

Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance  
for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail  
in the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area, Prince George’s County, Maryland



Final Report prepared  
by  
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for the  
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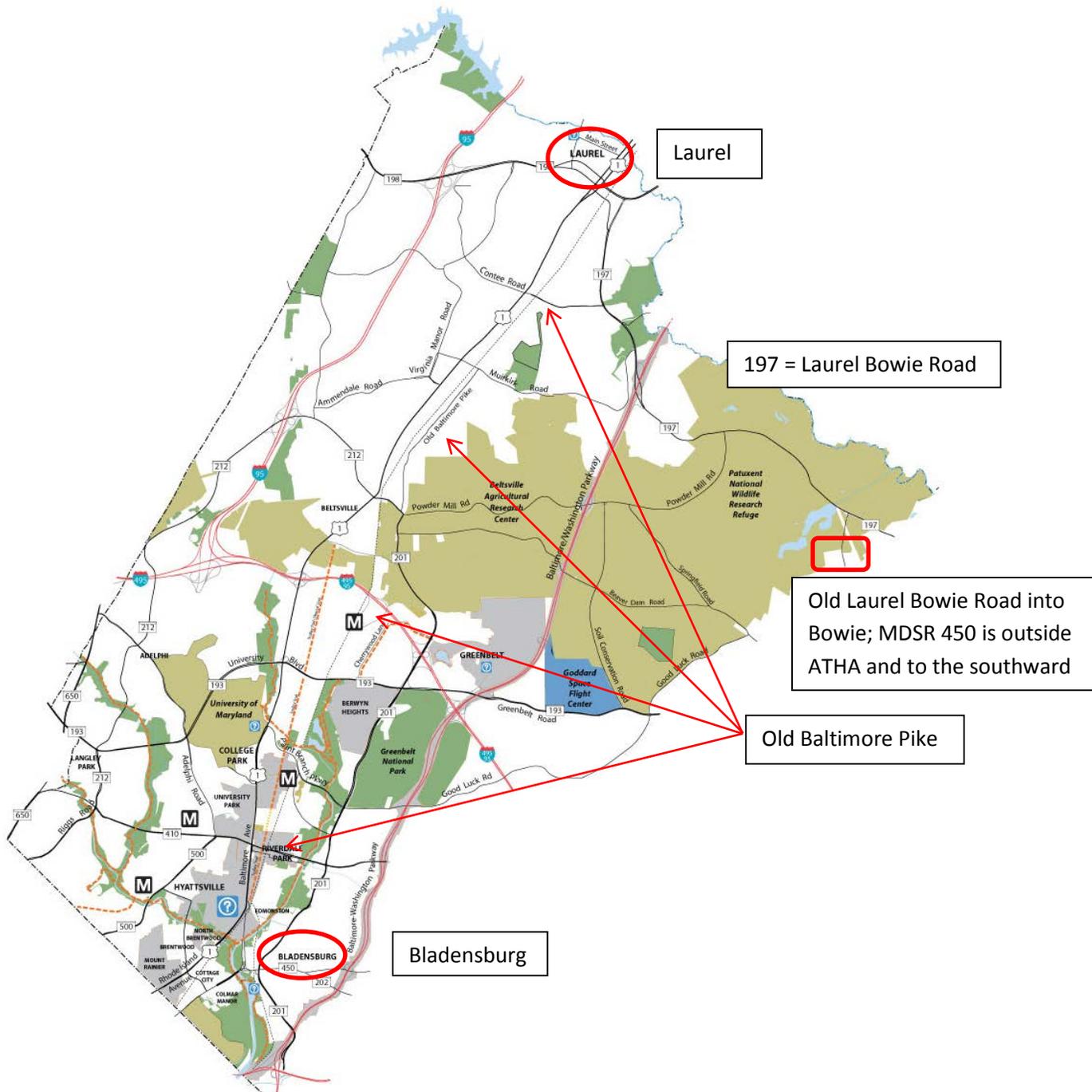
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# Anacostia Trails Heritage Area Map



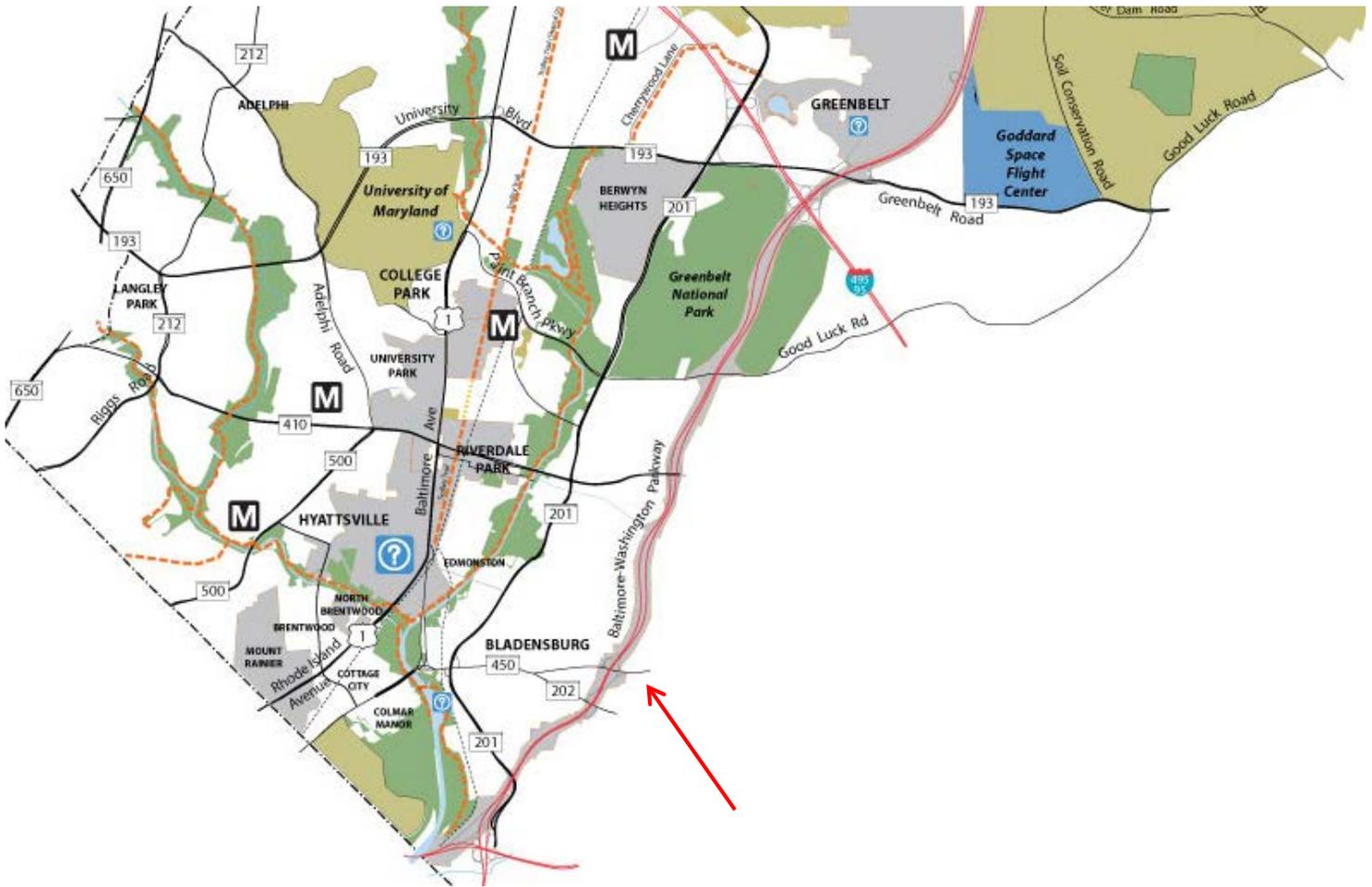
<http://www.anacostiatrials.org/heritage-area-map>

The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail (W3R-NHT) crosses the entire length of the ATHA from Laurel in the north to Bladensburg in the south



In September 1781, only Jonathan Trumbull (Route 2b), General Rochambeau (Route 2c), Captain Oyré (Route 2d), the hussars of Lauzun’s Legion (Route 3) and the American wagon train from Baltimore to Yorktown (Route 4a) enter the northern part of the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area.

In November and December 1781 and in August 1782, various detachments of the Continental Army (Routes 5a to 5c) as well as Rochambeau’s entire force (Route 6) travel on Route 1 on their way to Baltimore, Newburgh, New York and Boston.



In September 1781, the Maryland Brigade (Route 1 on MD-SR 202) as well as the French wagon train from Annapolis (Route 4b on MD-SR 450) enter the southern half of the ATHA.

Jonathan Trumbull (Route 2b), General Rochambeau (Route 2c) as well as Captain Oyré (Route 2d) travel to Bladensburg from Laurel. So do the hussars (Route 3) and the American wagon train (Route 4a).

Since this CRS W3R-NHT in ATHA constitutes part of Phase II of the statewide resource study and precedes a final report, the findings of further research during Phase III in 2014 may necessitate adjustments to the findings in this report.

# Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail in the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area, Prince George's County, Maryland

## Overview and Project Description

In August 2012, Anacostia Trails Heritage Area (ATHA) awarded W3R-MD, the state-chapter of the national W3R organization, a \$2,000.00 matching grant for a "Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail in the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area, Prince George's County, Maryland" (CRS W3R-NHT in ATHA) focusing on the marches of French and American forces along the Post Road North and South to and from Yorktown in 1781 and 1782.

The CRS W3R-NHT in ATHA constitutes one of two components in Phase II of the ongoing "Cultural Resource Survey and Land and Water Based Route Reconnaissance for the Washington Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail in the State of Maryland (CRS W3R-NHT MD)".<sup>1</sup> ATHA is one of the two funding agencies in Phase II whose \$2,000.00 grant was matched with cash and in-kind services by The Society for the Preservation of Federal Hill and Fell's Point, Inc. of Baltimore, MD. This report could not have been written without the support of many friends and colleagues. Firstly consultant gratefully acknowledges the financial support provided by Mr Aaron Marcavitch, Executive Director of the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area, and the support of Mr Joseph DiBello, Superintendent of the W3R-NHT, who made the matching funds available. Ms Ellen von Karajan generously agreed to act once again as grant administrator. Ms Susan Pearl shared with me her vast knowledge of Maryland history acquired over a life-time of research and Ms Pam Williams twice opened the doors of beautiful Belair to me and allowed me to share my findings with local history enthusiasts. Last but not least I owe a debt of gratitude to my good friend Robert Reyes for his tireless work gathering contacts and drumming up funds and for showing me many of the historic sites that form the basis of this report.

Consultant was tasked with researching the properties, roads, campsites, and remaining cultural, historical and natural resources in the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area (ATHA) in Maryland relating to the 1781 Yorktown Campaign. The scope of work also included the presentation of local lectures sharing the results of this research and to provide a written report suitable for posting on the W3R-NHT and the W3R-US (NHT partner) website.

Work on this component of Phase II of the CRS W3R-NHT MD survey began on 1 October 2012; it continued research initiated during Phase I of 2010/2011 and was highlighted by a route reconnaissance to Lancaster, York and Bladensburg with Mr. Robert Reyes on 10 August 2012 and 17 November 2012.

Public PowerPoint presentations were delivered on Saturday, 25 August 2012, at Belair Mansion in Bowie entitled

To Yorktown and Victory, or: How Belair in September 1781 played host to  
Hundreds of People and Thousands of Animals

A follow-up presentation based on additional research was presented again at Belair Mansion on Thursday, 2 May 2013, under the title

From Baltimore and Annapolis to Bladensburg and Beyond:  
The Yorktown Campaign in Prince George's County

Concurrently consultant conducted research for these two components of the W3R in MD project in the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford on 26/27 October 2012, the Library of Congress on 1/2 November 2012 and in the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore on 30 November/1 December 2012 and 14/15 December 2012. The results of this research presented in this Final Report to the ATHA may change/be expanded upon as they will be integrated into the larger, state-wide final report on CRS W3R-NHT MD to be compiled in Phase III of this state-wide and national historic trail project.

## Goals and Tasks

The CRS W3R-NHT MD project sets itself three goals:

- 1) To collect, interpret, and evaluate American, French, British, and German primary and secondary sources for information concerning the French role in the American War of Independence with a view toward explaining the reasons, goals, and results for and of that involvement.
- 2) To review these sources for information about the presence of British, French and American forces in Maryland and their interaction with the inhabitants of the state in 1781 and 1782.

3) To identify historic buildings and/or sites as well as modern monuments and markers associated with the campaigns of 1781 and 1782. This identification of above-ground resources, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and of campsites (as archaeological sites) should (where possible, necessary, or feasible) be followed by the research necessary to bring about nomination of these resources for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places or other appropriate state and/or national registers.

Goals 1) and 2) are to be achieved by research in American and European libraries and archives with a special focus on unknown and/or unpublished materials relating to the French role in the American Revolutionary War. Local historical research continues to be conducted in the Maryland State Archives, the Maryland Historical Society and other repositories within as well as outside Maryland as well as through personal contact and information provided by interested individuals such as Ms. Pamela Williams of Belair Mansion, Ms. Susan Pearl of Prince George's County Historical Society, Ms. Mary Margaret Revell Goodwin and Mr. Marshall Smith, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make during fieldwork in 2012.

Within the parameters set in Goal 3) only structures and sites connected directly and through primary source materials (such as journals, diaries, letters, receipts, or maps) with the march of the infantry, artillery and cavalry portion of the two armies between September 1781 and May 1783 are included. Movements of forces and/or of individual officers outside these dates are not covered in this report.

## Purpose

CRS W3R-NHT MD 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, 1782 and 1783. This dual approach adheres to the template developed and followed for similar research in other states that participate in this project. Upon completion of all phases of the project, Maryland will have a foundation for joining the national W3R-NHT or for creating its own Revolutionary Trails System beyond the geographic framework currently envisioned by the National Park Service (NPS) if so desired. Either way, 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 routes within the context of a NHT administered by the NPS. Maryland will also

have the foundation needed to begin the research for nominating identified sites to the National Register of Historic Places, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and for a more inclusive interpretation of existing sites within the State of Maryland.

The goals and purposes of this CRS W3R-NHT MD delineating the march of Continental Army and French forces in Maryland in the summer and fall of 1781 and back north again in the months thereafter are therefore the identification of the routes of these forces and their location on the ground today.

## Scope

With regards to this report the scope of this survey of cultural resources for this CRS W3R-NHT in ATHA as part of the ongoing research was focused on Prince George's County and set itself the following six tasks: to investigate and describe, in chronological order in which allied commanders, forces and wagon trains, entered the Anacostia Trails Heritage Area both in September 1781 on the way to Yorktown as well as in November 1781 (Continental Army units) and August 1782 (French Army units) on the return march from the victory at Yorktown.

1. To research and document the march of the Maryland Brigade in September 1781 from Annapolis to Yorktown
2. To research and document General Washington's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon in September 1781
3. To research and document the ride of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion in September 1781 from Baltimore to Yorktown following the Post Road to Bowling Green
4. To research and document the route of the American and French wagon trains from Annapolis to Yorktown in September 1781
5. To research and document the route of the Continental Army from Yorktown to Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York in November 1781
6. To research and document the August 1782 French Encampment at the NW Branch Anacostia and Post Road during the return march of the French army to Boston

This research resulted in the identification of 13 separate routes taken by allied forces into and across ATHA in 1781 and 1782. These routes are:

1. The march of the Maryland Brigade in September 1781 from Annapolis to Yorktown
- 2a. General Washington's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9 September 1781
- 2b. Jonathan Trumbull's from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9/10 September 1781
- 2c. General Rochambeau's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9/10 September 1781
- 2d. Captain Oyré ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 10/11 September 1781
3. The ride of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion in September 1781 south from Baltimore
- 4a. The route of the American wagon train from Baltimore to Yorktown in September 1781
- 4b. The route of the French wagon train from Annapolis to Yorktown in September 1781
- 5a. The route of the American and French wagon train from Yorktown in November 1781
- 5b. The route of the 1st and 2d New York Regiments from Yorktown in November 1781
- 5c. The route of the 1st and 2d New Jersey Regiments from Yorktown in November 1781
- 5d. The route of the Rhode Island and Hazen's Regiment from Yorktown in November 1781
6. The August 1782 French Encampment at the NW Branch Anacostia and Post Road

The route(s) as identified in the CRS W3R-NHT MD as well as CRS W3R-NHT in ATHA are determined by above-ground resources (or their locations in 1781 if they no longer exist but identifiable) and described in relationship to the currently existing road patterns within the State of Maryland. It will by necessity vary at times from the actual routes taken by the French and American armies in the late eighteenth-century.

Since this report forms part of the larger state-wide W3R in Maryland to be completed in 2014, its findings will be included in that final report in a yet-to-be-determined format appropriate for the state-wide study. It is, however, arranged and written in such a way that it can stand alone and by itself.

## Historical Background

The origins of French involvement in the American War of Independence 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 d'Estaing to Newport in 1778 and Savannah in 1779, the *comte* de Rochambeau to Rhode Island in 1780 and American and French forces to Laurel and Bladensburg, the *marquis* de St. Simon to Pensacola and Admiral de Grasse to Yorktown in 1781 are found on the battlefields of Canada and in the defeat of French forces under Louis-Joseph de Montcalm 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 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 Lord Bedford 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."<sup>2</sup> 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, 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 of France and Carlos III 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 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.”<sup>3</sup>

A few months later on 2 June 1776, Richard Henry Lee wrote to his fellow Virginian Landon Carter that “our enemies are determined upon the absolute conquest and subduction of N. America. It is not choice then, but necessity that calls for Independence, as the only means by which foreign Alliance can be obtained”.<sup>4</sup> Even John Adams, who was privately convinced that Catholics, esp. the French kind, had horns and cloven feet, admitted the need for outside assistance. In his autobiography he wrote of his fear – or hope? - following the departure of Richard Penn from Philadelphia in July 1775 to King George III with what is known as the Olive Branch Petition “That We should be driven to the Necessity of Declaring ourselves independent States, and that We ought now to be employed in preparing a Plan of Confederation (sic) for the Colonies, and Treaties to be proposed to foreign Powers particularly to France and Spain, that all these Measures ought to be maturely considered, and carefully prepared, together with a declaration of Independence. That these three Measures, Independence, Confederation and Negotiations with foreign Powers, particularly France, ought to go hand in hand, and be adopted all together.” Why? Mostly because “we are distressed for want of artillery, arms, ammunition, clothing”.<sup>5</sup> On 8 May 1776, fellow Bostonian James Warren<sup>6</sup> wrote to Adams in a similar vein:

I am not fond of English or French tyranny, tho' if I must have one, I should prefer the last. I don't want a French army here, but I want to have one employed against Britain, and I doubt whether that will ever be done, till you make a more explicit declaration of independence than is in your privateering resolves, or those for opening the ports. You will never be thought in earnest, and fully determined yourselves, and to be depended on by others, till you go further.

France was listening to the reports from the New World. In January 1776, French Foreign minister the *comte* de Vergennes 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."<sup>7</sup> 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, author of *The Barber of Seville*, into his service.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> With this covert backing and financial support of the Spanish and French governments, Beaumarchais' ships carried much-needed supplies to the Americans, frequently via the tiny Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean.<sup>12</sup>

France had more than anticipated the American rebels' needs which Congress had spelled out in its 3 March 1776 instructions for Silas Deane, who depart 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."<sup>13</sup> Deane arrived in Paris on Saturday, 6 July 1776, followed by Benjamin Franklin on 21 December of the same year.<sup>14</sup> 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 "Johnny" Burgoyne 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 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 Lord North 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 proactive, Louis XVI on 30 January 1778 (more than eight weeks after the news of Saratoga had reached Versailles on 4 December 1777) instructed Conrad Alexandre Gerard to sign a Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a secret Treaty of Military Alliance with Deane, Franklin and Lee. The signing took place on 6 February, on 15 March the Court of St. James recalled its ambassador from Versailles. 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 US had as much or more to do with the British reaction to Saratoga as with the American victory as such.

On 30 January 1778, the king authorized *Secrétaire du Conseil d'Etat* Conrad Alexandre Gérard to sign the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a secret Treaty of Alliance. On 6 February 1778, Gérard put his name to the document; Deane, Franklin, and Lee signed for the United States. 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.

When France entered into her alliance with the Americans in February 1778 she had hoped for a short war, but Sir Henry Clinton's 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 the *chevalier* de la Luzerne met with Washington 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 indicated that "The General thought it would be very advancive of the common Cause." Washington repeated his views in a letter to the *marquis* de Lafayette 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, 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. 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. 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."<sup>15</sup> On 18 June, the first of his 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.<sup>16</sup>

#### **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
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4,240</b>	<b>857</b>	<b>253</b>	<b>5,350</b>

The Continental Army had spent a difficult winter around Morristown and in the Hudson Highlands. On 1 January 1781, the Pennsylvania Line had finally had enough and mutinied in Morristown. A settlement was reached on 9 January and the troops were furloughed until March. On 20 January about 200 men of the New Jersey Line mutinied in Pompton. This time the rebellion was put down by force and two men were executed on the 27

January 1781. As winter turned into spring, the Continental Army barely maintained its strength while Cornwallis was marching almost at will across the southern colonies. Despairingly Washington wrote on 9 April: "We are at the end of our tether, and ... now or never our deliverance must come". 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 Regiment	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 <sup>st</sup> Bn., Conn. State Brig.	Maj. Edward Shipman	220 officers and men
2 <sup>nd</sup> Bn., Conn. State Brig.	Maj. Elijah Humphreys	186 officers and men
Cavalry:		
2 <sup>nd</sup> Cont'l	Col. Elisha Sheldon	234 officers and men
Artillery:		
2 <sup>nd</sup> Cont'l	Col. John Lamb	163 officers and men
3 <sup>rd</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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 1<sup>st</sup> 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 2<sup>nd</sup> Brigade of French forces arrived in Trenton as well.



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



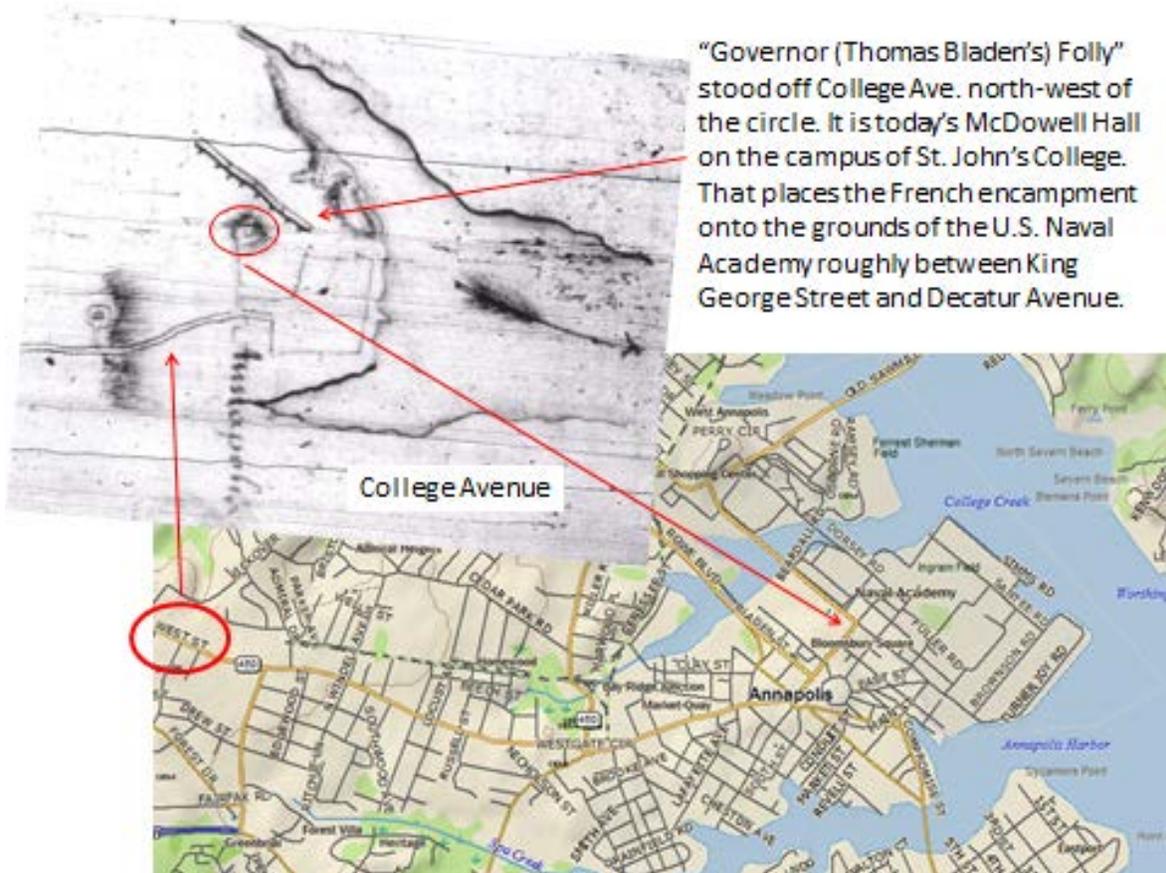
The Saintonge and the Soissonnois formed the Second French Brigade

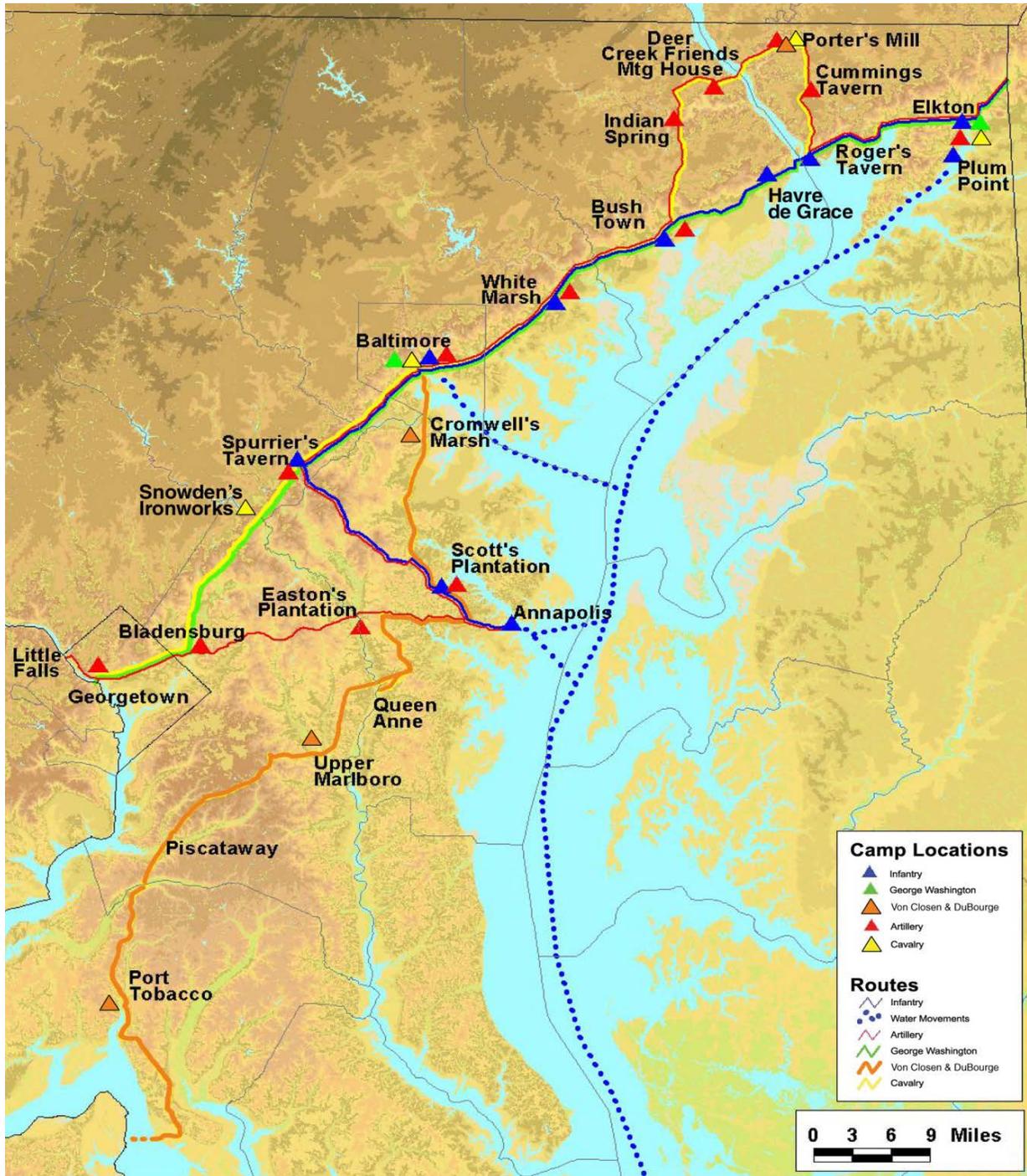
### Rochambeau's Infantry

Having paraded past Congress in Philadelphia, the Continental Army and the two French brigades and set up camp along the banks of the Schuylkill River. Following a brief rest, the troops 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. Here the grenadier and chasseur companies of Rochambeau's four infantry regiments and 300 infantry of Lauzun's Legion, about 1,200 men, as well as the First American Division incl. the Rhode Island Regiment, some 1,800 officers and men, embarked for Virginia.<sup>18</sup> The remainder of the French forces, about 3,800 to 4,000 men, continued on to Baltimore where they arrived on 11 September, followed by the 800 men of the 1st and 2nd New York on the 13th. Here all but 200 men of the Continental Army embarked but the *baron* de Vioménil refused to entrust his troops to vessels which 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 on Odenton Road (MD SR 175) to Odenton, where MD SR 175 becomes Annapolis Road. Continuing through Gambrills and Millersville, they reached Waterbury Road. Next they turned onto General's Highway (MD SR 178), and marched past what would become the Rising Sun Inn in 1785 to their next camp. Following this 17-mile march, they spent the night of 18/19 September 1781 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. Here the troops set up camp on the south-east side of College Creek along the grounds of St. John's College and the US Naval Academy. 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. The *Romulus* of 74 guns, the frigates *Gentile*, *Diligente*, *l'Aigrette*, the captured British frigates *Isis* and *Richmond*, and nine transports, sailed for Virginia late in the afternoon of 21 September 1781.





March Routes of Allied Forces across Maryland in 1781.  
 The map is reproduced courtesy of Robert Reyes

## Route 1: The march of the Maryland Brigade in September 1781 from Annapolis

Washington's and Rochambeau's soldiers, however, were not the only soldiers who marched across Maryland during the last days of August and early September 1781. They were preceded by the re-constituted 3d and 4th Maryland Regiments which had been destroyed in the Battle of Camden. On 14 January 1776, the Maryland legislature had authorized the raising of what became the 1st and 2d Maryland Regiments.<sup>19</sup> Eight months later, on 16 September 1776, the state added five more regiments.<sup>20</sup> By December 1776, all seven regiments were assigned to the Main Army in New York and New Jersey.<sup>21</sup> Here the remnants of the regiments, about 200 men under General William Smallwood that had survived the retreat across New Jersey into Pennsylvania, participated in the battles of Trenton and Princeton as part of General Hugh Mercer's Brigade.<sup>22</sup> Following the re-organization of the Continental Army in May 1779, the seven Maryland Regiments were assigned to the Southern Department under General Horatio Gates in April 1780.<sup>23</sup> The Battle of Camden on 16 August 1780 effectively destroyed the Maryland Line as it had existed since January 1777.

Following the debacle, high-lighted by the death of its Bavarian general Johann de Kalb, the "Maryland Line retreated in small groups to Charlotte, North Carolina before withdrawing to Hillsborough to reorganize. At Hillsborough, the remnants of the Maryland and Delaware division were reorganized into the 1st and 2d Maryland Regiments, the 3d through 7th Regiments, which existed on paper only, needed to be re-constituted. Recruitment was to take place in the State of Maryland, and so on 1 January 1781, the 3d and 4th Regiments were relieved from the 1st Maryland Brigade, the 5th Regiment was re-assigned to the Southern Department and the 6th and 7th Regiments were disbanded.<sup>24</sup>

Re-constituting the regiments was a long and arduous task, aggravated by the lack of field grade officers, e.g. at the moment of their departure from Annapolis the 4th Regiment had no colonel and was commanded was Lt. Col. Thomas Woolford, who had been wounded and taken prisoner at the Battle of Camden while serving with the 5th Regiment and only been exchanged on 20 December 1780,<sup>25</sup> though at its departure from Annapolis Major Alexander Roxburgh, who had been transferred from the disbanded 7th Regiment, commanded the unit. The 3d Regiment also lacked a colonel and stood under the command of Lieut. Col. Peter Adams<sup>26</sup> All of them, including their Surgeon William Kelty, who had been captured at the Siege of Charleston on 12 May 1780, had combat experience.<sup>27</sup>

By late August 1781 the two units were ready to march to Virginia. In its issue for 30 August 1781, the *Maryland Gazette* announced the departure of the 3d Regiment, “upwards of 400 men, enlisted for three years and the war ... to join the southern army”.

**A N N A P O L I S, August 30.**  
We have the pleasure to inform the public, that on the 28th inst. the 3d Maryland regiment, commanded by lieut. col. Peter Adams, marched from this city to join the southern army. This regiment has been raised within these few months, but from the unwearied vigilance of the officers, has all the appearance of a veteran corps; it consists of upwards of 400 men, enlisted for three years and the war, and are well equipped for the field. The mutual good offices which have passed between the citizens and the officers of this regiment, whilst stationed at this place, has rendered their departure much regretted. The ardor that spread through their ranks, on the prospect of taking the field, and their military appearance, inspired every beholder with a pleasing confidence, that they would render essential services, and be an honour to their country.  
There are now at this station upwards of 600 men, who, tho' originally for nine months, promise ere long to be enlisted for three years and the war; many have already enlisted for those terms, and others entering every day. If there is public virtue enough remaining to support the credit of our new emission, we may flatter ourselves to see our line complete by the winter. The recruiting service is now under the direction of major-general Smallwood, whose distinguished services in the field, are equalled by his unremitting attention to this important business.

Two weeks later, on 13 September, the *Maryland Gazette* announced the departure of the 4th Regiment, “upwards of 600 rank and file” on “Friday last”, i.e. on 7 September 1781, “to join the marquis la Fayette.” There is no official strength report for the two regiments prior to their departure from Annapolis, but a Continental Army strength report for

September gives the strength of the 3d Maryland at 579 men; no report for September for the 4th Regiment is known to exist.<sup>28</sup> Assuming for the sake of arriving at an estimate that the 3d Regiment neither grew nor had any losses during the siege, the 4th Maryland totaled 420 men at the beginning of the siege on 28 September 1781.<sup>29</sup> The strength report for October compiled at the end of the month following the conclusion of the siege of Yorktown showed the strength of these two regiments in Gist's Brigade at 999 men.<sup>30</sup> In view of the numbers published in the *Maryland Gazette*, approximately 1,000 rank and file, it appears that some of the men from the 4th Regiment were transferred to the 3d prior to the siege.

**A N N A P O L I S, September 13.**

On Friday last the 4th Maryland regiment, commanded by Major Alexander Roxburgh, marched from this city to join the Marquis de la Fayette. This regiment is completed to its full complement, consisting of upwards of 600 rank and file; and it has been generally observed, that they are the best men enlisted in this State since the war. The short time in which the 3d and 4th regiments have been raised, and the excellence of the men, give an additional testimony of our increased ability to prosecute the war, to the perfect establishment of our sovereignty and independence.

Which route did they take across Maryland? In the absence of an Orderly Book, journal, diary or even a detailed pension application by any of the members of the two regiments, delineating their routes is fraught with danger. Fortunately, the starting points and end-points of the marches – Annapolis and Bladensburg – are known. On Wednesday, 12 September, General William Smallwood informed Governor Lee from Georgetown that Colonel Adams “had marched the day before from Cameron and crossed the Ferry at Colchester.” Berthier’s description of the march from the west bank of the Potomac toward Alexandria provides a rather precise location for the likely encampment of the 3d Maryland at “Cameron” on 10/11 September. As you leave Georgetown

*You go uphill and turn left along the Potomac. As you begin to leave the river you enter the woods. After 1 ½ miles you cross a brook. You turn, leaving on your right a road and a house of one Cameron, an Irishman. 6 Miles.*

*You pass on the right another road, which leads to Scot Tavern, 2 miles beyond. ½ Mile.*

*The road is superb and is straight as far as Alexandria. 1 ½ Miles.*

*Total: 8 Miles.<sup>31</sup>*

In the same letter to Governor Lee of 12 September 1781, Smallwood wrote that he had “detached an Officer after him [i.e. Colonel Adams] with Orders to leave at Dumfries the covered Waggon for the Officers of the first and second Regiments, Thirty five Tents, and two Waggons for use of the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment. I forwarded the Arms and Accoutrements for the third Regiment by water to Dumfries, in time I hope to fall in with the Regiment there, and procured an open Waggon for Conveyance of the Baggage of the Officers of the first and second until they could overtake the third.

