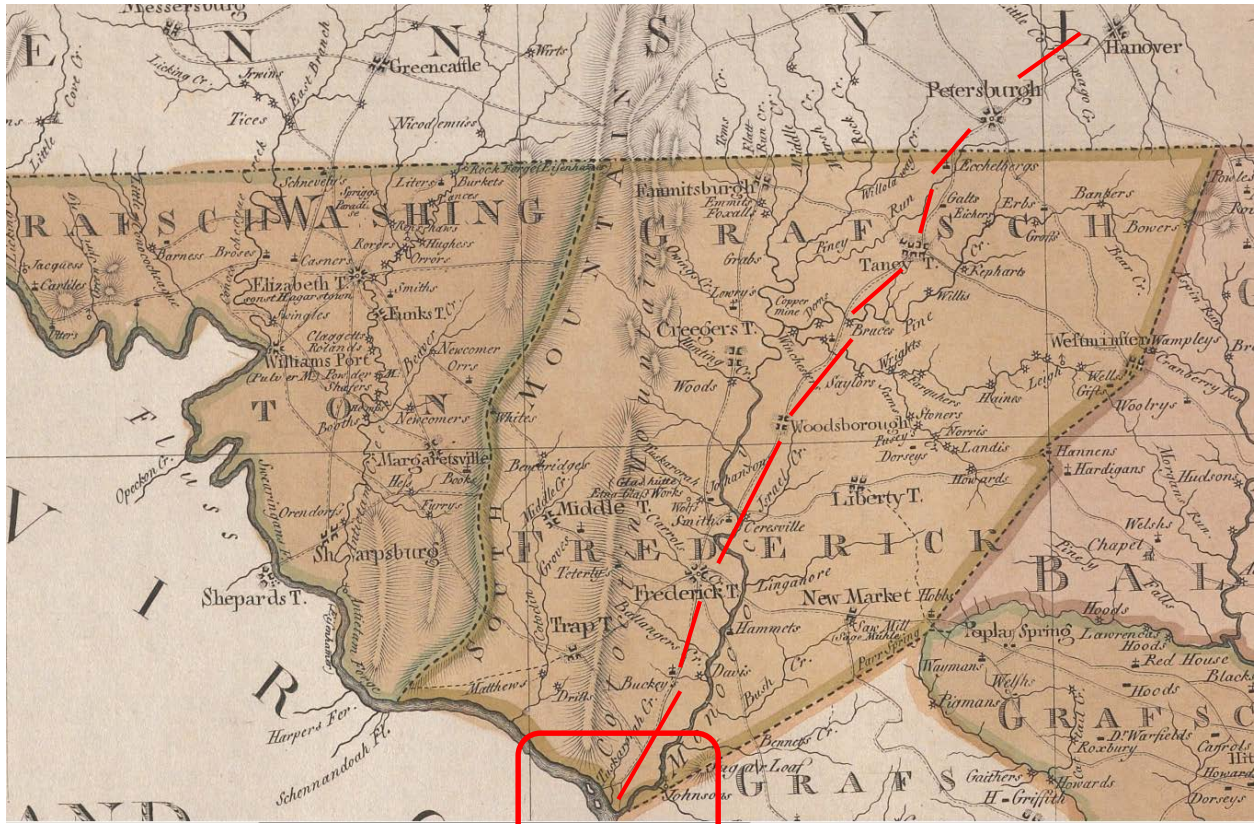
Detail from Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland with part of Pensilvania, New Jersey and North Carolina.* (1751) showing the area of Noland's Ferry.

Here Wayne repeated his promise of the previous day that

"We shall reach Leesburg this Evening, which is performing a march of thirty Miles in two days, besides passing the troops Artillery & baggage over the Potowmack, in four Little boats, one of which sunk – lost some Amunition & a few men Drowned. The excessive wet Night was much against us – however every fatigue & Difficulty is surmounted by Our anxiety for the wished for Junction."

Following a day of rest on 2 June Bartholomew continued on via Leesburg to "Coxes Mill" and Goose Creek. Continuing on the road to Fredericksburg they turned south at "Thornton's tavern" on 5 June and marched through Germantown and past Elk Creek Church in Fauquier County on 6 June. On 8 June the troops crossed the Rappahannock at Norman's Ford into Culpepper County.

On "Monday June 11th" Bartholomew "March'd 9 miles to South Anna Creek there Join'd the Marquis, and encamp'd at 11 O'clock A.M. in a Poor Pine Country – this day march'd 9 Miles –".



Detail from D. F. Sotzmann, *Maryland und Delaware* (Hamburg, 1797), showing the march route of Wayne's Pennsylvania troops across Maryland to Noland's ferry.

Ensign John Van Court (c.1760?-c.1784),⁶⁰ an ensign in Colonel Humpton's Regiment, also recorded the march that took him from York, Pennsylvania to Yorktown Virginia:

May 26th 1781. Marched at 10 o'clock by the right thro York Town towards Hannover 12 Miles Encamped the roads Excessive bad occasioned by heavy rains.

27th Marched early this morning thro Mc Allisters Town the roads continue very muddy and Encamped near [?] Littles Town 15 Miles many of our men Suddenly Taken sick Occasioned chiefly by Excess of Drinking previous to our marching.

28th Marched this day thro P. Littles Town & Tawny Town Encamped on Great Pike Creek in Maryland 16 miles this day very warm many of our men Taking with the Fits, Occasioned by Excess of Drinking.

29th Marched 3 o'clock A M Crossed Little [?] Creek on the Banks of Manockesy River 12 Miles got Plenty of Beer for the officers of the Regt.

30th Lay by this day and Orders were Issued for the men to-wash their cloathes Burnish up their arms & be in readiness for review at 6 o'clock we were Reviewed Accordingly A number of Spectators both Male & Female were present Amongst the number Governor

Johnson and his Lady in the Evening a number of the officers with myself Took a ride to Frederick Town Distant 5 miles in our return being in a merry humour Missed our road, rode 14 Miles Insted of 5 ----

31st March this day thro Frederik Town to Nowlands Ferry on the Potomack River 18 Miles Crossed the River & Encamped about two miles up sd. river the Night very rainy no shalter for the men the Officers Lodged in a house Built to Cure Tobacco in we sent to the Ferry and got some Whiskey and Enjoy'd our selves as well as possible in Crosing the River a boat unfortunately sunk a Waggon of Ammunition Damaged a Sergeant and three men Drownld: and Two horses. Frederick Town is a Pretty Situation containing about 300 houses.

Several pages seem to be missing here covering the time from 1 June to 6 June. The pages covering these days are also missing in the "ITINERARY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO SOUTH CAROLINA, 1781-1782." By an unidentified participant in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 36 (1912), pp. 273-292. The next surviving page in the journal starts in the middle of this entry:

... were at Dinner but the March Occasioned them to hasten their repast Encamped in a Field altho the Baggage did not arrive until midnight Roads very bad we March this piece [?] of a day 12 Miles.

June 6th March at day light thro German Town and Encamped at Elk Run Church 12 Miles this Night we had a very severe rain one of the worst so I ever Experienced the water being half legg Deep. Genl. Wayne the Next Morning Stiled it the Deluge.

[In margin:] Fairfax County.

While detained by the rain at Norman's Ford Wayne informed Lafayette on

7th June 1781 12 OClock

I am this moment arrived here; the Deluge of rain which fell last night, has rendered the river Impassable, but as the water is falling fast I doubt not but that we may cross with facility tomorrow.

The Militia who were sent here to build rafts, have only made one, & that so badly executed that the number of men sufficient to work it, will send it to the bottom. We therefore can not trust our Amunition on it.

We shall loose nothing by this halt. As our Cartridges wanted overhaling & airing, & our arms repairing al this will be executed this day.

I expect to reach about half way between Normans & Raccoon Fords tomorrow Evening.



Detail from “Map of the most inhabited part of Virginia ... “ Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson [1755] showing German town and Elk Run Church.

Ensign Van Court continues that on

June 7th lay by this day to dry our Clothes Tents &c and Replace the Damaged Ammunition.
 June 8th March at day light to the Dutch Coopers having Crossed the North Branch of Rappahanack which Took us to the Middle we Crossed at Normonds Ford The distance we march this day 21 Miles this place is the first and most Christian like place we have yet seen in the Much Farned State of Virginia this place in Genl. Especially what I have yet seen of it is famous for Nothing but Negros and Indian Corn the soil being in Genl. very poor and the Timber chiefly Pine.

June 9th March at 4 o'clock crossed the South branch of Rappahanack Calld Rapedon [?] at Rackoon Ford 14 Miles and Encamped.

June 10th March at 5 o'clock Crossed Brooks Bridge where we had the pleasure to see the Marquis Delafayette Proceeded to Mr. McDonalds an Obscure place in the pines 23 Miles and Enca[m]ped.

This "ITINERARY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE FROM PENNSYLVANIA TO SOUTH CAROLINA, 1781-1782"⁶¹ by an anonymous participant gives this account of the march:

York Town, Penna. 26 May 1781. March'd from York, this morning 9 o'clock under command Brig. Gen. Wayne & encamp'd on the road for Fredericktown,—11 miles.

→ The camp is near Spring Grove on PA Route 116

May 27. Troops took up line of march at sunrise and encamp'd near Peter Little's Town,—14 miles.

→ The troops march through Hanover onto PA Route 194/Bollinger Road on Conewago Creek

May 28. Genl beat at day break, march'd at sunrise, passed through Tawney Town, encamp'd on Pipe Creek— 14 miles.

→ Through Littlestown on PA Route 194 into Maryland to Taneytown and Bruceville



Crossing of the Large Pipe Creek

May 29. Genl beat at day break, march'd at sunrise & encamp'd at S. W. side Manocasy,—15 miles.

→ Through Woodsboro to PA Route 26

May 30. This day we continued on this ground, soldiers wash'd their clothes, cleaned their arms, & was review'd in the evening by Gen. Wayne.

May 31. Genl beat at day break, troops took up the line of march at sunrise, passed through Fredericktown, Maryland, & reach'd Potomack, which in crossing in scows one unfortunately sunk some distance from shore, loaded with Q. M. stores & men, of which one sergeant and four men were drown'd. Encamp'd on the S. W. side the river, the officers baggage not being cross'd; night very wet, we took shelter in Col. Clapam's negro quarters where we tolerable agreeably pass'd the night,—11 miles.

→ The troops cross at Noland's Ferry. Here the journal contains a gap and continues on

June 6, Took up the line of [march] at 6 o'clock, road very bad, encamp'd at 12 in the woods,—9 miles.

June 7. *Farguar Co.* This day we continued on this ground in consequence of a heavy rain pouring at night.

June 8. *Culpepper Co.*, Took up the line of march at sunrise, waded the north branch of Rappahannock and encamp'd at Ordinary,—16 miles.

June 9. March'd at 6 o'clock in the morning, waded the South branch Rappahannock, encamp'd near Ordinary, the country very poor & buildings small,— 16 miles.

June 10, *Orange Co.* Genl beat at day break, troops took up line of march at sunrise; this day we pass'd a body of Militia, to number of 1800, & encamp'd in a poor barren country,— 23 miles.

June 11. Troops march'd at sunrise, encamp'd at 10 o'clock,—10 miles.

June 12. Took up line of march at 6 o'clock, pass'd pines, sands, woods, & wilds, at length got to the main road leading to Fredericksburg,—11 miles.

June 13. Troops continued in this encampment this day.

June 14. We here join'd the Infantry under the Marquis [Lafayette] comm'd; march'd at sunrise through a miserable poor country, left our tents & lay out every night without tents,—9 miles.

June 16, *Hanover Co.* Took up line of march at sunrise; this day was attended with much fatigue & no water fit for use to be met with,—13 miles.



Detail from Michel Capitaine Du Chesnoy, « Campagne en Virginie du Major Général M'is de LaFayette ... » (Capitaine is part of the officers's name, not his rank)

Besides Captain Bartholomew the Journal of Captain John Davis⁶² also fills in the gap of events between 31 May and 6 June 1781:

May 26th, 1781. York Town [Pennsylvania].—Marched from York Town 9 oClock morning under comm'd Gen'l Wayne, & encamped 11 miles on the road to Frederick Town.

27th. General Beat at sun rise, troops took up the line of March & halted near Peter Lytles, town being 14 miles.

28th. Troops took up the line of March at Sun rise, pass'd through Tawny Town, & halted near pipe Crek, about 14 miles.

29th. Troops took up the line of March at 3 oClock & encamp'd on the S. W. Side Manochosy, 15 miles.

30th. This day continued on the ground. Soldiers Washed their cloathes, clean'd thir arms, & was Reviewed at 7 oClock in the evening by G. Wayne.

31st. Louden County.—Took up the line of March at Sun rise, pass'd through Fredirck Town, Maryland, & reach'd Powtomack (Nowlands Ferry, Virginia), which in crossing in Squows, one unfortunately sunk loaded with (artilry, & Q. M. Stores &) men, in which one Sergeant and three men were drowned; encamped on the S. W. side of the River. Night being very wet our baggage not cross'd; officers of the Reg't took Quarter in Col. Clapams Nigro Quarter where we agreeably pass'd the night.

June 1st. Continued on our ground till Four oClock in the afternoon when we mov'd five miles on the way to Liesburg.

2d. Very wet day . . . & continued till evening.

3d. Took up the line of March at 10 oClock passed through Liesburg. The appearance of which I was much disappointed in encamp'd at goose creek, 15 miles.

4th. Prince William County.—March'd from goose creek at six oClock, at which place we left our baggage & sick, and

proceeded through a low country ; roads bad in consequence of the rains ; encamp'd at the red house 18 miles.

5th. A wet morning. Clear'd of at 10 oClock. March'd at 1 oClock, proceeded 12 miles on the road to Rappahanack, lay out without any kind of shelter.

6th. *Farquear County*.—March'd at 6 oClock 9 miles on the Road.

7th. This day continued on our ground, consequence of a heavy rain preceding night.

8th. *Culpepper County*.—Took up the line, March at Sun rise. Reach'd the North Branch Rappahanack at 10 oClock, troops waded the river and proceeded nine miles into this County.

9th. *Orange County*.—Took up the line of March at six oClock, cross'd the South Branch Rappahanack & proceeded Five miles into this County ; cuntry poor & buildings very small.

10th. March'd at 5 oClock ; a thin poor cuntry. Join'd the Marquis's this day,¹ made a march of 23 miles, pass'd a body of Militia, 1800 men.