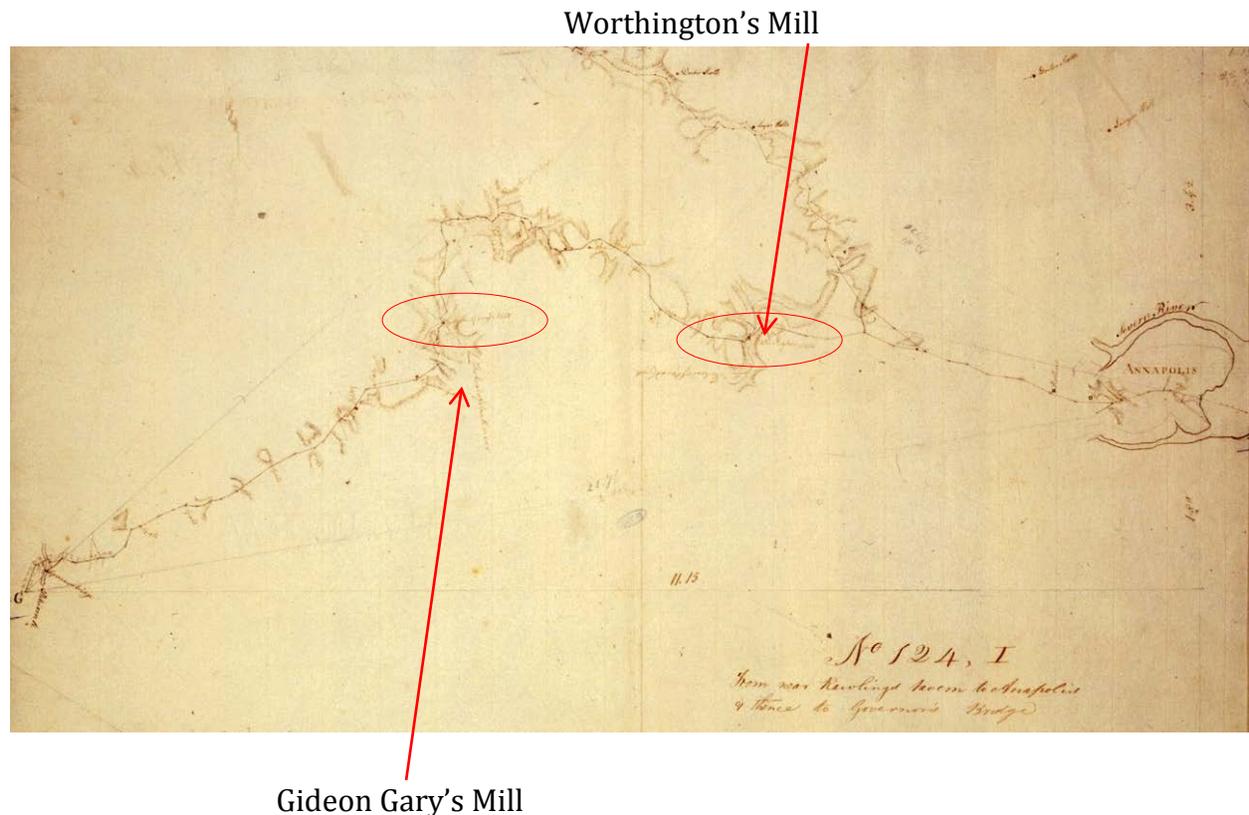
The inclosed Return from Major [Alexander] Roxburgh [of the 4th Regiment] will explain the wants of his Regiment, most of the Articles are indispensably necessary, but without Camp kettles, Axes, Canteens Nap and Haversacks they cannot march; indeed Blankets and Shoes will be nearly as essential, I must therefore earnestly solicit that the above Articles may be forwarded with all possible dispatch. Major Roxburgh has received four Waggons from Frederick and now only waits for the Camp Kettles &ca<sup>a</sup> “.<sup>32</sup>

The lack of equipment for the two regiments pointed out by Smallwood was known in Annapolis even prior to their departure. In a letter dated “7 September 1781, 10 o'clock”, the Governor’s Council informed Continental Deputy Quarter Master General James Calhoun that “The fourth Regiment under the Command of Major Roxborough, have just marched; most of the Men are Americans and very healthy, likely young Fellows. We have made every Exertion to get Tents; Blankets, Shoes and Camp Kettles, but without Success, and we can't refrain from expressing our uneasiness on Account of their being so ill provided, for they must suffer greatly. The Shoes, we hope have been, or will be obtained in Time and forwarded to George Town, agreeable to our Request. Nothing would be a more acceptable Service than supplying them with 250 or 300 Blankets, or Cloth suitable for that Purpose, and, if they are attainable, we are sensible your Exertions, in Conjunction with Mr Edelen will not be ineffectual. The Dews, at this Season, are very heavy and pernicious, and unless they have Blankets many of them will fall sick and be lost.”<sup>33</sup>

If Colonel Adams with the 3d Regiment had marched from Annapolis on 28 August and did not depart from its camp at Cameron south of Alexandria until 11 September this does not necessarily mean that they were marching in a very leisurely pace since its date of arrival is not known. Under normal marching speeds they should have reached Georgetown in two days with one overnight stay in Maryland, Cameron in three days at most. The slow-moving huge French wagon train departed Annapolis on 21 September and began crossing the Potomac three days later on 24 September, having spent three nights in Maryland. Since the Maryland Regiment(s), encumbered with few wagons, most likely took the

shorter route via Governor's Bridge to Bladensburg, they should have been able to reach the Potomac in two days with only one overnight.

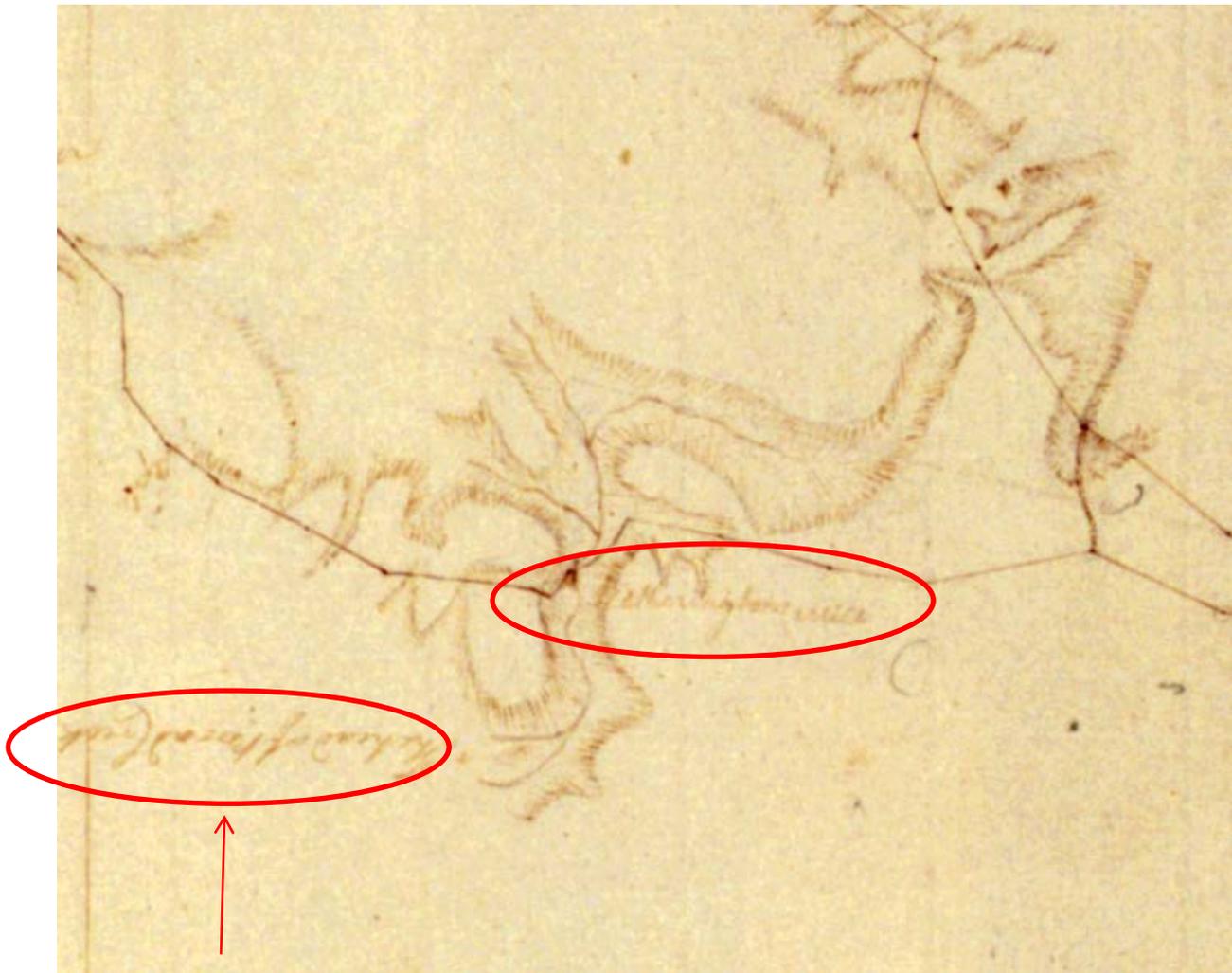
The most likely route of the two regiments was from Annapolis is that surveyed in 1781 by Simeon DeWitt leaving Annapolis on West Street to Riva Road to Governor Bridge Road across the Patuxent, continuing south of Belair (these roads no longer exist, see the appendix to this report) to Thomas Baldwin's Tavern at the intersection of MD-SR 193 (Enterprise Road) and MD-SR 450 and continuing on MD-SR 450 to Bladensburg.



Erskine-Dewitt Map 124 I showing the possible route taken by the Maryland Regiments from Annapolis to Governor's Bridge. The original is in the New-York Historical Society.

The only bridge across the Patuxent between Annapolis and Bladensburg on the road surveyed by Erskine in 1781 as the most convenient and direct route is Governor's Bridge. The road running north-west from Queen Ann is today's Queen Anne Bridge Road. Going East it becomes MD-SR 214 (W Central Ave) and Riva Road as it runs into Annapolis on/as West Street.

Governor Bridge Road branches off MD-SR 214 in a north-westerly direction east of the center of today's Davidsonville (intersection of MD-SR 214 and 424). The road running North-South between Bowie and Baldwin is today's MD-SR 197, Laurel Bowie Road.



The head of Broad Creek

Worthington's Mill was operated by Brice Thomas Beale Worthington (1727-1794) who was married to Anne Ridgely (1722-?)

Detail from Erschine-Dewitt Map 124 I showing the possible route taken by the Maryland Regiments from Annapolis to Governor's Bridge. The original is in the New-York Historical Society.



The head of South River

Following his death, Gideon Gary's property was auctioned off on 29 January 1784. It was advertised repeatedly in *The Maryland Gazette*, e.g. here the advertisement printed in the 25 December 1783 issue. Note the description of the mill.

December 18, 1783.

To be SOLD at public sale, pursuant to the last will and testament of Gideon Gary, late of Anne-Arundel county, deceased, on Thursday the 29th day of January next, if fair, if not the next fair day, for cash or short credit, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, on the premises.

**A**TRACT of land, containing 258 acres, lying on the Head of South river, within nine miles of the city of Annapolis, on which are ten acres of fine meadow land now fit for the sitch, and more may easily be reclaimed; the improvements are, a good dwelling house with a stone chimney, kitchen, paled garden, and good apple orchard; this land is well wooded and watered, and the soil good either for planting or farming. Also will be exposed to sale, on the same day, a tract of land, containing 60 acres, on which are a very valuable grist and fulling mill, with a never failing stream of water, and now in good repair, with every thing necessary for carrying on the fulling business, a good dwelling house, kitchen, and other necessary houses, garden, and apple orchard, the land well wooded and watered. The above tracts adjoin each other, and will be sold together or separate, as may best suit the purchasers. Twelve months credit will be given, on giving bond with approved security. Any person inclinable to purchase, may view the land by applying to the subscribers on and near the premises. The title is indisputable, and possession will be given immediately. Likewise will be sold at the same time, sundry very valuable negroes, consisting of men, women, and children; the crop of corn, stock of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs; household furniture, plantation utensils, and many other things too tedious to mention. Four months credit will be given for all sums of money exceeding ten pounds, on giving bond with security if required, before the articles are taken away.

2 ELIZABETH GARY, executrix,  
LEONARD SELLMAN, executor.

All persons having claims against the said estate, are desired to bring them in properly authenticated, and all those indebted to the said estate are desired to make immediate payment.



Detail from Dennis Griffith, *Map of the State of Maryland* (1794). Gary's Mill is now identified as Ducker's Mill.

When did they reach Williamsburg? Even if they marched at the same speed as the American and French wagon trains, which took 13 and 12 days resp. to reach Williamsburg from near Alexandria, the 3d Regiment would have, or could have, reached Williamsburg on 22 or 23 September. Similarly the 4th Regiment, which departed Annapolis on 7 September and apparently marched a day behind the 3d Regiment, would have arrived in Williamsburg on 23 or 24 September. The fact that the two regiments marched one day apart is suggested by a letter from Continental Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering. On 14 September he wrote to Clayborn from Fredericksburg that one of the Maryland regiments was halted at Georgetown unable to move because they lacked camp kettles and ordered Clayborn to have the necessary kettles made as quickly as possible.<sup>34</sup> Pickering had been in Baltimore on 10 September; if he left on 11 September, the day of the arrival of French forces in the city, he could have reached Georgetown by 13 September and Fredericksburg the next day. We know that he arrived in Williamsburg four days later on 18 September. Since the 3d Regiment had already departed Cameron on 11 September the unit he encountered had to be the 4th Regiment. This also raises the possibility, however, that the 4th Regiment, which had departed Annapolis on 7 September, could have arrived at Georgetown on 9 (or 10 September at the latest) and encamped at an unknown location

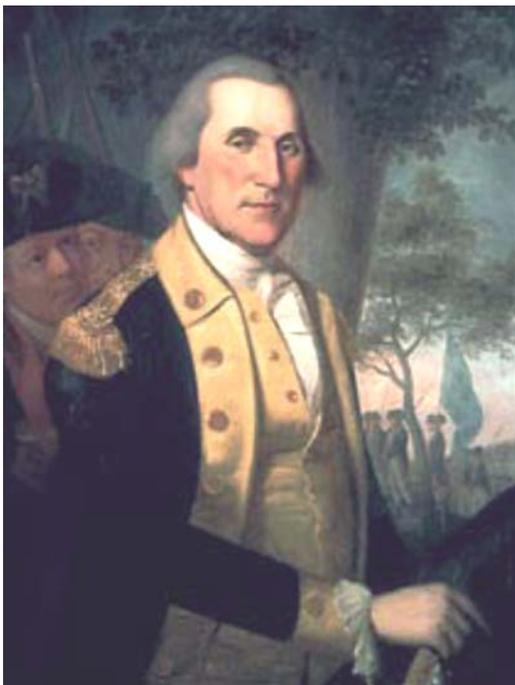
still on the Maryland side of the Potomac. If the 4th regiment departed Georgetown on 12 September an arrival date of 23 or 24 September is quite possible and even suggested by the fact that the two regiments were assigned to Mordecai Gist's Brigade on 24 September 1781 in anticipation of the departure for Yorktown on 28 September 1781.



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

## Route 2a: Washington's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9 September 1781

Washington and Rochambeau left Philadelphia in the morning of 5 September. Later that day Washington's private secretary Jonathan Trumbull recorded in his journal, that "About 3 miles below Chester meets an Express from Admiral de Grasse. The fleet arrived in the Chesapeake 26 ult<sup>o</sup>. News welcome though strangely delayed. The General returns to Chester to meet and rejoice with Count Rochambeau, who was coming down by water, and to communicate the joy to Congress."<sup>35</sup> Rochambeau took the opportunity to inform French War Minister Ségur of the arrival of de Grasse as well.<sup>36</sup> Three miles below Chester "at ½ past two O'Clock PM" places the generals at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania and Trumbull's account as well as Washington's and Rochambeau's letters leave no doubt that the two generals returned to Chester to write their letters.<sup>37</sup> It is unknown, however, where the two generals spent the night of 5/6 September 1781. The *comte* de Laubardière writes: "M de Rochambeau and M Washington departed on the 6<sup>th</sup> from Chester to betake themselves to Head of Elk." This indicates that the two men stayed in Chester where they could have slept in *the Blue Anchor Tavern* at Fourth and Market, the *Pennsylvania Arms* on Market Street across from the Court House, or even in the Blue Ball Tavern near Marcus Hook.<sup>38</sup>



This stands however in contradiction to Trumbull, who wrote in his "Minutes of Occurrences" for 5 September: "At evening [GW] proceeds to Wilmington. 6. Breakfast at Christiana Bridge, where our boats, stores &c. are brought from Delaware Water through the Christiana Creek, debarked and carried across by land about 12 miles to the head of Elk where the troops and a great part of the stores are arrived and beginning to embark."<sup>39</sup>

Having spent the night of 5 September 1781 at Christiana (or Wilmington), Washington arrived at Head of Elk a day ahead of his Continental Army. He was anxious to reach his home in Mt. Vernon which he had not seen since his departure for Boston in the summer of 1776. On 7 September he instructed Lieutenant Jacob Mytinger (or Meittinger; 1750-1793) of the *Maréchaussée* Corps (i.e. Captain Von Heer's Troop of Light Dragoons) that "After leaving at this Place with me Two Dragoons, you will immediately

proceed on with the others of your Command, over the lower Ferry of Susquehannah, upon the Road to Baltimore; to which latter Place you will go on, and wait my Arrival there, unless you receive further Orders from me.”<sup>40</sup>

Accompanied by his staff as well as the two dragoons, Washington left Head of Elk early in the morning of 8 September on Old Philadelphia Road and reached Baltimore that same evening after a journey of 53 miles on horseback. Washington could not, however, enjoy a well-deserved rest: the citizens of Baltimore had planned elaborate festivities for their illustrious guest. On 18 September, the *Pennsylvania Packet* reported that ten days earlier, on Saturday, 8 September, "his excellency general Washington accompanied by adjutant general Hand, and other officers of distinction arrived at the Fountain-Inn, in this town, on his way to Virginia. His excellency was received in this vicinity, and escorted to his quarters, by Captain Moore's troop of light dragoons, where he was most respectfully complimented by a number of gentlemen. The Baltimore artillery companies gave his excellency a handsome salute, and the inhabitants in general, seemed to vie with each other in testifying their respect and affection for his person and character. In the evening every part of the town was elegantly illuminated. Very early the next morning his excellency (with his attendants) proceeded on his journey, the object of which is obvious, and, undoubtedly, of the last importance."



Similarly Washington recorded in his diary that "Judging it highly expedient to be with the army in Virginia as soon as possible, to make the necessary arrangements for the Siege, & to get the Materials prepared for it, I determined to set out for the Camp of the Marqs. de la Fayette without loss of time and accordingly in Company with the Count de Rochambeau [who rode in a carriage] who requested to attend me, and the Chevr. de Chastellux set out on the 8th. and reached Baltimore where I recd. and answered an address of the Citizens."<sup>41</sup>

The Fountain Inn stood on the Northeast corner of Redwood and Light Streets

That night the company was entertained at Adam Lindsey's Coffee House and spent the night at the Fountain Inn. The reception at Lindsey's was covered, but Daniel Grant, owner of the Fountain Inn, charged Washington for eight dinners for his suite and dinner for seven servants as well as for the boarding of sixteen horses.

325  
 His Excellency Genl Washington & Co Dr  
 1781  
 To the Hon Daniel Grant  
 Sep 8<sup>th</sup> 8 Dinners ..... £11 4 0  
 " 7 Servants Ditto ..... 10 5  
 " Punch ..... 3 10 5  
 " Grog ..... 12 5  
 " Wine ..... 1 10 0  
 " Punch to Servants ..... 5 0  
 " Wine ..... 15 0  
 " Punch of Toddy 1/3 ..... 5 3  
 " Cash paid the Watch Maker ..... 7 5  
 " 16 Horses Stay 1 Night at 2/6 ..... 2 0 0  
 " 32 Gallons of Oak a p ..... 1 12 0  
 " Lodgings ..... 10 6  
 £ 13 3 3  
 Rec<sup>d</sup> the Contents in full  
 Daniel Grant

Daniel Grant's bill for expenses incurred by Washington on 8/9 September 1781<sup>42</sup>

"[V]ery early" the next morning, 9 September, Washington "with Colo. Humphry only" and presumably the two dragoons as well left Baltimore and after a sixty mile ride rode up to Mount Vernon for the first time since he had set out for Boston in April 1775. The rest of

the family jogg on easily”, his private Secretary Colonel Jonathan Trumbull wrote in his diary.<sup>43</sup> Rochambeau took a more leisurely pace and did not arrive at Mount Vernon until the evening of 10 September. The *chevalier* de Chastellux accompanied by a small group of French officers arrived on 11 September.

Which road or roads did they travel on? Writing to Governor Lee from “George Town” on Tuesday, 11 September, General William Smallwood (1732-1792) told the governor that he had spent “last Saturday and Sunday” (8 and 9 September 1781) at Mount Vernon hoping to meet Washington, “but M<sup>rs</sup> Washington receiving a Letter on Saturday Evening (which left it doubtful whether he could take that in his rout, I came up to George Town on Sunday in my way to Baltimore in order to fall in with him there, but unluckily found when it was too late he had crossed over at M<sup>r</sup> Diggeses.”<sup>44</sup>

The reference to “M<sup>r</sup> Diggeses” provides the crucial information to delineate the route Washington had taken from Baltimore to Mount Vernon. William Digges (1713-1783) was a good friend and neighbor to Washington whose home Warburton Manor across the Potomac could be seen from Mount Vernon. William and even more so his son George Digges (1743-1792) were close friends and frequently hunted together and enjoyed each other’s company.<sup>45</sup> More importantly, when called to business in Annapolis Washington usually crossed the Potomac to Warburton and stopped for the night at Melwood, home of William’s nephew Ignatius Digges (1707–1785) on Old Marlboro Pike in Upper Marlboro.<sup>46</sup>



Mathew Carey, *The State of Maryland from the best Authorities* (Philadelphia, 1796)

To reach Melwood and Warburton while traveling from Baltimore as Washington did on 9 September 1781, he most likely departed the Fountain Inn going south on Light Street before turning west on Pratt Street to Washington Boulevard (US Route 1). Having crossed Gwynns Falls he turned left/south on Hammond's Ferry Road and crossed the Patapsco River and rode on to Queen Anne in Prince George's County.<sup>47</sup> Having crossed the Patuxent on the Queen Anne Bridge, built in 1755, Washington continued to MD-SR 175, Annapolis Road to Crownsville, keeping right on Crownsville Road to Chesterfield, continuing on to Rutland Road before turning south on Davidsonville Road. Briefly traveling west on MD-SR 214, Washington would have turned south-west onto Queen Anne Bridge Road and crossed the Patuxent into Prince George's County. Continuing on Queen Anne Road and south on Old Crain Highway to Old Marlboro Pike, Washington traveled straight west until he reached Melwood where Old Marlboro Pike today meets Route 4. From there he continued on Woodyard Road through Clinton and on Piscataway Road to Fort Washington, site of Warburton. All that is left of it today is a historic marker. From there he crossed the Potomac to reach his home at Mt. Vernon in the evening of 9 September 1781.



2b. Jonathan Trumbull's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9/10 September 1781

“The rest of the family jogg on easily”, his private Secretary Colonel Jonathan Trumbull wrote in his diary on 9 September. That simple sentence raises two question: 1) How large was the family? and b) which roads did they use? Washington’s expense account identifies the size of his “(military) family” but not the participants. It contains these entries:

“To my own – 1 Aid de Camp + 3 Servants Exp<sup>s</sup> on the Road from Balt. To my House L 8/ 4d Lawful (money)

To my Secret<sup>y</sup> + two Aids this Exp<sup>s</sup> from D<sup>o</sup> to D<sup>o</sup> L 8 8/ 5d Lawful

Trumbull informs us that the aide-de-camp was David Humphreys; besides the three servants Washington probably still had the two dragoons as his guards as well, which would have brought his party to seven people. Trumbull’s party consisted of himself, probably Lieutenant William Colfax, commanding officer of Washington’s Life Guard since 1 January 1781, and an unknown aide-de-camp, which brought the total to ten people. Grant had charged Washington eight dinners for his suite and dinner for seven servants (=15 persons) as well as for the boarding of sixteen horses. Three of the five persons unaccounted for were probably servants to Trumbull and the two aides, the remaining two possibly members of Washington’s Life Guard.

A further expense account dated Williamsburg, 15 September 1781, the day after Washington’s arrival in Virginia’s former capital and signed by Jonathan Trumbull, also helps trace their route to Mount Vernon. It reads in part:

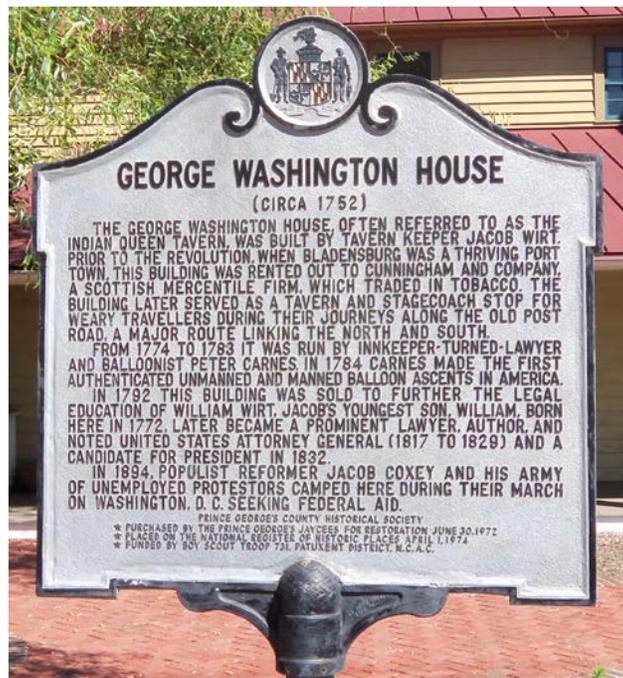
Acc <sup>t</sup> of Expences paid p Jon <sup>a</sup> Trumbull Sect <sup>y</sup>		
1781. Sept. To Bill pd at Spurriers £ 0..6..0		
d <sup>o</sup>	Rose’s	2..7..6
d <sup>o</sup>	Carnes	4.2..11
		-----
Reduced to L(awful)money		£ 5.9.2
To Bill pd Alexandria		1.8.3
To pd Ferriage at Elk Ridge		
& Potomack		1..5..~ <sup>48</sup>

The relatively large amount paid at “Carnes” suggests an overnight stay at that place.



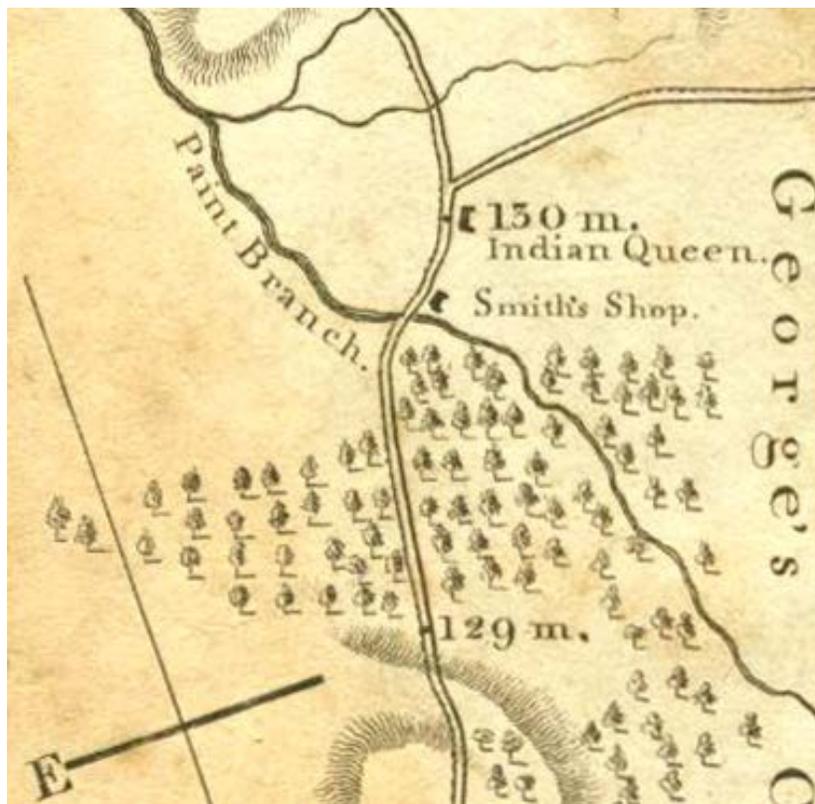


Detail from Erskine-DeWitt Map 125 K showing “Roses Tavern” and Snowden’s Iron Works. The original is in the New-York Historical Society.



Much more famous and well-known is “Carne’s” which refers to Peter Carnes, tavern-keeper at the “Indian Queen Tavern”, today’s George Washington House, in Bladensburg. The “Indian Queen Tavern” was built around 1763 by Jacob Wirt, a Swiss immigrant, and his wife Henrietta who had immigrated from Germany. Jacob died in 1774 and left his property to his widow and his six children, three sons and three daughters. Carnes, who had married Jacob Wirt’s widow and ran the tavern, is best known for the first manned balloon ride in the United States conducted in Baltimore on 24 June 1784. After he had fallen behind in rent payments for the tavern, Carnes was forced out and moved to Georgia.

Taking over the tavern from Carnes Richard Ross operated the “Indian Queen” until 1802. Ross left Bladensburg that year and opened a new tavern in College Park called Rossborough Inn, most likely the tavern (mis-)identified as the “Indian Queen” on map 19 in S.S. Moore & T.W. Jones, *The Traveller’s Directory, Or A Pocket Companion ... From Actual Survey* (Philadelphia, 1802). Built in 1803 on land Ross had purchased the year before, the Rossborough Inn, which was sold to Maryland Agricultural College at its founding in 1858, is today the oldest building on the campus of the University of Maryland College Park.



## 2c. General Rochambeau's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9/10 September 1781



Traveling a day behind Washington, Rochambeau had arrived in Baltimore with his retinue on 9 September “about twelve o’clock at noon” as Matthew Ridley (1746-1789) informed Governor Lee later that day. Rochambeau did not stay in Baltimore but “soon after went on his way to Virginia.” Since Rochambeau did not join the Commander in Chief at Mount Vernon until the evening of 10 September 1781, he must have stayed the night somewhere between Baltimore and Mount Vernon. Where did he stay and which route did he take? The *comte de Lauberdière*<sup>49</sup> records that Rochambeau took with him the Swedish nobleman Axel von Fersen,<sup>50</sup> and the *comte* Mathieu de Dumas<sup>51</sup> as his aides-de-camp but neither of them comments on the journey and Rochambeau’s account is quiet on that subject as well.<sup>52</sup> For various reasons, they had either embarked at

Head of Elk, accompanied troops, were traveling independently or wrote their memoirs long after the fact - none of the aides who left diaries, journals, letters or memoirs, his son Donatien de Vimeur, *vicomte* de Rochambeau,<sup>53</sup> Baron Closen,<sup>54</sup> Cromot du Bourg,<sup>55</sup> or the marquis du Bouchet,<sup>56</sup> mention the ride from Baltimore to Mt Vernon in their itineraries.<sup>57</sup>

The most logical explanation would be that Rochambeau followed the route taken by Washington and Trumbull earlier that day. But Washington and Trumbull had travelled on different routes. A letter written by Rochambeau to Vioménil from the Rose Tavern on 10 September 1781 indicates that he followed Trumbull’s route. Since he departed Baltimore relatively late in the day he probably spent the night at Spurrier’s Tavern. From there he continued to Mount Vernon where he arrived in the evening of 10 September 1781.

## 2d. Captain Oyré's ride from Baltimore to Mount Vernon on 9/10 September 1781

On 9 September 1781, Ridley had closed his letter informing the governor that "Genl Chataloux & some other Officers are come in this Evening". Among those officers was Captain François-Ignace Ervoil d'Oyré (1739-1798) one of nine engineers to serve with Rochambeau's army in North America. In his *Notes relatives aux mouvemens de l'armee françoise en Amerique*, Oyré described a different route from Baltimore to Mount Vernon when he wrote for 10 September: "De Baltimore a Hamon's Ferry, 9 miles. The road runs continuously through forest in which on recognizes a few houses ... The Patapsco is close to 400 *toises* (= 2,400 feet) wide at this ferry."<sup>58</sup>

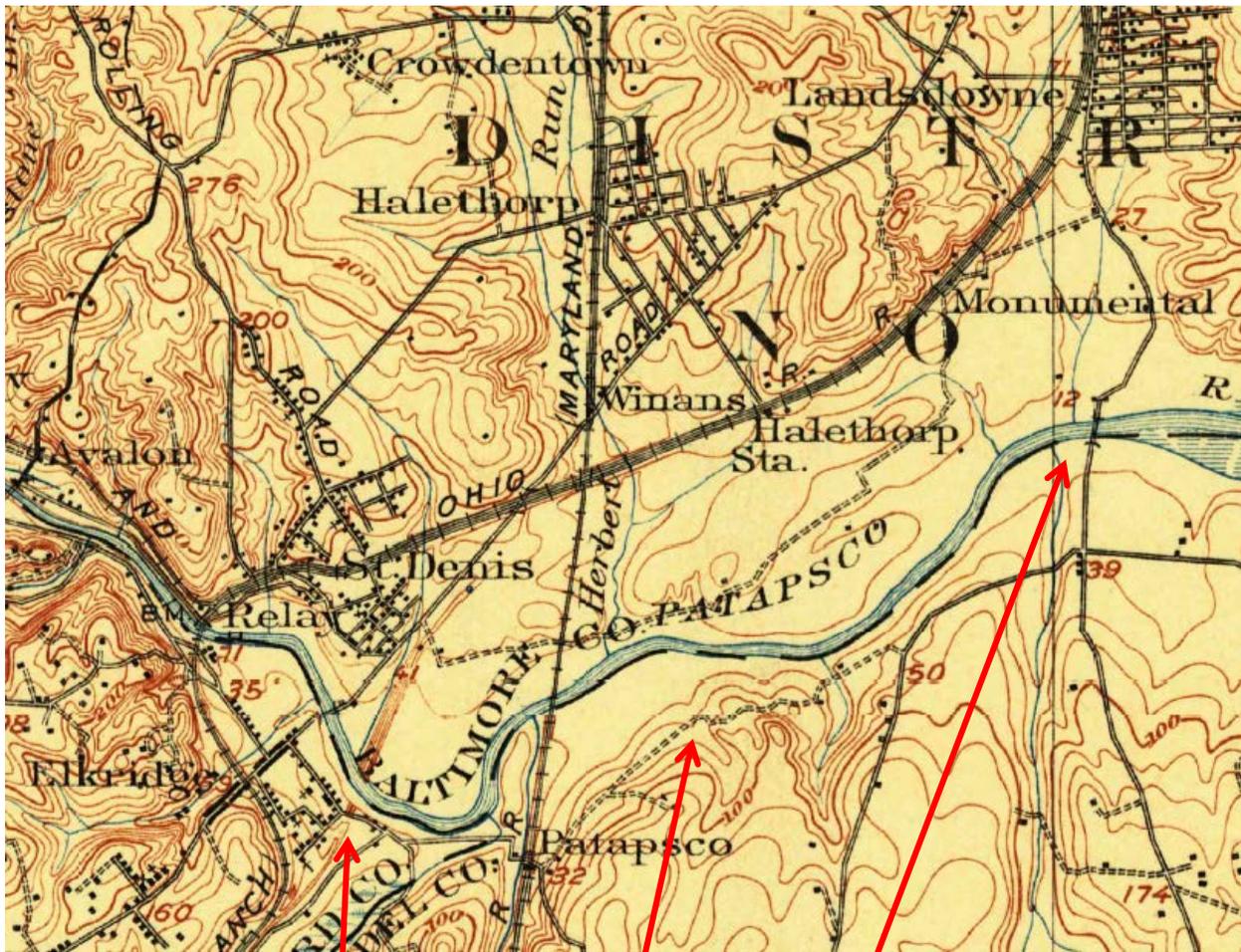
From Hamonds Ferry Oyré continued on to "Spurious 8 miles". Here he was surprised to "des champs de coton" as he traveled through more open country. From Spurrier's Tavern it was 19 more miles to Bladensburg where he spent the night. Along this 36-mile ride he passed "un ruisseau qui fait aller deux usines considerable – a stream which makes two considerable factories work", i.e. Snowden's Iron Works. Having spent the night in Bladensburg, Oyré and his group, which may have included the *chevalier* de Chastellux,<sup>59</sup> rode on to Alexandria on 11 September and reached Mount Vernon in the evening.

But on which road? In order to reach Hammons's Ferry Road, Oyré would have departed Baltimore on Washington Boulevard and crossed Gwynns Falls before turning onto Hammonds Ferry Road. In order to reach Spurrier's Tavern, i.e. today's Waterloo on US Route 1, Oyré probably next travelled along the Patapsco River to the vicinity of today's Furnace Avenue which led into Elkridge. Here he would have continued on Old Washington Road to Spurrier's. a bit farther down the road at Snowden's Iron Works the group entered the ATHA continuing on to Bladensburg, Georgetown and ultimately to Mount Vernon. On 10 September Washington informed the marquis de LaFayette from Mount Vernon:

We are thus far, My Dear Marquis, on our way to you. The Count de Rochambeau has just arrived, General Chattelus will be here, and we propose (after resting tomorrow) to be at Fredericksburg on the night of the 12th.; the 13th we shall reach New Castle, and the next day we expect the pleasure of seeing you at your Encampment.