It was only on 10 June that Captain Davis as well as Lieutenant William McDowell could record in his journal: "Took up a line of march at 5 o'clock in the morning & joined the Marquises's Troops this day and passed a body of Militia of Virginia about 1800 men. We had a very severe march of 23 miles this day."⁶³ Lafayette's forces were quartered around "Bozworths Ord[inar]y", i.e., Boswell's Tavern in Louisa County. Lafayette remained hopelessly outnumbered, but the long-awaited arrival of Wayne provided a welcome addition to his forces. That same day Lafayette announced a re-organization of his army:

"The Order of the Army will generally be this; the Right under General Wayne will Consist of the Pennsylvania Brigade - the first Brigade of Malitia on the left - the other in a second Line, both commanded by Genl Nelson - the Light Infantry under General Muhlenburgh will form a separate Corps to be placed agreeable to Circumstances - McPhersons Corps Calls Legion & such Corps of Rifle Men or mounted Infantry exclusive of Calls Legion as may hereafter be formed will act upon the

*Flanks / by particular Order all Volunteer Dragoons Capt Pages Compy
excepted to be thrown into Calls Legion.”⁶⁴*

For the next few weeks Lafayette and Cornwallis played a deadly game of “Cat and Mouse” as they followed each other across Virginia. Try as he might, Cornwallis could not catch “the boy”. For the time being and even after the arrival of Wayne's Pennsylvanians, Lafayette was too weak to oppose Crown forces and thus began three months of marches and evasive manoeuvres that would stretch the stamina of the men under his command to the limit. On 18 June, one week after Wayne had joined him and barely a week before the engagement at Spencer's Ordinary on 26 June, Lafayette informed Washington of the strength of his little army:

*“In Spite of every obstacle thrown in our Way I shall Collect our
Forces to a point – 800 light infantry, 700 Pennsylvanians, 50 dragoons,
900 Riflemen, 2,000 Militia, and 400 New levies (the Remaining Having
deserted) will Be the Utmost Extent of forces we Can Expect. But the
Harvest time will Soon deprive us of the greatest part of the Militia.”*

Some 2,400 veterans, 400 recruits and 2,000 militia rapidly melting away, was all he had to oppose the almost 8,000 Crown forces under the command of Lord Cornwallis. On 24 June, Captain Isaac Van Horne informed Reading Beatty from “Near Bottoms Bridge” that

*“The Enemy have Retreated. I believe about 60 or 70 Miles down the
James River. We have pursued them about 17 Miles below Richmond
where we now lye, we arrived here yesterday – The Enemy lye a few
Miles below us & Made some faints, seeming as if they meant to attack
us – we were form’d in a position to receive them but they chose not to
hazard an Attack. They have a pretty formidable Body of Horse, which
are exceeding trouble some & which distress the Country much,
commanded by Tarlton*

*The Enemy have taken with them a great Number of Negroes, some
say 2000. Have destroyed as much as possible all the Stores & Valuable
property in Richmond.*

*I expect we shall have a brush with them very soon, & of we do, I
expect there will be a great stink among the negroes –*

*This is a D—n Barran disagreeable Country – I don’t like it at all.
Indeed you may be glad you have not come. I think you must live very
happy there now.”⁶⁵*

Horne's premonition was correct: he would have his "brush with them" sooner than he thought: on 26 June, Lafayette and Cornwallis fought the Battle of Spencer's Ordinary. On 23 June Lord Cornwallis had sent Simcoe with the Queen's Rangers to destroy stores west of Williamsburg along the Chickahominy River. As Simcoe was returning to Williamsburg late on 24 June he marched through the night. On the morning of June 26th, Simcoe stopped to rest his troops at Spencer's Ordinary, about six miles north of Williamsburg. Unbeknownst to Simcoe he was pursued closely by Pennsylvania forces under Colonel Richard Butler who had also marched the night of June 25/26 to intercept Simcoe before he reached Williamsburg. At day-break they reached a camp-site just vacated by Simcoe's men. Frustrated, Butler sent ahead a group of 50 horsemen of Armand's Legion, with 50 infantrymen riding double behind them. Around mid-morning of 26 June they made contact with Simcoe's outposts lying in wait near the junction of the Jamestown and Williamsburg roads. Knowing that Butler's main force was following close behind, Armand's Legionaries decided to risk an attack. As Major McPherson's horsemen charged through the British pickets they were repulsed by Simcoe's cavalry. McPherson was unhorsed and his men scattered. Fortunately the riflemen and continental troops trotted onto the scene. Although they were surprised and outnumbered by the Americans, Simcoe's men held firm and when Hessian *Jäger* under Captain Johann Ewald joined the fray the Continentals had to retreat.

As Crown forces retreated toward Williamsburg following the encounter at Spencer's Ordinary, Cornwallis decided to retire to Portsmouth, and to do so, cross the James River at the northwest tip of James Island in an area known as Green Spring, named after the 17th-century plantation of Governor Berkeley. With the British crossing the river, Lafayette saw an opportunity to strike Cornwallis and with a reasonable chance of defeating at least part of his army. His plan was to allow a portion of the British army to cross the river and then attack the remaining force. Cornwallis saw this possibility as well and decided to use this river crossing to lay a trap for Lafayette and his army, whose spirits had buoyed by the affair at Spencer's Ordinary. On 6 July 1781, Cornwallis sent only his baggage across the river, to be protected by the Queen's Rangers and the North Carolina Volunteers. He positioned the rest of his army in a wooded area and in a deep valley, hidden from Lafayette's view, which would spring when American forces moved in. Lafayette in the meantime had moved cautiously from his encampment at New Kent Courthouse and marched to Bird's Tavern, some sixteen miles from Williamsburg, with the Continentals continuing to Chickahominy Church, or Norrell's Mills, eight miles from Jamestown, where they slept in the open, lying on their arms throughout the night.

On the morning of the 6th, further intelligence came in to confirm that Cornwallis was moving his army across the James and that only the rear guard remained on the Jamestown side. Lafayette then sent Wayne with five hundred men including the 1st Pennsylvania

under Colonel Stewart, along with an advance guard of light infantry under Major Galvan, Virginia rifle companies under the command of Majors Richard Call and John Willis, and a volunteer company commanded by Lt. Colonel John Mercer. Wayne's force marched to within half a mile of the British pickets, and Mercer had been told by a local slave that both Cornwallis and Colonel Tarleton were still on the north side of the river. Lafayette, who had accompanied the advancing Wayne sent back for the 2nd and 3rd Pennsylvania Regiments and the remaining light infantry still six miles back at Norrell's Mills. The Virginia Continentals and Militia were held in reserve, twelve miles to the rear at Bird's Tavern.

The British camp was positioned on the banks of the James and Cornwallis was doing everything he could to convince Lafayette that this was just the rear guard. Wayne's advanced guards exchanged musket fire with British pickets throughout the afternoon and a patrol comprised of the British Legion were driven back along a road which cut through the marshy area around the river bank. Late into the afternoon the two sides continued to skirmish, Wayne waiting until his reinforcements arrived, Cornwallis waiting until the Continentals committed to a general action.

Wayne's entire advance force began to cross the morass, with the rifle companies and light infantry keeping up a steady fire along the front, supported by McPherson's light cavalry which was comprised of Armand's Legion and the 1st Continental Light Dragoons, with Colonel Stewart and his Pennsylvanians held in reserve. Tarleton's pickets continued to fall back, attempting to give Wayne the impression they were unsupported and fighting a delaying action. When the British reached a wood line, they held, under orders to conceal the main army that was directly behind them. Wayne had no idea how close he was to Cornwallis and the main British force. The 2nd and 3rd Pennsylvania Detachments under Colonels Butler and Hampton as well as Continental artillery soon arrived, along with several battalions of light infantry. The Pennsylvanians and Gimat's battalion of light infantry joined with Wayne's advance guard. Two other battalions of light infantry, Vose's and Barbers, formed a line behind Wayne as a reserve. Lafayette himself decided to ride forward along the river bank and saw that Cornwallis was presenting a ruse. He rode back to order Wayne to withdraw, but it was too late.

Once Cornwallis saw that Wayne had taken the bait, he ordered his main force forward. In the brief but severe engagement at Green Spring Wayne's Pennsylvanians, re-enforced by Virginia riflemen and volunteer light horse, Major Galvan's advanced guard comprising troops from Vose's Light Battalion, Major Wyllys' (Gimat's) battalion of light infantry, and Major William Macpherson's legion of eighty cavalry and light infantry, i.e., approx. 800 Continentals and 1,000 Virginia militia had faced a large part of Cornwallis's more than 4,000-man army. When the battle was over, Lafayette could be glad his losses were not

higher. The Pennsylvania units in particular had suffered heavily in the engagement. A "Return of the Pennsylvania Brigade of Foot, Commanded by Colo Richd Humpton July 12th. 1781" showed 12 men killed and 28 men wounded in the First Battalion, 10 wounded, three dead and six missing in the Second and fifteen wounded and two dead in the Third Battalion, all most likely as a result of the events of 6 July.

For Lord Cornwallis Green Spring was yet another failed attempt to catch "the boy". He now completed his withdrawal across the James and moved on to Portsmouth where he remained until the beginning of August. On 2 August his forces disembarked from shipboard to take up a post on the York River. Though he was not entirely pleased with the location, Cornwallis felt secure in the knowledge that Royal Navy was close at hand. It was, but French Admiral de Grasse was also on his way from the Caribbean. Once news of de Grasse' sailing to the Chesapeake reached Washington encamped at White Plains on 14 August, Washington too changed plans and began a 400-mile march that ended with the surrender of Cornwallis on 19 October 1781.

Cornwallis' surrender won an important victory for the Franco-American alliance, but only from hindsight does it become obvious, to paraphrase the *marquis* de Lafayette, that on 19 October 1781, the curtain had fallen on the final act of the war. Contemporaries were by far not as sanguine about the inevitability of the outcome of the struggle. 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." Anthony Wayne, whose Pennsylvanians had played such an important role in the victory, used almost identical words in a letter to Robert Morris on 26 October, in which he described the victory as "an event of the utmost consequence & if properly improved, may be productive of a glorious & happy peace." Washington and Wayne knew all too well that the men taken prisoner 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 stationed in Charleston, Canada and Louisiana. If 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.

Fortunately, however, none of these worst-case scenarios came true as the ministry in London finally decided that the American colonies were not worth the cost keeping them. The long, grueling war in America had ground down British will to continue fighting an enemy who, to paraphrase General Nathanael Greene, fought, got beat, stood up and fought again. Historians have called the year 1781 an *annus mirabilis*, a year which had seen the nadir of American fortunes when the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines mutinied but which had become a miracle year when fortune shone on the American rebels at Yorktown.

The Movements of the British Prisoners of War from Yorktown and Gloucester across Virginia and Maryland to Winchester and Frederick in November 1781

The celebrations for the victory at Yorktown were still in full swing and Tench Tilghman was still stuck on Tangier Island but George Washington was already frustrated that the British prisoners of war were still in Yorktown and Gloucester. As early as 20 October he wrote in his diary that

Winchester & Fort Frederick in Maryland, being the places destined for the reception of the Prisoners they were to have commenced their March accordingly this day, but were prevented by the Commissary of Prisoners not having compleated his Accounts of them & taken the Paroles of the Officers.⁶⁶

Washington had wanted to move them out as quickly as possible, but the vast amount of work following the surrender inevitably caused delays. By the time the “Accounts” of the prisoners, their numbers, who was to go where and who was too sick to be moved, were completed on 25 October 1781, the prisoners were already encamped just north of Hanover town. Of the 7,087 rank and file (plus 84 soldiers captured on 14 October and 80 camp-followers) and 840 naval personnel who were prisoners on 19 October,⁶⁷ 7,340 (!) were accounted for by 6 November. The fate of the prisoners had been addressed in Article V of the instrument of surrender. Officers would be released on parole but:

“The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations or provisions as allowed to the soldiers in the service of America. A field officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian, and other officers on parole in the proportion of one to fifty men, to reside near their respective regiments and be witnesses of their treatment.”⁶⁸

As the uncertainty of how many Crown forces surrendered shows, any discussion of the removal of British prisoners from Yorktown and Gloucester to the northward following the surrender of Lord Cornwallis on 19 October, their march routes, places of encampment and marching conditions, has to accept that information concerning their numbers, routes and destinations(s) from Yorktown and Gloucester between October 1781 and late spring of 1782 are mostly estimates: even contemporaries did not know exactly how many prisoners there were or where they were at any given moment.

This reliance on “soft” data is compounded by the fact that there is too many a Frederick, Fredericksburg, Frederick Town and/or Fort Frederick in Virginia and Maryland, which in turn has caused misunderstandings as to who went when, where and stayed for how long. This begins with the table George Washington sent to Col. Abraham Skinner (1755-1826), Continental Commissary General of Prisoners, on 25 October 1781, which assigned to Winchester a total of 3,029 men: “Artillery 193, Guards 467, 23d Regiment 205, 43d Regiment 307, 76th Regiment, 2 Battalions of Anspach 948, Queens Rangers 248, Pioneers 33”. Another 2,924 prisoners – “Light Infantry 594, 17th Regiment 205, 33d Regiment 225, 71st Regiment 242, 80th Regiment 588, Prince Hereditary 425, Reg’t De Bose 271, Yagers 68, British Legion 192, North Carolina Volunteers 114” – were to march to Fort Frederick. On 6 November, 1,387 more were in hospitals on the Gloucester side of the York River, 609 of which could not be moved “without risking their Lives.”⁶⁹ These numbers add up to 7,340 prisoners, about 170 more than were counted as being in American custody on 19 October.

But while most of the prisoners assigned to Winchester eventually reached that town, NONE were ever quartered in Fort Frederick.⁷⁰ And even though Washington wrote as late as 16 November 1781 from Mount Vernon that “The Prisoners who were to remain in the Country are all marched to Winchester and Fort Frederick, except such Sick as remain too bad to remove; of these there are still a considerable Number,” the men designated for Fort Frederick were housed in the barracks in Frederick, Maryland, where they were joined by their fellow prisoners from Winchester, the former Frederick Town, in February 1782.⁷¹

“Why not?” is the second issue to be addressed. Maryland Governor Thomas Sim Lee (1745-1819) had informed Colonel Moses Rawlings (1740-1809) on 10 November that “A Proportion of the Prisoners captured with Cornwallis have, as we are informed by Col^o [Dr. Philip] Thomas [1747-1812], arrived in this State, where they are to be provided for, Part of them are to be kept in Frederick Town”, i.e. in Frederick, Maryland, and part in Fort Frederick, but had left the final decision to Thomas and Rawlings. “It is not in our Power to give particular Directions respecting them, but have referred the providing for them to yourself and Col^o Thomas, to whom we have wrote more particularly and have requested him to confer with you on the Subject.” Having “conferred” the two men were “of the oppinion that it will be much best to keep the whole of the Prisoners at this Post, as it will be of Infinite less expence to the State and will take such a Number less of the Militia to Guard them,” as Rawlings informed Lee on 21 November. At the time of his writing Rawlings estimated “The number of Prisoners at this post is about 1500”.