Should there be any danger as we approach you, I shall be obliged if you will send a party of Horse towards New Kent Court House to meet us. With great personal regd etc.

P.S. I hope you will keep Lord Cornwallis safe, without Provisions or Forage untill we arrive. Adieu.



Furnace Road

River Road

Hammonds Ferry Road

Detail from USGS Relay 1907 showing the possible route taken by Captain Oyré and his group from Baltimore via Hammonds Ferry Road to ElkrIDGE

### 3. The ride of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion in September 1781 south from Baltimore

On 8 September 1781, Lauzun's Legion, about 200 men infantry, 100 artillery and 300 hussars, reached Head of Elk as part of Rochambeau's forces. Here the four French grenadier and four chasseur companies of the line infantry as well as Lauzun's infantry, approximately 220 officers and men, embarked for College Landing.<sup>60</sup> That same day, Rochambeau, who was pressing ahead to Baltimore with Washington, informed the baron de Vioménil, his second in command who was accompanying the troops, that it was the intention of Washington that "as soon as the troops will have arrived in Baltimore, 1) the cavalry of Lauzun's Legion continues its march on land in a way that allows the greatest distances possible ... 2) that the baron de Vioménil embarks the rest of the army at Baltimore if that is possible."<sup>61</sup> If it could not be embarked at Baltimore, the campaign artillery as well as the wagon train was to follow the route of Lauzun's Legion, which was to press on as quickly as possible once French forces had reached Baltimore. The hussars would receive details of their route in Baltimore from Pierre François de Bévillé, *maréchal général des logis* on Rochambeau's staff.<sup>62</sup> The instructions did not mention the destination, but as the route was "the same that had been given by General Washington in Philadelphia", i.e., via Caroline Court House and Newcastle, it had to be Williamsburg. On 3 September Washington had written to Rochambeau:

*Sir:*

*From the head of Elk, the Cavalry, Carriages and such Artillery as may be sent by Land, will proceed by the following rout: Lower ferry on Susquehannah; Baltimore; Elk ridge Landing; Bladensburg; George Town, on Potomack river. From hence a rout must be pursued to Fredericksburg, that will avoid an inconvenient ferry over Occoquan, and Rappahannock river at the Town of Fredericksburg. The latter may, I believe, be forded at Falmouth (two miles above Fredericksburg) and the latter [former] by leaving the common rout a little upon the left from George Town.*

*From Fredericksburg, the rout will be by Caroline Court House and Newcastle. I cannot, at this moment, point out the different Marches for want of a sufficient knowledge of the road, and convenient encamping places on it, but Lt. Colo. Gouvion being instructed to reconnoitre these will enable me perhaps to be more particular 'ere the March commences from the head of Elk. I have the honor etc<sup>63</sup>*

On 9 September, 300 hussars and the officers assigned to accompany the French field artillery<sup>64</sup> as well as Lauzun's artillery, seven officers and 101 NCOs and cannoniers with four light 1-lb guns *à la Rostaing*,<sup>65</sup> under the command of the *vicomte* d'Arrot and the

French wagon train, departed from Head of Elk on their march to Baltimore.<sup>66</sup> On 10 September, the hussars accompanied the wagons and the artillery to Bald Friar Ford, crossed the Susquehanna River, and bivouacked near Poplar Grove at the intersection of modern US 1 and MD SR 136. From 11 to 13 September, the hussars rode south on MD SR 136 through Darlington to Churchville toward Bush and Route 7 toward Baltimore, where they arrived on 12 September.

Rochambeau had hoped to find enough shipping in Baltimore for at least two of his regiments and instructed Vioménil to embark the Bourbonnais Brigade. Unaware of the quantity and/or quality of the vessels at Baltimore, Rochambeau had informed Vioménil on 11 September from Mount Vernon of the land route Lauzun's Legion and the waggons (*équipages*) were to take to Williamsburg once the infantry had embarked. Washington had recommended this route:

The invoice "For sundry supplies of forrage supplied the Legion & Artillery on their March from Baltimore to Gloucester" lists no expense.<sup>67</sup>

From Baltimore to Elk Ridge Landing 8 miles  
to Bladensburg 30 miles  
to Georgetown on the Potomac  
to Fredericksburg<sup>68</sup>  
to Caroline Court House  
to Newcastle  
to Williamsburg  
=====  
total 210 or 220 miles<sup>69</sup>



On 12 September, the day of his arrival in Baltimore, Vioménil had a meeting with the Intendant Benoît Joseph de Tarlé who submitted detailed instructions concerning the provisioning of the Legion with bread, flour, meat, rum and salt on the way to Williamsburg.<sup>70</sup> Two bakers, two butchers, three workers were to accompany the Legion as well as Royal Flynn as Wadsworth's agent. The hussars were to take four days worth of bread and two days worth of fresh meat, thereafter they were to supply themselves as they went along.



Taken aback by the questionable seaworthiness of the craft assembled, *baron de Vioménil* ordered William de Deux-Ponts, second in command of the Royal Deux-Ponts, and Anne Alexandre *marquis de Montmorency-Laval*, colonel of the Bourbonnais, to conduct a trial embarkation on 13 September. Based on the outcome of this trial, William de Deux-Ponts reported that Vioménil "judged it impossible to expose the troops to the torture of such discomfort and restraint for several days and to the great risks we would run in these little boats, shamefully equipped in every respect. He has decided to march us overland."<sup>71</sup>

But even if the craft had been sufficiently large in size and numbers, Vioménil could not have left for Virginia quite yet. The days after 12 September were spent in anxious anticipation of news from the South. A few days before the arrival of the French forces, news had reached

Annapolis and Baltimore that Admiral de Grasse and his fleet had sailed from Lynnhaven Bay on 5 September to meet a British fleet. News of the outcome of the naval engagement, known as the Battle off the Capes, would also decide the fate of the land campaign, and was anxiously awaited along the shores of the Chesapeake. News of de Grasse' victory reached Baltimore in the evening of 14 September. The next day, 15 September, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt of the 1<sup>st</sup> New York Regiment informed his father from Baltimore that the campaign had resumed and that "the french army march'd this morning by land from this Town for Anapolis which is about 30 miles distant."<sup>72</sup>

Légion de Lauzun  
Marcheurs par terre.

Service des vivres.

M. Adaucaux — 1<sup>er</sup> Commissaire aux Constructions.  
deux Boulangers.  
un ouvrier.

Service de fourrage.

Par Empoyé.

Service des vivres de la viande.

Par Empoyé.

deux Bouchers.

Fournitures générales.

M. Fiquier, — agent de MM. Mademoiselle et Carlot.

Observations.

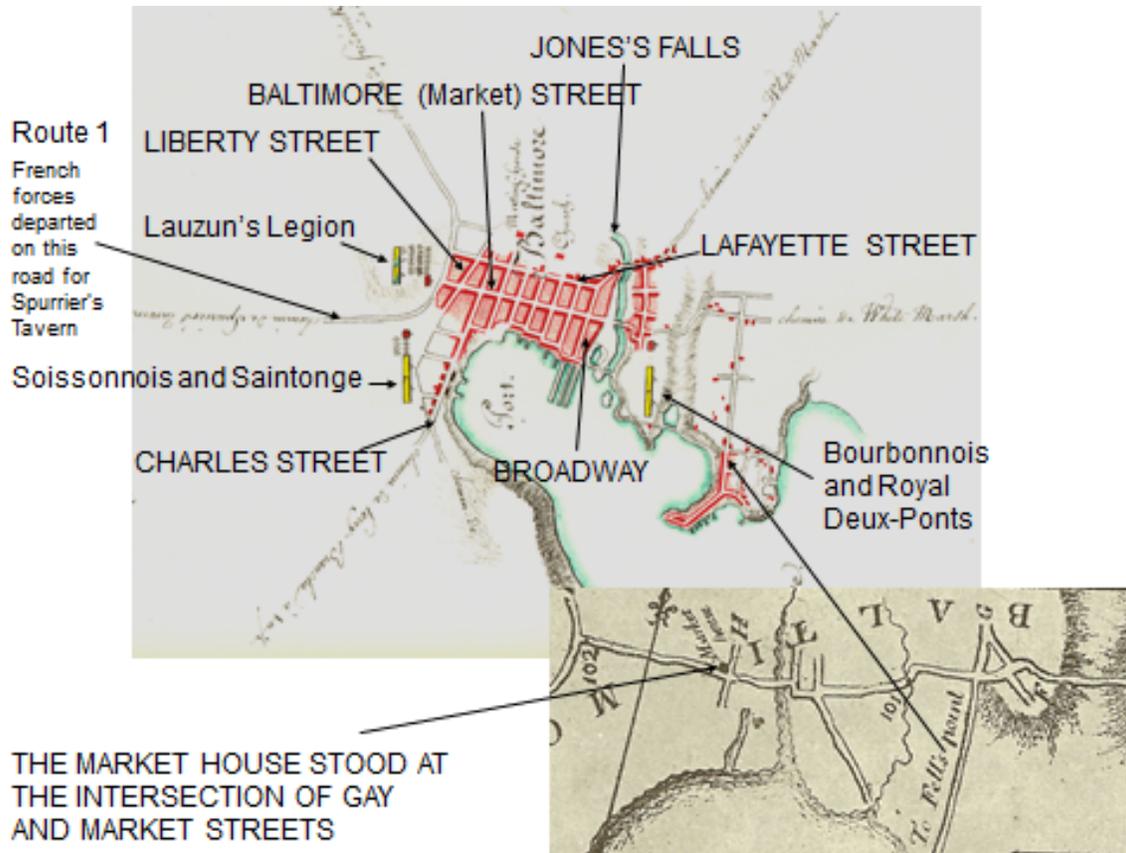
Le pain frais sera fourni à la Légion de Lauzun ainsi qu'à MM. les officiers pour quatre jours en partant de Baltimore. on mettra à sa suite un Bœuf pour la nourriture pendant trois jours, et on prendra des arrangements pour lui faire fournir pendant les autres jours de la Marche, du pain frais.

La viande sera fournie pour deux jours en partant, et elle lui sera fournie pour les autres jours de la marche par la brigade des Bouchers de l'armée qui sera à sa suite.

Le Rum lui sera fourni avant son départ pour quatre jours, et on en mettra sur une derrièrures qu'il se suivra, un Boncuult, afin qu'il ne se meure pas pendant la Route.

Le sel lui sera fourni ainsi qu'aux autres Corps qui composent l'armée, avant son départ de Baltimore pour jure que depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> Septembre inclusivement.

Marching instructions for Lauzun's Legion from Baltimore. They were issued to the hussars' aide maréchal Général des Logis Georges Henri Victor Collot.



By then the hussars had left Baltimore. Based on Rochambeau's letter of 8 September, Vioménil had ordered d'Arrot on 13 September "to depart tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock in the morning with the cavalry that you command to partake yourself to Williamsburg."<sup>73</sup> Colonel Elisha Sheldon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Regt., Continental Light Dragoons, would inform him of the route. When d'Arrot left Baltimore on 14 September, his destination was Williamsburg, not Gloucester Court House. Our knowledge of dates and route travelled by the hussars is based on two primary sources: an invoice "For sundry supplies of forrage supplied the Legion & Artillery on their March from Baltimore to Baltimore" submitted by Royal Flint to Jeremiah Wadworth on 28 November 1781,<sup>74</sup> and an itinerary in the d'Arrot Papers.<sup>75</sup>



Route de la Légion de Lauzun De Baltimore à Gloucester Court house

Le 14 7 <sup>bre</sup> de Baltimore Snowen Iron Worcks	23 Milles
15 .... de Snowen Iron Worcks à Georges Town sur le Potowmack passé la Riviere le même jour	21
16 .... de l'autre Coté de la Riviere à powhick	21
17 .... de powhick à quatre Milles plus loing que Dumfries aiant passé L'accoquan au guè	25
18 .... de quatre Milles plus loing que Dumfries à Fridericksbourg aiant passe le Rappahanock Au guè a falmouth	22
19 .... Sejour	
20 .... de friedericksbourg chez le Colonel Baley trois Milles plus loing que Bowling green	25
21 .... de chez le Colonel Baley à Toddsbridge	20
22 .... de Toddsbridge à King and queen Court housse	25
23 .... de King and queen Court house à Newstawerne	18
24 .... de Newstawerne à Glocester Court house	12

=====  
total 211 Milles

This itinerary, which was the itinerary d'Arrot and the hussars followed in September 1781, has the hussars travel directly from Baltimore to Gloucester Court House and was thus clearly compiled AFTER the completion of the march. It delineates the road taken by the hussars to Gloucester Court House, which is identified in the itinerary as "Newstawerne".<sup>76</sup> There was indeed a News Tavern at Gloucester Court House, but an analysis of the mileage in the itinerary takes the route to the Dragon Tavern near Adner on Route 17 in Gloucester County about 12 miles north of *Gloucester Court House*.<sup>77</sup>

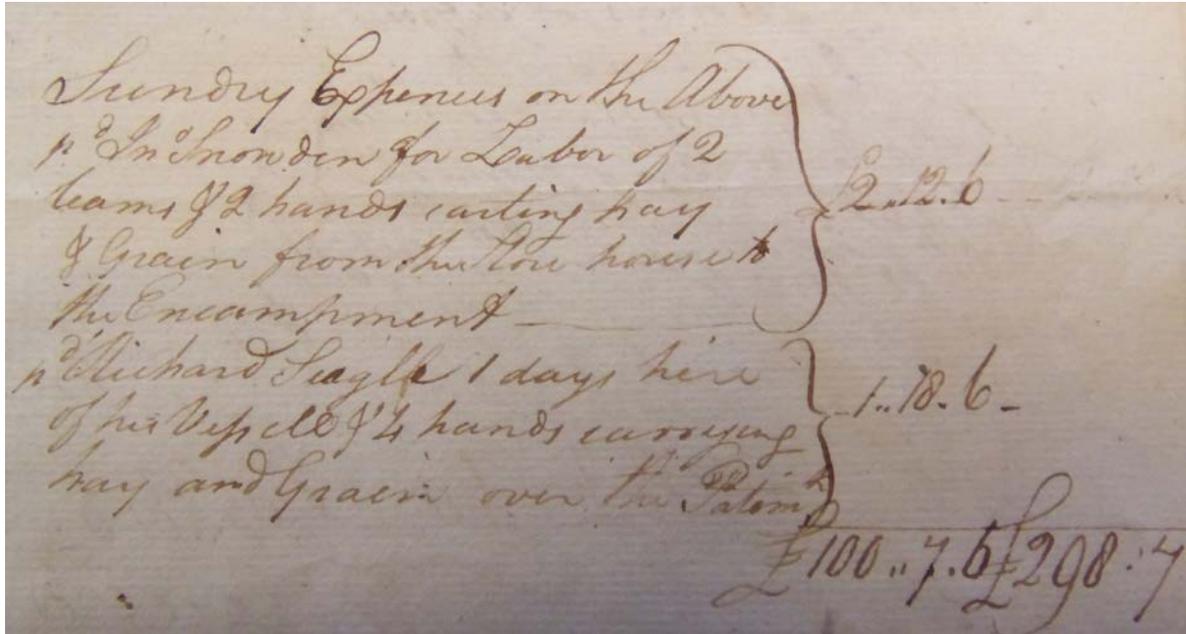


Receipts for ferry expenses and supplies purchased along the route preserved among the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers in the Connecticut Historical Society allow us to trace the route of the hussars as well as Rochambeau's artillery with great accuracy. Having departed from Baltimore on Washington Boulevard, the troops marched and rode toward Elkridge where the cavalry most likely forded the Patapsco while the artillery crossed the river on the ferry. From there they continued on what is today Route 1 toward Spurrier's Tavern and Thomas Snowden's Iron Work complex. The first recorded expense, 5/ d6, was incurred for the purchase of 1 cwt of hay and 1 bushel of oats from Thomas Rose, a tavern between Spurrier's Tavern and Bladensburg that appears in other travel and expense accounts as well, before they continued on to Thomas Snowden's home at Montpelier Mansion in Laurel. Here they spent the first night, confirmed by the purchase of 86 bushels of corn, 15 bushels oats, eight tons of hay and 1 ½ tons of straw before continuing on to Georgetown the next day.

M<sup>rs</sup> Wadsworth Carter  
To Royal Tent Dr

For sundry supplies of forage supplied the Legion  
of Artillery on their March from Baltimore to  
Williamsburg Viz

1781			
Sept 13	Cash p <sup>d</sup> Thomas Rose for		(Maryland & Virginia Currencies)
	1 C <sup>t</sup> Hay and 1 Bush Oats	5	6
14	p <sup>d</sup> Thomas Snowden for	12	10
	86 Bush Corn & 15 Bush Oats		
15	p <sup>d</sup> J <sup>r</sup> & Tom Day & 1/2 T <sup>n</sup> Straw	30	
16	p <sup>d</sup> For: George & Tom Day	36	
	Dolls for 88 1/2 Bush Corn	9	14
	Dolls for 30 1/2 Oats	6	
17	p <sup>d</sup> Wm Bell 8 Hay 5 bush Oats	1	4



Having broken camp in Baltimore at 5:00 a.m. on 14 September 1781, the hussars reached Georgetown, then part of Maryland, on 15 September and crossed the Potomac. That evening they camped at an unknown location in Virginia, most likely, however, right on the banks of the Potomac where they would have found forage and water for their horses.

The invoice "For sundry supplies of forrage supplied the Legion & Artillery on their March from Baltimore to Gloucester"<sup>78</sup> lists these expenses for/paid on 16 September:

d <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> Jos George 8 Tons Hay	£ 36
Ditto for 88 1/2 Bush Corn	£ 9 17
Ditto for 50 do Oats	£ 6
d <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Bell 4 lb (?) Hay 5 bus <sup>l</sup> Oats	£ 1 4
d <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> James Hendrick 27 do Corn	£ 2 14 <sup>79</sup>
d <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> Lund Washington 7 Ton Hay	
and Transporting the same 6 miles	£ 36
d <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> Will <sup>m</sup> Triplett 82 Bush <sup>l</sup> Corn	£ 5 10 <sup>80</sup>
d <sup>o</sup> p <sup>d</sup> J <sup>no</sup> Willington for 1 Ton hay	£ 5

The seven tons of hay purchased from Lund Washington came from Mount Vernon as Lund was in charge of the estate in 1781. Six miles is almost exactly the distance from Mount Vernon to Pohick Church.

4a. The route of the American wagon train from Annapolis to Yorktown in September 1781

On 7 September 1781, Washington had instructed Colonel Henry Emanuel (sic) Lutterloh from his head-quarters at Head of Elk, that in order

*To avoid the Delay of Ferriage, the Teams and Horses of the Army will proceed from hence to the Bald Friars Ford on Susquehannah, from thence to Bush, to Baltimore, to Elk Ridge Landg, to Bladensburg, to George town. from thence to Falls of Rappahanoc, avoiding Accoquan Ferry, to Caroline Court House, to New Castle, to Williamsburg. On this Rout you will proceed and make the Necessary Preparation of For. age at the several Stages, not preceeding the Army at too great Distance. I have already wrote to the States of Maryland and Virginia on the Subject of Forrage, and have a promising Prospect from their Assurance, that you will be fully supplied in Time at the several Places where it will be wanted; but if unhappily this Resource should fail, you are required, however disagreeable the Measure, to use the Power which the Army will afford, to procure the necessary Supplies, in such Manner however as may be least distressing to the Inhabitants. The Occasion is great; our Circumstances are pressing; at any rate the March must not be retarded for Want of any Supplies within your Department.*

The next day, 8 September 1781, Colonel Timothy Pickering received these instructions from Head of Elk:

*Dear Sir:*

*As soon as you have arrang'd Matters, and sent on a Gentleman of your Department to mark out the different stages and Halting Places for the Horses and Teams on the following Route, viz. from hence to Bald Friars, thence to Bush, Baltimore, Elk Ridge Landg, Bladensburg, George Town, from thence to Falls of Rappahannock avoiding Acoquan Ferry, Caroline Court House, New Castle, Williamsburg.*

*You will come forward yourself as expeditiously as may be to the Army with the Marquis de la Fayette.*

*Col Lutterloh will see to providing Forage, and is invested with Powers for impressing the same in case of necessity. I am etc<sup>81</sup>*

These instructions were of course written without knowledge of the dearth and poor quality of shipping available at Baltimore and Vioménil's decision to march to Virginia, cut short by de Grasse's decision to send transport vessels to Annapolis. And while it is possible that a few wagons accompanied the 200 or so Continental troops to Annapolis, the American wagon train had (most likely) unloaded the equipment for the troops and the siege they were carrying in Baltimore; the men would need their equipment such as tents and kettles upon landing. There was no reason for the empty wagons to travel to Annapolis and the only known journal for the route of the Continental wagon train to Williamsburg kept by a wagoner from Massachusetts named Thomas Graton does indeed describe a route directly from Baltimore to Bladensburg without the detour to Annapolis.

Following departure from Baltimore Thomas Graton writes:

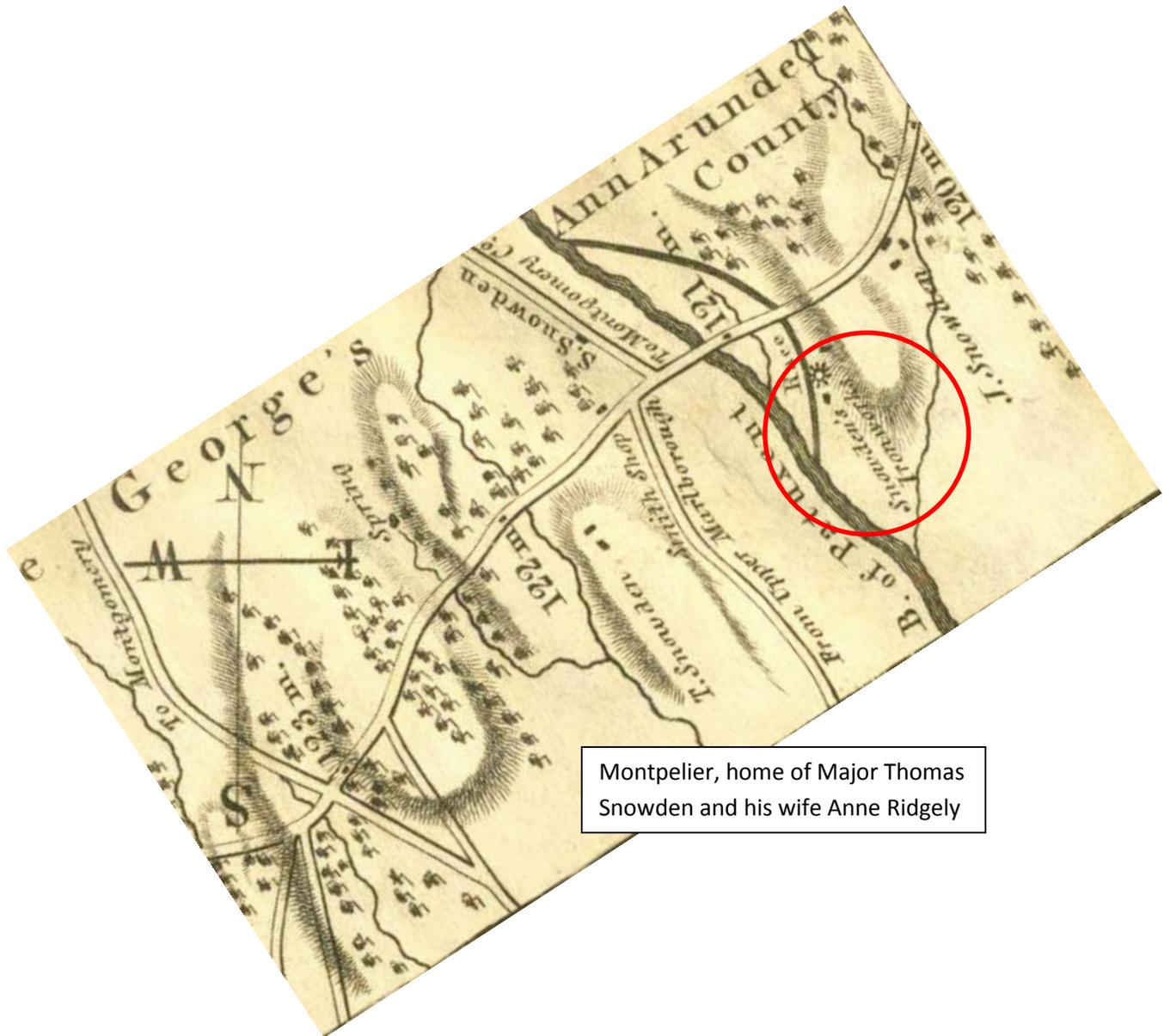
*Ye 16<sup>th</sup> marched to Elkery landing past ye town 4 miles and encamped.<sup>82</sup>*

Four miles past Elkridge Landing places the American wagon train near Shallow Run and the intersection of today's Darcy Road/Troy Hill Drive and US-Route 1, about two miles from Spurrier's Tavern. Unfortunately Graton does not tell us which road he took to get to his campsite past Elkridge Landing or how and where he crossed the Patapsco, but in view of the small size of the American wagon train, fewer than 30 wagons, it is thinkable that the train crossed the river using Robert Long's ferry.

The following day, 17 September, the train continued on what is today route 1 "*to Slotons iron works and encamped.*"

Snowden's Iron Works, also called Snowden Furnace, Snowden Forge, or Patuxent Iron Works, were located on the north side of the Patuxent River near the intersection of Brock Bridge Road with Laurel-Bowie Road [Maryland Route 197]. Since the Patuxent River demarks the boundary between Howard and Prince George's County a campsite in this area along US Route 1 could be either just outside ATHA or just within the boundaries of ATHA.

Montpelier Mansion is located at 9650 Muirkirk Road in Laurel. Major Thomas Snowden (1751-1803) married Anne Ridgely (1754-1834) and built the mansion circa 1783.

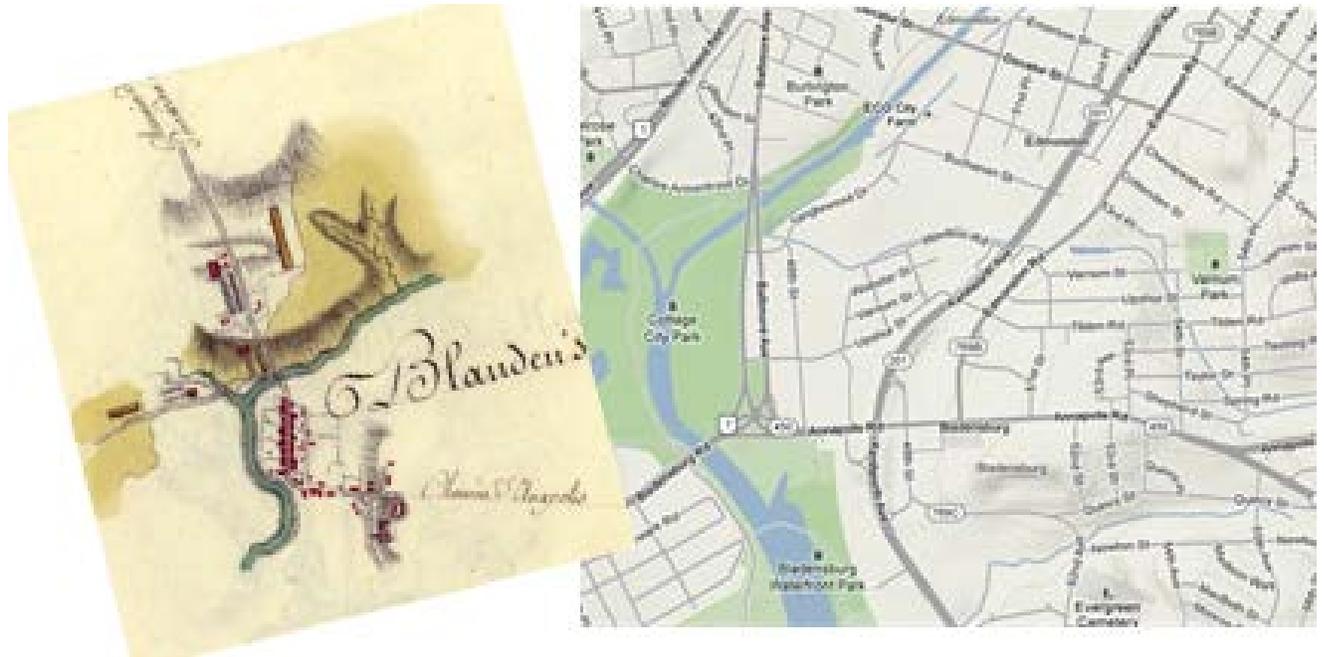


Montpelier, home of Major Thomas Snowden and his wife Anne Ridgely

The campsite of the American wagon train on 17/18 September 1781 is somewhere around Mile-Marker 121.

*Ye 18 marched to Bladingsburg and encamped*

Continuing on US Route 1 the wagon train traveled another 13 miles to their camp in Bladensburg along the Anacostia River.



French map showing the 1782 camp of the French infantry. The location of the 18 September 1781 encampment of the American wagon train is unknown.

*Ye 19 to Georgetown and over Pertomok River into Virginia State and encamped within three miles of Alexandria.*<sup>83</sup>



Site of George's Ferry across the Potomac at Georgetown in 1781.<sup>84</sup>

#### Route 4b: The route of the French wagon train from Annapolis in September 1781

On 21 September 1781, the French wagon train marched "From Annapolis to the Plantation of the John Easton brother".<sup>85</sup> How large was that train?

A breakdown of teams for the Yorktown Campaign in the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers dated Hartford, 15 December 1781, shows that the French army employed 149 teams for the journey from Providence to White Plains and during the stay of the army (894 oxen), another 46 teams with 276 oxen transported the baggage and equipment of Lauzun's Legion from Colchester to White Plains. Initially Rochambeau had requested 50 teams of four oxen each, but when Wadsworth insisted on at least six oxen per ton of freight, Rochambeau agreed to the six-ox teams, but wished that the 20 wagons of the general staff be drawn by four horses each.<sup>86</sup> By 16 April, Wadsworth had engaged fifty teams and promised to have 150 four-ox teams ready in Providence by 15 May at the latest.<sup>87</sup> To conduct these teams, Rochambeau hired 239 wagon conductors "for two dollars per day" and 15 mostly female cooks for the 210 wagons in the 15 brigades of his train. Between 25 August and 22 September, i.e., on the journey across New Jersey to Annapolis, Wadsworth paid 195 teams with 1,170 oxen to transport supplies and equipment. Once the equipment had been loaded on board vessels, Wadsworth discharged 85 teams at Annapolis, leaving 110 teams with 669 oxen to draw the empty wagons drawn to Williamsburg.<sup>88</sup> On 18 September, Vioménil had thus explained this decision to Rochambeau from Annapolis:

*Since all our wagons will go to Williamsburg on land without a load, and [...] I am convinced that we could save the king more than fifty thousand livres by sending back those that are of the least use [to us].<sup>89</sup>*

As the wagon train left Annapolis on 21 September 1781, Louis Alexandre Berthier wrote that "Lauzun's Legion, the artillery horses, and the army wagon train formed a column numbering 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons."<sup>90</sup> More than half of those wagons were private wagons of officers; the "official" French wagon train for which Wadsworth kept records consisted of 110 wagons of drawn by 660 oxen. Since the waggoners, mostly recruited in New England and New Jersey, were unfamiliar with the roads, thirty American troops under the command of an officer who knew the roads were detached to provide protection and guidance on the way to Yorktown.<sup>91</sup>

**Note: since the route of the French wagon train from Annapolis to Bladensburg is highly conjectural the route has been separated out into two appendices attached to this report.**



## French Teamster

Since the teamster for the French army during the Yorktown Campaign were all recruited in New England they would have worn their civilian clothes rather than a French uniform

On September the French wagon train reached Georgetown and the Potomac. The crossing was not without danger: A "Note" in the official itinerary states that especially "the small boats are very dangerous, since they are very small and liable to capsize. During the crossing of the wagon train 1 horse and 1 man were drowned."<sup>92</sup>

The official French itinerary states that "At the ferry there are: 2 large boats, each of which can carry 2 wagons or 4 two-wheeled ox carts; 3 that can carry 1 wagon or 2 two-wheeled ox carts; and 2 small boats able to carry 3 horses each. ... In good weather the crossing takes 22 minutes."<sup>93</sup> That means that with every crossing seven wagons could cross on the five boats; at more than 200 wagons it would have taken about 35 crossings to take the French wagon train -- 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons according to Berthier -- in across the river. At a (very optimistic) rate of two crossings per hour, the French wagons could have crossed in thirty-six hours, two very long days but not impossible.

The receipt signed by Wadsworth to Mr. George leaves no doubt that all the waggons -- 110 -- were ferried across the Potomac, and French officers with the wagon train also seem to have opted to leave at least 50 yoke with the wagons to shuttle them across while fording the remainder at Little Falls and marching them down on Glebe Road.

But the official French itinerary states that the oxen were to swim across the Potomac about three miles north of Georgetown at Little Falls, "where the river is only 150 to 200 yards wide." Little Falls was located near where Chain Bridge crosses the Potomac three miles north of Georgetown, now western Washington, then part of Maryland, at the confluence of Pimmit Run on the Virginia side.<sup>94</sup>

A receipt signed by Josuah George and dated 26 September for ferrying cattle and horses across the Potomac shows these numbers:

To ferryage of 105 horse teams	@ 3/9	....	£ 19 : 13 : 9
Do of 110 Ox Carts	@ 1/3	....	£ 6 : 17 : 8
50 yoaak Oxen	@ 1/3	....	£ 3 : 2 : 8
50 Artillery & Officers			
Waggons	@ 3/9	....	£ 9 : 7 : 6
150 Cavalry & Officers			
Horses	@ 5d		£ 3 : 2 : 6
100 Officers & Soldiers	@ 1 1/2 d		<u>£ 12 : 6</u>
			£ 42 : 16 : 7

Colo Sheldon's Certificate for Ferryage

605 Horses of the Cavalry	@ 3 d		£ 12 : 12 : 1
12 Waggons	@ 2/9		<u>£ 2 : 9 : 0</u>
			£ 57 : 13 : 8 <sup>95</sup>

After a rest the wagons rolled eight miles to their camp in Alexandria. It took the wagon train two days to accomplish the crossing. It was late in the afternoon of 25 September already before the last wagons rolled the remaining eight miles to their camp in Alexandria.

## Route 5a: The route of the American and French wagon trains in November 1781

With Cornwallis defeated and de Grasse on the way to the Caribbean, there was no reason for the Continental Army to remain in Virginia any longer. Once the earth-works thrown up for the siege had been levelled and the siege-field cleared of unexploded ordnance, Continental Army forces in the early days of November began their march the northward – or to the southward - by land and on water.<sup>96</sup> On 5 November, barely two weeks after the surrender on 19 October, Colonel McDowell's Pennsylvania Regiment as well as the Maryland Regiment and the 85 recruits for the Delaware Regiment had left Yorktown to join General Greene in North Carolina.

The remainder of the forces that had accompanied Washington to Virginia, i.e., the 1<sup>st</sup> New Jersey, 2<sup>nd</sup> New Jersey, 1<sup>st</sup> New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> New York, 1<sup>st</sup> 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. Their route is only of cursory interest for this study. The route of the Commander in Chief's Guard, which accompanied the general to Philadelphia, is covered in the route description for General Washington. That leaves six units - and the prisoners of war - who took a land route across the state. Unfortunately primary sources for the reconstruction of their marches are extremely scarce. Of the five infantry regiments that made the march north from Yorktown in 1781, the 1<sup>st</sup> New Jersey, 2<sup>nd</sup> New Jersey, Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment, 1<sup>st</sup> Rhode Island, 1<sup>st</sup> New York, and 2<sup>nd</sup> New York, only a copy of the Orderly Book of the 2<sup>nd</sup> New York, has survived, and even that contains a gap from 10 October 1781 to 19 August 1782, exactly the time of the march through Virginia.<sup>97</sup> That leaves the diary of Samuel Tallmadge of the Second New York Regiment as the single primary source by a participant for the return march.<sup>98</sup>

The journey of those troops who took the waterway to Head of Elk, i.e., the Light Infantry, the Second Continental Artillery, the Sappers and Miners and some of the wounded was determined by the availability of watercraft and the vagaries of wind and weather. None of them marched across Maryland but landed at Head of Elk for their further journey to the northward. Among the first to leave was Colonel Elias Dayton of the New Jersey Regiment, who recorded in his Diary on 1 November. "Left York in a Schooner called the Rachel, with a number of Shels & about 40 sick on boards. After a disagreeable passage of seven days arrived at the Head of Elk."<sup>99</sup> The Light Infantry, the artillery and the artificers also began to embark in the days after 1 November for the journey to Head of Elk.