<p style="text-align: center;">Winchester</p> <p>Artillery ----- 193</p> <p>Guards ----- 467</p> <p>23rd Regiment ----- 205</p> <p>43rd D^o ----- 307</p> <p>76th D^o ----- 625</p> <p>2^d Battalion of Amherst ----- 948</p> <p>Queen's Rangers ----- 248</p> <p>Pioneers ----- 33</p> <p style="text-align: right;">3029</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Fort Frederick</p> <p>Light Infantry ----- 594</p> <p>1st Regiment ----- 205</p> <p>33rd D^o ----- 225</p> <p>71st D^o ----- 242</p> <p>80th D^o ----- 588</p> <p>Prince's Grenadiers ----- 425</p> <p>Reg^t De Pose ----- 271</p> <p>Regiment ----- 68</p> <p>British Legion ----- 192</p> <p>North Carolina Volunteers ----- 114</p> <p style="text-align: right;">2924</p>
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To the Commandary General of Prisoners

You are to dispose of the Prisoners as above.

G^o Washington

Comp near York }
25th Feb^r 1781 }

The reasoning behind this decision was only partly financial. Maryland currency was no longer accepted as payment anywhere, the state teetered on the verge of bankruptcy and the expenses in money and in kind to supply American and French forces during the siege of Yorktown had used up much of whatever surplus there had been. The burden of quartering thousands of prisoners in Winchester or Frederick on the local populations should not be underestimated since the Continental Congress neither could nor would provide much support in the maintenance of these men. In 1782, all of Frederick County numbered 4,786 whites and 767 African-Americans; Winchester, the county seat, had all of inhabitants. Placing some 3,000 prisoners in the county increased the population by half. The situation in Maryland was better: with 30791 inhabitants in 1790, Frederick County was Maryland's most populous county; Frederick itself had a population of about 3,000.⁷²

Of equal importance was the fact that neither Fort Frederick (or the barracks in the town of Frederick) nor the state as such (not to mention the barracks in Winchester) were in any way prepared for the arrival of the prisoners. On 23 November 1781, Skinner informed Washington from Baltimore that

"In obedience to your Excellency's commands I have visited the Posts of Winchester Fort Frederick, and Frederick Town at which places it

was intended the Prisoner taken at the Surrender of York and Gloucester should be confined, and have made such arrangements respecting them as I hope will merit your approbation. ...

Upon examination I found that the Situation of the Barracks at Fort Frederick was insufficient for the reception of the prisoners – indeed they are almost totally destroyed and cannot be repaired unless at a great expense, neither can provisions be furnished for it so conveniently as at Frederick Town where I have got them into convenient Barracks around which a Stockade is erecting that will effectually secure them and lessen the duty of the Guard.”

Governor Lee left the final decision as to where the prisoner would be quartered to Rawlings, Thomas and Skinner who chose the best of the three bad options available: on the eve of their arrival Lee on 10 November 1781 admitted to Thomas that Maryland was “totally unprepared” to deal with the influx of the guests marching north from Virginia:

“we are totally unprepared for their Reception. It is impossible for us to give you particular Directions at this Time, and must submit the whole Management of this Business to you, recommending an immediate Consultation with Col^o Rawlings, who is written to by this Opportunity, to receive as many of the Prisoners as possible at Fort Frederick; and we authorize you to impress and seize, if not to be procured otherwise all Articles necessary to repair the Barracks and other Houses for the immediate Shelter of the Troops; the Militia and every Workman that can be got ought to be employed in this Business, as well as the Prisoners.”

This unpreparedness was not for lack of trying: enough letters were written and plenty of instructions been given, but as was so often the case there were no funds to cover the expenses. On 2 November the Maryland Council informed James Calhoun that

“As Part of the British Army, late made Prisoners at York, are to be stationed at or near Frederick Town, the exact Number we cannot ascertain but imagine there will be at least 2000, including Officers ; it becomes necessary to forward a sufficient Quantity of Supplies to that Place, to be delivered to George Murdock Esqr who is appointed issuing Commissary for that Purpose; and we earnestly request you will take immediate and effective Measures to keep that Post constantly supplied”

Concurrently the state appointed George Murdock "Commissary to the Prisoners":

"As Part of the late Garrison of York will, in a few Day be in Frederick Town, where they are to be stationed, we shall want your Assistance in the issuing the Provision for them; and do hereby appoint you issuing Commissary to the Prisoners Stationed in Frederick Town. Orders are given the County Commissaries to deliver their Provision to you."

Upon arrival the prisoners would also have to be guarded and militia officers such as Colonel Thomas received orders to call out sufficient numbers of militia in their counties to receive the prisoners at the Maryland - Virginia State Line and to guide them to their place of internment at Winchester and Frederick.

"By a Letter received from Governor Nelson we are informed, Part of the Prisoners captured with Earl Cornwallis is to be stationed in this State, and though the Number to be provided for by us is not mentioned in his Excellency's Letter, we conclude it will not be less than 2000 including Officers, as the whole are to be divided among the States of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. We apprehend such a Body of Prisoners will require a Guard of three hundred Men, besides Officers; it will therefore be necessary to order out immediately such Companies of Select Militia of Montgomery Frederick and Washington Counties as will be sufficient to compose such a Guard, and until the Select Militia of Washington and Montgomery Counties can be assembled at Frederick Town, the destined Station of the Prisoners, you will order upon Duty such a Number of the Militia at large of Frederick County as, with your select Militia, will amount to the above Number. The Prisoners allotted to this State, will be guarded by the Militia of Virginia, as far as the Verge of that State and will march the most direct Route from Winchester to Frederick Town, and as they are now on their Way it will be incumbent on you to march off your Guard immediately, to such Point as in all Probability, they will be halted at, when the Guard arrives there, the Commanding Officer must take Charge of the Prisoners and march them to Frederick Town. We have directed the Lieutenants of Washington and Montgomery Counties to order out the select Militia of their respective Counties and have them marched immediately under their Officers to Frederick Town, the Guard is to be under your sole Direction, You will appoint Capt. Mountjoy Baily commanding Officer of the Guard under you. We have appointed George Murdock Esqr issuing Commissary, to whom you will occasionally give the necessary

Directions. As the Barracks will be insufficient to hold the Prisoners, we suggest the Propriety of appropriating the Poor's House, Logged Gaol and every other empty House proper for Barracks; and in Case you meet with Difficulty in procuring Houses, the Property of Individuals, and which may be, without much Inconvenience, made Use of in this Way, we hereby authorize you to take Possession of any such Buildings which you may deem necessary."

Similarly the Council wrote to the Lieutenants of Montgomery and Washington Counties.

"About two thousand of the Prisoners captured with Lord Cornwallis, are to be Stationed at Frederick Town, guarded and provided for by this State. In Consequence of which, we have determined to order out a Guard to consist of 300 Men exclusive of Officers, to be furnished out of the select Militia of Montgomery, Frederick, and Washington Counties; you will therefore order out immediately one Company of Select Militia to be composed of 80 Rank and File with their Officers, and have them marched to Frederick Town without Delay, where they will be subject to the Orders of Philip Thomas Esqr Lieutenant of Frederick County."

Guarded by militia the prisoner had marched out of Yorktown on 21 November, the same day that Virginia Governor Thomas Nelson Jr. (1738-1789) informed Lee that

*"the Militia of this State have orders to conduct the British Prisoners allotted for Frederick Town, only to the Borders of your State. Your Excellency will therefore be pleased to make the necessary Preparations for their Reception. I am not so well acquainted with the Geography of the upper Country as to be able to inform you at what Ferry they will cross, but they will be marched by the most direct Route from Winchester to Frederick Town."*⁷³

The march was organized militarily and stood under the overall command of Virginia Militia General Robert Lawson (1748-1805). On 20 November, Nelson informed Lawson:

"You will be pleased to take Command of the Militia ordered to conduct the British Prisoners to their stations. At Fredericksburg you will meet with the Garrison of Gloucester of which you will take charge, together with the Command of their Guard. One half of the Prisoners are to be stationed at Winchester, the other at Frederick Town in Maryland. Those allotted for Maryland you will to a Guard of that State on its

Border; The others you will conduct to Winchester & as soon as Col^o John Smith, County Lieut. Of Frederick, can call out a sufficient Guard of the Militia of that & the adjacent Counties, for which he has my Orders, you will deliver them to him, & discharge the Troops.”⁷⁴

On 21 October “In the afternoon about 3:00,” Stephan Popp (1755-1820),⁷⁵ a prisoner with the Ansbach-Bayreuth contingent, recorded that “we were marched out of Yorktown as prisoners of war. The Virginia militia ... were in charge of our trip.” On 22 October “We marched farther and came near Williamsburg.”⁷⁶

Unfortunately there are only a very few eyewitness accounts by the prisoners themselves of their march Yorktown to their destinations in Virginia and Maryland. The most important of these accounts were kept by Popp and Johann Conrad Döhla (1750-1820),⁷⁷ both soldiers from the *Markgrafschaft* Ansbach-Bayreuth assigned to the barracks in Winchester and Johann Ernst Prechtel, who also served in the Ansbach-Bayreuth troops.⁷⁸ On the British side there exist the reminiscences of Capt. Lt. Samuel Graham (1756-1831) of the 76th Highlanders, ranking officer of British forces taken prisoners at Yorktown.⁷⁹ On the American side these sources are supplemented by the correspondence of the governors of Virginia and Maryland and pension applications of militia men guarding the prisoners on their way from Yorktown to their destinations. These pension applications contain much detail indispensable for a reconstruction of march routes and marching conditions.⁸⁰

Upon arrival in Williamsburg on 22 October, Lawson issued detailed orders for the organization of the march:

The General declares himself much pleased with the Attention made by the British Officers to order & regularity on the March & when Encamped. He assures them that nothing shall be wanted on his part to render their present Situation as agreeable as Circumstances & his duty will admit. He has Never since the Warr commenced (thought) it Consistent with bravery & humanity to Insult or Distress those who are allready in the power of the American Army. On this occasion espeically he feels no such liberal propensity. The Officers Commanding Divisions will

order Returns to be made out for three days provisions which will be immediately cooked. The Escorts will march at 5 o'clock tomorrow morning. The Officers Commanding Divisions will Immediately arrange their men into Companies of 50 men each to be Comanded by Capt., Lieut. & Ensign. The Officers of the Last Mentioned Rank will draw Lotts who shall stay or who shall be Discharged. The Commanding Officers of Divisions are to discharge by my order the Superfluous Officers.

The oxes will be distributed by the Regiment Quartermasters of Each Regiment of prisoners & to be Accountable for them. The General has been Informed by a letter from Headquarters that Information has been given that many waggons intended to be appropriated to the purpose only of transporting the Baggage of the Officers of the British Army are nevertheless in a great degree taken up with the Baggage of the Soldiers. If this is a Fact, he wishes the Officers Commanding Divisions or Brigades to have it Rectified. When the Soldiers of the British want Wood or water Application should be made to a Commanding Officer of the American Escort who is Directed to order a Non-Commissioner Officer to attend & bring them back to their Camping Ground. The Militia at this place are ordered to join the Escort under my Command by the Express orders & they must be Divided among the three Divisions as Equal as possible by Officers Commanding Them.

The Commis. will Apply for waggons Late of Genl. Lawson's Brigade Detached to the Department of Brigade Commiss. & he will procure from the Bullock master one Hundred Head of Bullocks for The Use of the Escort to be Drove with it."

Orderly books of general and brigade orders (1781 May 23-October 22) for troops under the command of General Cornwallis MSS96198 (Microfilm 18,388-1N-1P), Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Quoted in Harriet A. Chilton, "Journey of the Yorktown Prisoners to Winchester, Virginia and Frederick, Maryland." Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine 115, No. 3 (1981), pp. 200-203, p. 201.

At 5:00 a.m. on 23 October the column began its march out of Williamsburg toward New Kent Court House and set up its first camp near Bird's Tavern following a march of about 18 miles. So far things had gone well but on the march from Bird's Tavern to Drinking Spring on 24 October some of the English soldiers mutinied. Only after militia fire had killed one and wounded three prisoners was order restored. Without mentioning the mutiny Lawson informed Washington that evening from "Camp Drinking Spring, 9 miles from W^{ms}burg" how many prisoners he was escorting to Fredericksburg:

"Sir,

I do myself the honor to enclose to your Excellency, a Return of the Prisoners committed to the care of the Escort under my command, which I have reason to believe to be a correct one.

I have no reports to me of desertion as yet, but I fear that should they be disposed to desert in the Night time, it will not be in my power to prevent it – for the number of militia with me does not amount to one thousand; the greater part of which number will be entitled to discharges in about six or seven days from this time. Those who remain are so very impatient to get home (which added to the many discharg'd daily as unfit to march) that my task is inconceivably irksome.

I am not certain whether this Return corresponds with that made by the Commissary of Prisoners, who has made none to me."

Lawson's return shows that only 2,856 men, fewer than half of the 5,953 rank and file listed as to be marched to Winchester and Frederick in Col. Skinner's table (of the next day) had actually set out from Williamsburg in three divisions.

Return of prisoners under the American Escort commo

<i>Divisions</i>	<i>Majors</i>	<i>Captains</i>	<i>Sold.</i>	<i>Battal. -16000</i>	<i>Sergeants</i>	<i>Drummers & Fiddlers</i>	<i>Rank</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1st Division</i>		8	18		92	38	1223	
<i>2nd Division</i>		4	13	2	78	25	777	
<i>3rd Division</i>	1	5	21	2	123	28	836	
	5	17	52	4	293	91	2836	
					5	"	20	<i>Sick present</i>
					2	2	20	<i>... 500 Wmburg.</i>
	5	17	52	4	300	93	2885	<i>The Count. 61</i>

Marching via Hanover town the troops encamped one mile north of Newcastle on 26/27 October and reached Fredericksburg on the 29th. On the 24th Lawson had told Washington that much of his militia was entitled to discharges by the end of the month. Many of the men did not wait that long. Anxious to get home they simply left the colors. Upon arrival in Fredericksburg, 17-year-old Robert Sneed/Sneed of the Hanover County Militia (“born within 9 miles of Hanover court House ... near Ground Squirrel Meeting house”) deposed in his pension application (R9891) with much *sang-froid* that “on the excursion with the prisoners nothing material occurred except that the whole of the Hanover militia deserted at Fredericksburg, except a dozen, so that there was no officer to draw provisions”.

On 30 October about 1,000 healthy prisoners that had been escorted by Colonel George West of Loudon County from Gloucester joined Lawson, which should have swelled the ranks of his columns to around 3,800. Leaving around 600 prisoners who were unable to continue the march in Fredericksburg, Lawson broke camp on 1 November. This decision to leave prisoners unable to walk in Fredericksburg may be the historical background behind depositions such as the one by Timothy Wale (S11663) of Culpeper County who

“went as a guard with Prisoners, at Falmouth in Virginia we divided the prisoners some were sent to Fort Frederick in Maryland, as I was told & the rest were sent to new Virginia a little above Winchester where I went as a guard.”

Similarly James Irvine (S4422) was in

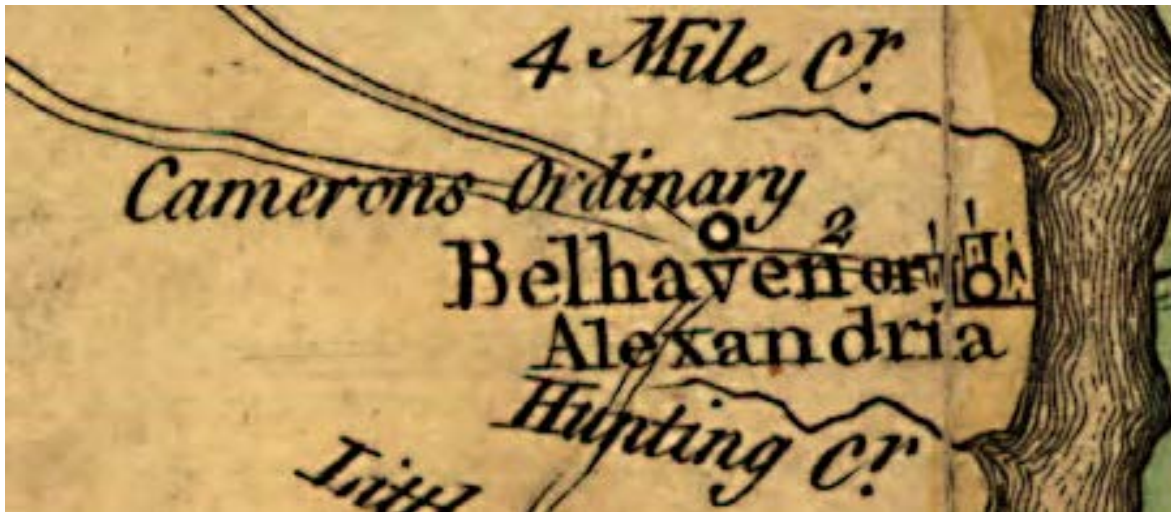
“charge of a brigade of about 8 wagons as wagon master ... and as wagon master volunteered and assisted with his brigade of wagons in conveying the prisoners, hauling their baggage to Fredericksburg Virginia there they were divided and he with his brigade of wagons accompanied the Hessians & their guards to Noland's ferry on the Potomac [River] in the State of Maryland, there they delivered them, to the Maryland troops crossing them over the River being the line between the states.”

That at least these sick prisoners were marched directly from Fredericksburg to Winchester is confirmed in the pension application of Francis Robinson (S16517) of Spotsylvania County who earlier in the fall had already accompanied prisoners to Noland's Ferry when he was called up again and

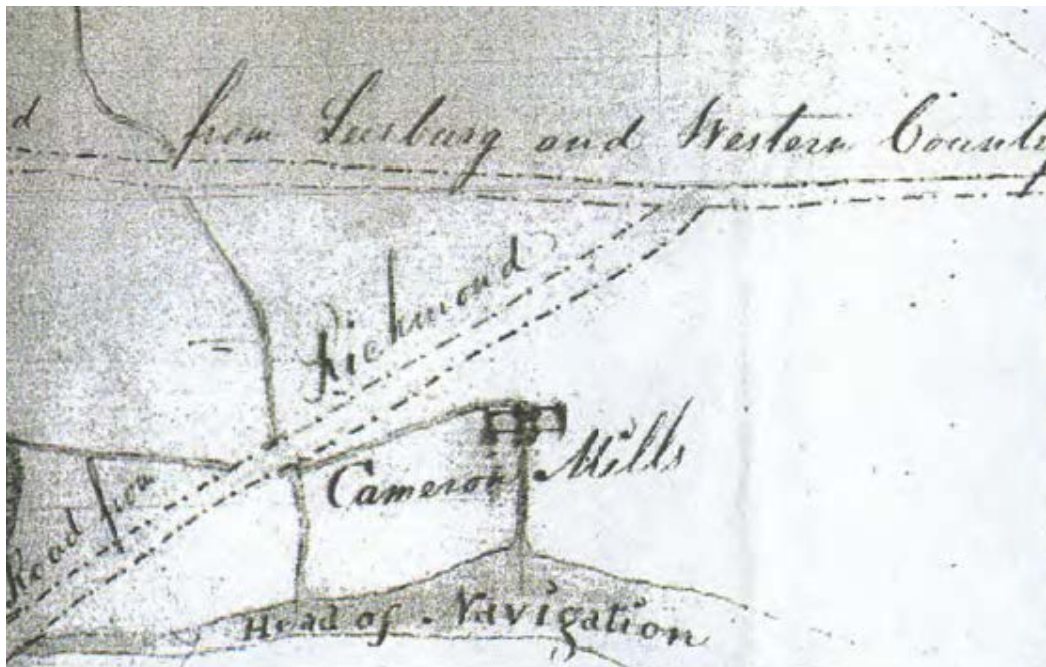
“marched from home to Fredericksburg & remained there some time guarding the sick & other Emily [sic] prisoners of the British both at this place and the allum Spring near there to, thence to Winchester with said prisoners thence he returned and was discharged.”

Having “waded” on 1 November through the cold waters of the Rappahannock to Falmouth the prisoners continued to their next camp 20 miles away, possibly along Chopawamsic Creek two miles short of Dumfries.

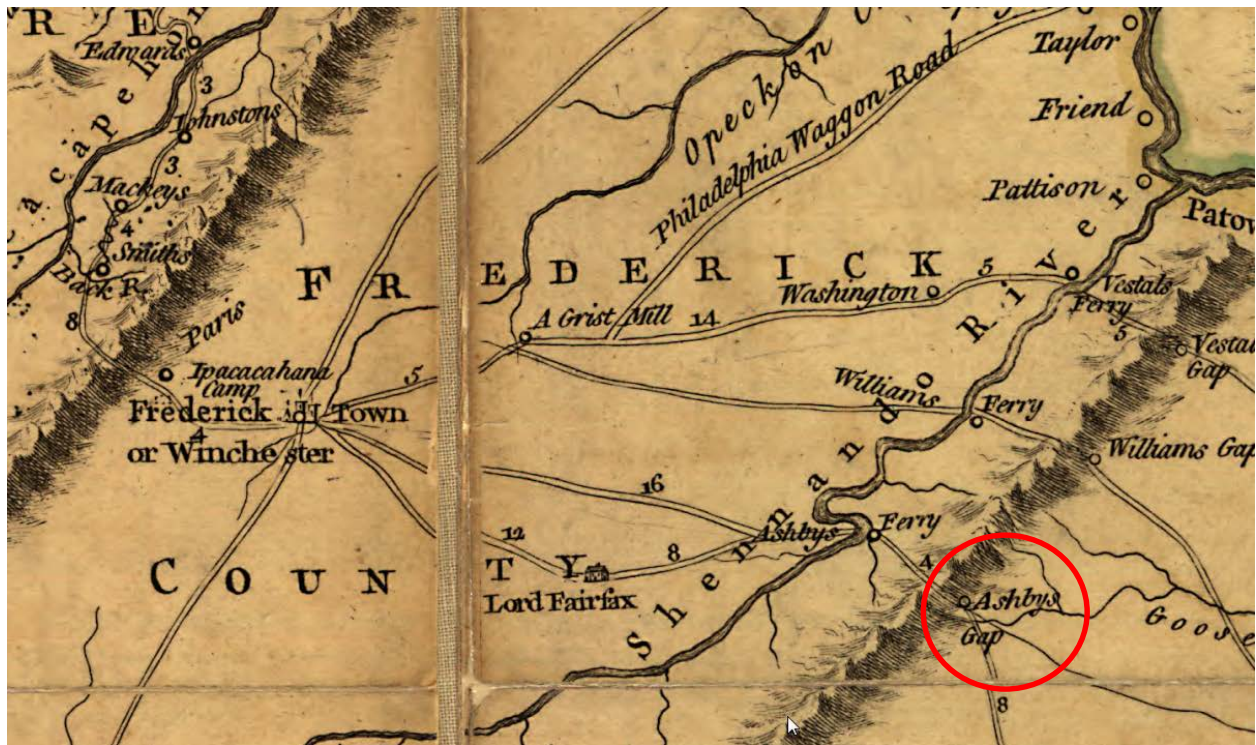
The next day, Friday, 2 November, Popp recorded that “We made a very long march” of about 28 miles, with Döhla adding that they marched “in constant rain” to “Fair=Rex=Court=House”, i.e. Fairfax County Courthouse in Alexandria.⁸¹ Döhla further description shows, however, that the camp was not in Alexandria but at a site marked as “Cameron's Ordinary” on the Fry-Jefferson map. Döhla described their campsite as a “small village, with 1 mill and a beautiful Court and Courthouse” where they spent the night.⁸² Both authors record that at Fairfax Court House “a part of our troops separated and went to Maryland and Fort Frederick [i.e. Fredericksburg]. Among them were the two Hessian regiments of Erbprinz [425 men at departure from Yorktown] and Bosche [i.e. von Bose, 271 men at departure from Yorktown]” as well as the Jäger [68 men at departure from Yorktown]. That means that at least some of the troops assigned to Winchester, i.e. the Ansbach-Bayreuth in which Döhla and Popp served, had accompanied the troops assigned to (Fort) Frederick all the way to Fairfax, from where they continued on to Winchester.



Detail from Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland* (1755). Belhaven was a community two miles west of Alexandria along Cameron Run (which changes its name to Hunting Creek once it becomes tidal) founded by Scottish merchants and named after John Hamilton, Second Baron Belhaven (1656-1708). Cameron's Ordinary was also established by Scottish traders in the 1740s and derives its name from Lord Fairfax's Scottish title of "Baron of Cameron".



Cameron Mills ca. 1798. Reproduced in R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, Inc., *Phase I and II Archaeological Investigations at Cameron Farm (44AX182) and Cameron Mill (44AX112), Hoffman Properties, Alexandria, Virginia* (Alexandria, 2005)



Detail from Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, *A Map of the most Inhabited part of Virginia containing the whole province of Maryland* (1755). Though “Frederick Town” was renamed “Winchester” in 1752, many maps and contemporary documents throughout the War of Independence refer to it as “Frederick Town”.

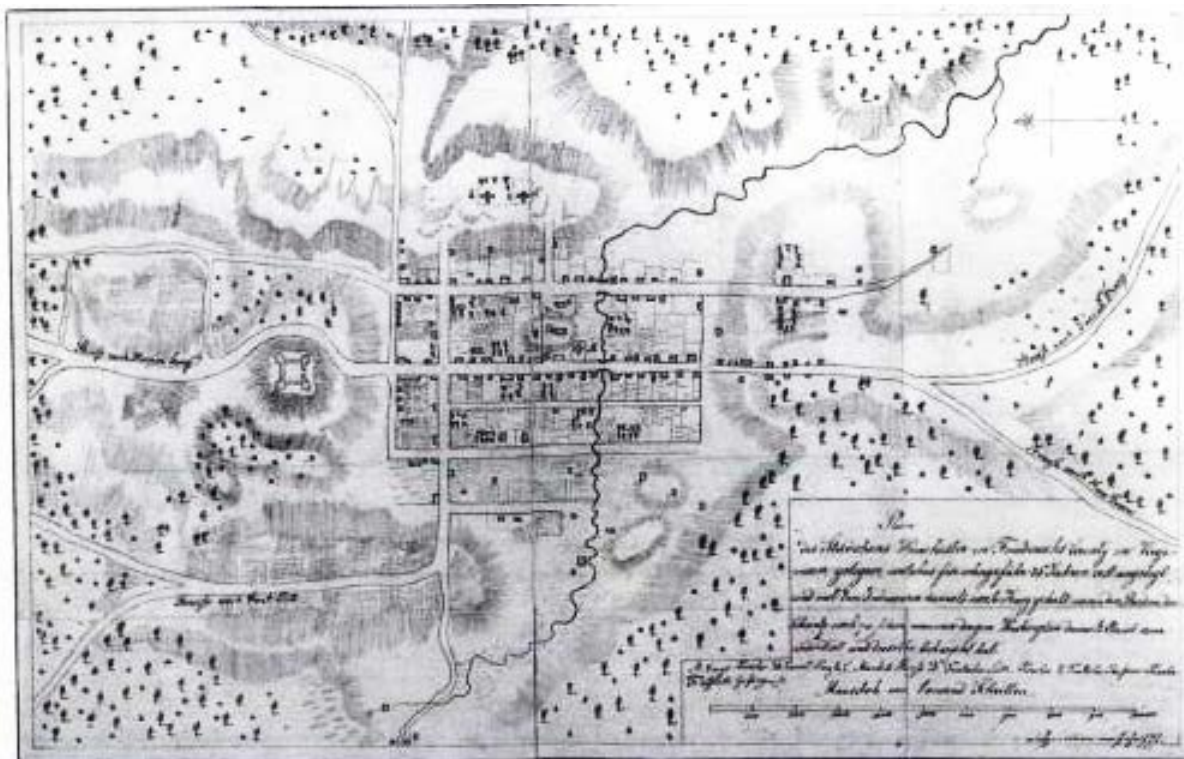
The detachment destined for Winchester/Fredericktown in Virginia, which included Popp and Döhla, on 3 November marched out of Fairfax/Alexandria on today’s VA-SR 236 which turns into VA-SR 50, which they followed until in the evening when they discerned the Blue Ridge Mountains already. Along the way the boundaries between prisoners and captors became more and more fluid. Captain Samuel Graham remembered that

“our guards were ... called backwoodsmen, between whom and the inhabitants of the lower parts there existed no cordiality; and at night when we halted, they not only allowed but even encouraged our men to pull down and make fires of the fence-rails, as we had been accustomed to do when we had arms in our hands; and when a proprietor complained they only laughed at him. They did not scruple also to let us make free with a turnip field.”⁸³