A detailed itinerary is preserved in the journal of Lieutenant Ebenezer Wild of the Light Infantry, who had boarded the schooner *Liberty* with a detachment of 32 invalids in Yorktown "at sunrise" on Friday, 2 November 1781. Following a short portage from Head of Elk to Newcastle in Delaware, the group embarked on a sloop on 15 November and sailed and rowed up the Delaware river until they had to cast anchor at about midnight "one mile below the lower chevaux-de-frise". The following day at about 1:00 p.m. "we came to anchor (near a wharf) at the North end of the City of Philadelphia.

Next left the waggoners and the wagon train. On 22 October 1782, Thomas Cogswell had written to Thomas Pickering from "Camp near York Town" that "Mr Lincoln is going to take charge of the teams with the Prisoners, the three teams from the Jerseys I wish he might keep along with him till they get home or till we overtake him, the best of the Continental Teams he will keep with him till the last and then Deliver them to the Quarter Master"<sup>100</sup> Providing teams for the troops returning to the northward proved difficult, however. As recounted earlier a cattle pest had severely decimated the number of draft oxen available which had to be replaced with horses. A return of wagons and waggoners compiled in Williamsburg on 26 November 1781 shows 54 fit for duty, 20 unfit for a total of 74 wagons; another 36 wagons and teams were on duty for a total of 110. Eighty-nine of the 110 teams were now four-horse teams, seven were three-horse teams and two were drawn by two horses for a total of 381 horses.<sup>101</sup> On 8 November, Conductor William Finley presented Wadsworth with his

"Return of My Compy of teams that Left Annapolis

Cattel Daid 90

Cattel Living 04

===

total 94

====

Carts Present 16 Carts and Teams"

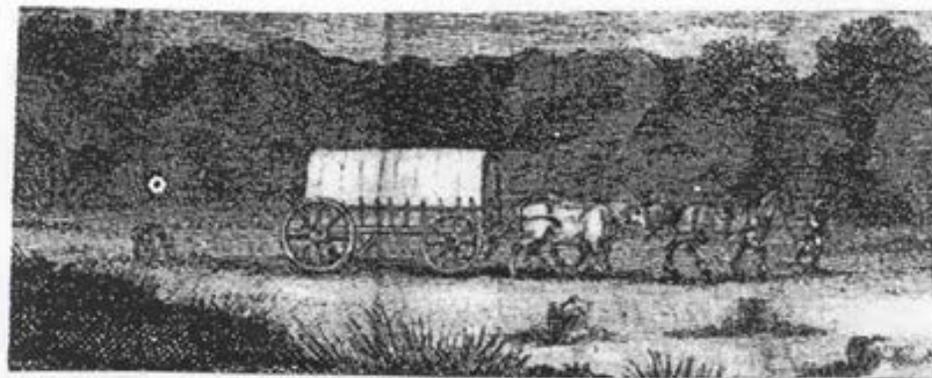
Josiah Cleaveland reported that of the 109 oxen in his 20 teams that had left "Annapolis", 106 had died and only 3 were still alive. Samuel Northum reported 61 of his 66 oxen that had left Annapolis were dead while Oliver Olmstead reported that of the 14 teams and 84 cattle that left Annapolis with him, 79 had died since the arrival in Williamsburg. Another conductor reported that of 21 teams of 115 oxen that had left Annapolis with him, 110 had

died. This means that in the five weeks following their arrival in Williamsburg, the 78 teams with 468 head of draft oxen reporting on 8 November had lost a combined total of 446 of their valuable draft animals while fewer than two dozen were still alive.<sup>102</sup>

Without additional resources it seems fair to assume that waggoners - both for the Continental Army as well as some of those who had been employed by Wadsworth for French forces - were sent to the northward or dismissed as they were needed (or no longer needed) and as teams became available. The waggoner from Sutton "continued in vergine State till the 16 of December and then we wair dismissed and set out for our Native places on this day from Williamsburg twelve miles to the Six mile tavern." He reached home on 25 December, "which makes it 613 miles from Williams-Burg in vergina to Sutton in the ComonWelth of Massachusets." When he filed for a federal pension in 1832, Solomon Goslee, a teamster from Colchester in Connecticut, claimed that he received his discharge from Jeremiah Wadsworth even later on 31 December 1781.

For the march through Maryland Thomas Gratton wrote:

Ye 14 (November 1781) marched to Alexandria & over Portomok River to George town into Maryland State & encamped. Ye 16 marched to Blaisingsburg and past the town one mild & encamped. Ye 11 till ye 18 then marched to Slotens iron works & encamped within 5 milds of Elkery Landing. Ye 19 Marched to Elkrey Landing & Baltimore past ye town 5 milds & encamped.<sup>103</sup>



Covered wagon. Detail from Thomas Anburey, "Encampment of the Convention Army at Charlotte Ville in Virginia" (circa 1779-1780), William P. Cumming and Hugh Rankin, The Fate of a Nation: The American Revolution through contemporary eyes (London, 1975), p. 170.

## Route 5b: The route of the 1st and 2d New York Regiments in November 1781

Based on what little information we have about the order and organization of the march it appears that for most of the way the New Jersey and New York regiments marched a day apart with the New Jersey Regiment in front.<sup>104</sup> The prisoners totaling about 6,000 were distributed between Winchester and Fort Frederick in Maryland before further deployment to Lancaster in Pennsylvania.

Samuel Tallmadge and his Second New York Regiment had received 440 prisoners on 3 November, and began the march north at 5:00 a.m. the next day. By 11 November, they reached Fredericksburg, and delivered the prisoners "to an officer of the Virginia militia".<sup>105</sup> "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 Timothy 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."

The first of the units to set out from Yorktown was the 2d New York Regiment. Samuel Tallmadge recorded in his journal that after "the sick and Invaleads of the army was put on board the Vessels and sailed for head of Elk" on 1 November, the regiment "marched down to York River" on Saturday, 3 November, "to receive the prisoners from Gloster after which Returned with them to Camp." The next morning, 4 November 1781 "About 5 OClock" the regiment set out for Williamsburg with its 440 prisoners.<sup>106</sup> Having handed their prisoners to the Virginia militia at Fredericksburg on 11/12 November, the regiment crossed the Potomac on 17 November and camped at Georgetown.

On 18 November the regiment struck its camp at Georgetown "and marched on to Bladensburg and halted an hour then proceeded on to Halls Plantation on pine River and Encamped." On the 19<sup>th</sup> the regiment crossed the ATHA and "Encamped at Deep Run" just east of Spurrier's Tavern. From Deep Run the regiment "at sunrise Commenced our march and Arrived at Elk Ridge Landing and Crossed the Petapscho River after that Continued our march and Encamped Near Baltimore." As the weather turned bad the march continued haltingly from now on and it was 29 November already before the regiment crossed into Delaware.

#### Route 5c: The route of the 1st and 2d New Jersey Regiments in November 1781

The only information known about the march of the New Jersey Regiments is taken from the journal of Tallmadge who occasionally mentions the unit. On 25 November, the "Jersey Regiment marched to the [Susquehannah] River and Crossed, Stormy Weather prevented our Regt marching."<sup>107</sup> As the regiment could not cross the next day either, the New Jersey troops gained another day on the New Yorkers. Based on the itinerary of the New York Regiment that means that the New Jersey troops probably marched into Pennsylvania on 29 November for a camp in or near Marcus Hook. The 30<sup>th</sup> saw the regiment just outside Philadelphia, on 1 December they probably camped near Lower Dublin, and reached Trenton on 2 December. By 17 November they had reached Georgetown, and on Friday, 29 November camped at Christina Bridge in Delaware. The next day, 30 November, the troops completed their crossing of Delaware and camped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania.<sup>108</sup>

#### Route 5d: The route of the Rhode Island and Hazen's Regiment from Yorktown

No primary source exists for the march of the Rhode Island Regiment of Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment. What is known is that upon arrival in Philadelphia, Hazen's regiment branched off toward its winter quarters in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where it performed duties guarding British prisoners that had marched north with them to Pennsylvania at Camp Security. Only a very few POW camps were established during the Revolutionary War, and Camp Security is the only one of these sites that remains largely untouched. Between 1781 and the end of the war in 1783, more than 1,500 captured British soldiers and their families were confined at Camp Security.

The Rhode Island regiment remained quartered in the barracks in Philadelphia. On 24 May 1782, General Lincoln as Secretary of War informed William Moore, President of the State of Pennsylvania, that "The Rhode Island Regiment will march next Wednesday to join the troops in the highlands - which lays me under the necessity of soliciting a guard for the prisoners in the new Jail."<sup>109</sup> The regiment did not leave their winter quarters until late May, when the "Account of Public Ferriages" provided by Hugh Runyan on 31 May ferried "470 men Rhode Island Regt" for £ 2 18/9 across the Delaware. Eight four-horse waggons paid £ 1 10/, 7 horses 2/7.<sup>110</sup>

## Route 6: The August 1782 French Encampment at the NW Branch Anacostia and Post Road

Three weeks after it had left Williamsburg on 1 July 1782, the First Division of Rochambeau's infantry crossed the Potomac to a camp in Georgetown. Next it camped on 19 July 1782 (and continued north on 22 July) not in Bladensburg proper but about 1 mile to the north on both sides of the old road, today's Alternate US Route 1. Some of the infantry camped on the east side of the road north of the north-east branch in the general vicinity of East Hyattsville near Hyattsville viaduct. Ari and wagons are on west side stretching south to the confluence of northeast and northwest branches of Anacostia. Some are on south side of northwest branch along the old road to Georgetown, today part of North Brentwood. From there it continued to Baltimore, followed by the remaining three divisions of Rochambeau's army.

Having spent almost a month in Baltimore, the First Division, i.e., the infantry regiment Bourbonnais, departed Baltimore again on 24 August, for White Marsh Forge, then came the camp at Lower Ferry and camp 24 of the return march at Head of Elk. Coming from Head of Elk, the First Brigade of the French forces camped on 29 August near Newport and was followed by the Second Brigade on 30 August. Without stopping again in Delaware, the French forces crossed over into Pennsylvania from 29 August to 3 September 1781. On 6 December, French forces marched into Boston. In the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup>, Christmas Day, the French fleet raised anchor to sail to the West Indies, where news of the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace on 30 November 1782 reached the troops in mid-February 1783. In mid-April the troops sailed back to France, where they arrived in late June.

Though Rochambeau had accompanied his forces from their encampment at Crompond (Yorktown Heights) through Connecticut to Rhode Island, it had been decided that he would not accompany them to the Caribbean but return to France. While quartered in Providence, Rhode Island, the *comte* de Lauberdière on 1 December 1782, wrote in his journal, "we embraced our friends who were about to betake themselves where their desires called them and M de Rochambeau, his son, the *comte* de Vauban, and I mounted our horses to betake ourselves to Philadelphia. The Chevalier de Chatellux and his aides de camp, M. de Béville and a number of officers of the staff of the army. M de Choisy etc took the same route on different days with the same intention." On the evening of 12 December 1782 Rochambeau had dinner with French ambassador de la Luzerne in Philadelphia.

On the evening before his departure for Annapolis on 2 January 1783, Elias Boudinot transmitted this congressional address with a note dated 1 January 1783:

*Among the most agreeable duties of my office, the communicating the approbation of Congress to such worthy characters as are entitled, by their merit and services, to these Tokens of public Respect, is not the least.*

*Be assured, Sir, that the honor I now have to enclose your Excellency the warm and affectionate testimony of the United States in Congress Assembled, to the valour, discipline and good conduct of His Excellency The Count de Rochambeau and the Army under his command, gives me sensations of the most delicate nature, and I shall esteem it among the favorable circumstances of my administration to have the honor of this communication.*

*Permit me, in the most cordial manner, to wish your Excellency, and the worthy Officers who attend you, the most prosperous voyage, with a happy sight of your Country and Friends, and particularly the deserved approbation of your Royal Master.*

Taking the familiar route via Chester in the morning of 2 January, Rochambeau spent the nights of 2/3 January, in Wilmington, 3/4 January in Christiana, and 4/5 January Head of Elk. He reached Baltimore on 5 January, and departed on the *Romulus* for Annapolis the same day. On 8 January 1783, Rochambeau, Chastellux, Choisy, Bévillie, 17 officers in all, embarked on the frigate *Emeraude*. Aware of British vessels lying in wait on the ocean, the frigate, using a strong north-easterly wind, after a six-day wait, sailed out of the bay about two hours before nightfall on 14 January 1783 with British frigates in hot pursuit.<sup>111</sup> After a very fast crossing the vessel arrived at Saint-Nazaire on 10 February 1783.

Here he learned that the Preliminaries of Peace had been signed in Paris on 30 November 1782, though it would take some time for this news to reach the New World - or for hostilities to cease there. It was 24 March already, when the appropriately named French cutter *Triomphe* sailed into Philadelphia with the news of the signing. 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.<sup>112</sup>

The time had come for Lauzun's Legion to return home. On 16 April, Jacob Hiltzheimer "went to the Court House, where the City Magistrates appeared and caused William Will, Sheriff, to proclaim to the people at large that all hostilities by land and on sea are at an end between America and Britain."<sup>113</sup> On 18 April, Hiltzheimer and his son Thomas went to Wilmington to examine the 249 horses the Legion needed to sell.<sup>114</sup> A few days later, on 29

April, the Rev. Pitman witnesses the first ship flying a British flag sail into Philadelphia. That same day, the chevalier de la Luzerne informed Robert Livingston of a letter he had received from Washington on 23 April, in which the American approved the French request for the departure of the Legion. Luzerne therefore asked Livingston to

*have the kindness to inform Congress that the departure will take place immediately.*

*Permit me to embrace this opportunity of assuring you, in concert with the Duc de Lauzun, that the officers and soldiers of this army will always recollect with pleasure the three years which they passed in this continent, the union which has existed between the two nations, and the hospitality with which they have been treated by the inhabitants."<sup>115</sup>*

By the time Luzerne wrote to Livingston, the legion was already gathered in Philadelphia, ready to board the vessels that would take the men back to France. On 1 May, Lauzun informed Washington of his orders to bring his forces home (unless Washington objected) and told the American that he planned to embark them on 9 May. Washington gave Lauzun his approval on the 10<sup>th</sup> and added that

*Your particular services, sir, with the politeness, zeal, and attention which I have ever experienced from you, have made a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and will serve to endear you to my remembrance. It would have been a great satisfaction to have had further opportunity to give you in person the assurances of my regard could your orders have permitted your longer continuance in the country.*

On 11 May 1783, the 528 men left of the *légion*, and most of the remnants of the *expédition particulière* sailed from Philadelphia for Europe. Writing from Cape May on 12 May, Lauzun assured Washington that he

*can not leave America without present your Excellency my most grateful Acknowledgements for the kind and flattering letter you have honored me with; The remembrance of your friendship will for ever be dear and glorious to me. ... I hope you will not give up the Plan of a Tour in Europa, and be convinced how happy I would be to wait upon you every where in the both worlds.<sup>116</sup>*

The five frigates that took the remnants of Rochambeau's forces to Europe -- *la Gloire, la Danaë, l'Astrée, l'Active, Le St. James* -- carried 62 officers, 636 enlisted men, five "femmes de soldats" and 51 domestics to Brest, where they docked around 11 June.<sup>117</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In an interview with *American Heritage* historian David McCullough had declared: "We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for [the French]." Though historians should not speculate about "what ifs", but close reading of the present survey arguably shows that French support was indeed vital to the success of the Revolutionary War.

The shots fired at Lexington and Concord had hardly been heard in Paris when French financial and military aid began flowing to the rebellious colonies. Almost 100 volunteers provided crucial expertise for American artillery, engineering, and map-making. In February 1778, France became the first foreign country to recognize the United States as an independent nation. In the spring of 1780, the *comte* de Rochambeau brought over 5,000 officers and men across the ocean and forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis fifteen months later. Rochambeau's forces had decided the outcome of the war.

In July 1780, Rochambeau arrived in Newport with over 5,000 officers and men; the ships that left Boston on Christmas Eve 1782 carried about 1,000 fewer men. About 700 men remained behind, the last of whom returned to France in November 1783. A final transport of 85 sick soldiers left Baltimore on 5 October 1783.<sup>118</sup> During the 30 months that the 492 officers and 6,038 men of the *expédition particulière* had been in, or on their way to and from America, about 600 men (including 70 in the six months following the return in 1783) died, though only about 75 of them from battle or battle-related wounds. Seven were executed, 316 men, of whom only 26 were native, French-speaking, soldiers, deserted. So did 80 men recruited in America. One hundred forty, including 30 "American" recruits, were discharged. Thirty-one officers and 14 enlisted men retired with military pensions in the New World. Within six months of returning to France, Rochambeau's units discharged 832 men whose enlistment had expired!<sup>119</sup>

Rochambeau's troops were not the only French forces to fight in America before, or after, Yorktown. In fact, they represent only a fraction of the total number of Frenchmen fighting for American Independence, which historians have estimated at 18,000 soldiers and 31,000 sailors. In 1776, France had stationed 19 battalions of infantry in her Caribbean possessions; in the course of the war she sent another 29 battalions there for a total of 48 battalions. Rochambeau brought all of 8 infantry battalions with him in 1780. At Yorktown, Rochambeau suffered not even 200 casualties in dead and wounded. Between March and December 1781, the French navy operating in the Caribbean suffered over 5,000 casualties, the equivalent of almost the entire force under Rochambeau.

The French contribution to American victory becomes even more obvious when we look at the role of the French navy. It was Admiral de Grasse' fleet which kept the Royal Navy from making contact with Cornwallis when it sailed out to meet the challenge in the Battle off the Capes in early September 1781. Without the French fleet, Admiral Graves might just have succeeded in rescuing Cornwallis from Yorktown. The Continental Navy could not have stopped him: in 1781, the Royal Navy had 140 ships of the line of 74 guns or more, the French had 67 capital ships, Spain had 58, the Dutch 19, the United States had none.

French expenditures for the war were enormous: Robert D. Harris sets the cost of the war for the years 1776-1782 at 928.9 million livres (as opposed to 2,270.5 million livres for the British), with another 125.2 million to be added for the year 1783. At the same time, the total ordinary income of the French crown stood at 377.5 million livres for the year 1776. Ninety-one per cent of the cost of the war was funded by loans, and by the end of 1782, the total constituted debt of the French monarchy had reached 4,538 million livres. Even if the outlays for the war were not the primary cause of the French Revolution, there can be no doubt that an extra billion livres in debt and annual expenditures of some 207 million livres just to service the debt, did nothing to enhance the financial situation of the monarchy between 1783 and the outbreak of the revolution in 1789.<sup>120</sup>

But within the overall French war effort, expenditures on the American war were minimal. According to Claude C. Sturgill, "all of the monies directly appropriated for the entire cost" of Rochambeau's forces amounted to exactly 12,730,760 livres or a little over 1 per cent of the total cost of the war.<sup>121</sup> In addition the American rebels received 18 million in loans, to be repaid after the war, as well as outright subsidies of about 9 million from the foreign affairs department and other aid for a total of about 48 million livres spent in support of the American Revolution.

But whatever Royalist France did to support the America's struggle for Independence, nothing can alter the fact that it was American colonists who first challenged British authority. It was American colonists who first proclaimed that "All men are created equal" And that governments "derive[d] their just powers from the consent of the governed." It was American colonists who risked their lives and their properties to fight for the "truths" which they, and after them the whole world, considered "to be self-evident". It was on their soil that the war was waged. It was they who suffered the devastation and hardships of the war. No matter where their ancestors had come from in their search for freedom, they would stand together under the leadership of General George Washington and in the crucible of war create their own nation.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> The other component of Phase II consisted of

a) an in-depth survey of the cultural resources for the W3R-NHT on the Eastern Shore with these two goals:

- 1) 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.
- 2) To document the 1781 movement of Quartermaster supplies, logistics, and shipping from the Maryland Eastern Shore to the Continental Army before Yorktown.

b) in Western Maryland an in-depth survey of the cultural resources for the W3R-NHT with these two goals:

- 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 POWs of the Convention Army as well as the Yorktown prisoners as they marched through Maryland to Camp Security in Pennsylvania in November and December 1781.

Phase I of the W3R-NHT in Maryland had addresses the following ten tasks:

1. To identify the land routes and related resources traveled and occupied by Generals George Washington and Jean Baptiste de Vimeur, *comte* de Rochambeau, on their way to Yorktown in September 1781
2. To identify the land and water routes, campsites and related resources traveled and occupied by Congressional and French forces under the command of Generals George Washington and Jean Baptiste de Vimeur, *comte* de Rochambeau, on their way to Yorktown in September 1781
3. To identify the land routes, campsites and related resources traveled and occupied by the American and French wagon trains on their way from Head of Elk to Annapolis in September 1781

4. To identify the land and water routes, campsites and related resources traveled and occupied by the approx. 300 hussars of Lauzun's Legion on their way from Head of Elk to Annapolis in September 1781
5. To identify the land and water routes, campsites and related resources traveled and occupied by Congressional forces on their march northward in November and December 1781
6. To identify the land and water routes, campsites and related resources traveled and occupied by French forces on their march northward in July 1782
7. To identify the resources used by French forces during their stay in Baltimore in July and August 1782
8. To identify the resources used by French forces under the *marquis* de la Valette during the stay in Baltimore until May 1783
9. To research and write a historical narrative of the campaign of 1781 and the return marches of Continental Army and French forces in 1782 around these sites
10. To provide recommendations to assist in developing a plan to interpret those sites within the context of the National Historic Trail as authorized by Congress on 25 March 2009 and signed into law by President Barack Obama on 30 March 2009

<sup>2</sup>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.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Paine, *Common Sense: Addressed to the Inhabitants of America* (Philadelphia, 1776), p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> James Curtis Ballagh, ed., *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York, 1911), vol. 1, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> John Adams autobiography, part 1, "John Adams," through 1776, sheet 22 of 53 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society. <http://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/>

<sup>6</sup> *Warren-Adams Letters, Being chiefly a correspondence among John Adams, Samuel Adams, and James Warren* Vol. 1: 1743-1777 (Boston, 1917), p. 241.

<sup>7</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> Claude Van Tyne, "French Aid before the Alliance of 1778" *American Historical Review* Vol. 31, (1925), pp. 20-40.

<sup>9</sup> 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.

<sup>10</sup> 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.

<sup>11</sup> Dull, *French Navy*, 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).

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> Clermont-Crevecoeur, p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> The table is based on NARA, Military Service Records, Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783. M246, Roll 136: Returns of the French Army Under Count Rochambeau, 1781-82 (six returns).

<sup>17</sup> Washington, *Diaries*, Vol. 2, p. 254. Washington's letter to Lafayette is in Washington, *Writings*, Vol. 22, p. 501-502. "

<sup>18</sup> Captain James Duncan of Hazen's Regiment wrote, "Here [Head of Elk] we were delayed 6 or 7 days, being busily employed in embarking ordnance stores of all kinds on board the vessels. In the meantime the French troops with some other corps of our army proceeded by land for Baltimore. The bay not being able to furnish a sufficient number of vessels, the Rhode Island regiment with ours [Hazen's Regiment] was obliged to embark on board a number of flat-bottomed boats, which had been constructed at Albany and brought to this place [Head of Elk]. We set out on this arduous and very hazardous undertaking about September 15, and arrived at Williamsburg the 26<sup>th</sup>". "Diary of Captain James Duncan of Colonel Moses Hazen's Regiment in the Yorktown Campaign, 1781," in William H. Egle, M.D., ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. 15 (Harrisburg, 1890), PP. 745-746.

<sup>19</sup> Richard J. Batt, *The Maryland Continentals 1780–1781*. PhD Thesis (Tulane University, 1974).

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Bernard Christian, [\*Muster Rolls & other Records of Service of Maryland Troops in the American Revolution 1775–1783\*](#) ([1900]. Reprint ed. Baltimore, 1972).

Rieman Steuart, *History of the Maryland Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775–1783*. (Towson, 1972).

Marko Zlatich, "Uniform of the 4th Maryland Regiment Continental Line" *Military Collector and Historian*. (1980), p. 85.

<sup>20</sup> Robert K. Wright, Jr., *The Continental Army* (Washington, DC, 1989), pp. 276-282.

<sup>21</sup> The Maryland Battalion distinguished itself at the Battle of Long Island by single-handedly covering the retreat of the American forces against numerically superior British and Hessian forces, with a group of men memorialized as the Maryland 400. Thereafter, General George Washington relied heavily upon the Marylanders as one of the few reliable fighting units in the early Continental Army. For this reason, Maryland is known as "The Old Line State." <http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/01glance/html/nickname.html>

<sup>22</sup> Richard Henry Lee to Patrick Henry, Baltimore 9 January 1777. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789* vol. 6, 1 January - 30 April 1777. Available online at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdg.html> .

<sup>23</sup> In April 1780, Washington ordered the Maryland line of almost 2,000 men to North Carolina where they arrived in late July. From here they regiments marched another one hundred miles to Camden.

<sup>24</sup> Following their arrival in Williamsburg Washington on 24 September 1781 assigned the two regiments to Mordecai Gist's Brigade in the Main Continental Army. Three days later, on 27 September 1781, Gist's Brigade was re-assigned to the Southern Department. On 4 January 1782 the regiment was re-assigned from Gist's Brigade to the Maryland Brigade in the Southern Department. The regiments disbanded on 1 January 1783 at Charleston, SC.

<sup>25</sup> Francis Bernard Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 To December, 1783* (Washington, D.C. 1914), p. 506.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 476.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, p. 331.

<sup>28</sup> Charles H. Lesser, *The Sinews of Independence, Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army*, (Chicago, 1976), p. 208.

<sup>29</sup> Additional strength reports are located among the Mordecai Gist Papers, 1772-1813, MS. 390, in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore:

1781, October 23: A Weekly Return of the Fourth Regiment

1781, November 2: A True State of the Third Maryland Regiment

1781, December 5: R[ichard] Bird to [Mordecai] Gist with enclosure: A Return of the Maryland and Delaware Troops at Williams Burgh and Hanover Hospitals

1782, January 6: Weekly Return of the Third and Fourth Maryland Regiments of Foot

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 210.

<sup>31</sup> Rice, Howard C. Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. II, p. 88.

<sup>32</sup> Lee letter

<sup>33</sup> Council letter to Calhoun

<sup>34</sup> Pickering Papers, Film 13, Reel 26, Vol. 82: Letters sent by Pickering 29 June 1781 to 2 January 1782. The entries only give the topics of the letters, not the complete text.

<sup>35</sup> "Minutes of Occurrences respecting the Seige and Capture of York in Virginia, extracted from the Journal of Colonel Jonathan Trumbull, Secretary to the General, 1781." *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* Vol. 14, (April 1876), pp. 331-228, p. 332. It should be kept in mind, however, that the "Minutes" as published are a copy made years after the events and not in Trumbull's hand. Additionally some editing seems to have taken place viz. on 6 September he records that "The want of water craft obliges part of the troops to march by land to Baltimore, and eventually as far as Anapolis." On 6 September Trumbull could not have known about the change of plans and the embarkation of French forces at Annapolis. Additionally the copyist made a mistake in the dates of the diary, identifying 12 September as a day of rest at Mount Vernon when this was the day of departure. Trumbull's date of de Grasse' arrival, 26 August, is obviously wrong.

<sup>36</sup> Rochambeau's letter to the *comte* de Ségur is in the Rochambeau Papers in the Library of Congress, vol. 9.

<sup>37</sup> David Humphreys to Mordecai Gist, from "Head of Elk Sept 6<sup>th</sup> 1781. 1 OClock Morn<sup>g</sup> ". For Washington's whereabouts see his letter to David Forman dated "Wilmington, September 6, 1781.

Sir: I thank you for your favour of yesterday. I have to inform, that I am thus far on my way to Virginia; that the Fleet of the Count de Grasse is arrived in the Chesapeak, 28 Ships of the Line and Frigates."

<sup>38</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Trumbull, "Occurrences," p. 332.

<sup>40</sup> Unless otherwise indicated all Washington correspondence is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers available at the website of the Library of Congress: <http://memory.loc.gov> .

<sup>41</sup> Unless otherwise indicated Washington's diary is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers available at the website of the Library of Congress: <http://memory.loc.gov> .

Chastellux became a *marquis* only at the death of his older brother Philippe Louis in January 1784.

<sup>42</sup> Washington Papers, Library of Congress

<sup>43</sup> Trumbull, "Occurrences", p. 333.

<sup>44</sup> Smallwood to Lee, from "George Town" on Tuesday, 11 September,

<sup>45</sup> See James Hosmer Penniman, *George Washington at Mount Vernon on the Potomac* (Mount Vernon, 1921), p. 21.

<sup>46</sup> Ignatius' daughter Mary (1745–1805) was the wife of Thomas Sim Lee (1745–1819), governor of Maryland from November 1779 to November 1782.

<sup>47</sup> Created by the Maryland Legislature in 1706, Queen Anne, whose name was changed to Hardesty in 1897, had been a flourishing town on the Patuxent River in the early part of the century but had rapidly declined due to silting of the Patuxent.

<sup>48</sup> George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799: Series 5 Financial Papers, Jonathan Trumbull Jr., September 15, 1781, Revolutionary War Accounts, Vouchers, and Receipted Accounts 2, image 347 available on-line at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

The currency breakdown is £1 Sterling (silver) = 20 Shillings = 240 Pennies. There was no £1 coin in the eighteenth century; the largest silver coins minted were the Crown at 5 shillings, usually written as 5/ and the Half-Crown at 2 shillings 6 pence, written as 2/6.

"Since Continental Dollars, by 1781 at the latest, no longer had any value, the states returned to keeping their books based on specie money, i.e. gold or silver, as they had kept them for decades before the war. ... Since the demand for silver coinage always exceeded the available supply, silver coins traded at an ever greater premium. The premium above the 54d level was termed the "crying up" of coinage. In order to limit this "crying up," Queen Anne issued a proclamation in 1704, passed into law by parliament in 1707, which specified that a full weight Spanish dollar would pass in the colonies at 72d or 6s, a third above the sterling rate. Since 5s were called a Crown in Britain (worth 5 shillings), the Piece of Eight was also known as a Spanish Crown while écus (worth 5.75 shillings) were known as French Crowns in the colonies.

During the Revolutionary War, New England, Virginia and the Carolinas adhered to this "Proclamation Rate" of a one third "up-crying" and currency issued at this rate was known as "Lawful Money" or "Current Money." The Middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland set the exchange rate for a Spanish dollar at 90d or 7s 6d, 66.66% over sterling. To distinguish it from the "Proclamation Money," it was referred to as

"Common Money" or "Pennsylvania Money," though "Lawful Money" appears in Delaware ledgers as well. New York created its own rate of 96d or 8s to the Spanish dollar, a 78% increase over sterling." Robert A. Selig, "Eighteenth-Century Currencies." *The Brigade Dispatch* vol. 42 No. 3 (Autumn 2013), p. 7.

<sup>49</sup> Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière, *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur le comte de Rochambeau* fol. 107v. His *Journal* is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See also Robert A. Selig, "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106, and "Lauberdière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37.

<sup>50</sup> "Letters of Axel de Fersen, Aide-de-Camp to Rochambeau written to his Father in Sweden 1780-1782" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 3, No. 5, (May 1879), pp. 300-309, No. 6, (June 1879), pp. 369-376, and No. 7, (July 1879), pp. 437-448. Eight letters from America to his sister were published in *The Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen and Barnave* O.-G. de Heidenstam, ed., (New York, 1929), pp. 6-13.

<sup>51</sup> Mathieu Dumas, *Memoirs of his Own Time* 2 vols., (London, 1839), vol. 1, pp.

<sup>52</sup> Published in Claude C. Sturgill, ed., "Rochambeau's *Mémoire de la Guerre en Amérique*" *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 78, (January 1970) pp. 34- 64.

<sup>53</sup> See his *The War in America. An Unpublished Journal (1780-1783)* in: Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son* (New York, 1936).

<sup>54</sup> Closen traveled to Williamsburg via Port Tobacco. See *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* Evelyn M. Acomb, ed., (Chapel Hill, 1958).

<sup>55</sup> Marie-François baron Cromot du Bourg,, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (March 1880), pp. 205-214, (April 1880), pp. 293-308, (May 1880), pp. 376-385, (June 1880), pp. 441-452. Cromot du Bourg accompanied Closen.

<sup>56</sup> See the *Journal d'un Emigré* by Denis Jean Florimond Langlois de Mautheville, marquis du Bouchet, in the Division of Rare and Manuscripts Collections at Cornell University, esp. pp. 212/13.

<sup>57</sup> I have been unable to get access to the letters of an eighth aide, Charles Malo François comte de Lameth, who may have accompanied Rochambeau and Chastellux, in the archives of the Département Val d'Oise.

<sup>58</sup> Oyré's *Notes* are held in the library of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, DC, under the call number MSS L2008F163 M; his 37 letters he wrote home from the US are catalogued under MSS L2009F30.

Martha Washington stayed at Montpelier in May 1789 while on her way to Washington's first inauguration. From Montpelier, Martha Washington traveled to Annapolis and thence to Baltimore. Upon her arrival on 19 May 1789, she "was met at Hammond's ferry by several of the citizens". J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 82.

<sup>59</sup> Matthew Ridley to Governor Lee, 9 September 1781. Quoted in J. Alexis Shriver, *Lafayette in Harford County 1781* (Bel Air, 1931), pp. 114-15. Ridley closed his letter informing the governor that "The Genl says the Troops will most probably be here on Tuesday Evening (11 September)." Chastellux does not give an account of his journey to Yorktown. Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in Years 1780-81* Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed., 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, 1963). The First Brigade of Rochambeau's army consisting of the Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts Regiments arrived in Baltimore on 12 September.

<sup>60</sup> A review of 1 October 1781, lists six officers and 106 NCOs in the grenadier company and seven officers and 104 NCOs in the chasseur company. Archives Nationales, Paris, call no. D2C32.

<sup>61</sup> Rochambeau's instructions to Vioménil of 8 September 1781 are quoted from a copy in Fonds Vioménil, Académie François Bourdon in Le Creusot, France, LB0074-97.

<sup>62</sup> The duties of the *maréchal general de logis* included responsibility for planning marches, selecting camps, and regulating transportation and supply.

<sup>63</sup> Quoted from the on-line edition at <http://memory.loc.gov> .

<sup>64</sup> Rochambeau's field artillery, i.e., the 2nd Battalion of the Auxonne Regiment, consisted of eight 12-Pounders, sixteen 4-Pounders and six 6-inch howitzers of the Gribeauval system introduced in 1776. See Paul Aussaresses, "L'artillerie française au siège de Yorktown (1781)" *Revue historique de l'armée* 26, No. 2 (1970), pp. 34-42; François. Buttner, "Les artilleurs de Monsieur de Rochambeau" *Carnet de la Sabretache* 35 (1976), pp. 130-135, and Henri Hure, "The French Artillery at the Battle of Yorktown" *Field Artillery Journal* (Sept.-Oct. 1986), pp. 34-37.

<sup>65</sup> Histories of Lauzun's Legion incorrectly give Lauzun's artillery light 4-lb guns *à la suédoise* of the *ystème* Vallière, but see the letter of 2 October from Camp Ware Church by General George Weeden to Washington in which he writes that "we have not a single Field piece to our Troops except two small cannon belonging to the Duke, not more than two pounders."

<sup>66</sup> René Marie *vicomte* d'Arrot, *colonel commandant* of the Legion, was born in Parthenay in February 1749 (or December 1754?). He began his military career in December 1767, as a sub-lieutenant in the *légion de l'île de France*. Promoted to a lieutenancy in the *Régiment de Pondichéry* in 1772, he never served in India but he took part in the conquest of Senegal in

1779. On 1 April 1780, he became *colonel commandant* of Lauzun's Legion. A life-long royalist, he sailed for the Caribbean after the victory at Yorktown and became governor of Tobago in 1783. He returned to Paris from the Caribbean in 1802, where he died in 1821.

<sup>67</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers Box 155: Wadsworth & Carter, 1780 - Sept. 1781, Folder 16 to 30 September 1781, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT.

<sup>68</sup> There is a note in the ms here: "It is believed that the Rapahannock can be crossed at a ford two miles above Fredericksburg at Falmouth."

<sup>69</sup> Fonds Vioménil, LB0074-94. No more distances are given after Bladensburg.

<sup>70</sup> *Etat G[énéral] des dispositions pour la marche de l'armée*. Fonds Vioménil LB 0074-59. Tarlé's *Etat* assumed that Vioménil's infantry would embark in Baltimore. Jean des Cilleuls, "Le service de l'intendance à l'armée de Rochambeau." *Revue historique de l'Armée* No. 2, (1957), pp. 43-61.

<sup>71</sup> William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America* Samuel A. Green, ed., (Boston, 1868), p.45.

<sup>72</sup> Jacob Judd, ed., *The Revolutionary War 'Memoir' and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* (Tarrytown, New York, 1976), p. 167.

<sup>73</sup> Lafayette-Leclerc Papers, MS 31.17, Folder 1 No. 13. Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF), Williamsburg, Virginia.

<sup>74</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers Box 155: Wadsworth & Carter, 1780 - Sept. 1781, Folder 16 to 30 September 1781, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT.

<sup>75</sup> Lafayette-Leclerc Papers, MS 31.17, Folder 1 No. 16, Rockefeller Library, CWF.