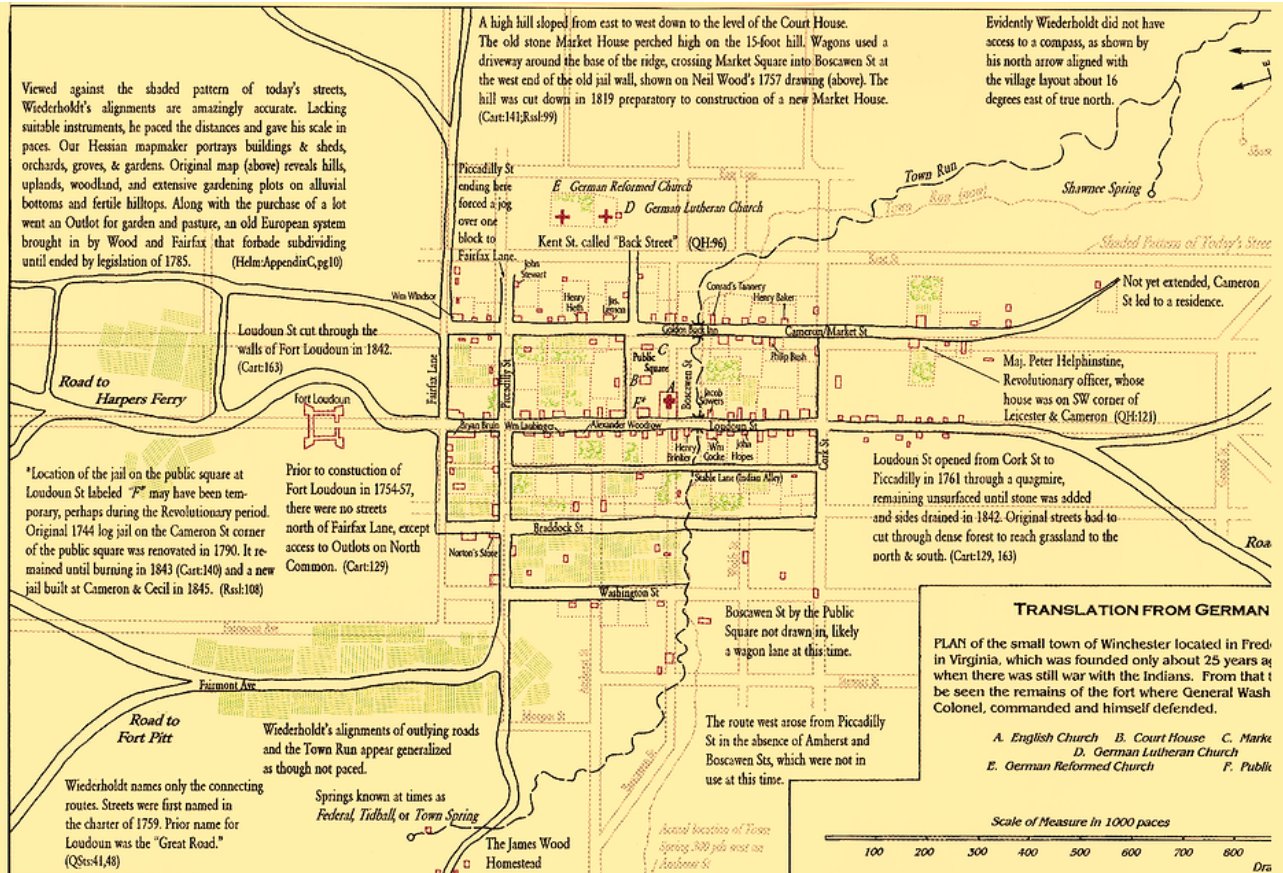
Militiamen making free with turnips risked life and limb. Richard Jenkins (W7893) of the Culpeper County militia guarding prisoners from Yorktown

“on his way to the Winchester Barracks being much pressed by hunger, as the company was passing along the road which bordered on a large turnip patch, he reached down and pulled of a turnip but did not break the ranks, for which offense Major Welsh of our Regiment gave him a blow which broke his jaw bone, that the blow was inflicted with a large seasoned grapevine, that the severity of the wound was so great as to prevent him from quite reaching the Winchester Barracks. ... The blow was so hard that he has lost a part of his jawbone which proceeded from the before mentioned blow, and has suffered much from it.”⁸⁴

Having spent the night in the middle of a forest, the troops continued on Route 50 to Ashby’s Gap and waded across a “very cold” Shenandoah River on 4 November.⁸⁵ Having marched almost 240 miles the prisoners reached Winchester on 5 November, “a small town of about 300 houses, among them a Court House and two churches with spires, three Mennonite temples and a Quaker Meeting-House”. The following day Joseph Holmes, Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners informed Davies that “the number of Prisms is about 21 hundred, exclusive of 40 officers.”⁸⁶



Andreas Wiederholdt, “Plan of the Town of Winchester in Frederick County, Virginia, 1777”. Dewey ms 973.3 R723.3 Rare Book and MS Library, University of Pennsylvania. Wiederholdt was captured at Trenton and spent 23 days in Winchester in September 1777.



Wiederholdt map with current street pattern superimposed on the map. The map can be found at <http://jimmoyer1.wix.com/fortloudounva#!projects/c1vw1>

Popp was aghast at what he saw. In the woods about four miles outside Winchester

"There was an old tumbledown barracks, called Frederick's Barracks. It lies in the midst of deep woods. There we were quartered. We were amazed when we saw it. My flesh creeps yet to think of it. I will describe it briefly. It was built of wood. The gaps were now filled in with laths, but everything was wrecked. Yes, everything was extremely rotted. The roof was still covered in some places with bark. We were not safe from the rain nor the dripping. The snow had free entry, just like the wind on the public street. The fireplace was in the middle of the hut. We couldn't remain near it, because of the smoke. We were therefore under the necessity of renovating our appointed hut in the worst winter weather. If only we could have a little protection against the rain. Some of our people went to the farmers and borrowed mattocks and saws. Some got picks and shovels, and so everybody went to work." ⁸⁷

There was not enough lodging for them and so “About 1000 of the Prisoners are oblig’d to camp out.” But not for long: Popp recorded that after “several days” they had made “things quite comfortable. In each hut there were 32 to 36 men.”

As the remaining prisoners were divided according to their destinations at Fairfax Courthouse, the men assigned to Frederick departed their campsite on King Street/VA-SR 7 to Leesburg and continued on to Lucketts on VA-SR 15. Here they took Lucketts Road/VA-SR 662 to Noland's Ferry Road/VA-SR 660 to Noland's Ferry where they crossed the Potomac into Maryland.

Pension applications submitted by militiamen in the 1830s confirm this scenario though few went as far out of their way guarding the prisoners as William Hall (S16859):

" After his discharge the Governor [of Virginia] as he understood issued a proclamation, proclaiming that any person who would assist in guarding the prisoners from Little York to Noland's Ferry on the Potomac [River] should be considered to have rendered service equal to 3 months tour of duty. This service he performed as one of the guard and marched by Hanover court house & Fredericksburg to the Ferry under the command of Captain Roberts, the Colonel not recollected, continued in the service, or engaged from the time of his discharge until about the middle of December following before he reached his place of residence in Caswell County North Carolina."



Winchester

Route 50

Noland's Ferry

Route 7

Alexandria

William Berry, also of Loudon County (W5794) testified that he too had participated in

“The capture of Cornwallis thence to guard the British prisoners to Leesburg in Loudon County Virginia thence guarding said prisoners to Nolin's ferry on Potomac River the prisoners then given up to the Maryland troops then discharged and went home to Loudon County Va which was then the place of residence this tour lasted three months”.

Joseph Power/Powers (W9235) stated in 1832

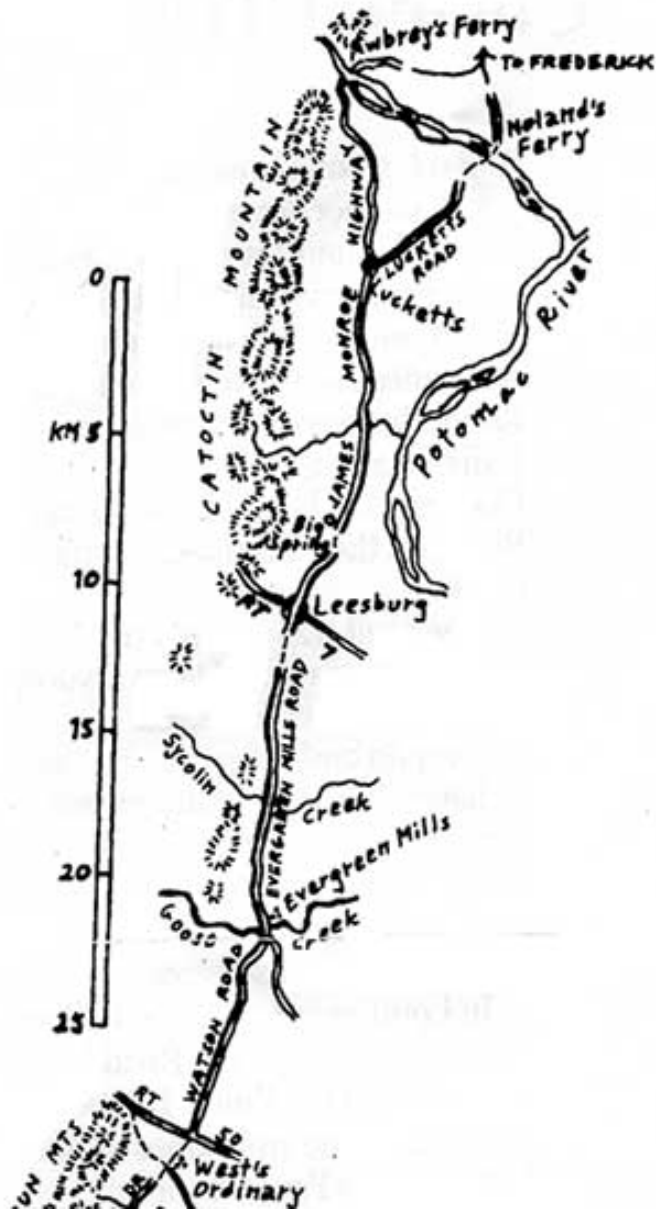
“that many of the prisoners were sent up to Fredericktown Maryland by way of Loudoun County Virginia that his Company (he being with it) was sent as a guard that far on the way to wit Nolin's ferry on the Potomac River on the road from Leesburg to Fredericktown Maryland where they were to assist in crossing the prisoners & baggage that after a heavy and slow march they arrived at Nolin's ferry Said ferry, that he assisted in crossing the troops, prisoners, baggage &c that it was dark, or about twilight in the evening when they finish crossing the prisoners, &c over. The troops going on, being sufficient there once over the River, to go on to Fredericktown, And they were all there (at Nolin's ferry) discharge, that evening, And he returned home to his father's that same night. This discharge &c was sometime in the month of November. The distance from York to Nolin's ferry by the route they traveled was about 180 miles (then called) and they were expressly directed to guard the prisoners at that point (ferry)”.

His brother Thomas also testified for Joseph Powers and declared that

“The prisoners came in our neighborhood on a Saturday & stopped to layover for Sunday & Joseph came home on Saturday (& told us about the siege & surrender) many of the neighbors went on Saturday to see the prisoners but Joseph had to go back early on Monday morning & [indecipherable], to guard the prisoners on to Nolin's ferry & help them over the River & returned that on the next night late in the night I knew he was at home early in the morning ... I knew that on the Saturday evening he left the prisoners & came home he went to a corn shucking”.

The distance from Fairfax County Court House to Noland's Ferry is about 40 miles. The prisoners had reached the Court House on Friday, 2 November, the “Saturday” mentioned

in these applications was 3 November 1781. The location of the camp on 2/3 November is unknown but was probably along Goose Creek where the men and their animals would have found sufficient supply of water. Following a day of rest on Sunday, 3 November, the prisoners marched through Leesburg, a small village of fewer than 500 residents and a few dozen houses founded in October 1758. Here they entered the Carolina Road.⁸⁸



Detail of a map of the Carolina Road (which follows or parallels VA-SR 15) from “The History of Loudon County” at <http://www.loudounhistory.org/history/carolina-road.htm>.

The northern terminus of the road, often derisively called “Rogues Road”, was Frederick, Maryland. Mr. Noland too seems to have been one of the “rogues” who inhabited this remote neighborhood. Noland's Ferry had originally been licensed by Ebenezer Floyd in 1742, but Philip Noland took over the ferry around 1754; it was operating by 1756. Noland was the son-in-law of Francis Aubrey (died 1741), who had licensed a very early Potomac ferry operation at the base of Conoy Island, two miles upstream, in 1735. In 1781 the ferry was operated by his son Thomas Noland. Once across the Potomac they stayed on Noland's Ferry road to MD-SR 28/Tuscarora Road to 85/Buckeystown Pike to the Barracks on South Market Street. After another day's march of about 12 miles from the ferry site they marched into Frederick on Tuesday, 5 November and put up their gear in the barracks.



Detail from *Maryland und Delaware*. Entworfen von D. F. Sotzmann (Hamburg, 1797)

About two weeks later, on 23 November 1781, Colonel Skinner informed Washington from Baltimore that

“In obedience to your Excellency’s commands I have visited the Posts of Winchester Fort Frederick, and Frederick Town at which places it was intended the Prisoner taken at the Surrender of York and Gloucester should be confined, and have made such arrangements respecting them as I hope will merit your approbation.

There are at Winchester about 2400 and at Frederick Town about 1400 Rank and file present: accurate Returns of whom shall be furnished Your Excellency on my arrival at Philad^a.

I am Sorry to inform you Sir, that a very great Number of those Prisoners have Escaped on their March from York and Gloucester and that the Lieutenant of the County of Frederick whom the Governor of Maryland directed to furnish the Guard, has without the least Authority permitted 200 of them to go into different parts of the Country in such a way that I fear we never shall collect them – I have put a Stop to his proceedings and Col^o Rawlings who is my Deputy in that quarter will do every thing he can to secure them.

Upon examination I found that the Situation of the Barracks at Fort Frederick was insufficient for the reception of the prisoners – indeed they are almost totally destroyed and cannot be repaired unless at a great expense, neither can provisions be furnished for it so conveniently as at Frederick Town where I have got them into convenient Barracks around which a Stockade is erecting that will effectually secure them and lessen the duty of the Guard – we have also provisions at that Post of Beef & Flour for about Six Weeks.

The Prisoners at Winchester are also tolerably well Supplied, but complain of the badness of their Quarters which I have directed to be repaired and extended for their reception.”

Skinner’s numbers indicate that since 5 November, when Holmes had estimated “the number of Prisers” in Winchester” at about 21 hundred,” a few hundred stragglers had arrived in town, just like in Frederick, where Moses Rawlings, Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners in Frederick Town estimated in a letter to Governor Lee of 21 November, that “The number of Prisoners at this post is about 1500. ... Colonel Skinner Commy General of Prisoners who will have the Honour to deliver this, can give you the particulars respecting the Prisoners.”

Where is the rest? Independent of whether there were 1,400 or 1,500 prisoners in Frederick: together with the 2,400 in Winchester the number of 3,900 was still at least 2,800 prisoners short of the 6,700 prisoners that should have been in these two camps

once the prisoners marched to Fredericksburg by Colonel West from Gloucester are added. The answer is simply that nobody knew where the prisoners were: if Baltimore – fifty miles north of Alexandria - was the northern “terminus” of where Yorktown prisoners were roaming by the end of 1781, the southern termini were Gloucester and Williamsburg: by 17 November “Upwards of one hundred” lay in the former capital while around 500 were left in Gloucester to fend for themselves. They were “left without a guard & without proper provision being made for their accommodation and support’ – those in health are strolling about and making their escape: the sick suffering for many things.”⁸⁹

Nevertheless Skinner’s letter points out some of the causes for this discrepancy in numbers: “A very great Number of those Prisoners have Escaped on their March from York and Gloucester and that the Lieutenant of the County of Frederick whom the Governor of Maryland directed to furnish the Guard, has without the least Authority permitted 200 of them to go into different parts of the Country.” Of the 2,924 prisoners initially assigned to (Fort) Frederick, hundreds mostly British troops, had either deserted or were either officially quartered or left behind along the way in places such as Fredericksburg, Virginia or Alexandria. Johann Conrad Döhla recorded that 600 British soldiers stayed behind in Fredericksburg, which would have reduced the number of arrivals in Frederick to around 2,000. Though he wrote that during their stay at Fairfax County Court House “einige 100 Mann Gefangene – a few hundred men prisoners from among the British troops” remained behind as well.⁹⁰

Some also took the opportunity to leave the colors along the way, often it seems with the knowledge of their officers. On 15 December Thomas Lomax wrote to Governor Harrison of Virginia from Caroline County “that there are between 50&100 of the British Prisoners in this County, who have hired themselves into different Families, and have no Doubt, but it is the case in other Counties through which they marched.”⁹¹ Lomax was correct: while marching through Falmouth on the way to Fairfax County on 1 November 1781, Döhla recorded that “Private Hassfurther of the Company Quesnoy remained behind and began to work as a journeyman for a German shoemaker.”⁹²

Some had found themselves a wife. Testifying in support of his brother Joseph, Thomas Powers of Loudon County (W9235) in 1832

“recollects the Sabbath the prisoners were in the neighborhood (3 November 1781) from the fact also, that one of the women in the neighborhood who had had several bastard children went up to see the prisoners, also, and one of them a Dutchman asked her if he might get on behind her & she said yes & done so. And the officers said he might go

& discharged him (at least this was the general understanding). I know that they were married and lived in the neighborhood until I left that Country in the year 1793, with Joseph Powers, we having come out to this Country together. And I have heard that Dutchman sing many a song and never shall forget him when & where he got his wife."

Others yet returned to their families now that the unpleasant interlude of the siege of Yorktown was over. On 20 February 1782, Hugh Rose, County Lieutenant of Amherst County, told Governor Harrison that he had received Harrison's "Proclamation requiring the apprehension of the British Prisoner" but was reluctant to carry out its requirements. Many of the (escaped) prisoners in his county had been captured at Cowpens on 17 January 1781 already and had lived in his county, "during which time they found Connections by marriage and otherways which rendered their Return to

their several Corpsso extremely disagreeable, that I am convinced had our Laws permitted their Denization, they woud most cbeartfully have become good & faithful Subjects to this Common-wealth, but the case being otherwise & Retaliation upon that score inadmissable, they were exchanged, were captured at York & as soon an opportunity offerd made their escape to this County & immediately as upon the former occasion applied to me for Protection, which I readily granted, untill I cou'd procure a permit from the Executive; this I expected very shortly shortly to have obtained, as I was to set out for Richmond in a few Days; but unluckily I arrived there during the inter-regnum, which prevented me from making personal application."

The number of prisoners who had returned to Amherst County so far was small, Rose knew of only eight prisoners, "two of them are Germans, for whom Colo: Sam: Cabell gave a Rec't to their officer."⁹³

The desire of prisoners to become American citizens is frequently mentioned in the correspondence of County Lieutenants. Colonel George Skillern of Botetourt County told Davies on 16 March that "'many of these men are in the County, and upon being arrested and brought before him, had produced Certificates of their having taken the Oath of Allegiance to the State,' have paid taxes, and behaved as good citizens. Others who have friends in the County seem desirous to "become subjects."⁹⁴ On 2 May 1782, Colonel Baylor Hill of King and Queen County informed Colonel Davies that "James Drummond, a British

prisoner wounded and taken at York, unable to march, as appears by Surgeon's certificate, declares his desire to remain in this country and is 'an exceeding good shoemaker.'"95

Many more, however, left to their own devices, unwilling to return to the British colors, abandoned by their captors were roaming the countryside and eventually congregated in cities such as Baltimore. On 13 December 1781, the Governor Lee and his council wrote to Andrew Buchanan, County Lieutenant of Baltimore that

"We are informed that a very great Number of British, German and others who are Prisoners of War, taken at York, are at this Time in Baltimore, passing and repassing in perfect Security. We conceive the Interest of the Continent and this State in particular, injured, in permitting these People to be at large; by securing and confining them, we may relieve, by Exchange, many of our truly deserving and distressed Countrymen from the loathsome Prison Ships and Gaols of the Enemy; We must Therefore request you to examine particularly into the Subject and give the necessary Orders for their being secured and sent under Guard to Frederick Town to be delivered to Colo Rawlings."

These were mostly men who had deserted the colors; sometimes, however, the captors simply abandoned or dropped off their wards and continued on their journies. On 4 November, Colonel John Syme informed Davies from New Castle "that Col^o Edmonds, in charge of prisoners from York had left two hundred & forty of them disabled, in the County, with orders to him to furnish a guard over them to Winchester."⁹⁶ This he was unable to and so the prisoner were left to their own devices. This in turn led to complaints a few days later that "a considerable number of British prisoners lately captured at York, are roving at large about the County of Hanover, to the great prejudice and annoyance of the citizens."⁹⁷ On 15 November, Foster Crutchfield told Syme that there were exactly "157 men – they are part of the last division that passed, but how they came to be left, I can't inform you. most of them are hearty Fellows, and able to march – there is no officer with them nor no guard. So they are rambling all over the neighborhood and I do expect many of them will get off."⁹⁸ As if that were not enough, a few days later "some French officers" appeared with "a party of British Prisoners" in New Castle and "left them there. They are now at that place, about two hundred in number – In regard to their behavior, he has heard of no complaints against them" but something should be done since they "pass without guards over them."⁹⁹

Locals were willing to provide "the guard" if necessary. From King and Queen County Sherriff William Griffin reported on 22 February that "He has been employing four of the prisoners left sick on the road, on their march from "Gloster Town" without protection or

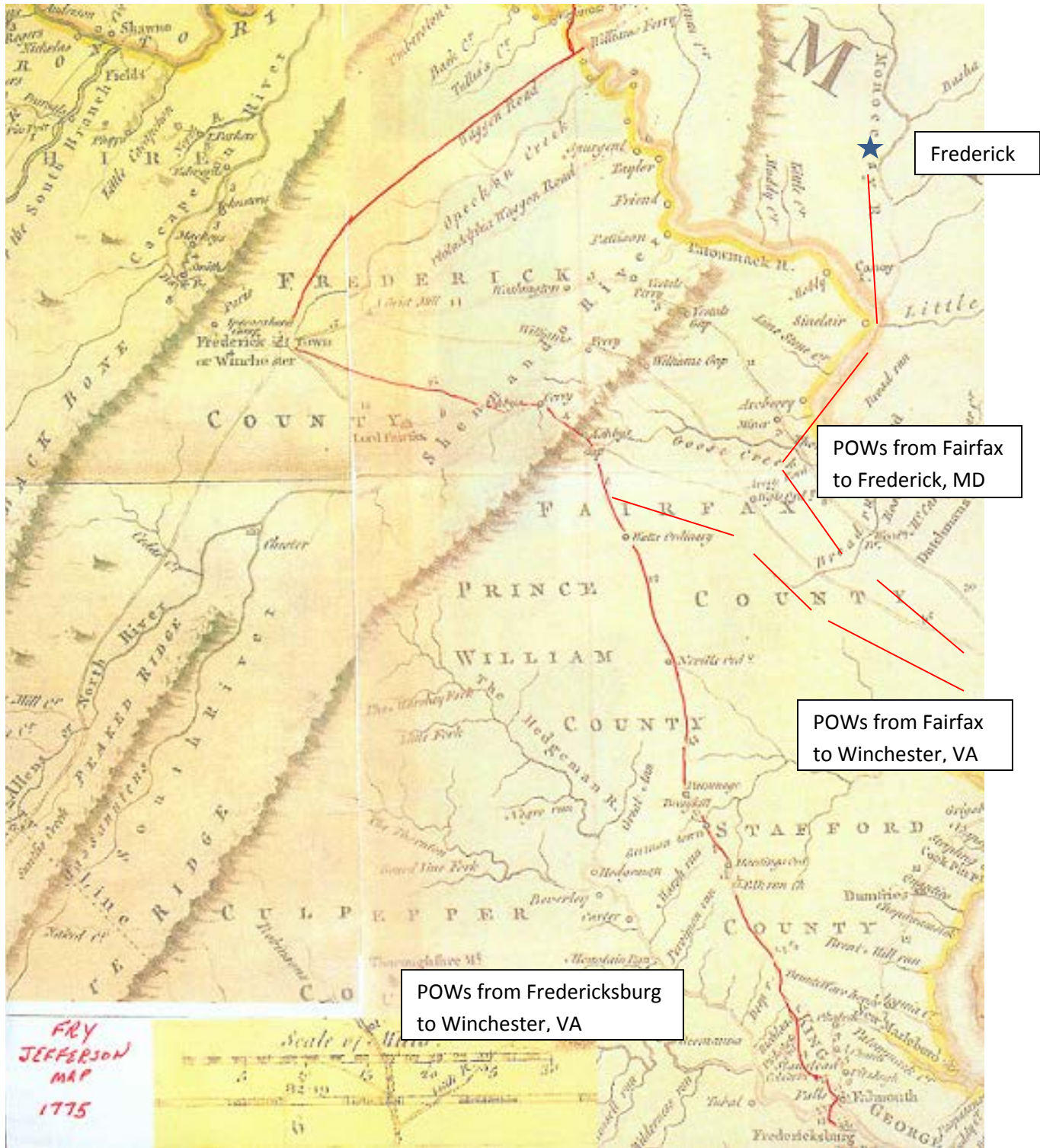
care of any sort. After getting them well he set them to work and shall be glad to keep them ... 'those men are good mechanicks, consequently very useful men to our Society cheap Laborers & very Orderly well behaved men.'" Griffin was not alone in putting prisoners to work for him. On 8 December, Joseph Holmes wrote to Governor Harrison that "a number of British Pris'rs of War lately captured at York Town are now straggling about in several Counties within this State" and that the Lieutenant of Gloucester County "has got a number himself at work, and permits others to employ them" as well.¹⁰⁰

One of those counties was King and Queen just north of Gloucester. Washington as well as Virginia authorities were anxious to move the prisoners out of Gloucester into the interior. But many of them were forced to begin their march before they were ready and dropped out along the way. On 8 December Lyme informed Davies that there were "one hundred and eighty nine British Prisoners" about one third of the 610 who had arrived there on 16 November, were still "left at Todd's Bridge" under a small guard commanded by a sergeant from the 2d Maryland Regiment. Others lay at Ayletts. Many of them were still there in early January and could not be moved for lack of wagons.¹⁰¹

That Washington's orders and instructions were occasionally adjusted to local needs and preferences only added to the confusion. James Wornell (W2892), a militiaman from Loudon County, remembered that following the British surrender he escorted

"some prisoners, including some called the Queen's Rangers and Tarlton's Horse to Noland's ferry on the Potomac River, where our Capt. was discharged, and I received my discharge from him after I returned home. ... In this last tour I performed the duties of Sergeant, I was informed that the prisoners were taken from Noland's ferry to Frederick Town in the State of Maryland."

The Queens Rangers, listed as 248 strong on 25 October and even more so Tarleton's British Legion, listed as 192 men strong, were so well known and so thoroughly hated by most Virginians that it is unlikely that Wornell would have confused them with other mounted troops (of which there were none). More importantly, the Queens Rangers had been assigned to Winchester rather than to (Fort) Frederick, yet a march to Noland's Ferry clearly put them on the road to Frederick.



Route of the prisoners and their guards from Fredericksburg/Falmouth to Winchester on VA-SR 17 to VA-SR 50, where they turned north-west to Ashby's Gap and crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains. Following the wagon route the German prisoners marched to camps in Pennsylvania in December.

On 4 November, barely two weeks after the British army had marched out of Yorktown, de Grasse' fleet carrying the marquis de St. Simon's forces sailed out of Lynnhaven Bay for Fort Royal on Martinique. The Continental Army was winding down its presence in Yorktown as well. Colonel McDowell's Pennsylvania Regiment as well as the Maryland Regiments and the 85 recruits for the Delaware Regiment had marched to join Nathanael Greene in North Carolina and the rest of the Continental Army that had accompanied Washington to Virginia was on its way north as well. Just as quickly as allied forces had converged on Yorktown in mid-September they dispersed again barely six weeks later.

Except for a small group of about 85 Delaware recruits, the same units, i.e., the 1st New Jersey, 2nd New Jersey, 1st New York, 2nd New York, 1st Rhode Island, Hazen's Canadians, all made the return march in November and December 1781. Many of them, i.e., Lamb's Artillery, the Light Infantry, Joseph Plumb Martin's Corps of Sappers and Miners, and the Corps of Artificers traveled north on water. Primary sources for the reconstruction of the marches of the five infantry regiments that made the march north from Yorktown in 1781, i.e. the 1st New Jersey, 2nd New Jersey, Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment, 1st Rhode Island, 1st New York, and 2nd New York, are extremely rare: the letters by Philip Van Cortlandt, colonel of the 2d New York and the diary of Samuel Tallmadge of the same unit constitute the only primary sources by participants for their return march.¹⁰²

Since the 2d New York was the only Continental Army unit to accompany prisoners to the north, Tallmadge's diary is of unique importance for this report. On 3 November Washington had informed Thomas Durie that "the American Troops destined to the Northward, except the 2d N York Regt. who march with prisoners by Land, have all embarked, with their Stores."¹⁰³ That day, the 2d New York had received 460 convalescent prisoners as Washington wrote to Brigadier to George Weedon:

"Sir: Four hundred and Sixty british and German Convalescent prisoners marched this day under escort of Cortlands New York Regiment, for Fredericksburg, where they are to remain until sufficiently recruited to join their respective Corps. You will be pleased therefore Sir immediately to make the necessary dispositions for the reception of the said prisoners, and for relieving Colonel Cortland with a sufficient Militia Guard.

I have written to the Governor both relating to those & the remaining Invalids in the British Hospital at York who are likewise to be removed to Fredericksburg. Arrangements may be made to this object, and for marching the prisoners under proper Escorts to their Corps, as soon as their health will permit."

At 5:00 a.m. the next day, 4 November 1781, the regiment set out for Fredericksburg where it handed its prisoners "to an officer of the Virginia militia".¹⁰⁴ "An Estimate of money wanting to Supply thirteen Hundred British Sick and wounded & Two Hundred Guards for one month ~ to be Stationd at Fredsbg" dated 20 November 1781, and signed by Pickering and Richard Young gives these expenses with a note at the bottom of the estimate signed by Young stating that "The above men are Supposed to Stay here Two months."