<sup>76</sup> "News Tavern" or "John New's Ordinary" was built in 1773/4. An advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* on 10 February 1774, describes it as a "Tavern at the Gloucester Courthouse." Renamed the Botetourt Building it is now the home of the Gloucester County Museum of History.

<sup>77</sup> The measurements are in English miles since French *lieue* was 3,898 meter or almost 2.5 miles.

<sup>78</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers Box 155: Wadsworth & Carter, 1780 - Sept. 1781, Folder 16 to 30 September 1781, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, CT.

<sup>79</sup> Beginning with the entry for James Hendrick(s) the valuation changes from Maryland Currency to Virginia Currency. On Hendricks see

<http://www.genfiles.com/hendrick/Chronicles1770.pdf>.

<sup>80</sup> On the Triplett family see <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~genepool/tripnote.htm>

<sup>81</sup> Quoted from *The writings of George Washington from the original manuscript sources*. Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library.

<sup>82</sup>"Thomas Graton His Book" is a journal kept by Thomas Graton of Massachusetts that is attached to Graton's pension file. Graton joined the Company of Artificers for a five-month enlistment term on 2 August 1781 and marched to Yorktown and back with the Continental Army.

<sup>83</sup>"Thomas Graton His Book" is the only surviving primary American source for the route of the wagon train to and from Virginia in 1781. See Pension application of Thomas Graton, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) W 14824, 34 p., 1 August 1767-29 September 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

<sup>84</sup> Detail from Erskine-DeWitt Map 124-L. Details from the Erskine-DeWitt map collection are reproduced courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

<sup>85</sup> The itinerary for the wagon train from Annapolis to Williamsburg is published in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 85-107, p. 85.

<sup>86</sup> Wadsworth to Rochambeau, 16 April 1781, Wadsworth Papers, CHS, and Rochambeau to Wadsworth, 18 April 1781, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9, Letterbook 1.

<sup>87</sup> Wadsworth to Rochambeau, 16 April 1781, Rochambeau Family Papers, Gen Mss 146, Box 1, No. 61, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

<sup>88</sup> The discharge paper for 46 teams from Colchester, Connecticut is in Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Box 155. The waggoners were allowed 39 days for the journey from Annapolis to Colchester.

<sup>89</sup> "Since all of our waggons are going to Williamsburg on land without carrying a load" he decided to send back those that were no longer needed. Fonds Vioménil LB 0074-104.

<sup>90</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 83.

<sup>91</sup> "Mémorandum du Baron de Vioménil pour une réunion avec l'intendant," dated 18 September 1781. Fonds Vioménil LB 0074-127.

<sup>92</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 85.

<sup>93</sup> The itinerary for the French wagon train from Annapolis to Williamsburg is published in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 85-107. In the absence of a first-hand or an eye-witness account of the journey it is assumed that the wagons followed the itinerary printed there. The quote is *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>94</sup> The itinerary for the French wagon train from Annapolis to Williamsburg is published in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, pp. 85-107.

<sup>95</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers Box 155, Folder 16-30 September 1781.

<sup>96</sup> Some forces march to the southward, incl. MD Regt.

<sup>97</sup> New York State Library, catalogue No. 10464, vol. 10, part 1. Another copy is at New-York Historical Society, microfilm #149, reel 15.

<sup>98</sup> 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.

<sup>99</sup> New Jersey Historical Society, Elias Dayton Papers, MG 94. The diary ends here.

<sup>100</sup> United States. National Archives. Miscellaneous Numbered Records (The Manuscript File) in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records, 1775-1790s. Record Group 93, 125 reels, reel 83.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, Folder November 1781.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, Folder November 1781. The situation was similar for the remaining 42 teams.

<sup>103</sup> Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 pp. roll 1110, frames 302-325.

<sup>104</sup> See William S. Stryker, *The New Jersey Continental Line in the Virginia Campaign of 1781* (Trenton, 1882), p. 26.

<sup>105</sup> Egly, *First New York*, p. 210.

<sup>106</sup> Tallmadge Journal p. 765.

<sup>107</sup> Tallmadge, *Journal*, p. 767.

<sup>108</sup> Tallmadge, *Journal*, p. 767.

<sup>109</sup> Lincoln's letter is printed in *Pennsylvania Archives* vol. IX (1854), p. 549.

<sup>110</sup> "Account of Public Ferriages" by Hugh Runyan in folder: Official papers ca. 1780-1782, in John Neilson, Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 2, Account Book beginning Trenton, 25 Sept. 1780 to 4 October 1782. Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Ac 589. On 16 April, John Rogers and 75 men of regiment had already crossed, another 26 men belonging to the Rhode Island Regiment crossed on 4 June. On 4 May, 25 more soldiers had crossed from Elizabethtown to Philadelphia, and on 24 April, Lieutenant Beckham had crossed with 56 recruits for the regiment.

<sup>111</sup> "Journal de notre navigation" Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, volume 13.

<sup>112</sup> The text of this declaration is included in the appendix to this report. The ratification of the declaration was predated to 3 February 1783, giving the British until July 3, 1783, to continue capturing enemy vessels south of the equator.

<sup>113</sup> Hiltzheimer, *Diary*, p. 55.

<sup>114</sup> Hiltzheimer, *Diary*, p. 55. Among materials still to be disposed of were powder and lead of the French artillery stationed in Baltimore. On 7 June 1783, Philadelphians Tench Coxe, George Meade and David Franks and Jacob Broom of Wilmington purchased from *commissaire de guerre* Pierre de Chesnel almost 73,000 lbs of powder for 9 sols per (French) pound and seven hundred of the 42,659 1/2 lbs of lead in Baltimore, 3,330 lbs of which were bars, the rest already melted into musket balls. Tench Coxe Papers, HSP.

<sup>115</sup> Quoted from the on-line edition of *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, Volume 6.

<sup>116</sup> Quoted from the on-line edition of the Washington Papers at the Library of Congress.

<sup>117</sup> The embarkation list is in Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine B/4/185. A final transport of 85 soldiers under Captain François Xavier Christophe baron de Hell of Lauzun's Legion sailed from Baltimore on the *Pintade* on 5 October 1783, and entered Brest on 10 November 1783.

<sup>118</sup> Amblard de Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1903), pp. 407-408.

<sup>119</sup> Over one fourth of all desertions in the French forces occurred in the last three months before departure.

<sup>120</sup> All figures from Harris, "French Finances," pp. 233-258.

<sup>121</sup> Sturgill, "Observations", p. 183.

## Which Road or Roads did the French (and American?) Wagon Train (s) take from Annapolis to Bladensburg and Georgetown in September 1781?

### Historical background:

Following a rapid march from their encampment at Philipsburg in Westchester County, New York in mid-August 1781, the first units of the Continental Army reached Head of Elk on 6 September. On 7 September, the First French Brigade joined them. Once the Second Brigade arrived on 8 September, about 7,000 troops were encamped at Head of Elk. Here the grenadier and chasseur companies of Rochambeau's four infantry regiments and 300 infantry of Lauzun's Legion, about 1,200 men, as well as the First American Division, of some 1,450 officers and men, embarked for Virginia. The remainder of the French forces, about 3,800 to 4,000 men, continued on to Baltimore where they arrived on 11 September, followed by the 800 men of the 1st and 2nd New York and the Rhode Island Regiment with 350 men on the 13th. Here all but 200 (?) men of the Continental Army embarked but the baron de Vioménil refused to entrust his troops to vessels which 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 de Grasse had reached Annapolis. Vioménil immediately changed his plans and in the morning of 18 September, his troops turned south-east on Odenton Road (MD SR 175) to Odenton, where MD SR 175 becomes Annapolis Road. Continuing through Gambrills and Millersville, they reached Waterbury Road. Next they turned onto General's Highway (MD SR 178), and marched past what would become the Rising Sun Inn in 1785 to their next camp. Following this 17-mile march, they spent the night of 18/19 September 1781 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. Here the troops set up camp on the south-east side of College Creek along the grounds of St. John's College and the US Naval Academy. 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. The *Romulus* of 74 guns, the frigates *Gentile*, *Diligente*, *l'Aigrette*, the captured British frigates *Isis* and *Richmond*, and nine transports, sailed late in the afternoon of 21 September 1781.

While it is possible that a few wagons accompanied the 200 or so Continental troops to Annapolis, the American wagon train had most likely unloaded the equipment for the troops and the siege they were carrying in Baltimore; the men would need their equipment such as tents and kettles upon landing. There was no reason for the empty wagons to travel

to Annapolis and the only known journal for the route of the Continental wagon train to Williamsburg kept by a wagoner from Massachusetts does indeed describe a route directly from Baltimore to Bladensburg without the detour to Annapolis.

Task:

To identify the road or roads taken by the French wagon train from Annapolis to Bladensburg and Georgetown in September 1781.

Contemporary Sources:

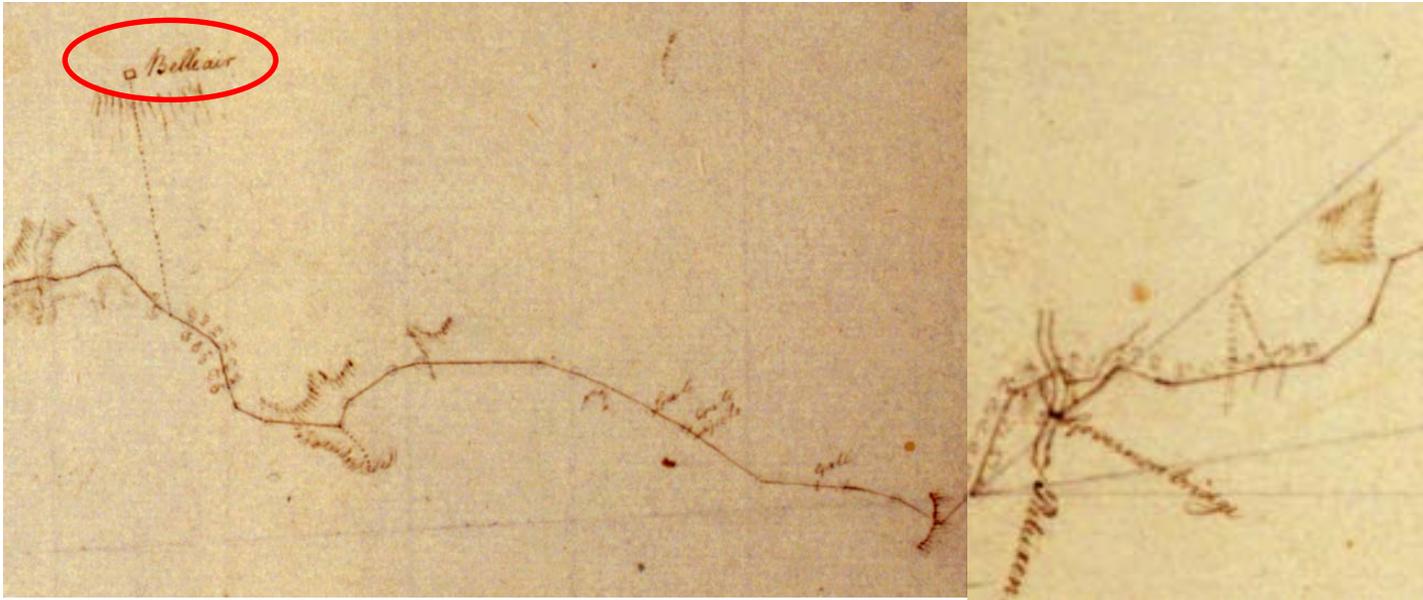
- 1) Road map from Annapolis via Governor's Bridge surveyed by Simeon DeWitt in September 1781 on orders from George Washington in August 1781 to survey a route for the allied armies to Williamsburg (N-YHS Map No. 124 I, "From near Rawlings tavern to Annapolis & thence to Governor's Bridge".) "Rawling's Tavern" was north of (?) the "Rising Sun Inn" on General's Highway/MD-SR 178, just south of Sunrise Beach Rd in Crownsville.
- 2) These maps became the foundation for Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789* Walter W. Ristow, ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1961), pp. 178-182/maps 61-65.
- 3) Itinerary by Louis Alexandre Berthier in Howard C. Rice Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 2, pp. 85-87.



This French overview map, possibly drawn by Berthier in the 1780s, shows the route described by Berthier from Annapolis via "Scot's-house" to "John Easton", the unidentified "Age house" to Bladensburg, Georgetown and Alexandria. (Repr. in Rice & Brown, vol. 2.)

Problem:

DeWitt's map and Berthier's route reconnaissance and description are incompatible. DeWitt surveyed a route across the Patuxent via Governor's Bridge, Berthier scouted out a route that backtracks from Annapolis past "Scots-house", i.e. Belvoir before turning west and fording the Patuxent at a location known today as "Priest Bridge" to a camp at Ashton's Plantation (=Whitemarsh), identified as "Easton Brothers" by Berthier.



Detail from Simeon DeWitt Map No. 124 I and 124 K (September 1781) (N-YHS) showing the route via Governor's Bridge. Belair is north of the route.



Detail from Colles, p. 180, map 63 (1789). Belair is again north of the road.

In the absence of any additional primary source (s) by participant which identify and/or confirm the route that was actually traveled or any of the campsites of the wagon train, we

should (?) however assume that the wagon train took the route described by Berthier as marked on the overview map rather than the route surveyed by DeWitt.<sup>1</sup> That raises an important question: where was that road? None of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup>-century maps, incl. DeWitt and Colles, shows a road where Berthier's itinerary postulates it to be, e.g.:



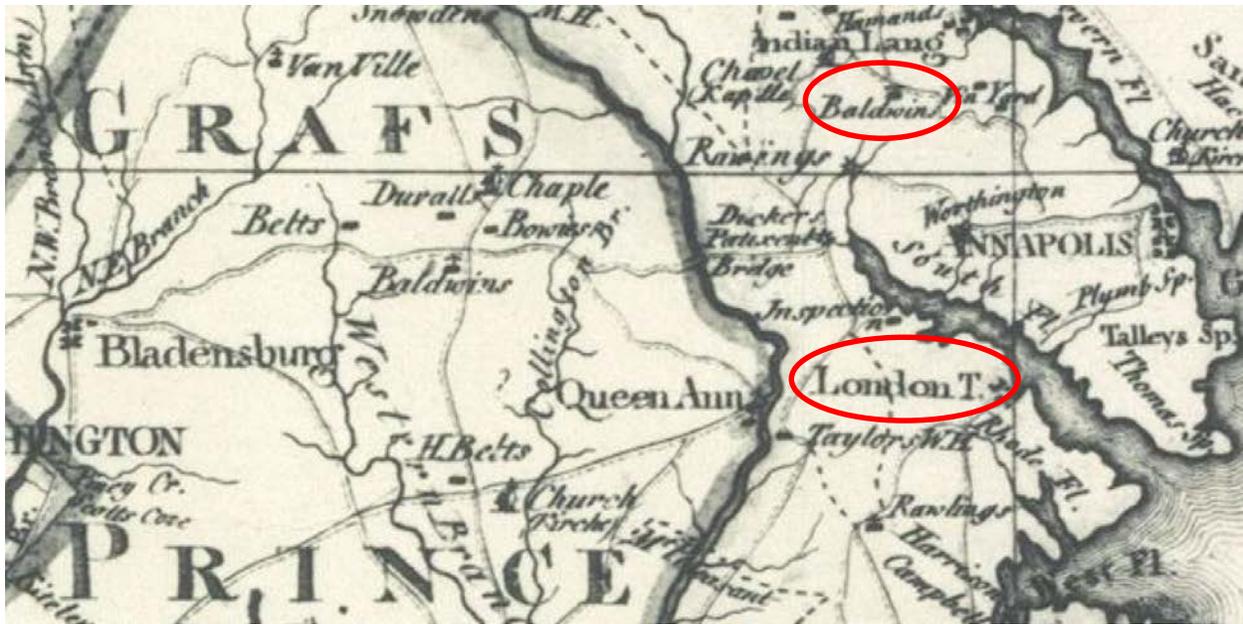
Detail from Dennis Griffith, *Map of the State of Maryland* (1794).

<sup>1</sup> None of the diaries, journals or pension applications written by wagoners in the French army are detailed enough to provide this information while most of the wagoners for the Continental Army do not even seem to have gone to Annapolis but traveled via Elkridge Landing and Snowden's Iron Works directly to Bladensburg and Georgetown. For an account by a wagoner in the French wagon train who went to Annapolis see the journal of an unidentified wagoner from Sutton, MA in National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) RG93 M859 Roll 97, Doc # 28325, Misc. Records in the War Department. The make-up of Rochambeau's wagon train in "Etat Générale des voitures attelées chacune de quatre cheveaux ... don't la distribution à été faite le 15<sup>th</sup> de ce mois [June 1781]" Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, New-York Historical Society, folder 11.

For an account of the route of the American wagon train to Yorktown see "Thomas Graton His Book". Graton was a teamster from Massachusetts whose journal is attached to his pension application in NARA W 14824, 34 p., 1 August 1767-29 September 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

Most pension applications only contain a brief account of the stops along the way, e. g. the pension application of Ira Hayford of Farmington, CT with the French wagon train in NARA, Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Application No. W 660.





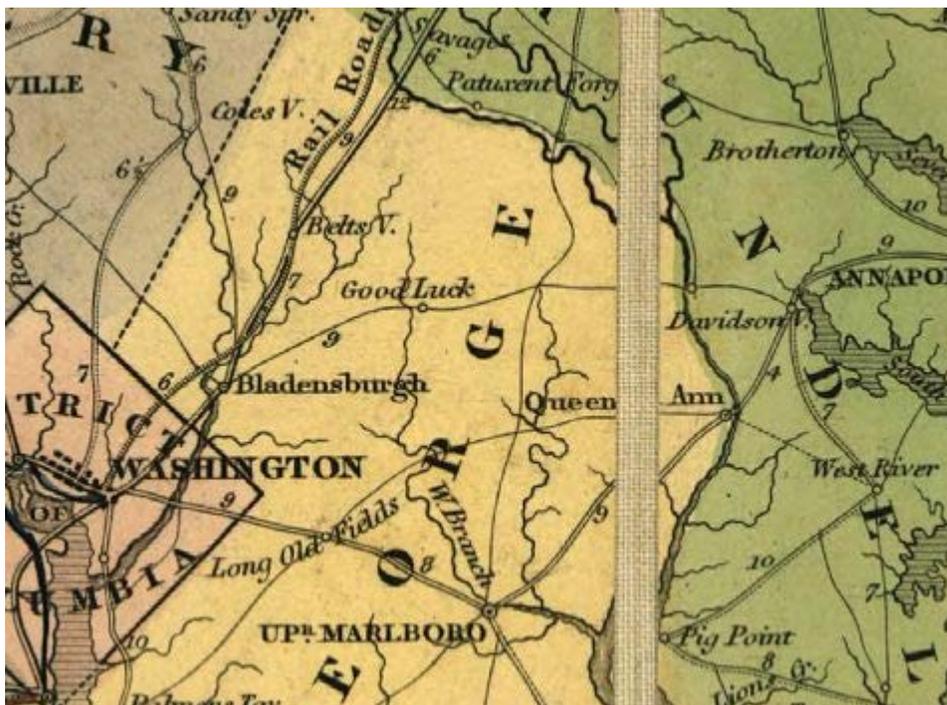
Detail from *Maryland und Delaware*. Entworfen von D. F. Sotzmann (Hamburg, 1797). The only bridge across the Patuxent between Annapolis and Bladensburg is Governor's Bridge, called "Patuxent Bridge" on the map.



The next oldest road map, S.S. Moore & T.W. Jones, *The Traveller's Directory, Or A Pocket Companion: Shewing The Course Of The Main Road Philadelphia To New York, And From Philadelphia To Washington. ... From Actual Survey* (Philadelphia, 1802), does not show the roads to Annapolis but routes the traveler from Baltimore to Bladensburg via Vanville. That was the most direct route from Baltimore to Bladensburg and Georgetown and also the route taken by most of the wagoners of the Continental Army.



Fielding Lucas, *Maryland* (Baltimore, 1823) showing the turnpike from Washington to Bladensburg and Vansville. The only bridge across the Patuxent is Governor's Bridge.



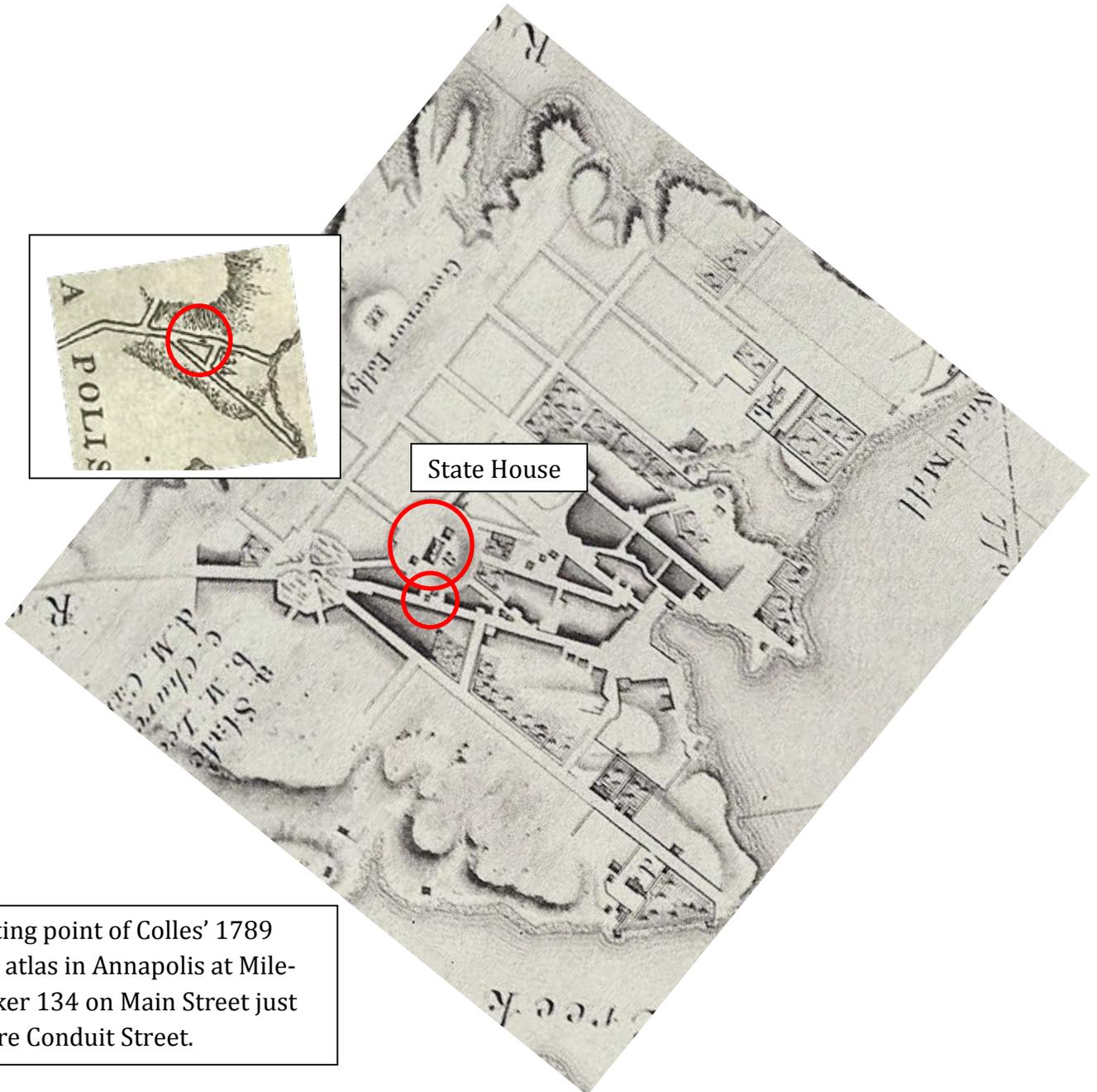
David H. Burr, *Map of Virginia, Maryland and Delaware exhibiting the post offices, post roads, canals, rail roads etc.* (Washington, DC, 1839).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> John Melish, *A description of the roads in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1814) and John Melish, *The traveller's directory through the United States*. (Philadelphia, 1816) do not contain any maps.

Which brings us back to Berthier and his itinerary.

“On leaving Annapolis, take the Baltimore road and follow it for ½ mile, where you come to a fork.”

➔ Leaving Annapolis on West Street, the fork in the road identified by Berthier is the intersection of West Street and Spa Road.



Starting point of Colles' 1789 road atlas in Annapolis at Mile-Marker 134 on Main Street just before Conduit Street.

“Both roads lead to Georgetown, but the one on the right, which is five miles longer, is the only one suitable for wagons.”

- ➔ The road to the left, Spa Road, led/leads to the ferry across the South River and London Town and becomes MD-SR 214, W. Central Avenue through Davidsonville. Berthier identified this route as not “suitable for wagons” (presumably) because the wagons and thousands of animals would have had to cross the South River in an expensive and time-consuming way via the ferry.

How many wagons and animals are there? A breakdown of teams for the Yorktown Campaign in the Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers dated Hartford, 15 December 1781, shows that the French army employed 149 teams for the journey from Providence to White Plains and during the stay of the army (894 oxen), another 46 teams with 276 oxen transported the baggage and equipment of Lauzun's Legion from Colchester to White Plains. Between 25 August and 22 September, i.e., on the journey across New Jersey to Annapolis, Wadsworth paid 195 teams with 1,170 oxen to transport supplies and equipment.

Once the equipment had been loaded on board vessels, Wadsworth discharged 85 teams at Annapolis, leaving 110 teams with 669 oxen to draw the empty wagons drawn to Williamsburg.<sup>3</sup> On 18 September, Vioménil had written to Rochambeau from Annapolis:

*Since all our wagons will go to Williamsburg on land without a load, and [...] I am convinced that we could save the king more than fifty thousand livres by sending back those that are of the least use [to us].<sup>4</sup>*

As the wagon train left Annapolis on 21 September 1781, however, Berthier recorded that "Lauzun's Legion, the artillery horses, and the army wagon train formed a column numbering 1,500 horses, 800 oxen, and 220 wagons."<sup>5</sup> Half of those wagons were private wagons of officers; the "official" French wagon train for which Wadsworth kept records consisted of 110 wagons of drawn by 660 oxen. If between 25 August and 22 September 1781, i.e., on the journey across New Jersey to Annapolis, Wadsworth paid 195 teams with 1,170 oxen to transport supplies and equipment and if we add at least 110 private wagons, we get over 300 wagons or close to 2,000 draft animals plus 1,500 horses that arrived in Annapolis on 22 September 1781!

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<sup>3</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Box 156, Folder December 1781. The waggoners were allowed 39 days for the journey from Annapolis to Colchester The discharge paper for these 46 teams from Colchester, Connecticut, *ibid*.

<sup>4</sup> Fonds Vioménil LB 0074-104. Académie François Bourdon, Le Creusot, France.

<sup>5</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 83.

Since the waggoners, mostly recruited in New England and New Jersey, were unfamiliar with the roads, thirty American troops under the command of an officer who knew the roads, were detached to provide protection and guidance on the way to Yorktown. These numbers for the French wagon train are staggering indeed: 220 wagon drivers, some 30 soldiers, 22 conductors, one for every ten teams, 22 cooks, one per group, and maybe two dozen men to watch the many horses for a total of 350 men and a few women. the animals numbered 1,320 draft animals, 800 oxen for food and 1,500 horses or +/- 3,600 animals.

Though they most likely did not (all) travel the route to Bladensburg via Annapolis –no Continental Arm soldiers were scheduled to embark there - the best information as to numbers of Continental Army wagons sent overland after reaching Head of Elk, assuming that the Continental Army had its usual wagon: soldier ratio, is provided by Quartermaster General Pickering in a letter of 31 August 1781 to Henry Dearborn:

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

*Mr. Meng now occupies ..... 23 Teams  
The cloathing ..... 11  
The Boats ..... 30  
Spare provisions (under Davis) 11  
Total 75*

*Mr. [Christopher] Meng [assistant deputy quartermaster general] I suppose will want for common services not exceeding --- 10.<sup>6</sup>*

Based on Pickering's numbers the transport sent overland from Baltimore consisted of at least 10 wagons for "common services," with perhaps another 20 to 30 for the officers' excess baggage and equipment. If we add the teams needed once the boat carriages were landed and re-assembled in Virginia, 30 to 35 wagons in support of Washington's forces at Yorktown, plus at least 15 teams of draft horses, i.e. at most 60 to 70 wagons traveled to Virginia.<sup>7</sup> If we

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<sup>6</sup> Timothy Pickering to Henry Dearborn, 31 August 1781, Nod. Record Books, NA, vol. 82, target 3, reel 26, 175-178.

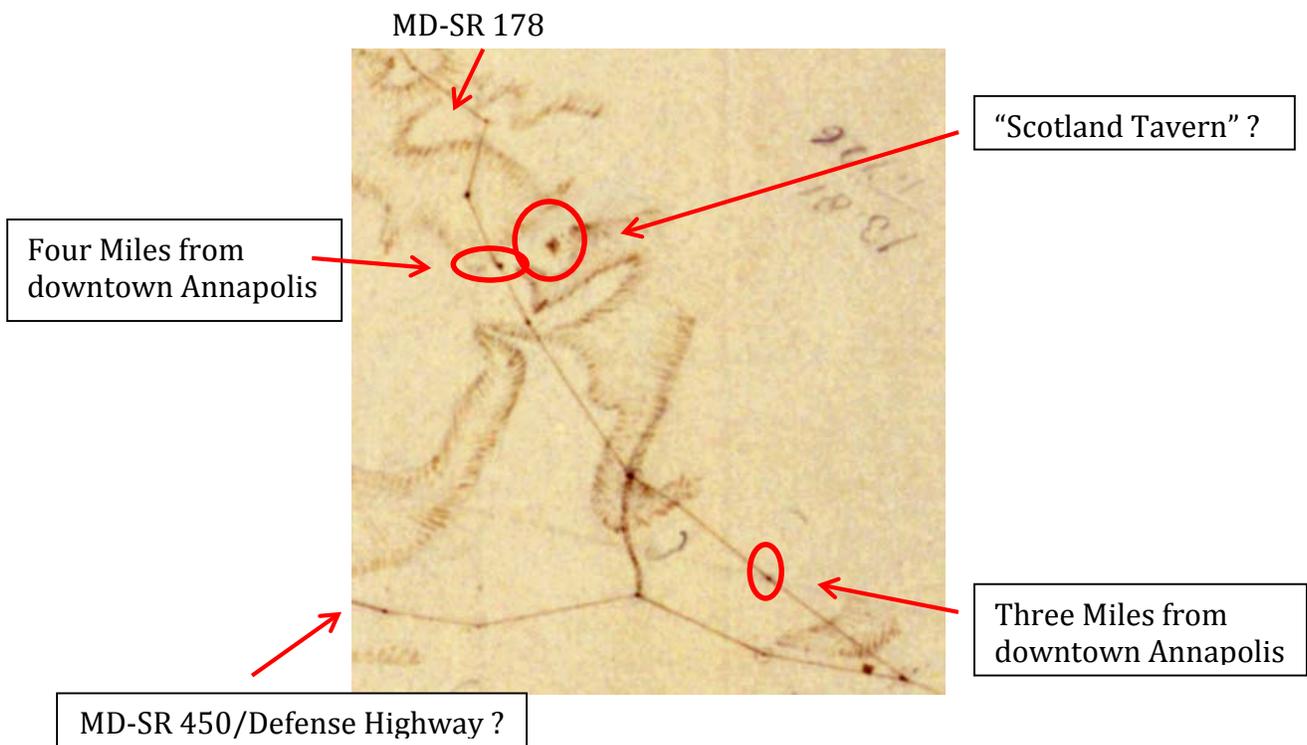
<sup>7</sup> The 2nd New York Regiment transported 30 boats from New York to Head of Elk. In his memoirs, John Hudson wrote "We carried on our march boats so large that it took a wagon and eight horses to draw them." *Cist's Advertiser* Part 1, Vol. 3, No. 3, 28 January 1846. Though these animals did not walk to Annapolis, Hudson's statement indicated that the 2nd New York alone had 272 horses just for the wagons transporting the boats.

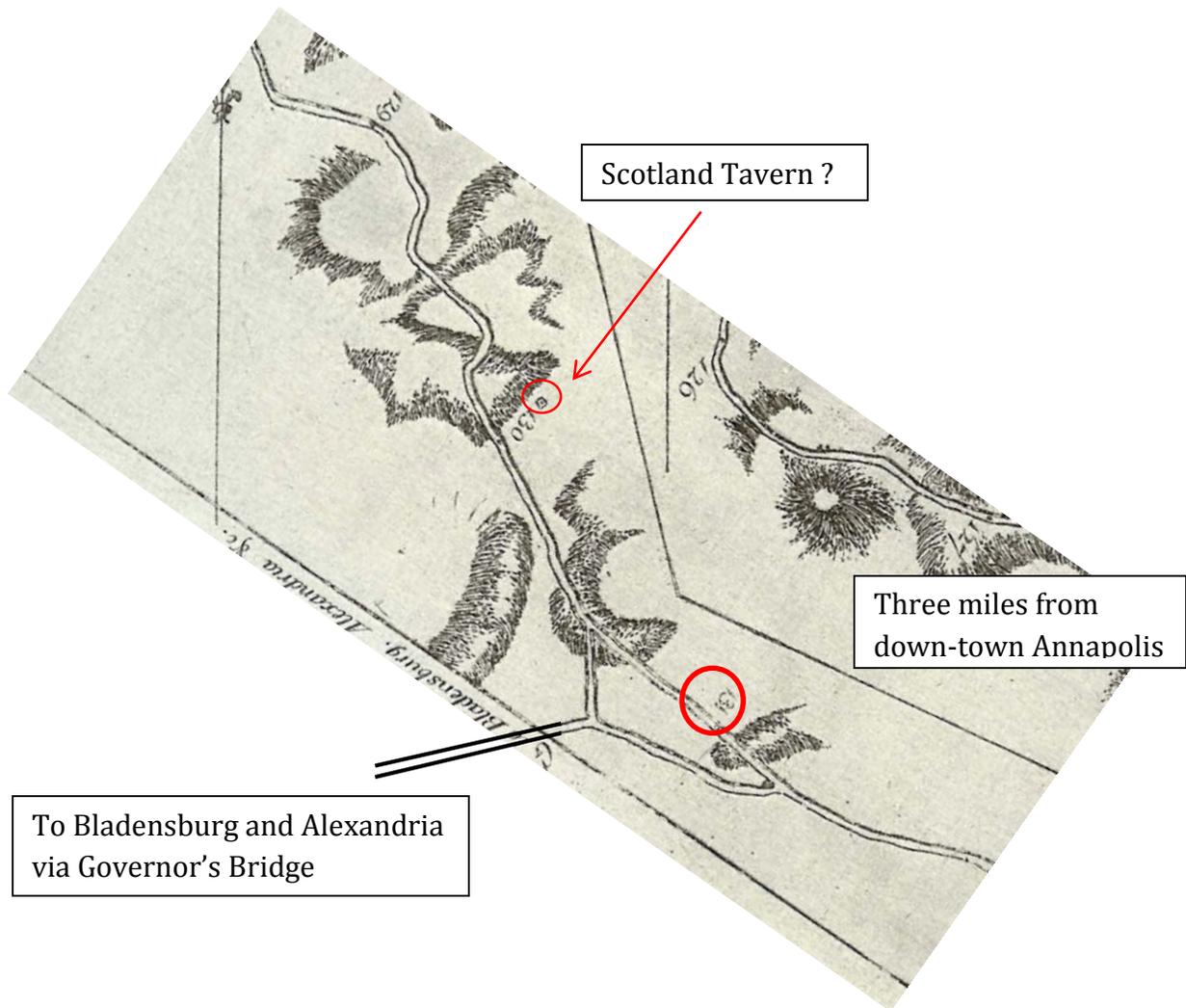
add the wagoners and cooks and conductors on horseback as well as the horses of the officers – their owners having traveled to College Creek by boat – the American wagon train consisted of around 400 oxen, close to 400 horses and +/- 75 personnel.

Back to Berthier. Having taken the right-hand road on the way out of Annapolis,

*“You come to Scotland Tavern. 4 Miles”*

➔ “Scotland Tavern” has not been identified but both DeWitt as well as Colles show a site at Milemarker 130, exactly four miles from the center of Annapolis. Today a distance of four miles from the departure point in downtown Annapolis places the Scotland Tavern north of Saltworks Creek around Knollwood Drive on MD-SR 178/General’s Highway.





“Next you reach Scott House and a fork whose right branch runs straight to Frederick Town.”

➔ It is almost 7 miles from downtown Annapolis to “Scott House”, i.e. Belvoir.

“Take the left. The road is good; however, there are a few short, steep grades. You go down a steep hill into a hollow. Halfway down you pass a house on the left. *10 miles*”

➔ Where is this “fork” in the road north of Belvoir?

Following DeWitt’s manuscript map and Colles’ atlas, one does not encounter another fork until the intersection of General’s Highway and Waterbury Road. But there are numerous reasons why this intersection can not be the fork mentioned by Berthier.