1500 men	200 Cord wood at 12/~	£ 120 ~ 0
Ditto	60 Load of Straw at 30/~	90 ~ 0
Repairing Barracks &c		30 ~ 0
Four Labourers 1 month		18 ~ 0
5 waggons one month at 10/ pr day		75 ~ 0
Assistants pay &c		<u>54 ~ 0</u>

Virg.^a Cur.^y £ 387 ~ 0 1290 Dollars¹⁰⁵

Those 1,300 sick and wounded in Fredericksburg were made up of the roughly 450 prisoners that the 2d New York had up marched from Yorktown, the 600 men Döhla reports as having been left behind plus around 250 more who one way or another had found their way there. But with around 1,500 prisoners in Frederick and 2,400 in Winchester and another 1,300 in Fredericksburg and "upward of 500" sick and wounded still in Gloucester, maybe 200 at Todd's Bridge and around 100 in Williamsburg, close to 1,000 prisoners were still unaccounted for somewhere between Baltimore and Yorktown.

That was of no concern to the 2d New York, which crossed the Potomac to Alexandria on 16 November. On 26 December Lee informed Colonel Thomas that orders had been issued

"from the Minister of War to remove all the British Troops from Frederick, to York and Lancaster in Pennsylvania, and to apply for a Guard of Militia and Teams from this State, to escort them with their Baggage, to those Places, where they will be relieved by a Continental Regiment. We some Time ago ordered one hundred Militia from Baltimore and fifty from Montgomery which we suppose are arrived at Frederick Town; we request you to order them and as many more of the Militia now on Duty, as will be sufficient to guard the Prisoners. If Teams cannot be procured on Hire, we would have you impress them, and hereby authorize and empower you to impress as Teams, Horses and Drivers as may be necessary for the Prisoners and the Guard. We hope the Guard and Teams will be furnished without Delay, that the Prisoners may be immediately marched."

It was on 25 January 1782, three months after their arrival in Winchester, that Popp and his fellow prisoners began their march to Frederick in Maryland where they arrived on 31 January 1782. The next day, 1 February, the English prisoners received orders to march on to Lancaster in Pennsylvania, leaving only German prisoners of war in Frederick. A few days later, on 26 February 1782, Joseph Carleton sent Tench Tilghman a "Return on Prisoners". It listed a total of 4,255 prisoners in Winchester, Frederick, York and Lancaster and carried the caveat that "The above return is by no means accurate but it is the best that can be furnished from the materials in this office; the Prisoners left on the Road by Colonel North are very considerable and when sent forward to the places of confinement will naturally increase the numbers at these Places, perhaps to the extent of one thousand – the number even then will be far short of what we ought to have in our custody." Carleton was correct: even accounting for 200 deaths since 19 October 1781 and with 1,000 stragglers knocking on the gates of the prisoner of war camps he needed to get information on at least 500 more stragglers until he would be able to file an "accurate" return.

Place where	State	British	German
Winchester	Virginia	500	—
Frederick Town	Maryland	225	974
York Town	Pennsylvania	693	—
Lancaster	Pa.	1863	British & Provincials
Reading	Pa.	—	857
Philadelphia	Pa.	415	160
		3696	1091

At the end of the war in April 1783, about 6,000 British prisoners were still in American hands, roughly 4,000 of them since Yorktown. On Friday, 13 May 1783, the German regiments left Frederick and marched to York, Lancaster, Philadelphia, Trenton and Princeton before reaching New York City on 24 May. About two weeks later the British prisoners from York and Lancaster joined about 17,300 "Hessians" for the journey home in August. Some 1,200 of the 12,000 who did not return had been killed in action, 6,300 had died of other causes, but 5,000 had found a new home amongst their former enemies.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

This “Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) in Maryland, focusing on the Contributions of the Eastern Shore to the Victory at Yorktown and the Role of Western Maryland in the Yorktown Campaign” focuses on some of the lesser-known aspect and contributions of Maryland to American victory in the War of Independence. In doing so, however, it points out and delineates the vast geographical area in Maryland affected by the war. From Head of Elk in the north to Bladensburg in the south, from Rock Hall on the Eastern Shore to Fredericksburg in the far western reaches of the state there were few areas that were not impacted. Yet that also means that there were few areas that did not contribute to the war effort, be that by providing men and material, supplying cattle and wagons, ships and flour, by transporting goods or by housing prisoners – the possibilities of contributing to the war and to victory are many.

This study is the fourth of a series of reports that lay the groundwork for the State of Maryland to participate fully in the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail as a unit of the U.S. National Park system. As always it is my great pleasure to thank the many people who provided funding and who helped me in compiling this report. I am very grateful to Ms Marilyn Benaderet, Director of Preservation Services, Preservation Maryland for approving a grant almost two years to fund this project. As always Ms Ellen von Karajan of The Preservation Society in Baltimore kindly agreed to again act as grant administrator. Mr David L. Smith became our most knowledgeable tour guide as we traced the route of Tench Tilghman from Annapolis to Christian. Last but not least Mr. Robert E. Reyes once again spent many an hour with me driving not so much the high-ways as the beautiful by-ways of Maryland sharing his vast knowledge of Maryland’s history with me.

Thank you all.

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

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.

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).

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 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.

¹⁴ *The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799*. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., 3 vols., (Boston and New York, 1925), vol. 2, p. 254. Washington's letter to Lafayette is printed in *The Writings of George Washington* John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., 39 vols., (Washington, DC, 1931-1944), vol. 22, p. 501-502.

¹⁵ NARA, Record Group M 853 reel 8, vol. 52, p. 124.

¹⁶ *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip von Cortlandt* Jacob Judd, ed., (Tarrytown, 1976), p. 167.

¹⁷ Clermont-Crèvecoeur wrote that “only the grenadiers and chasseurs with eight 12-pounders, six mortars and two 4-pounders were embarked, and it was decided that the rest of the army would push on to Baltimore where enough boats could be found to transport them.” Clermont-Crèvecoeur, *Journal*, p. 52.

¹⁸ The route of the New York regiments can be traced via the journal of Samuel Tallmadge in Almon W. Lauber, ed. *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York and Second New York Regiments, 1778-1783....*, (Albany, 1932), pp. 760-762.

¹⁹ Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress.

²⁰ Jane W. Williams, *Annapolis, City on the Severn: A History* (Baltimore, 2011), p. 92. Depending on location and time period between 30% and 45% of the population in Ann Arundel County were slaves before the revolution. *Ibid.*, p. 40

²¹ Quoted from <http://www.kentcountyhistory.org/key/revolutionary.php>

²² Unless otherwise noted all correspondence connected with supplying allied forces is quoted from the on-line edition of volumes 45 and 47 of the Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1781 at <http://msa.maryland.gov/>.

²³ The “Fifth Quarter” of cattle or sheep are all parts other than beef or offal, e.g. head, tail, hide, horns, hoofs, fat, tallow, tongue, heart, liver etc.

²⁴ Another 84 soldiers had been captured in Redoubts 9 and 10 on 14 October bringing the total to 7,171 rank and file. 80 camp-followers surrendered as well. Jerome A. Greene, *The Guns of Independence. The Siege of Yorktown, 1781* (New York, 2005), p. 308.

²⁵ The return marches of the Continental and French armies will be covered in the larger, state-wide report on the W3R in the State of Maryland. For a discussion of the route of the Yorktown prisoners see last part of this report; the POW camps at Fort Frederick will be discussed in the state-wide report scheduled for completion at the end of 2014.

²⁶ "'The Drumbeats to Arms. ...' Two Letters from Yorktown and a Missing Map." *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* vol. 31 no. 3 (1970), pp. 209-213, p. 213.

²⁷ Concurrently the surrender ceremony was repeated across the river when about 1,100 Englishmen, Scots, Welsh, Germans and American Loyalists filed out of Gloucester Point and grounded their arms in front of "100 of Lauzun's men and 200 men from the American militia." Joachim DuPerron, *comte de Revel*, a sub-lieutenant in the Monsieur Regiment of Infantry who had come from the Caribbean with de Grasse and who was stationed in Gloucester also recorded how the British "were vexed to deliver them to the Americans, for whom they showed great scorn; they called our soldiers and presented them with their guns." They were forced to surrender to the Americans. Joachim DuPerron, *Journal Particulier D'Une Campagne Aux Indes Occidentales (1781 1782)* (Paris, 1898), p. 168.

²⁸ Ebenezer Denny, "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny." *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* vol. 7 (1860), p. 245.

²⁹ *Pennsylvania Packet* (Philadelphia), 13 November 1781.

³⁰ By 1700, most of Continental Europe with the notable exception of Russia was following the Gregorian or "New Style" Calendar which had come into force initially in Catholic states only when Thursday, 4 October 1582 was followed by Friday, 15 October 1582 and 1 January as the beginning of the New Year rather than the Julian or "Old Style" Calendar. Hanover/Brunswick had adopted the New Style on 19 February 1700 (Old Style), skipping the rest of the month and continuing with 1 March 1701 (New Style), thus avoiding the added confusion of the year 1700 being a leap-year in the Julian Calendar but not in the Gregorian Calendar. Britain and her overseas possessions, which due to the leap year was 11 days behind most of the Continent after 1 March 1700 (O.S.), continued to use the Julian Calendar with 25 March O.S. (= 6 April N.S.) as the first day of the New Year until 1751, which ended after a short 282 days on 31 December 1751. The year 1752, which began on 1 January, was however also 11 days shorter since in order to align the Julian with the Gregorian Calendar, Wednesday, 2 September was followed by Thursday, 14 September 1752. 6 April however is still the first day of the fiscal year in Great Britain.

³¹ A good biography of Tilghman is L. G. Shreve, *Tench Tilghman: The Life and Times of Washington's Aide-de-camp*. (Centreville, Md., 1982).

³² Unless otherwise noted all correspondence to and from George Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress available at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>, search by date.

McKean resigned as President of the Continental Congress on 23 October; his resignation was accepted, but on 24 October Congress asked McKean to "act as President till the first Monday in November next; the resolution of yesterday notwithstanding."

On Monday, 5 November 1781, the Congress elected John Hanson (1721-1783) of Maryland as the first president elected for a one-year term under the provisions of the

Articles of Confederation. The articles went into effect after Maryland had ratified them as the last of the 13 states on 22 February 1781.

³³ Christopher Colles, *Survey of the Roads of the United States of America*. Walter W. Ristow, ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1961), maps 51-55.

³⁴ The best discussion of dates, times and circumstances of the surrender can be found in Jerome A. Greene, *The Guns of Independence. The Siege of Yorktown, 1781* (New York, 2005); the time is discussed on pp. 294.

³⁵ "The Committee to whom the letter of Genl. Washington of the 19th. instant was, among other papers, referred, report the substance of a conference between them and Colo. Tilghman:

Colo. Tilghman having left the American Camp on the day succeeding the completion of the capitulation, could not render a precise answer to the several questions addressed to him. The information which he did give, was in general terms, and the Committee therefore report, that, as a more particular account may be soon expected nothing of the present communication should be noticed in the journal of Congress, or published. Your Committee have learnt from that gentleman, who principally relies upon information received from others, That altho' Count de Rochambeau is a party to the capitulation, he voted in the character of a general officer only: but that according to military rule, Count de Grease had the right of subscription.

- Article 1. That the number of seamen was not ascertained at the time of his departure, but is probably small--that the vessels amount to about 100 Sail, fifty of which may be called transports: that among the shipping, are the Guadaloupe, a frigate of 28 guns, and the Bonetta Sloop of War, with two or three other armed vessels: that most of them are sunk, but can easily be raised: that the prisoners taken on the 14th. instant are considered as in the disposal of the United States

- Article 2. That the quantity of Artillery was not known, but is probably small; the heavy ordnance being only one 24 pounder, and eighteen 18 pounders, which were taken from the Charon: that it is not known whether there are any spare arms: that there is no reason to believe that there is any military chest: that he was informed by Col: Blaine, that he had inventoried fifty bushels of salt, 600 barrels of beef and pork, 500 barrels of bread, 400 barrels of flour and 1300 gallons of rum.

- Article 3. That the destination of the prisoners was not ascertained, but will probably be at Winchester in Virginia, and Frederick-Town in Maryland--that the Cavalry amount to about 280 including the officers' horses: that their accoutrements are ordinary: that the enemy killed about 1000 horses upon the appearance of investment; and 22 Stands of Colors have been received from them under the capitulation.

- Article 4. That this article was intended to include slaves principally, it being supposed, that the lesser plunder would be secreted, or had probably been sent off; that 2000 negroes had perished in the garrison, and the number surviving was not great.
- Article 5. That the provisions to be furnished to the British prisoners, are to be accounted for by the enemy, upon a general settlement, altho' no special stipulation is made to that effect.
- Article 6. That the intelligence of Digby's expedition reached the Count de Grasse on the 16th instant: upon which he wrote to the General that he was obliged to take his marines amounting to 700, and the Marquis St. Simon's corps amounting to 3000 rank and file: that the loss of these men would have too much weakened the allied army, and the removal of the fleet dispirited them--that the balance of captive officers was considerably against the United States before the capitulation--that a cartel and tariff have been already adjusted between Genl. Washington and Sir H. Clinton, and that it might be injurious to the American cause to scatter the British officers throughout the country.
- Article 7. That this article is agreeable to military custom.
- Article 8. That altho' deserters or traitors might be covered under the garb of soldiers, the opportunity would have been as great upon sailors only being suffered to go in the Bonetta
- Article 9. That by traders are meant the mercantile followers of the army, who are not citizens of the United States.
- Article 10. That there are very few disaffected refugees in York, and this article was answered as it was, merely to shew the confidence to be placed in the British by tories.
- Article 11. That the enemy have in their hospitals about 2000 sick and wounded.
- Article 12. That there is no baggage of consequence.
- Articles 13 and 14 speak for themselves.
- Colo. Tilghman added, that it is supposed that Lord Cornwallis had not at the time of capitulation above six hours' ammunition. Quoted from [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc02176\)\):#N0308-424](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc02176)):#N0308-424):

³⁶ "The building was probably occupied as early as 1740. In 1750, Elizabeth Bennett sold the property to Horatio Middleton who operated the building as an "Inn for Seafaring Men." The nautical oriented Middleton also owned a ferry that linked Annapolis to the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay. Following the death of Horatio Middleton, the Tavern was operated by his widow, Anne, and later by his son, Samuel Middleton, who also continued to operate the ferry boats as well as an overseas trade operation and ship construction business - all from the Tavern site." <http://www.middletontavern.com/history.html>

³⁷ Quoted from the on-line edition of the *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1780-1781* vol. 45, page 651 at

<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000045/html/am45--651.html> .

In 1781, the Governor's Council consisted of John Hoskins Stone, Jeremiah Townly Chase, James Brice, Samuel Turbutt Wright, Benjamin Stoddert as well as Governor Lee.

³⁸ Quoted from the on-line edition of the *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1780-1781* vol. 45, page 651 at

<http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc2900/sc2908/000001/000045/html/am45--651.html> .