- 1) It is three miles from Belvoir, too far for a road description that reads: “Next you reach Scott House and a fork”.
- 2) There are no “short steep grades”, “steep hills” or “hollow”s as one travels north on that road.
- 3) If the wagon train had travel that far up the road it would have gone past the “Rising Sun Inn”, on their left just before they would have turned onto Waterbury Road. It seems virtually impossible that Berthier would not have mentioned the required left turn at this important landmark.  
Note: the Rising Sun was built in ca. 1753 by Edward Baldwin but did not begin operating as an inn until 1785 under his son Henry Baldwin, who had married Sarah Hall Rawlings, widow of Francis Rawlings Jr., who had been a tavern-keeper nearby.
- 4) If the train takes Waterbury Road, left onto Severn Chapel Road, then south on St. Stephen’s Church Road to Edwin Lane, across the North River to Mt. Tabor Road and on to MD-SR 424, then South to MD-SR 450 and west to Whitmarsh, the total distance traveled is just about 22 miles, four (or five) miles longer than the 18 (or 17) miles in Berthier’s itinerary.
- 5) If they go down past Chesterfield Road to MD-SR 450 and then west that would add another 3 miles to the route, making it seven to eight miles longer than Berthier.

Berthier’s itinerary continues:

“You climb the opposite slope and come to a small wood in a marshland, which you pass through. *2 Miles*

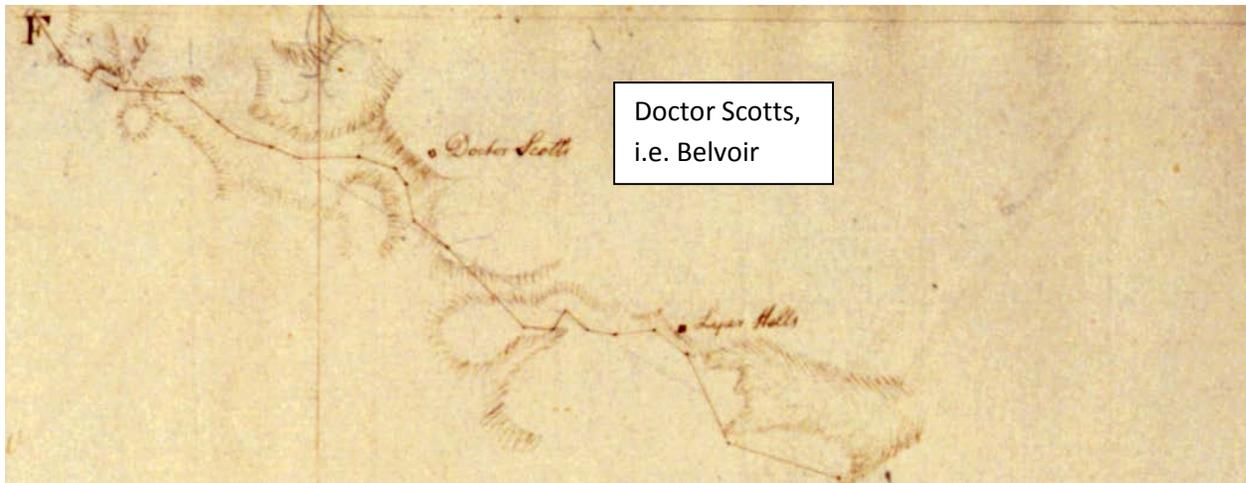
You cross several fields, with houses on either side of the road. You descend into another wood as marshy as the last, and reach the bank of the Patuxent, which you cross. It is no more than 60 yards wide. The riverbed is firm and smooth. *2 Miles*

Both the entrance and exit of the ford, which is very poor, need repair.

You continue through the woods for ½ mile, and on the left, ½ mile from the road, you come to the house of John Easton. *Total 18 Miles.*

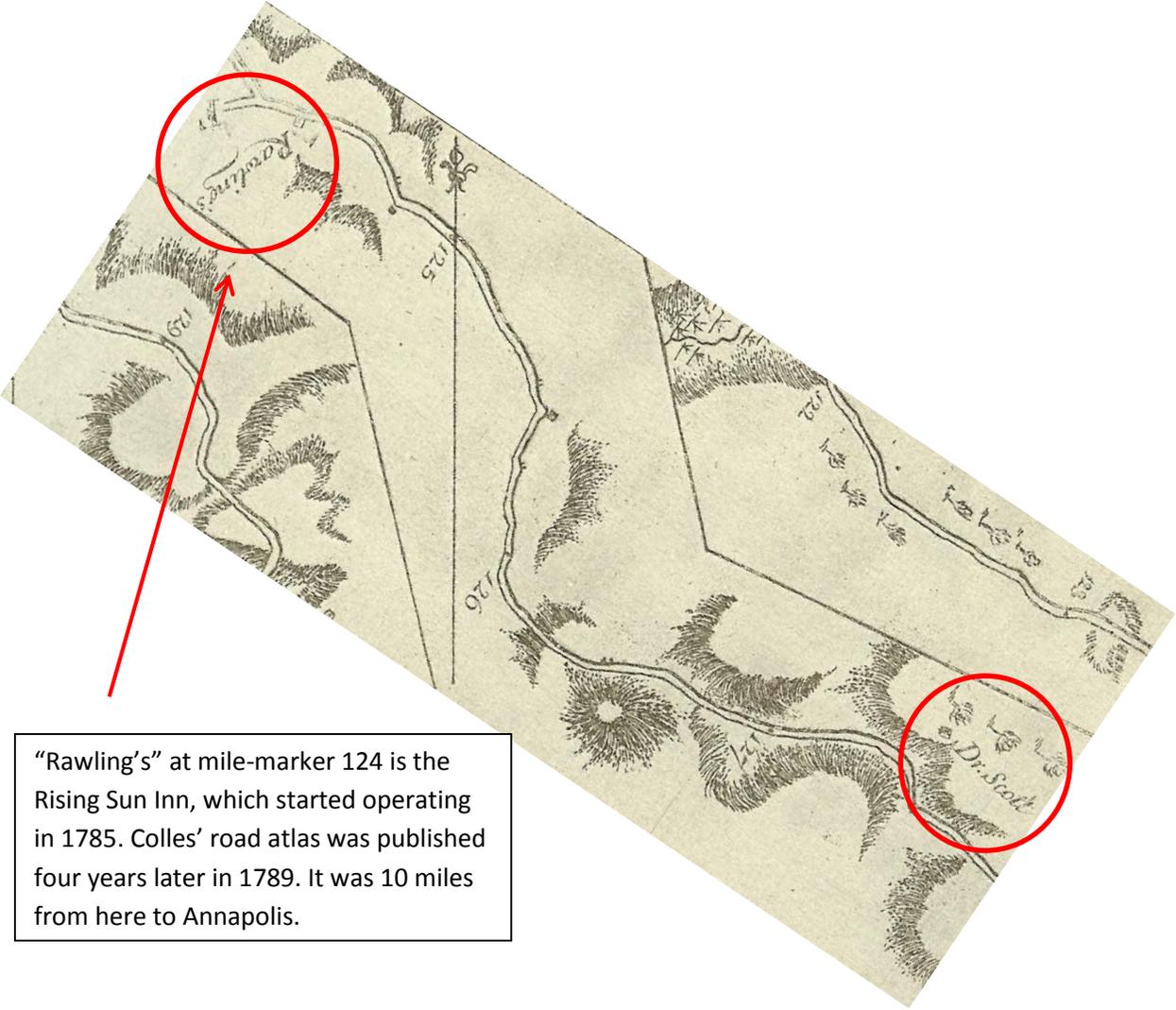
*At John Easton’s – 1<sup>st</sup> Camp (17 Miles) (sic) the army can camp here, since there is abundant forage and water within reach. Lodgings for the headquarters would be scarce.”*

- ➔ We need to find a road that 1) is four to five miles shorter than the route via the Rising Sun Inn and Waterbury Road, which 2) turns left not too far from Belvoir, and which 3) leads over steep grades and hills, and through hollows and marshy ground.



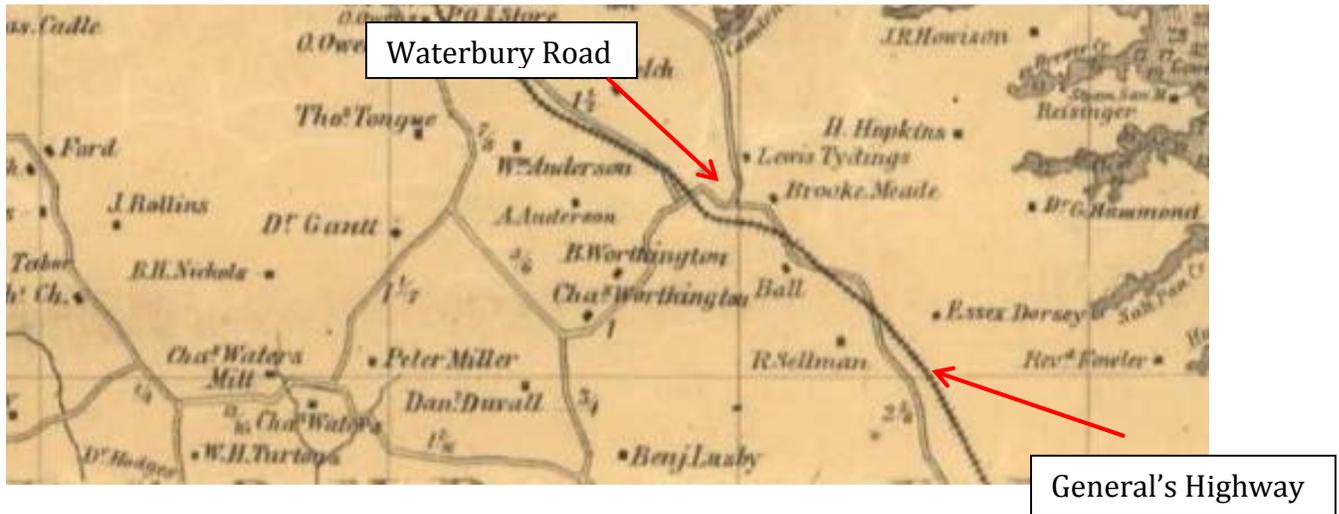
Doctor Scott,  
i.e. Belvoir

Neither DeWitt nor Colles show a road branching off relatively close north of Belvoir.

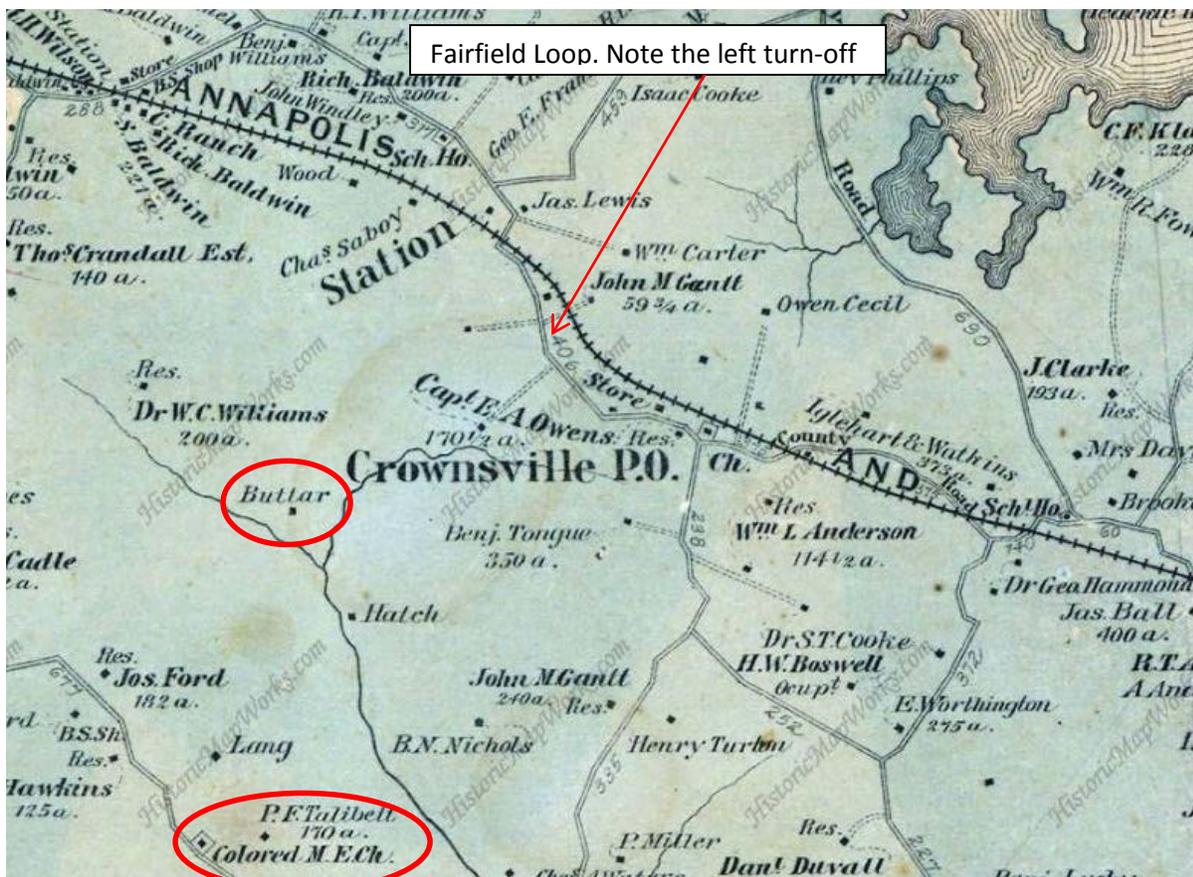


"Rawling's" at mile-marker 124 is the Rising Sun Inn, which started operating in 1785. Colles' road atlas was published four years later in 1789. It was 10 miles from here to Annapolis.

A look at road maps up through the Civil War does not yield the information we seek, viz.

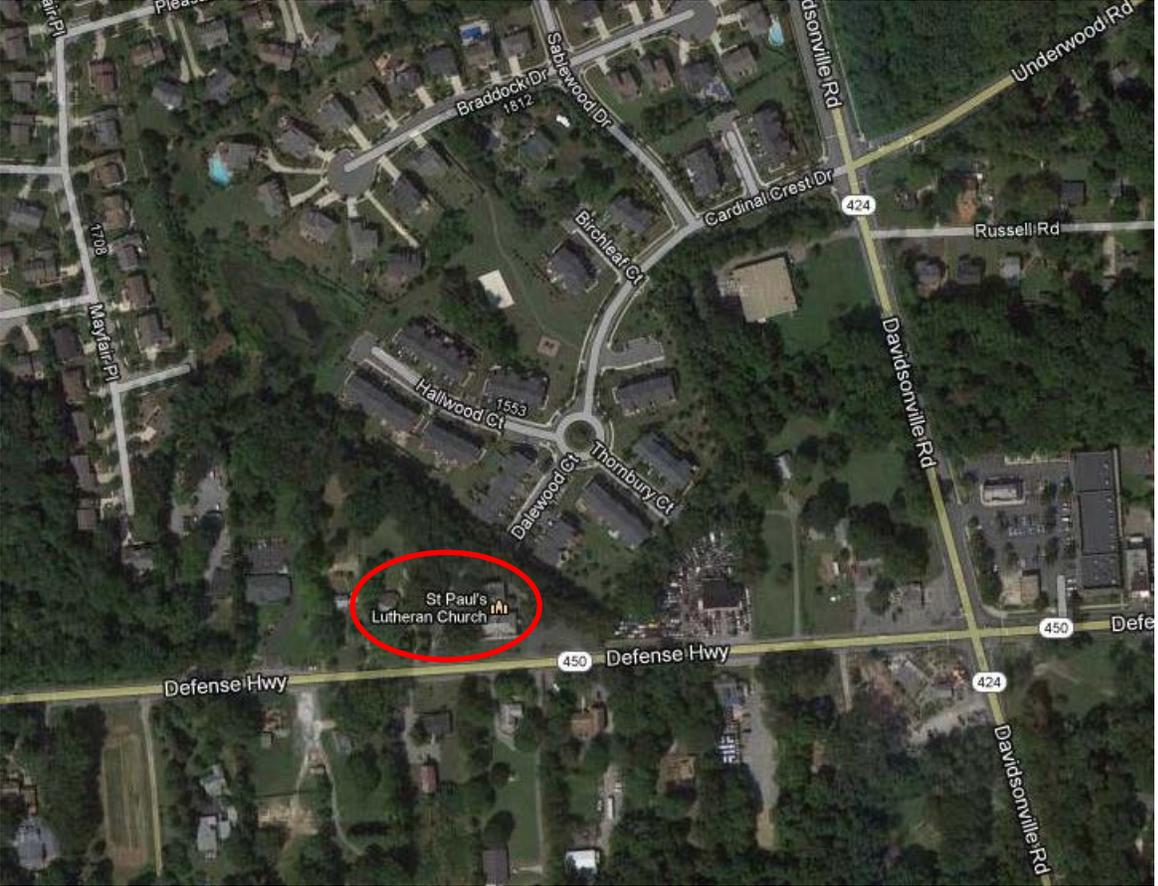
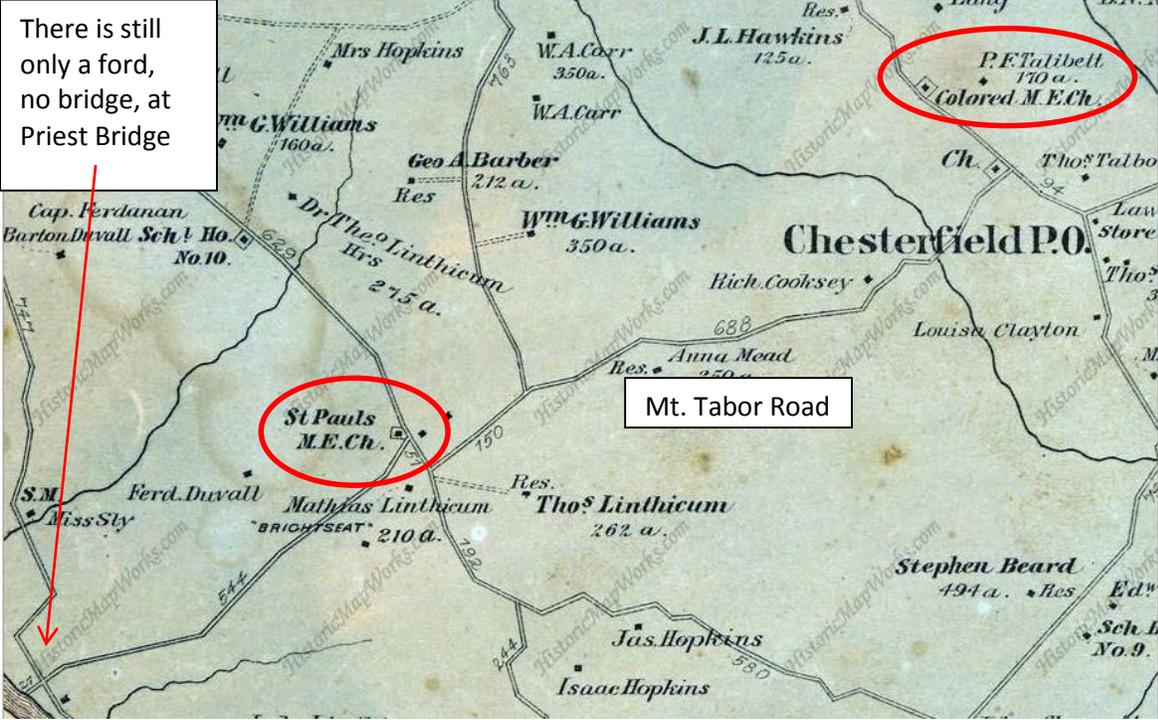


Detail from Martenet's Map of Prince George's County (Baltimore, 1861).

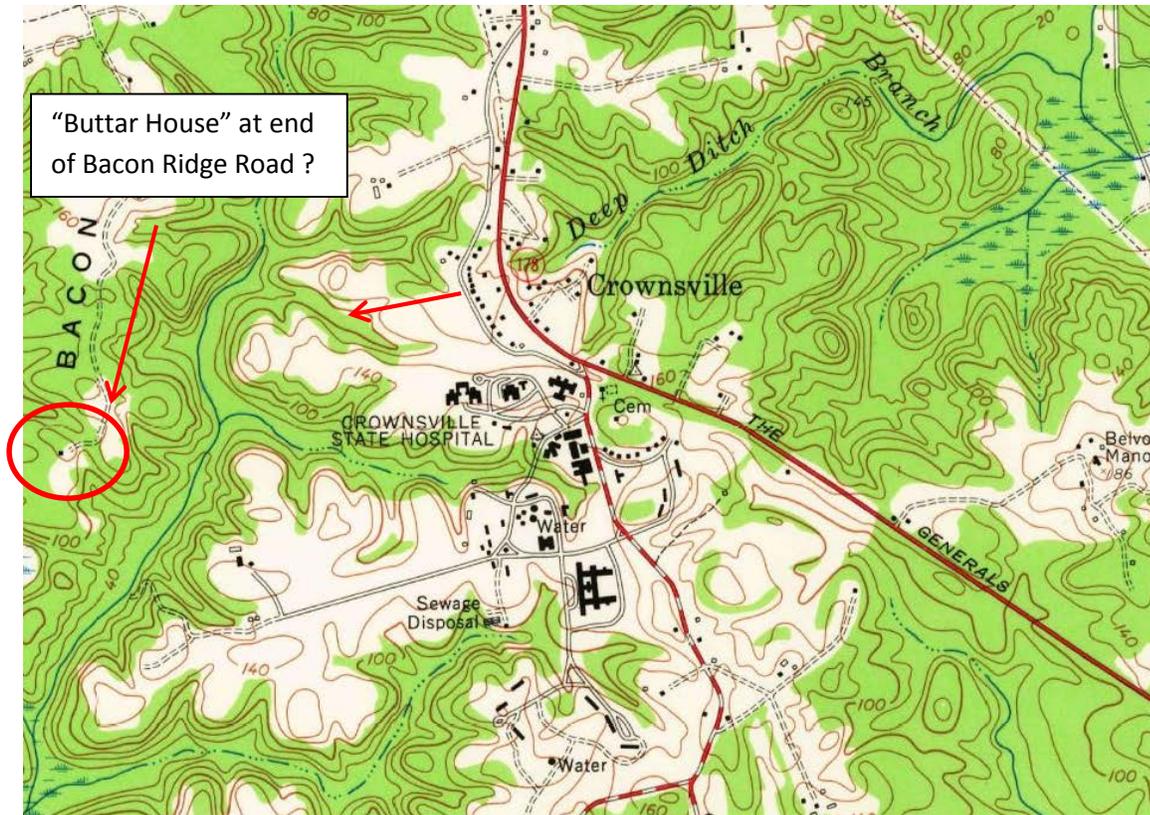


Detail from Baltimore and Anne Arundel County - District 2 (Baltimore, 1878). The "Colored M. E.Ch" is Mount Tabor Methodist Episcopal Church, founded in 1853. The current building dates to 1893. Note the location of the "Butlar" house.

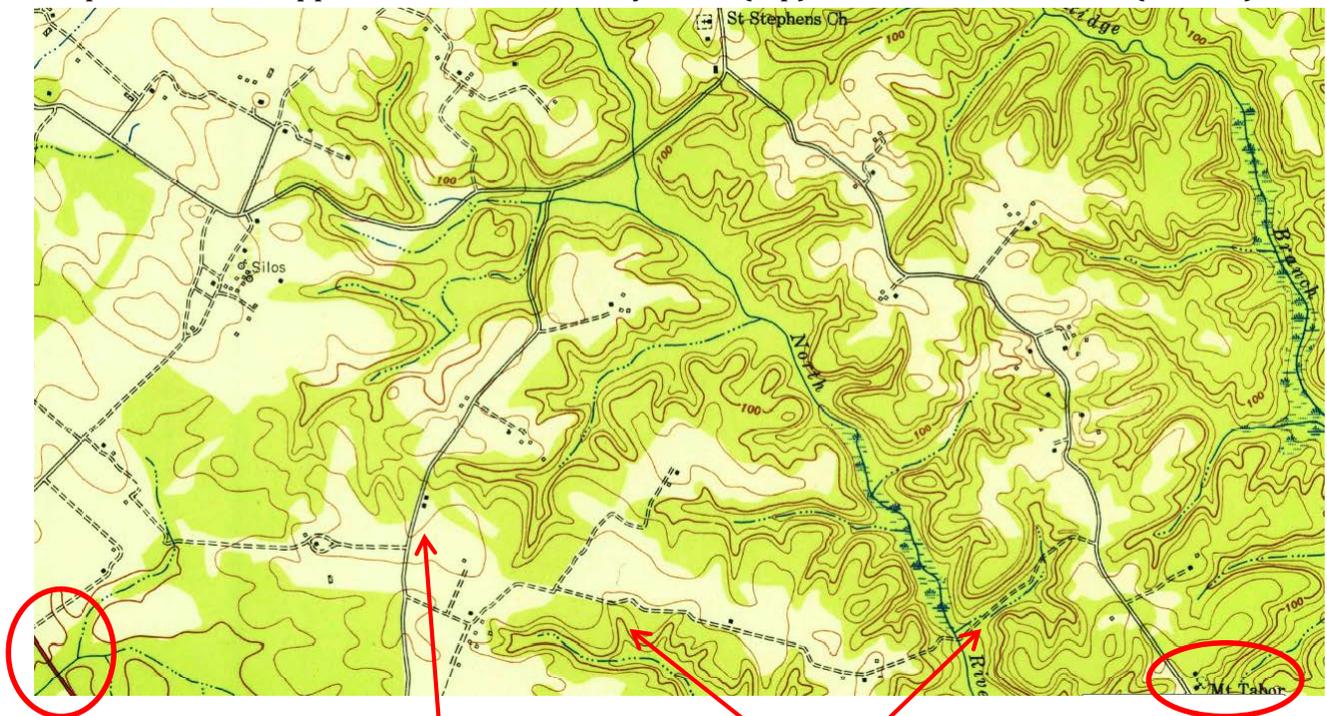
There is still only a ford, no bridge, at Priest Bridge







By 1956 Bacon Ridge Road has survived, leading to the house; the turn-off from Fairfield Loop Road has disappeared. USGS Round Bay, 1956 (top) & USGS Odenton, 1949 (bottom)

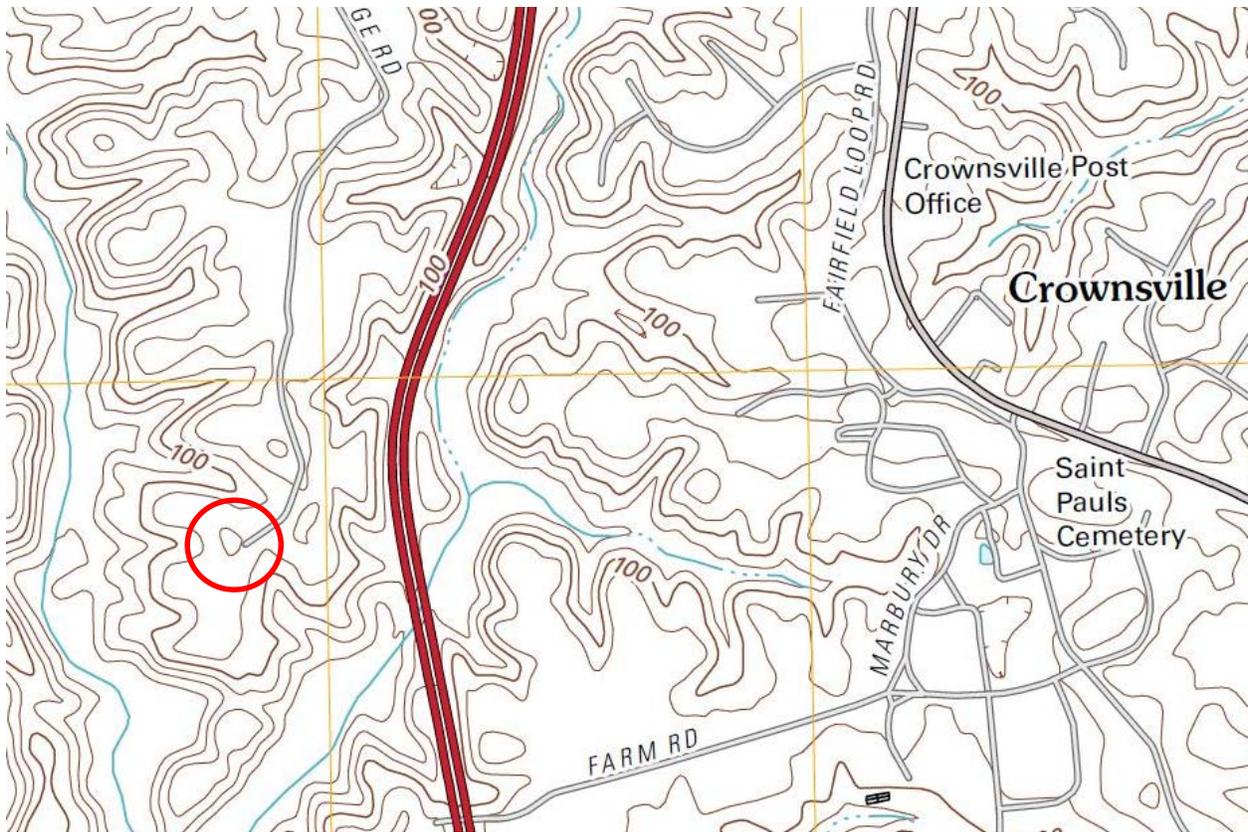


MD-SR 424

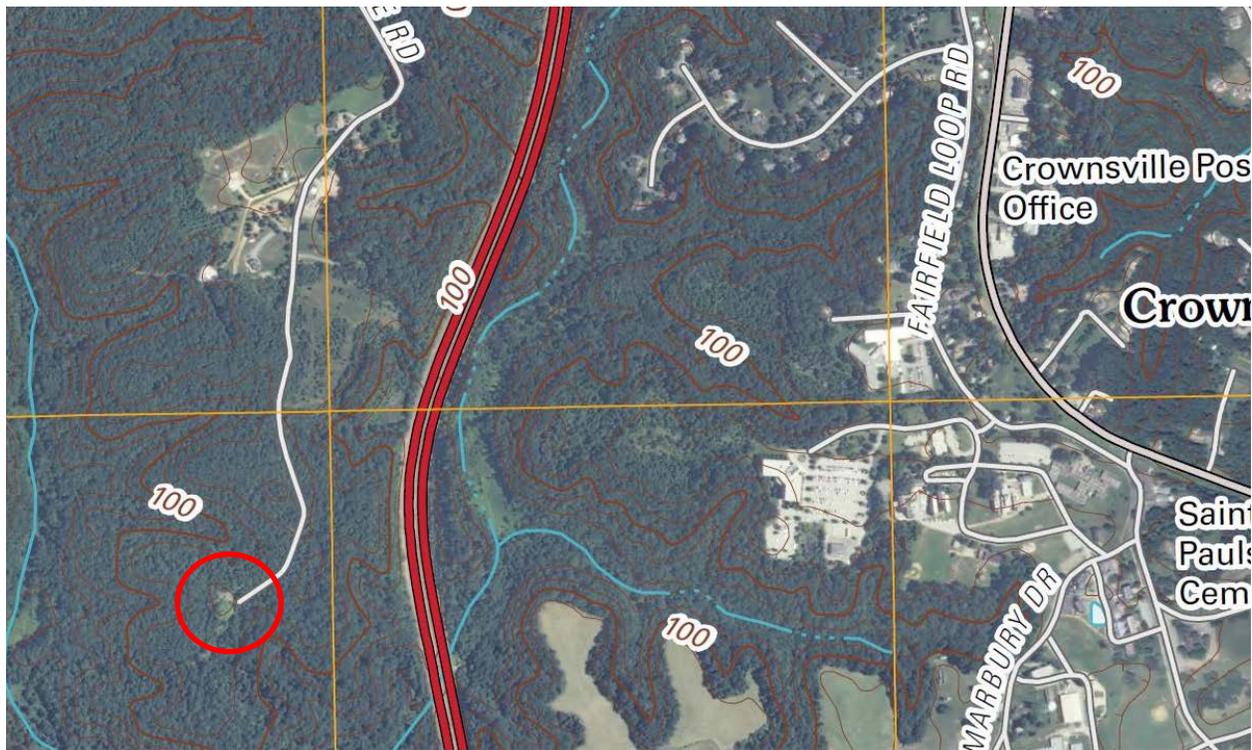
Underwood Road

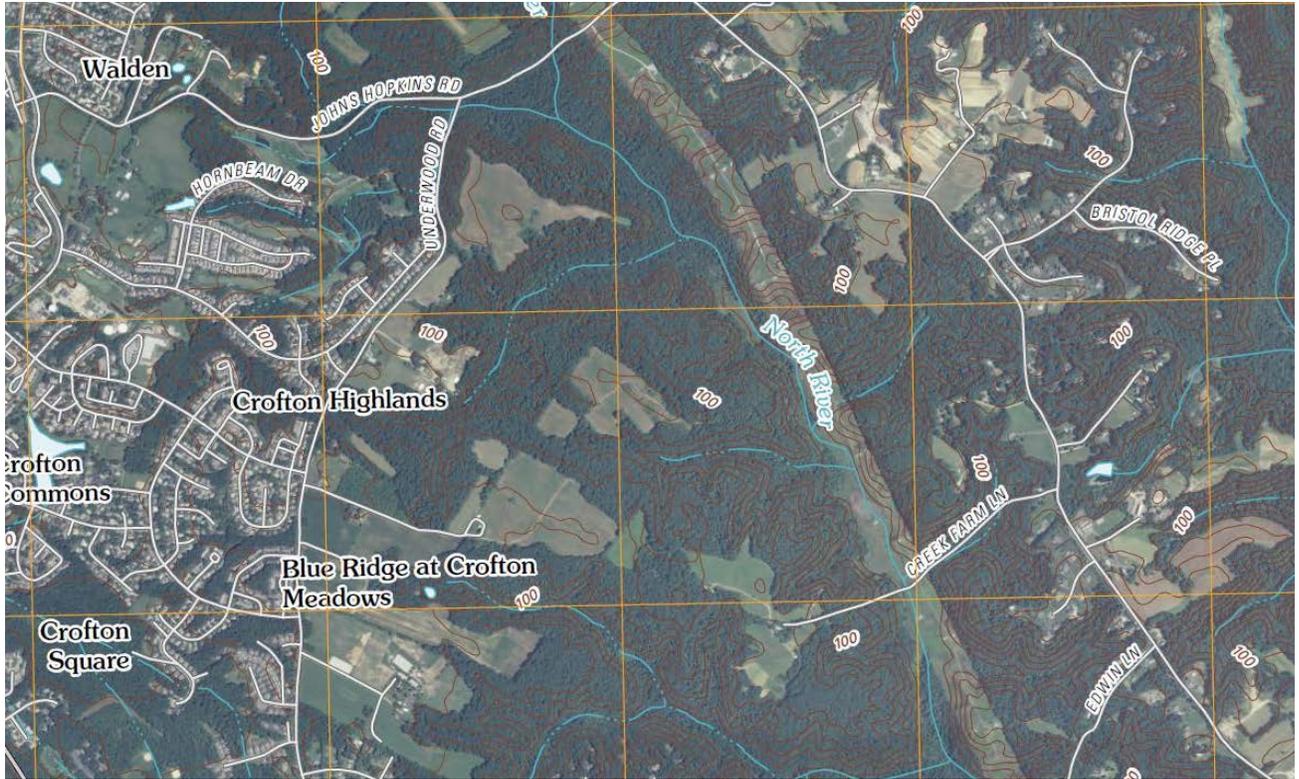
Creek Farm Lane

Mount Tabor Church

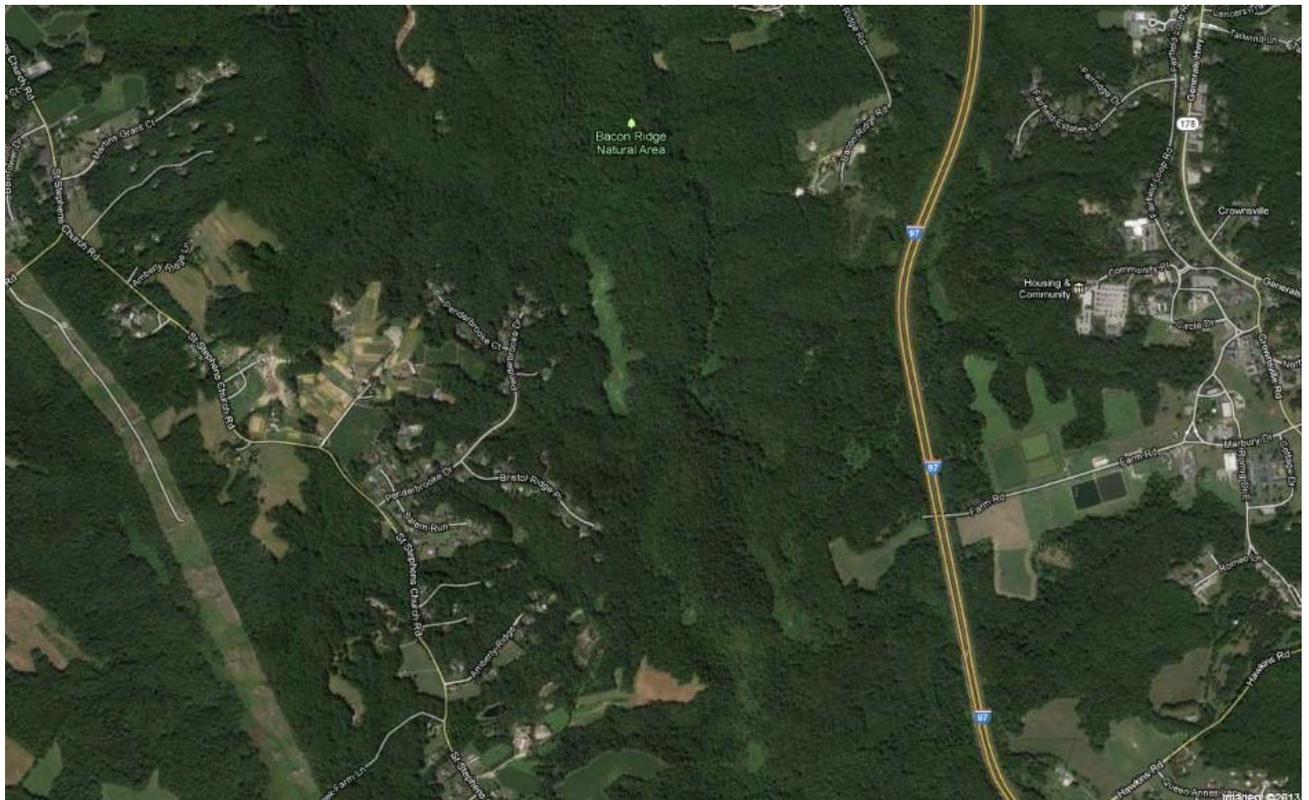


Bacon Ridge Road is still there but the house is no longer identified. USGS Round Bay, 2011





Creek Farm Lane no longer goes through. USGS Odenton, 2011 and Google Earth (bottom)





“Colonial barges once plied up Bacon Ridge Branch several miles above Rt. 50 to load hogs for shipment to England; the remains of a colonial wharf are still visible.” Quote and photograph: <http://www.aacounty.org/RecParks/parks/southeriver/index.cfm> .