On 22 October, the Council included this brief note in a letter to Quarter Master John Bullen: "We have this Day received certain Information of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis and his whole Army." A brief announcement of "Cornwallis's surrender" was printed of 24 October 1781 issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

³⁹ The letter is in the *Papers of The Continental Congress* no. 70, fol. 495 and accessible on-line at <http://www.fold3.com/image/246/476767/>

⁴⁰ [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc02171\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc02171))):

⁴¹ Pitman (1751-1822) was an itinerant Methodist preacher who happened to be in Philadelphia at the time. His diary which covers the years from 15 April 1777 to 1 July 1783 is in the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, Mss 622, box 1 folder 3.

⁴² Jacob Cox Parsons, *Extracts From the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia 1765-1798* (Philadelphia, 1893), pp. 45/6.

⁴³ Boudinot also wrote a letter on 22 October to his daughter, Susan, concerning her health and happiness and informing her that: "We expect the official Confirmation of the glorious News of Cornwallis's Surrender on the 17th Instt. To morrow, when we are to go in Procession, attended by the Counsel, Assembly, Minister of France &c &c to Church to return publick Thanks to almighty Cod for his special Favour in the capture of his Lordship & the british Army-after which there will be great doings here."

http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?hlaw:5:/temp/~ammem_z0Lv::

⁴⁴ [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(dg018156\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(dg018156))):

⁴⁵ Repr. In *Magazine of American History: With Notes and Queries*, Volumes 7 (July 1881), pp. 448-49.

⁴⁶ [http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field\(DOCID+@lit\(jc02173\)\)](http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/hlaw:@field(DOCID+@lit(jc02173))):

⁴⁷ Upon his marriage in 1761 Hiltzheimer moved to a house at the corner of Seventh and High (=Market) Streets. His diary from 1765 to 1798 (with interruptions) consists of 28 volumes. The quote is from Hiltzheimer, *Diary*, p. 45.

⁴⁸ Hiltzheimer, *Diary*, p. 46. An account of the victory celebration in Philadelphia appeared in the 1 November 1781 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet*.

⁴⁹ Trumbull Diary, Jonathan Trumbull Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT.

⁵⁰ Humphreys received his sword as well. On 7 November 1781 Congress “Resolved, That an elegant sword be presented, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, to Colonel Humphry, aid de camp of General Washington, to whose care the standards, taken under the capitulation of York were consigned, as a testimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability: and that the Board of War take order therein.”

⁵¹ Hiltzheimer, *Diary*, p. 46.

⁵² The text of this declaration stipulated that “That such Vessells and Effects, as should be taken, in the Channell and in the North Seas, after the Space of twelve Days, to be computed from the Ratification of the said Preliminary Articles should be restored on all Sides; that the Term should be one Month from the Channell and North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or the Mediterranean; two Months from the said Canary Islands, as far as the Equinoctial Line, or Equator, and lastly five Months in all other Parts of the World, without any Exception or any other more particular Description of Time or Place.” The ratification of the declaration was predated to 3 February 1783, giving the British until 3 July 1783, to continue capturing enemy vessels south of the equator but ending the war on 4 July 1783, seven years to the day that the Declaration of Independence had been signed.

⁵³ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745–1799* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1937), vol. 22, p. 143.

⁵⁴ Lafayette to Washington, 20 July 1781. Stanley Idzerda, ed., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution. Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790*. Volume IV: April 1, 1781-December 23, 1781. (Ithaca, 1981), p. 256. Unless otherwise noted all correspondence to and from Lafayette is quoted from this volume.

The by far best and most detailed analysis of Wayne’s rebuilding of the Pennsylvania Line and its march to Virginia are by John U. Rees, “Their presence Here ... Has Saved this State ...’: Continental Provisional Battalions with Lafayette in Virginia, 1781” published in four parts in *The Brigade Dispatch* from vol. XXXVI, no. 2 (Autumn 2006) to no. 1 (Spring 2008). They are available on-line at <http://www.scribd.com/doc/125409736/J-U-Rees-Article-List-Regimental-and-Battalion-Studies>

⁵⁵ Unless otherwise noted all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington papers in the Library of Congress available at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>, search by date.

⁵⁶ William Feltman and Joseph McClellan, "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line. May 26, 1781 – April 25, 1782," John Blair Linn and William H. Egle, *Pennsylvania in the War of the Revolution, Battalions and Line 1775–1783*, vol. II (Harrisburg, Pa., 1880), 677–727. This "Diary" includes the journals of both Captain Joseph McClellan (26 May 1781–13 June 1781) and Lieutenant William Feltman (26 May 1781–25 April 1782).

Feltman and McDowell are very similar in their entries, but Feltman remained with Wayne while McDowell returned north on 16 July, but marched south that October again.

⁵⁷ *Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny, an Officer in the Revolutionary and Indian Wars* (Philadelphia, 1859), p. 33-34.

⁵⁸ *Marching to Victory. Capt. Benjamin Bartholomew's Diary of the Yorktown Campaign May 1781 to March 1782*. Edited with an Introduction by E. Lee Shepard (Richmond, 2002), p. 7.

⁵⁹ Denny's information regarding the number of men tried and executed is incorrect. In actuality four men (Thomas Wilson, 1st Pa. Regt., Philip Smith, 2nd Regt., James Wilson, 3rd Regt., and John Fortescue, 6th Pa.) were convicted of mutiny and shot, and Samuel Franklin of the 1st Pennsylvania and artillery matross Thomas Croft pardoned for their crimes.

The 29 May 1781 *Pennsylvania Packet* reported "By a gentleman who left York Town Friday evening, we learn that four of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line were shot at that place on Tuesday last for mutiny. Six had been condemned and two of them pardoned by General Wayne. These men, each of them, at different times had behaved in a very disorderly and mutinous manner, discovering the most seditious temper and calling upon their fellow- soldiers of the several regiments to join them in their revolt. They found however no support from their comrades. The whole Line were drawn up under arms at the execution and behaved in a most orderly manner. A finer body of men never were collected. They were to have marched from that place on Wednesday, but were obstructed solely by the heavy rains. The men appear cheerful and happy without the least appearance of tumult or discontent."

⁶⁰ "John van Court. Manuscript diary of an officer of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, May 26, 1781-July 4, 1782." MS, Library of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

⁶¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 36 (1912), pp. 273-292.

⁶² "The Yorktown Campaign: Journal of Captain John Davis (1753-1827) of the 5th Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line" *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* V (1881), pp. 29-322, pp. 291-292.

⁶³ William McDowell, "Journal of Lieut. William McDowell of the First Penn'a. Regiment, in the Southern Campaign. 1781-1782", William H. Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15 (Harrisburg, 1890), pp. 297-311.

⁶⁴ *Orderly Book* Lt. Col. Gimat's Light Infantry Battalion, (LaFayette's and Muhlenberg's Light Infantry Brigade), 18 May 1781-30 Oct 1781, vol. 6R, American Revolution Collection, microfilm 79956, reel 3, frames 939-end; reel 4, frames 4-10, Series 6, Journals and Order Books, 1775-1782, frame 945, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.

⁶⁵ Joseph M. Beatty, ed., "Letters from Continental Officers to Doctor Reading Beatty, 1781-1788," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 54 (1930), pp. 155-174, pp. 160-161.

⁶⁶ Unless otherwise noted all correspondence to and from George Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>, search by date.

⁶⁷ Numbers of prisoners taken at Yorktown vary depending on the source; these numbers are taken from Jerome A. Greene, *The Guns of Independence. The Siege of Yorktown, 1781* (New York, 2005), p. 308.

⁶⁸ The most thorough discussion of the Yorktown prisoner marches is still James L. Carpenter, Jr. *The Yorktown Prisoners. A Narrative Account of the Disposition of the British Army which capitulated at Yorktown, October 19, 1781*. M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, (Williamsburg, 1950), the issue of paroled officers is discussed on pp. 37-47.

⁶⁹ Unless otherwise noted all images are taken from the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>.

⁷⁰ See P. Kirby Gull, "A Captor's Conundrum: The Management of German Prisoners After Yorktown, A Maryland Perspective." *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* 7, No. 3, (2003), pp. 34 -41, and "Hessians at Fort Frederick: A Story Revisited." *Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association* 8 (2005), pp. 45-50.

⁷¹ A discussion of the daily lives of the prisoners at their places of detention is not part of this report; the most recent analysis of the prisoner experience is Daniel Krebs, *A Generous and Merciful Enemy. Life for German Prisoners of War during the American Revolution*. (Norman, OK, 2013); the experience of the Yorktown prisoners on pp. 209 *et passim*.

⁷² *Monocacy National Battlefield: Cultural Resources Study* Paula Stoner Reed, Edith B. Wallace eds., (Washington, DC, 1999), pp. 21/22.

⁷³ The letter is indorsed, "Col. Hendricks is requested to give this the most speedy conveyance to Annapolis." "Alexandria 28th Oct. 7 o'C P. M. Rec'd & deliver'd Imediately. James Hendicks". Unless otherwise noted all correspondence to and from Maryland Governor Lee and his Council is quoted from the on-line edition of the *Journal and Correspondence of the Council of Maryland, 1781-1784* vol. 48; search by name and/or date.

⁷⁴ *Official Letters of the Governors of the State of Virginia: Vol. 3: The Letters of Thomas Nelson and Benjamin Harrison* H. R. McIlwaine, General Editor (Richmond, 1929); quoted in *Harry M. Ward, For Virginia and for Independence: Twenty-Eight Revolutionary War Soldiers from the Old Dominion* (Jefferson, NC, 2011), p. 117.

⁷⁵ *A Hessian Soldier in the American Revolution: The Diary of Stephan Popp* Reinhart J. Pope, transl. (n.p., 1953).

⁷⁶ Popp, *Diary*, p. 20.

⁷⁷ Johann Conrad Döhla, *Tagebuch eines Bayreuther Soldaten, des Johann Conrad Döhla aus dem Nordamerikanischen Freiheitskrieg von 1777 bis 1783* (Bayreuth, 1913).

⁷⁸ *A Hessian Officer's Diary of the American Revolution Translated from an Anonymous Ansbach-Bayreuth Diary As Originally Written by Johann Ernst Prechtel* Bruce E. Burgoyne, transl. and ed. (1994).

⁷⁹ *Memoir of General Graham with Notices of the Campaigns in which he was engaged from 1779-1801* (Edinburgh, 1862).

⁸⁰ Pension applications are quoted by name and applicant number in brackets. Originals of applications submitted following legislation establishing pensions for Revolutionary War Veterans in 1832 are available at www.fold3.com, transcripts of almost 19,000 pension applications (as of February 2014) as part of the "Southern Campaign Revolutionary War Pension Statements & Rosters" project can be found at <http://revwarapps.org/>. [Most of the quotes in this report are taken from this fully searchable sit.](#)

⁸¹ The Court House was moved to its current location on Chain Bridge Road in 1799.

⁸² As they approached Alexandria on VA-SR 611/Telegraph Road the prisoners would have passed the property on their left. The Cameron property was roughly bounded by Telegraph Road on the west, Mill Road on the East, Hunting Creek/I-95/495 in the south and the railroad to the north. The 3d and 4th Maryland Regiments had camped on the site in September 1781 on their way to Yorktown. In 1781, the Court House stood not quite two miles to the east at 301 King Street in Alexandria, today's City Hall and Market House.

⁸³ Graham, *Memoir*, p. 66.

⁸⁴ A fellow militiaman named Timothy Sisk testified that "he did not see the blow inflicted, but saw Jenkins directly after it was given, and understood the cause to be that of Jenkins' breaking the ranks to pull up a turnip out of a patch immediately upon the road. The circumstance was one of great notoriety in the whole Regiment. That Jenkins continued on to Winchester at which place he was discharged after the time for which we were drafted it being a 3 months tour of duty had expired". A note on the cover sheet of the application reads: "This man was sometime called Jaw Dick Jenkins."

⁸⁵ Graham wrote that the prisoners marched out of Yorktown on 20 October "in two divisions, escorted by regiments of militia or state troops; one took the direction of Maryland, the other, to which I belonged, moved to the westward in Virginia." Graham does not identify the names of any of the towns he marched through though on pp. 66/67 he recounts an interesting anecdote of his encounter with Mrs Ashley as he crossed "an opening or gap called Ashley's Gap."

⁸⁶ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from April 1, 1781, to December 31, 1781* vol. 2 (Richmond, 1881), p. 579.

⁸⁷ The exact location where the Hessian Barracks at Winchester once stood is unknown. See Lion G. Miles, "The Winchester Hessian Barracks." *Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society Journal* 3 (1988), p.35. Most historians place them somewhere west of Albin and north of Round Hill. See also Lewis N. Barton, *The Revolutionary Prisoners of War in*

Winchester and Frederick County, Men and Events of the Revolution in Winchester and Frederick County Virginia, Vol. IX, 1975. p. 46, and Marie Rasnick Fetzer, *The Hessian Barracks of the Revolutionary War at Winchester, Virginia and Frederick, Maryland from the German (Yorktown) Prisoner's [sic] of War Perspective* (n.p., n.d.), available as a pdf at www.rasnickfamily.org/thehessianbarracks.pdf.

⁸⁸ See the official website of Leesburg at <http://www.leesburgva.gov/index.aspx?page=527>

⁸⁹ State Papers vol. 2, p. 616. One of the best-known escapees is Sergeant Roger Lamb of the 23d Regiment of Royal Welsh Fusiliers. His *An Original and Authentic Journal of Occurrences During the Late American War, From Its Commencement to the Year 1783* was published in Dublin in 1809. Lamb escaped/walked away on 28 November on the "road which led to Fredericktown in Maryland. Lamb "had not travelled many miles when I overtook a serjeant of the list, and a drummer of the 23d-. I immediately began persuading them to venture with rue in attempting to escape." Ibid. pp. 389/90.

⁹⁰ Döhla, *Tagebuch*, p. 163.

⁹¹ State Papers vol. 2, p. 659.

⁹² Döhla, *Tagebuch*, p. 163.

⁹³ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784* vol. 3 (Richmond, 1883), p. 70.

⁹⁴ State Papers vol. 3, p. 100.

⁹⁵ State Papers vol. 3, p. 146.

⁹⁶ State Papers vol. 2, p. 577.

⁹⁷ State Papers vol. 2, p. 580.

⁹⁸ State Papers vol. 2, p. 601.

⁹⁹ State Papers vol. 2, p. 618.

¹⁰⁰ State Papers vol. 2, p. 624.

¹⁰¹ State Papers vol. 2, p. 645.

¹⁰² Almon W. Lauber, *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780. The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783 by Samuel Tallmadge and Others with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), pp. 759-760, and *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt*. Jacob Judd, ed., (New York, 1976).

¹⁰³ The detailed account of the movement of the sick and wounded from Yorktown and Gloucester is Carpenter, *Prisoners*, pp. 22-36: "The Evacuation of the Sick and Wounded."

¹⁰⁴ Cortlandt, *Memoir*, p. 65.

¹⁰⁵ National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC, Misc. Numbered Docs. 26633.

¹⁰⁶ Carpenter, *Prisoners*, p. 76/77, and Krebs, *Enemy*, p. 250.