➔ The lake is still visible but where are the remains of that wharf?

On Sun, Apr 14, 2013 at 2:44 PM, Adam Smith <[RPSMIT01@aacounty.org](mailto:RPSMIT01@aacounty.org)> wrote:

Dear Robert,

I got the following from Alan Boehm today (a private land owner)

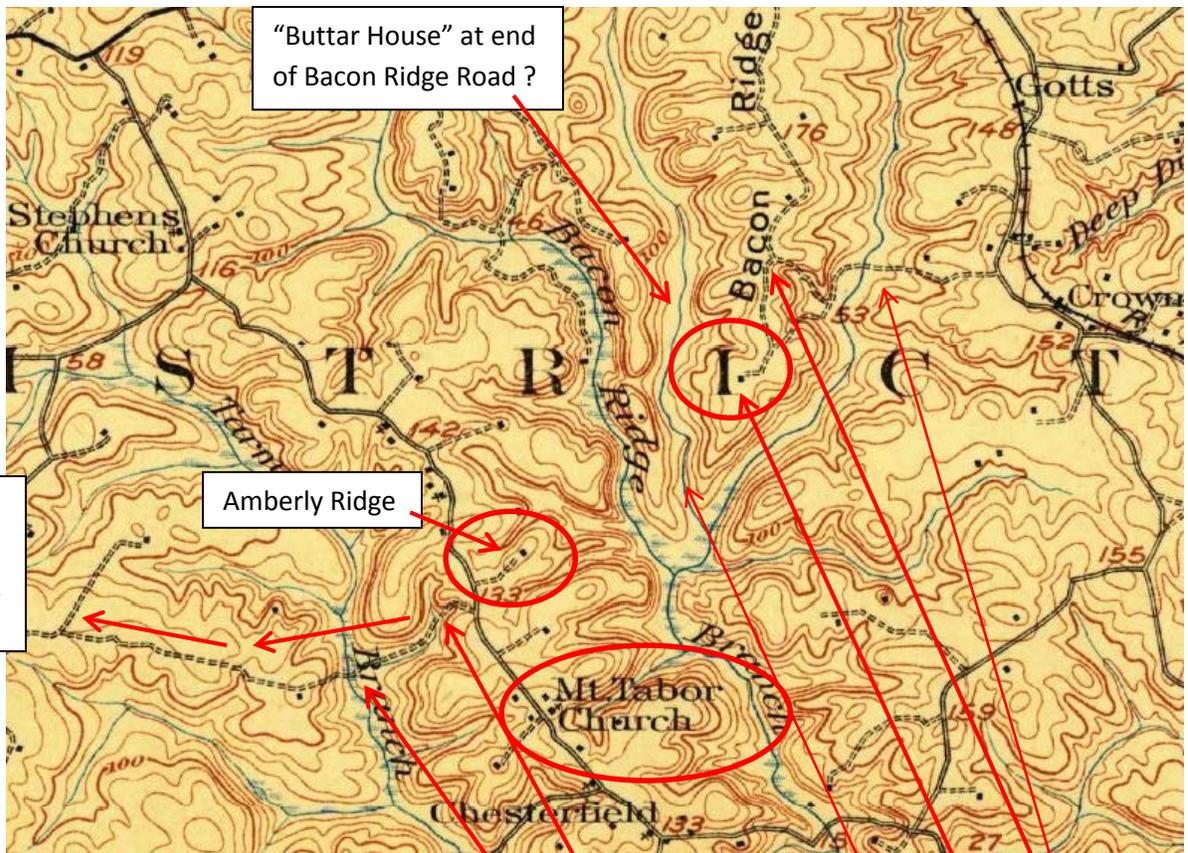
"The earthen piers are located off the southeastern corner of the elks boys camp. Barges were used from that point north to pick up product. That is why there was a tow path along bacon ridge branch north from that point.

Of course this is what we have been told i have not researched but reality supports this hypothesis."

I hope this helps.

Sincerely,

Adam Smith



"Buttar House" at end of Bacon Ridge Road ?

Creek Farm Lane used to connect to Mt. Tabor Rd & Underwood Road

Amberly Ridge

You cross several fields, with houses on either side of the road. You descend into another wood as marshy as the last, and reach the bank of the Patuxent, which you cross. It is no more than 60 yards wide. The riverbed is firm and smooth. *2 Miles* Both the entrance and exit of the ford, which is very poor, need repair.

You climb the opposite slope and come to a small wood in a marshland, which you pass through. *2 Miles*

Take the left. The road is good; however, there are a few short, steep grades. You go down a steep hill into a hollow. Halfway down you pass a house on the left. *10 miles* (from "Scotland Tavern" and 14 from Annapolis.)

The distance from the "Scotland Tavern" to the potential turn-off near Fairfield Estates Lane (?) is about 4 miles. The distance from the "Scotland Tavern" to the (Buttar?) house at the end of Bacon Ridge Rd on the longer route on the 1894 map is almost 6 miles. From there across the Bacon Ridge Branch to the intersection of Amberly Ridge and St Stephen's Church Road is not quite a mile, and another mile to the intersection with Mt. Tabor Road. But the marshland has to be around the crossing of the North River = eight miles at most. **The 10-mile-mark in the itinerary is reached only at the intersection of Mt. Tabor Road and Defense Highway - too far!**

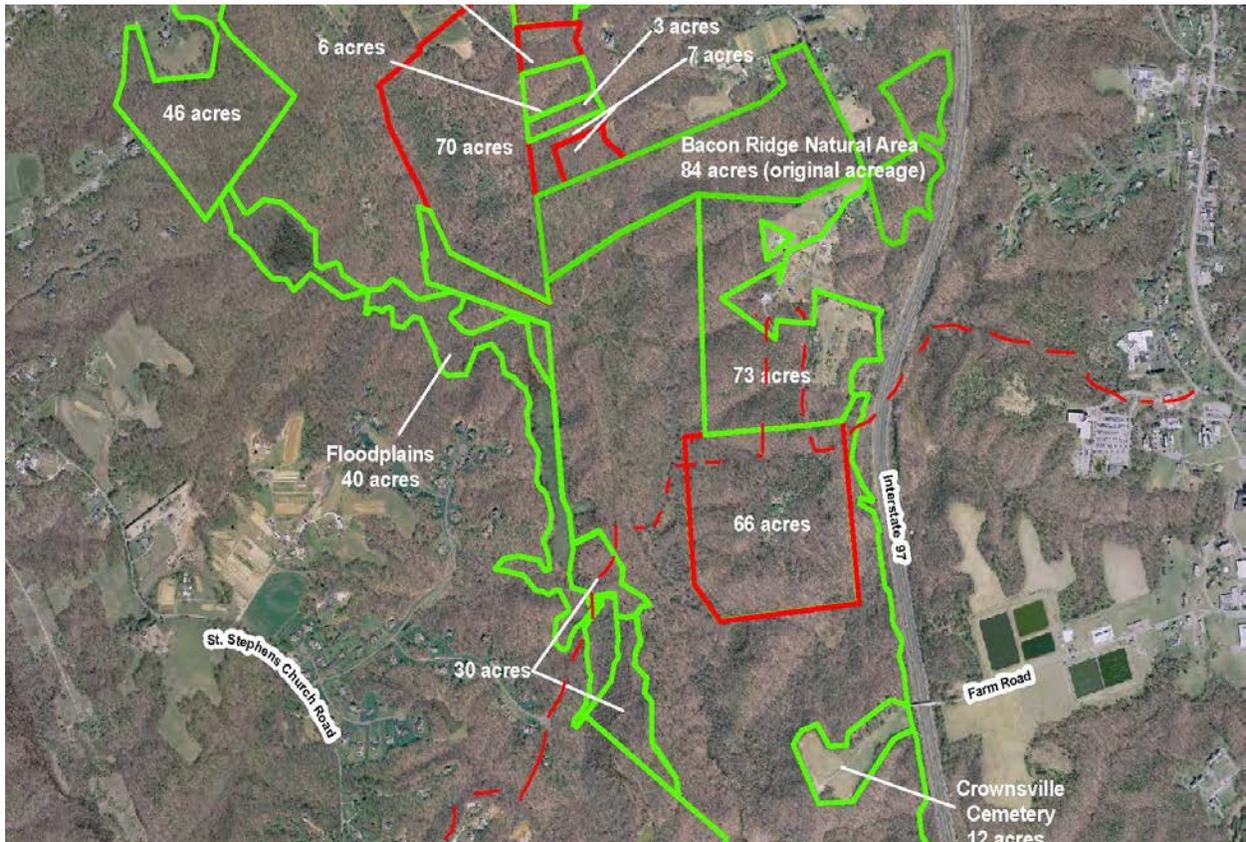
➔ The distance from there to the encampment at "Easton Brother" is only three miles but Berthier's itinerary adds up to 19 miles.

**John:** Berthier's mileage does not work out no matter how one looks at it.

The center column which he adds up to 18 miles to the encampment is actually 19 miles – one needs to add the last two ½ - mile sections. On the right-hand column he gives 17 miles, which I think is closer to the truth.

If we reduce the center portion of the itinerary from 10 miles to 8 miles, our marsh crossings at the North River etc fall much better into place.

Similarly if we backtrack from the campground, it is three miles to St. Peter's Church, and about five miles to the North River crossing and the marshland. Another eight miles for a total of 13 takes us to "Scotland Tavern" another four for a total of 17 to our starting point in Annapolis. 17 miles is also what Berthier has in the right-hand column of the itinerary.



Possible routing of the colonial road across the Bacon Ridge Natural Area.

This lake is still there in the middle of Bacon Ridge

Conclusion: ?

## Which Road or Roads did the French (and American?) Wagon Train (s) take from Annapolis to Bladensburg and Georgetown in September 1781? (Part II)

In Part I we discussed the route taken by the wagon train from Annapolis to Priest Bridge, in particular where the left (west) turn was located once the wagons had gone past “Scott’s Plantation” (= Belvoir). Neither DeWitt nor Colles show a turn-off to the left (west) between Belvoir and the Rising Sun Tavern. We agreed that since it seems highly unlikely that Berthier would not have pointed out the location of the tavern if that had been the site of the turn-off the road must have been before then.

The earliest maps that show any roads branching off to the west from General’s Highway dates to 1878; there is no turn-off on the 1861 Martinet map. The most detailed map showing potential roads begin with the 1894 Topo Map “Relay”. You were arguing that the turn-off taken was Crownsville Road to Hawkins Road, Chesterfield Road, north-west on St. Stephen’s Church Road to Creek Farm Lane or thereabouts just beyond Mount Tabor Methodist Episcopal Church to Mt. Tabor Road (which used to connect to Creek farm Lane) and Underwood Road to MD-SR 450 (Defense Highway) and to “Easton’s Plantation”. Parts of that road no longer exist.

My line of travel went a bit farther north into Fairfield Loop Road and then turned west into Bacon Ridge Natural Area. There is a turn-off marked on the 1878 map and on the 1894 Topo Map “Relay” that road goes through to St. Stephen’s Church Road. If the wagons took that route they would have had to go south-east to eventually turn west again to Mt. Tabor Road; if they followed your route they would have had to turn north-west to reach Creek farm Lane.

I am comfortable with either routing. Part II of our survey addresses these three questions:

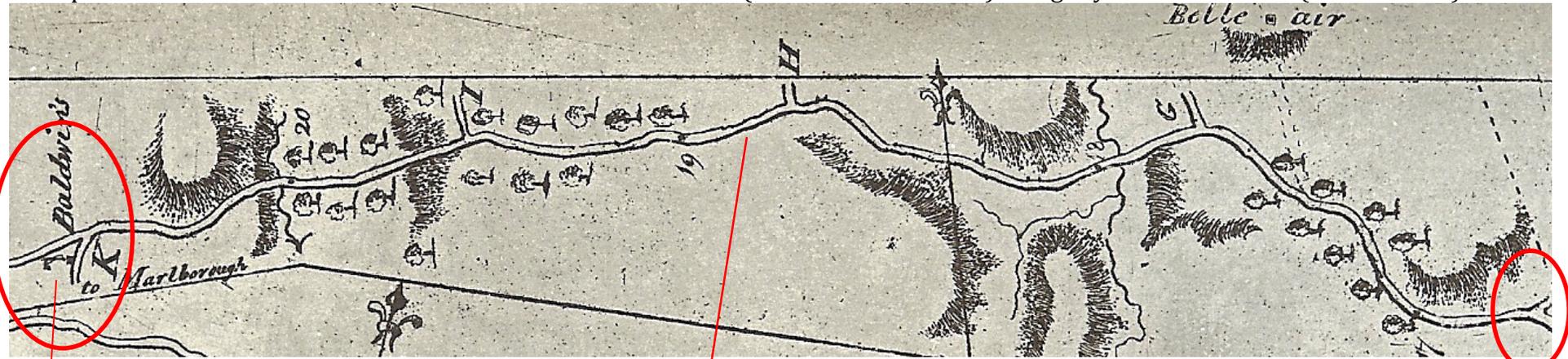
- 1) What is the course of the road from Governor’s Bridge to “Baldwin’s Tavern” surveyed by Simeon DeWitt in 1781 and delineated by Christopher Colles in his 1789 road atlas?
- 2) Where is or was “Baldwin’s Tavern”?

While, as far as we know, no allied forces took that route, its location is of interest as well because the road surveyed by DeWitt via Governor’s Bridge and the road taken by the wagon train via Priest Bridge merge at some point.

- 3) The first campsite of the wagon train after “Easton’s Plantation” was at a place identified as “Age House”. Where is or was the “Age House”?

Ad 1 and 2) What is the course of the road from Governor's Bridge to "Baldwin's Tavern" and where is "Baldwin's Tavern"?

K = MD-SR 193 (Enterprise Road) I = Darnall's Grove Road. The wagons either come down "I" or "H". H = Church Road G = Collington Road  
 Enterprise Road did not continue north of SR 450. Ms. Pearl: "I" (Darnall's Grove Road) is slightly shorter than "H" (Church Road)

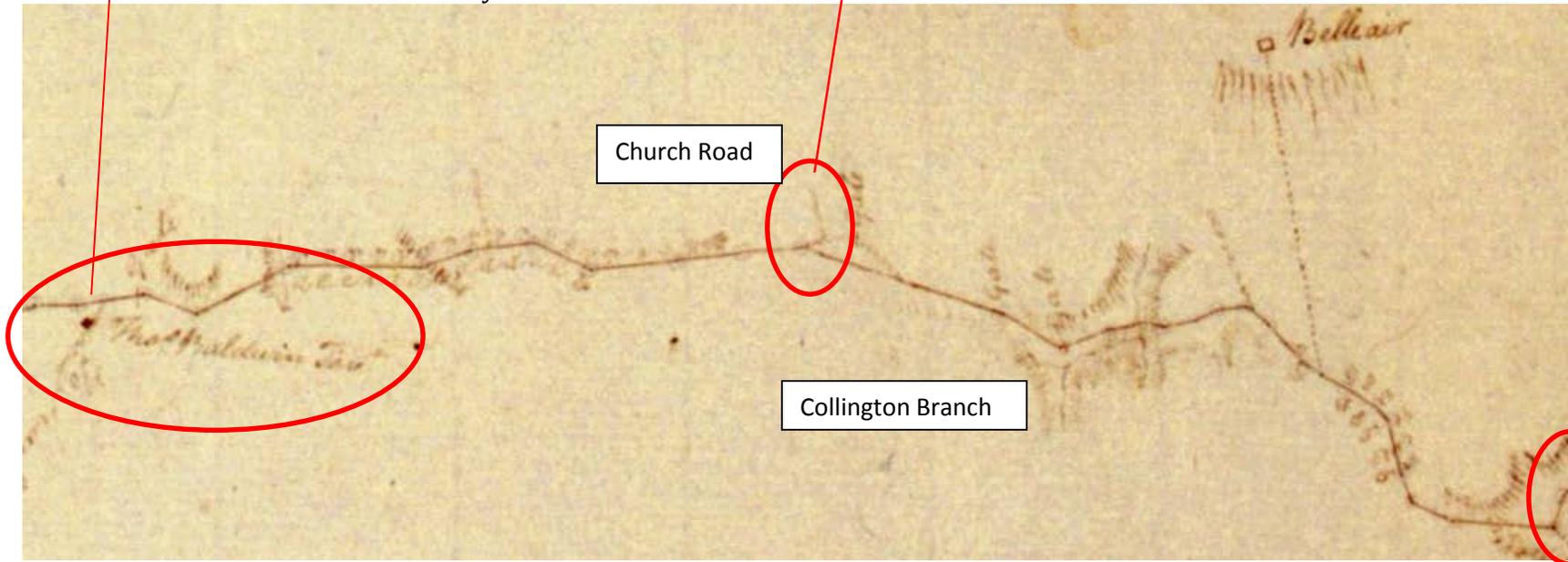


Northeast Branch

Collington Branch

Intersection of Mitchelville Road and Collington Road

Thomas Baldwin's Tavern. It is exactly 1 Mile from the tavern to the road identified with the letter "I".



Details from Colles, map 63, From Annapolis to Alexandria and DeWitt, Map 124 K: From near Governor's Bridge to near Bladensburg.

## Thomas Baldwin Tavern:

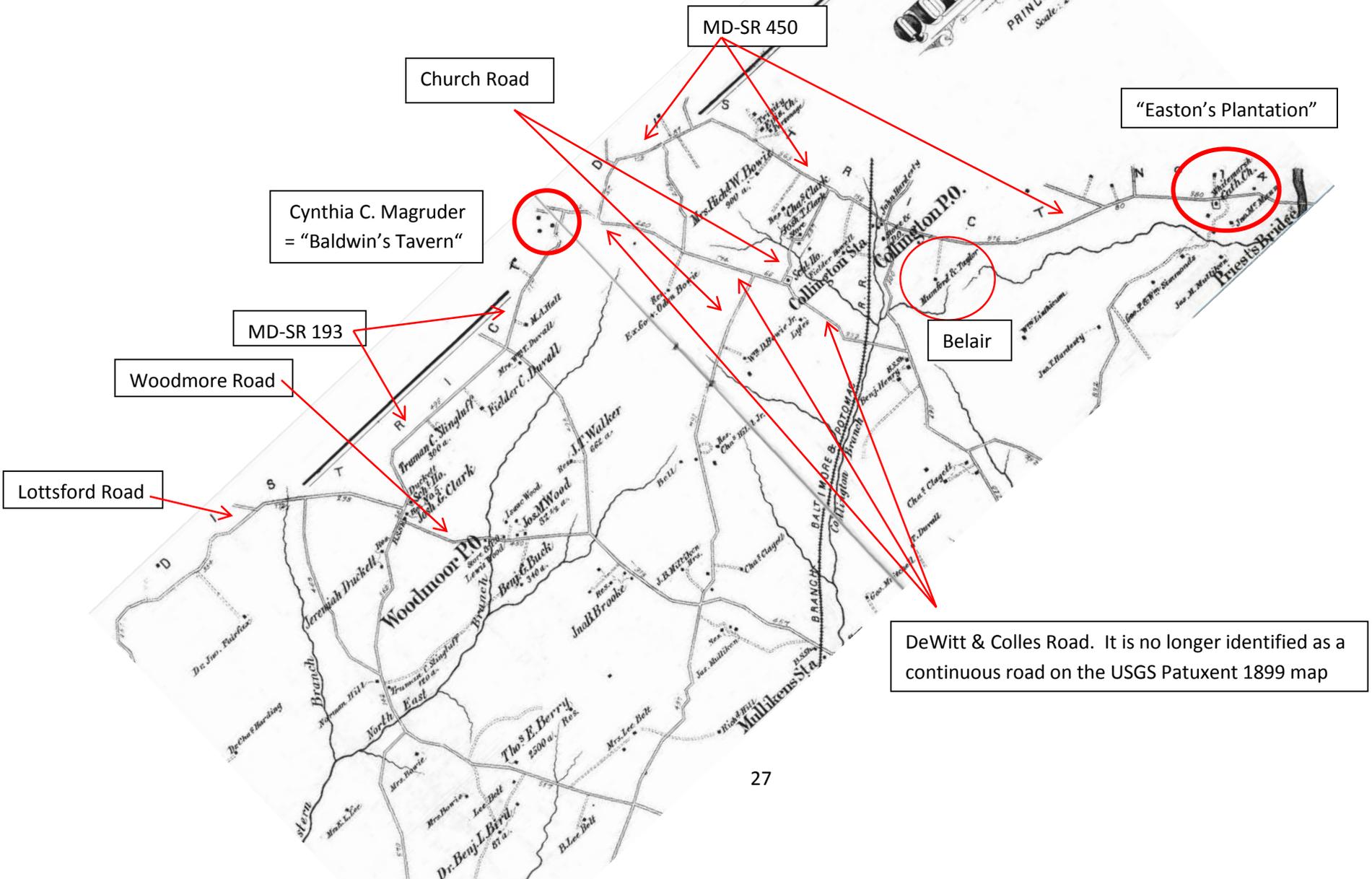
Thomas Baldwin (1721/22-1803) was married in 1758 to Sophia Duvall (1717-1804). The land she brought into the match was known as “Darnall’s Grove”; Baldwin re-named it “The Forest”. It was he who ran the tavern in 1781.

They had one daughter named Sophia (1759-1808) who in 1778 married Isaac Magruder (1755-1808). Their son Thomas Macgruder (1779-1830), married to Mary Clarke (1779-1864), had seven children, among them Caleb (1808-1884), who inherited the plantation. The house remained in the family into the mid-twentieth century, hence the name Cynthia C. Magruder at this location.

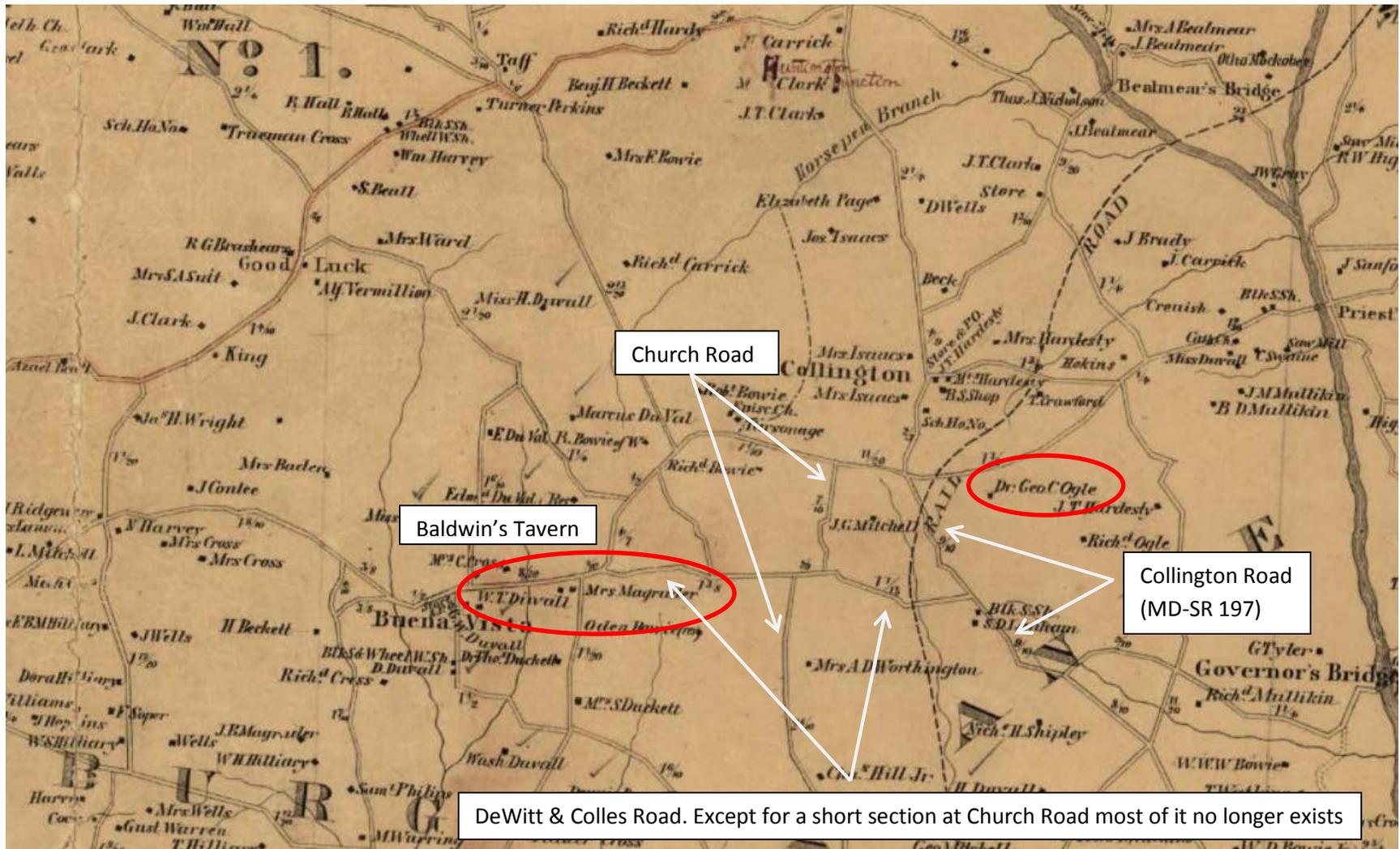
The Magruder family cemetery remains on part of the land east of Smithwick Lane (east of Rt. 193, Enterprise Road).



Detail from Hopkins, Queen Anne District No. 7 (1878)  
For the connection to Magruder see "Detail from Kent District No. 13"



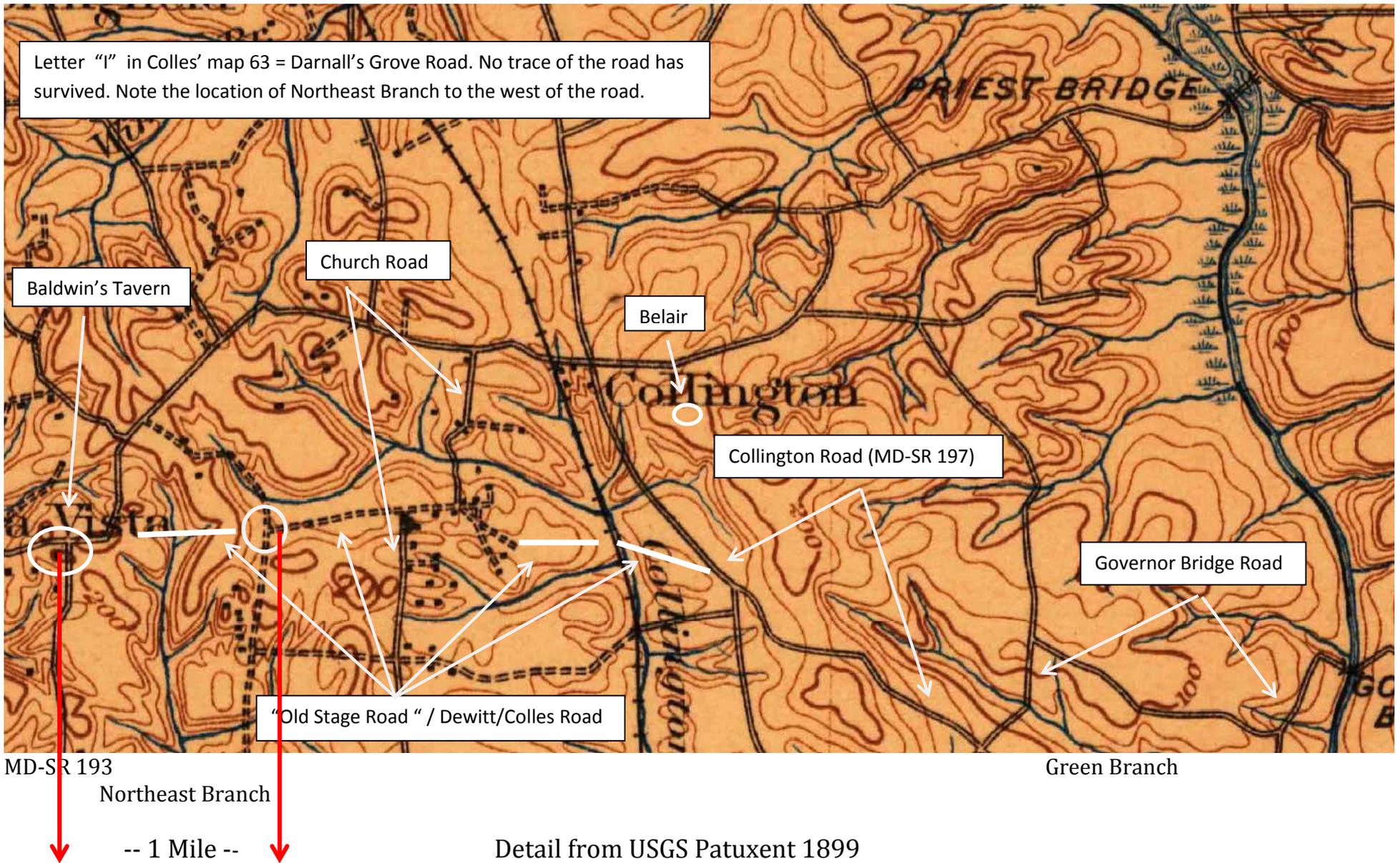
DeWitt & Colles Road. It is no longer identified as a continuous road on the USGS Patuxent 1899 map



Detail from Simon J. Martenet, *Martenet's map of Prince George's County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1861). From the Catholic Church at Priest's Bridge to Belair ("Dr. Geo. C. Ogle") is almost exactly 2 miles.

"Mrs. Magruder" is "Baldwin's Tavern" at the intersection of MD-SR 193 and MD-SR 450. Note the Duvall property next to it. MD-SR 193 leads to Oak Grave and Marlboro. It is no longer identified as a continuous road on the USGS Patuxent 1899 map.

Race road

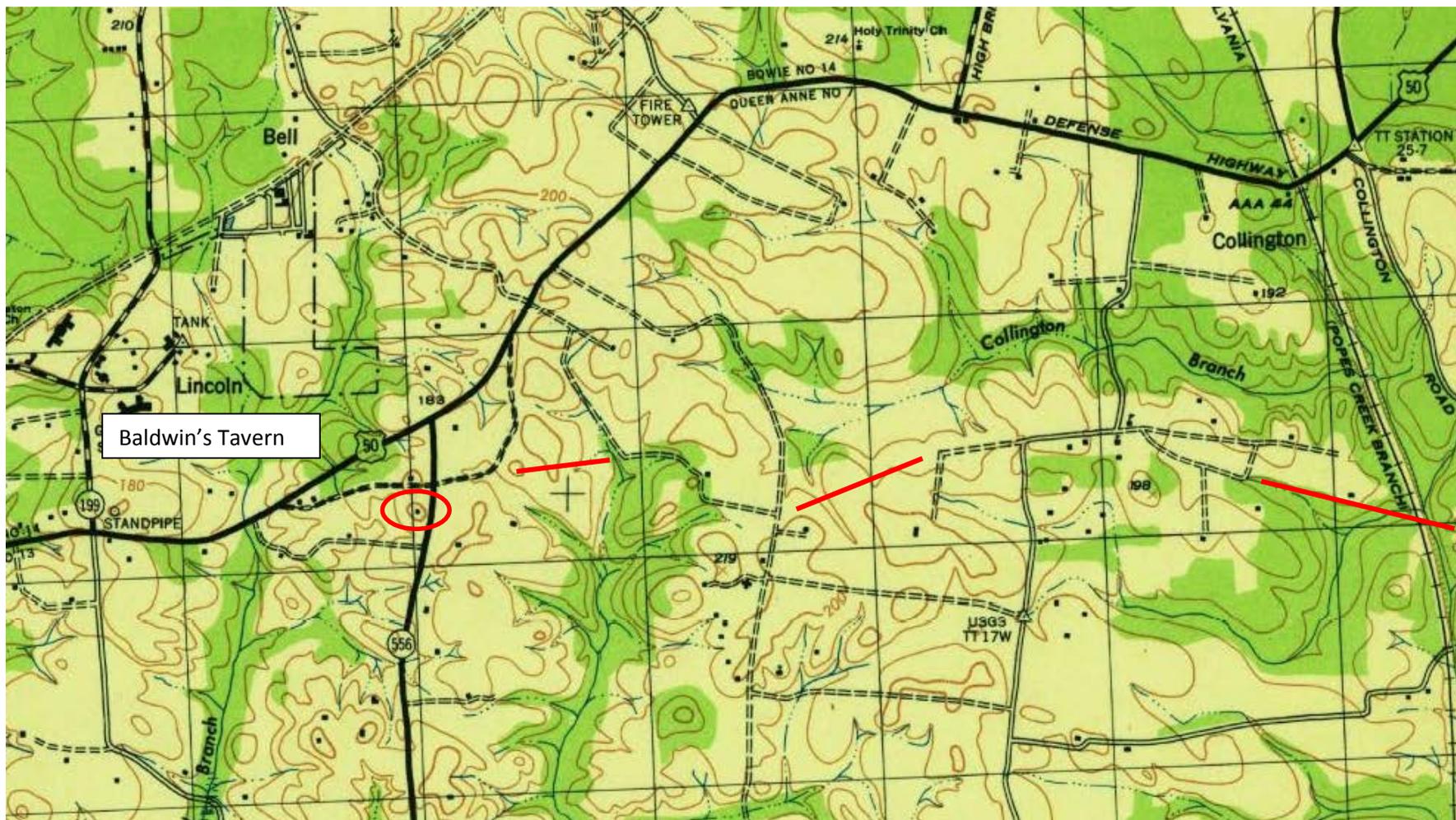




Detail from USGS Patuxent 1899

Baldwin's Tavern  
Note the tri-angular arrangement  
of the buildings

Church Road



Detail from USGS Lanham 1944. The red lines indicate the approximate location of the eighteenth-century road.

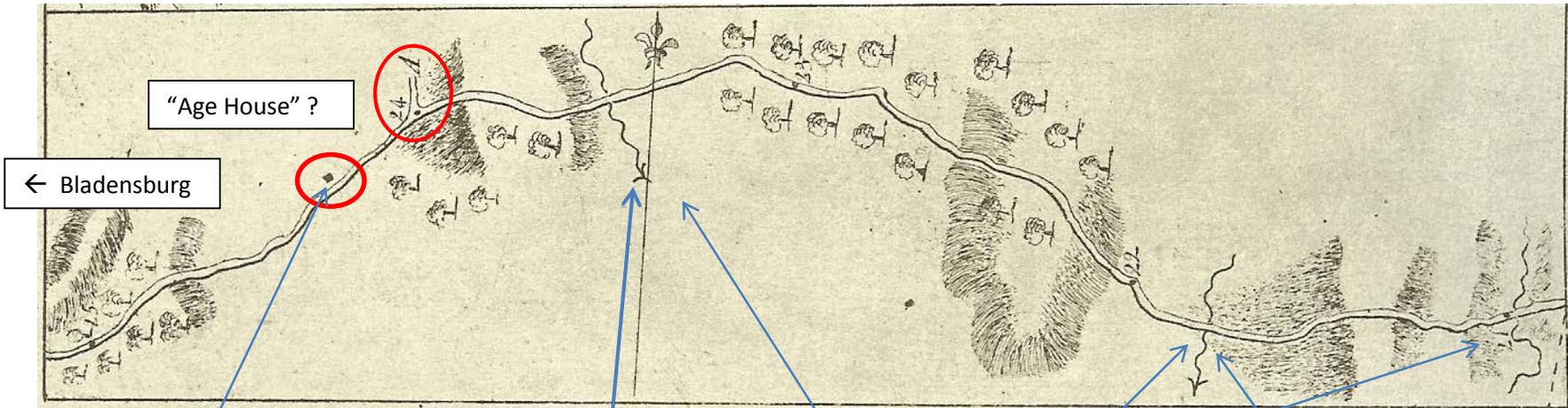
Defense Highway has since been straightened out.



Detail from USGS Lanham 1957. Note the location of the Magruder Family Cemetery.

One website claims that the tavern is still standing though much re-modeled by now.

Ad 3) Where is or was the "Age House"? No family by that or a similar-sounding name is known to have lived in this vicinity.



Detail from Colles, map 64: from Annapolis to Alexandria.

Berthier: (Five miles from Easton's you come to a tavern: **"You cross two small brooks on bridges, the second of which is in bad condition. → Baldwin's Tavern. Now begins itinerary)**

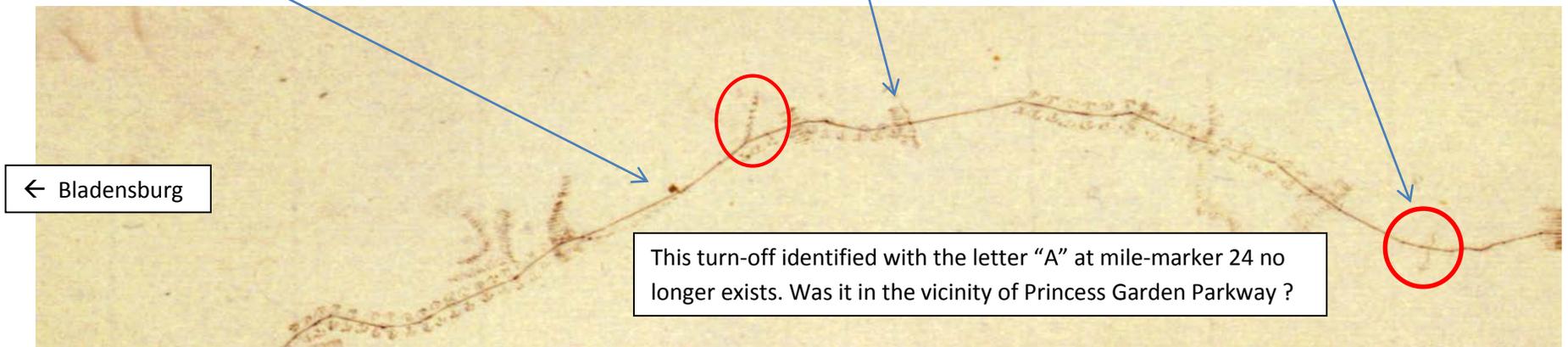
**You come to another brook.**

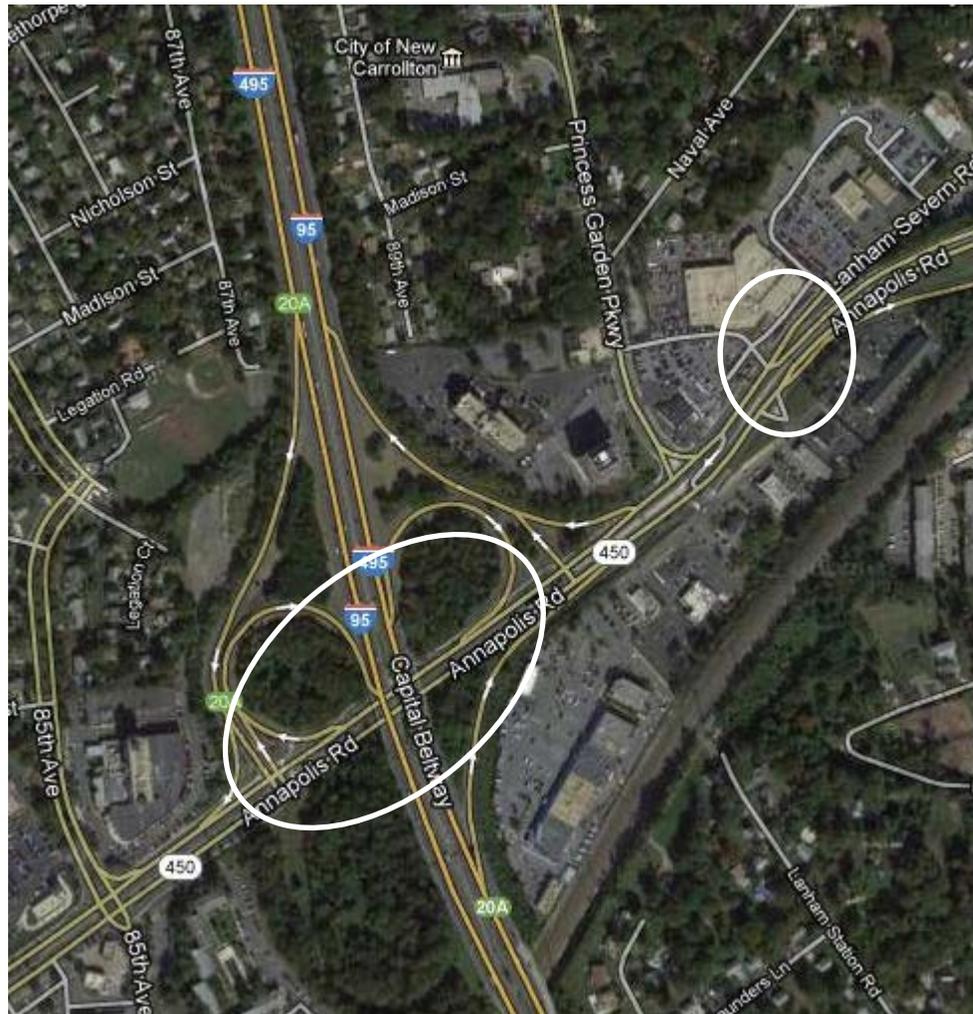
The wagons camped on the right of the road, ahead of the brook.

After crossing the brook you go uphill and reach the **Age House**. Total: 9 miles (from Easton's Plantation)

**Bald Hill Branch**  
**Folly Branch**  
**There are woods and clearings on either side of the road.**

Detail from Dewitt, map 124 K: "From near Governor's Bridge to near Bladensburgh"

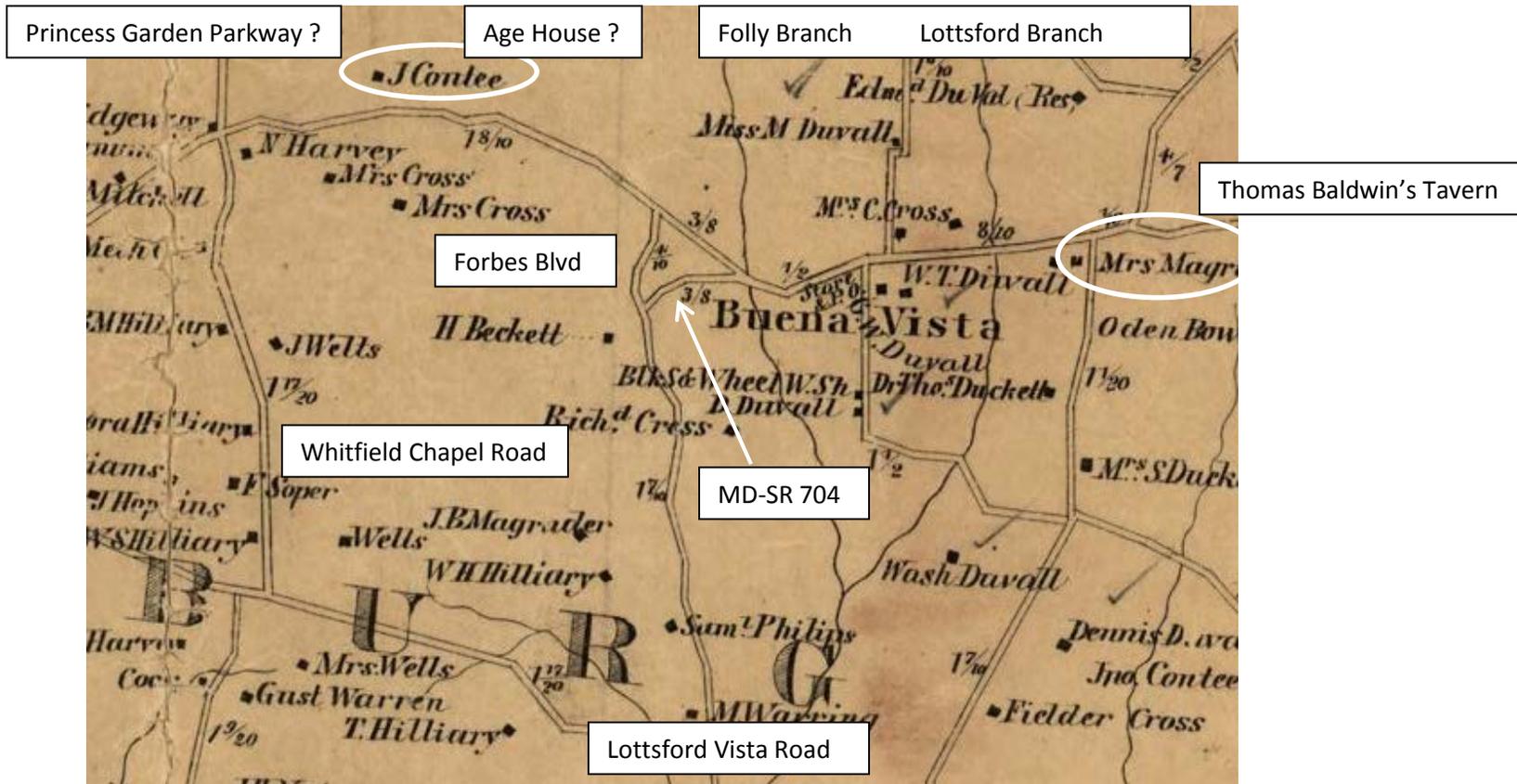




Assuming that the “Age House” is the house identified by DeWitt and Colles and therefore stood close to the road, nine miles from Easton’s Plantation would place the “Age House” almost exactly on the intersection of MD-SR 450 and I-95.

Letter “A” on the Colles map is approx. ½ mile from Bald Hill Branch, which places it at/in the vicinity of the turn-off at Lanham Severn Road from Annapolis Road.

One possibility considered for the location of the “Age House” was the J. Contee House



Detail from Simon J. Martenet, *Martenet's map of Prince George's County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1861).

The Contee family was of Huguenot background that had immigrated to Maryland from England in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and quickly ranked among the most influential families in Maryland. The first immigrant was Peter Contee (died 1714) who immigrated around 1703. His son Alexander Contee's (1691-1740) son John Contee (1722-1796) was married to Margaret Snowden (1724-1796). Their son Richard Alexander Contee (1753-1818) married to Elizabeth Gassaway Rawlings (1768-1816) in 1794, owned the property in 1781.

Upon marrying Eliza Duckett (1796-1823) in 1813, John Contee (1794-1839) acquired Pleasant Prospect, built by Isaac Duckett (1753-1823) in 1798, and still standing at 12806, Woodmore Road in Mitchellville. One of their children was John Contee (1816-1864), shown as the owner of the property on the 1861 map.

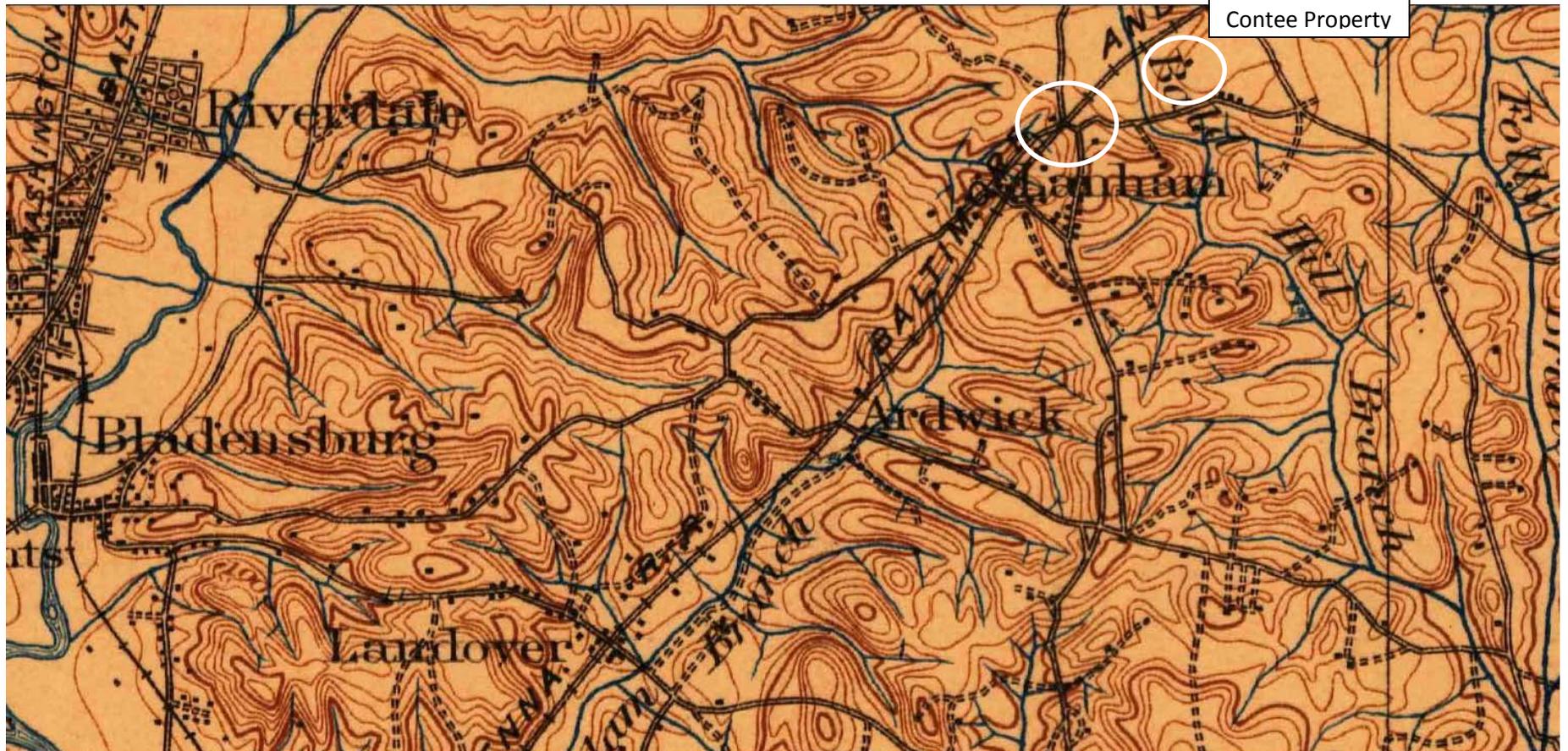


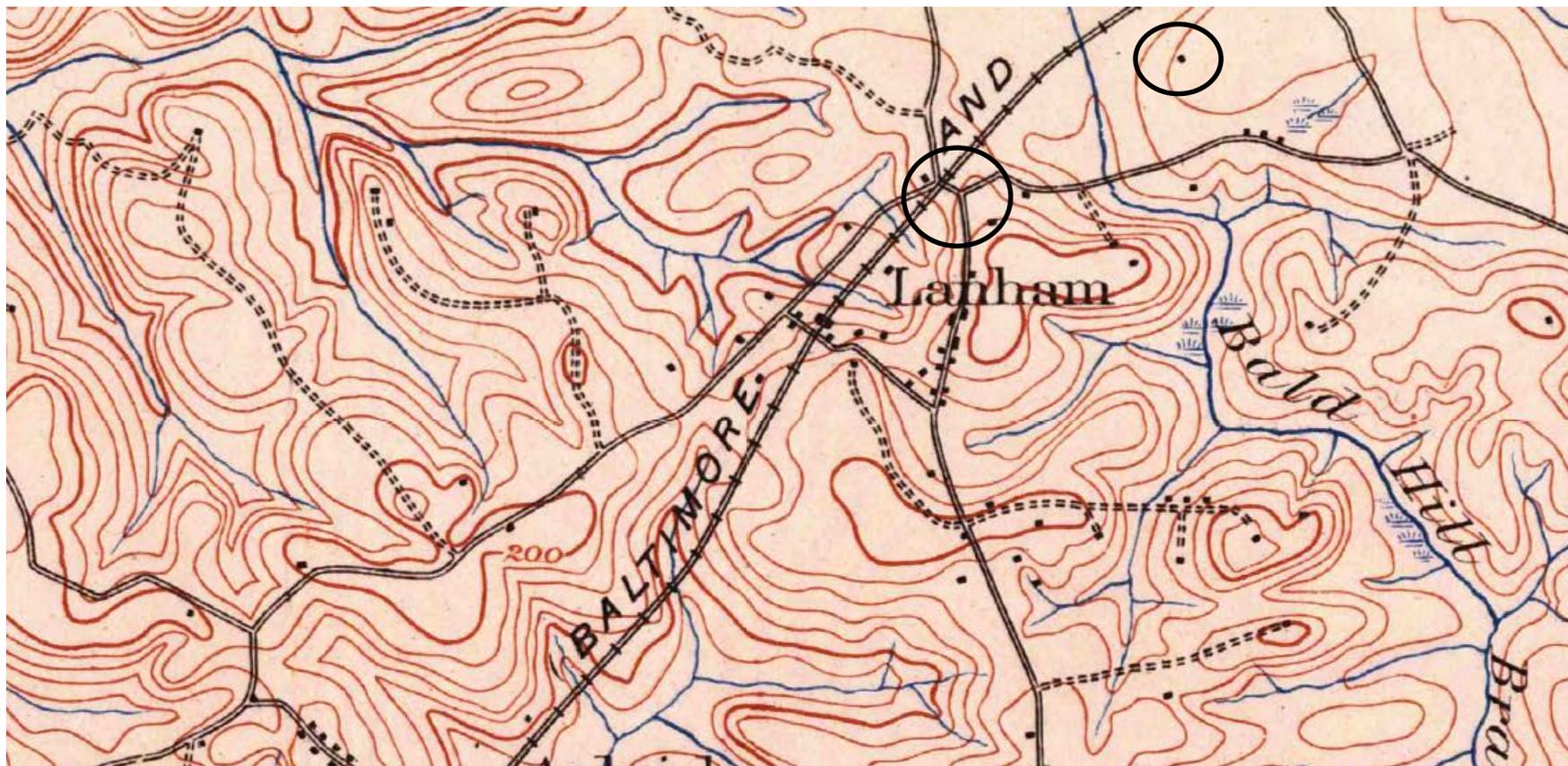
Detail from Simon J. Martenet, *Martenet's map of Prince George's County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1861). However: neither the distances nor the location work out satisfactorily.

Both DeWitt and Colles show the house about  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile past the Bald Hill Branch. That places the house just before I-95 in the access ramp area. Berthier's distance places it about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile farther on the other side of I-95. The makes the B. J. Ridgeway House a more likely location for the "Age House". Proof of the location is probably no longer possible since the construction of I-95 must have destroyed all remains. Unless they did some work before construction?

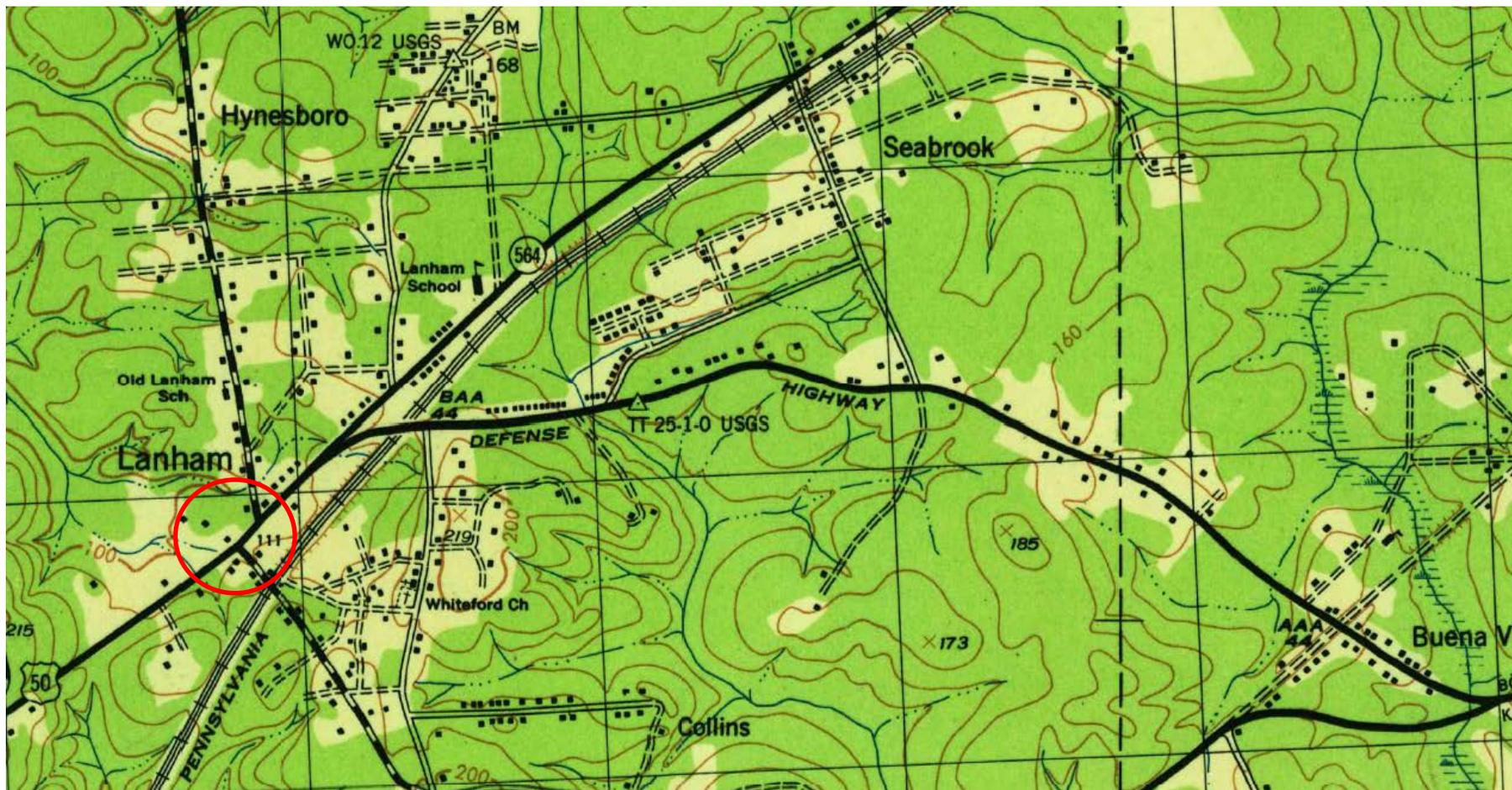


Detail from USGS Patuxent 1899. On the 1878 Hopkins Atlas, Bladensburg, District No. 2, map the two houses are identified as belonging to Sarah A. Harvey and the Elizabeth Frundt Store. The 1861 Martenet map identifies the “Frundt Store” as belonging to B.I. Ridgeway.

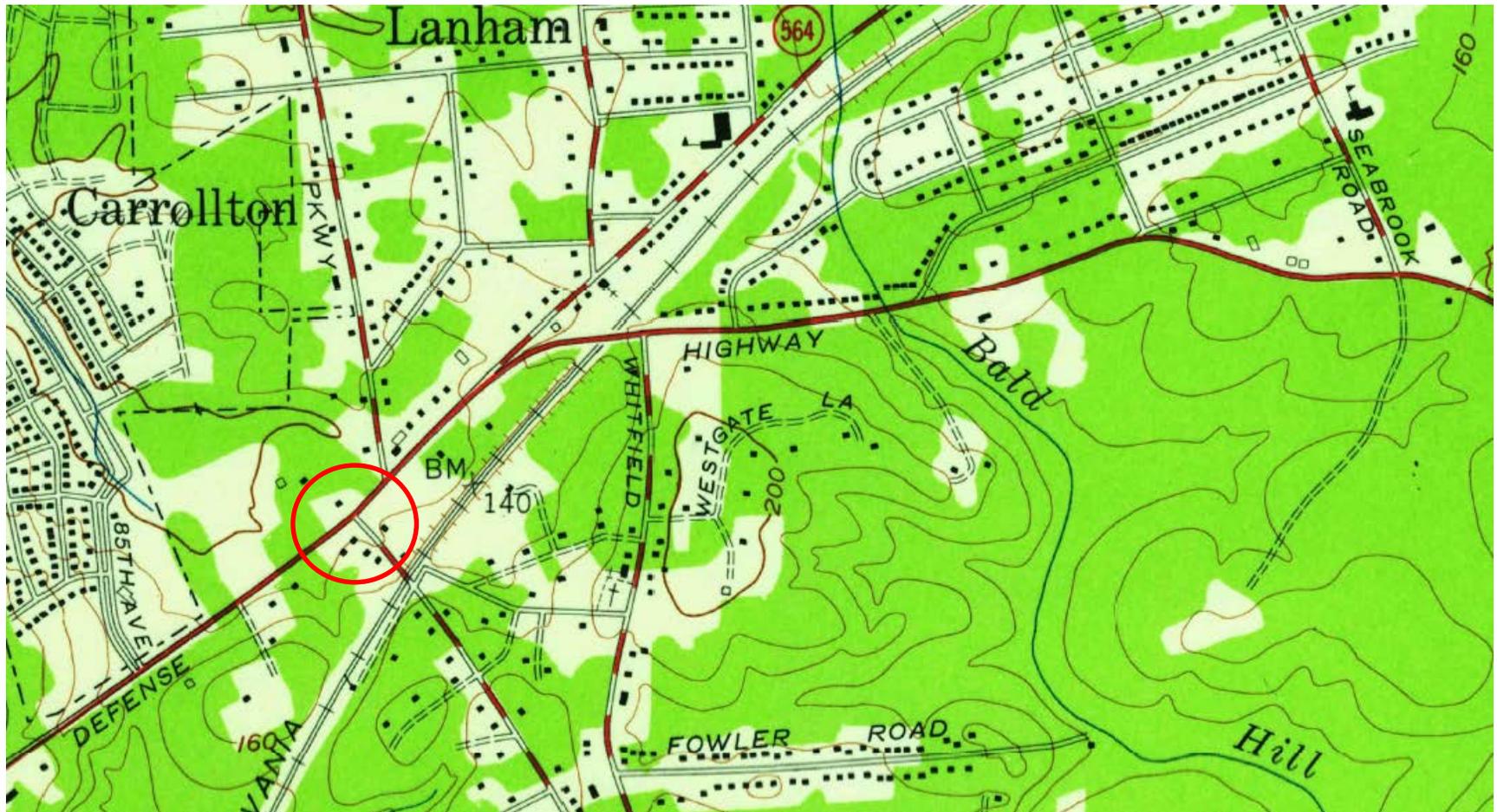




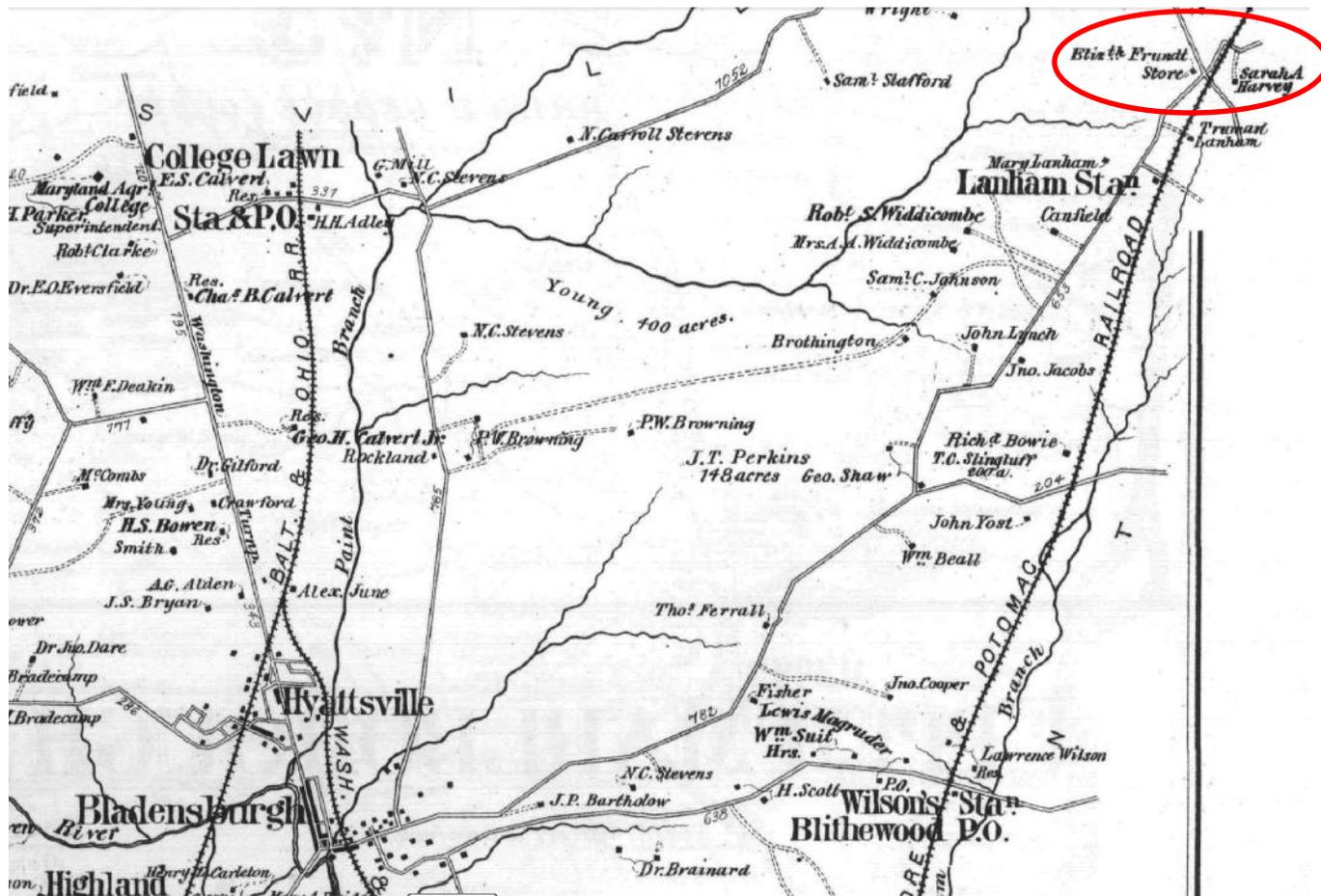
Detail from USGS Topo Washington 1900. Layout and homes are identical to USGS Topo Patuxent 1899.



Detail from USGS TOPO Lanham 1944. The construction of I-95 has profoundly altered the landscape.



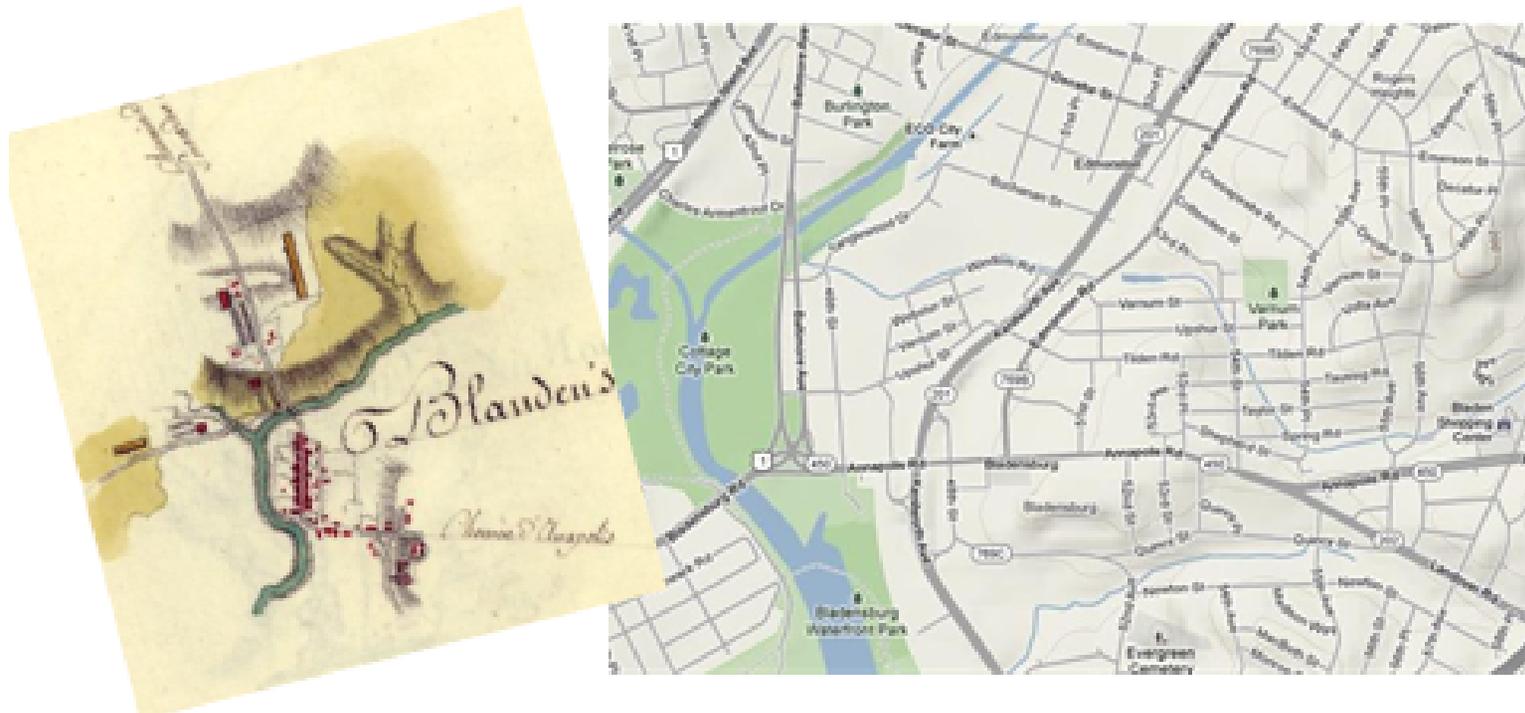
Detail from USGS Topo Lanham 1957. The construction of I-95 has profoundly altered the landscape.



Detail from Hopkins, Bladensburg District No. 2 (1878)

Note the location of the Elizabeth Frundt Store and the Sarah A. Harvey homes.

The remainder of the route to the next camp past Bladensburg, less than five miles away, follows Defense Highway.



On 23 September 1781 the French wagon train continued through Bladensburg to Georgetown.

During the return north after the victory at Yorktown French units camped here from 18-21 July to 22-25 July 1782. The actual campsite was approx. one mile north of Bladensburg on both sides of a road which became the Washington and Baltimore Turnpike [Baltimore Avenue, Alternate US Route 1]. Most units camped on the east side of the road north on the northwest side of the Northeast Branch in the vicinity of today's East Hyattsville, near the present Hyattsville Viaduct/intersection of Baltimore Ave. and Charles L. Armentrout Drive. Other units camped on the west side of the road from the confluence of the Northeast and Northwest Branches of the Anacostia River. A smaller contingent camped on the south side of the Northwest Branch along the old road to Georgetown, now part of North Brentwood.

## Conclusion

These were our questions:

- 1) What is the course of the road from Governor's Bridge to "Baldwin's Tavern" surveyed by Simeon DeWitt in 1781 and delineated by Christopher Colles in his 1789 road atlas?
- 2) Where is or was "Baldwin's Tavern"?

While, as far as we know, no allied forces took that route, its location is of interest as well because the road surveyed by DeWitt via Governor's Bridge and the road taken by the wagon train via Priest Bridge merge at some point.

- 3) The first campsite of the wagon train after "Easton's Plantation" was at a place identified as "Age House". Where is or was the "Age House"?

Answers:

- 1) Much of the road from Governor's Bridge to the tavern no longer exists, but there are enough remains of the road which, when compared with nineteenth-century maps, allow reconstruction of the approximate route as it existed during the American War of Independence.
- 2) The location of Thomas Baldwin's Tavern, indicated on DeWitt's map as well as on Colles' road atlas, has been established beyond reasonable doubt on the west side of MD-SR 193, south of MD-SR 45 (Defense Highway).
- 3) Establishing an approximate location of the "Age House" proved more difficult. All we have is a name, which does not correspond to any known family name in the area, and an unidentified dot on the DeWitt map and Colles' atlas. The curvature of DeWitt's and Colles' roads corresponds to that on nineteenth- and twentieth-century maps while the distances given by Berthier postulate a house at the location where DeWitt and Colles place their dot, i.e. almost exactly on the intersection of MD-SR 450 and I-95.