

Appendix

Information about the location of the encampment of the
American Rear-Guard guarding the bridge over the
Shabakunk on September 2, 1781
prepared by Robert A. Selig, Ph.D.

Information about the location of the encampment of the American Rear-Guard guarding the bridge over the Shabakunk on September 2, 1781

In late September 1781, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt's Second New York Regiment was 23 officers and 398 men strong.

Charles H. Lesser, *The Sinews of Independence. Monthly Strength Reports of the Continental Army* (Chicago, 1975), p. 208; no regimental reports for August have survived.

All allied forces marched from Princeton to Trenton on Mercer Road-Princeton Pike – NJ-SR 583 – Princeton Avenue into Trenton and their encampment near the William Trent House.

On 1 September 1781, Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment marched to their next camp seven miles south of Somerset Court House/Millstone in the vicinity of Rocky Hill. Ensign Samuel Tallmadge of the 2d NY Regt wrote in his diary on 1 September 1781:

Camp Somerset County

*the Genl. Beat an hour previous to day light, struck Camp and proceeded on to Somerset Court house, halted untill three OClock P.M. the Continued our march about Seven miles and Encamped.*¹

On 2 September 1781, the First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry left its camp in Trenton and crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

The Second Brigade of French forces marched from its camp at Princeton to its camp at Trenton.

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment marched to their next camp between Lawrenceville and Trenton.

On 2 September, Samuel Tallmadge recorded that

at four OClock struck Camp loaded the Bagage and proceeded on to prince Town, and halted to take breakfast, the Continued our march too Maidenhead town [i.e., Lawrenceville] and Encamped about Sunset."

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces to Trenton.

☐ In my NJ Report see also Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 436; Map 17

¹ 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, 780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 759.

Tallmadge had enlisted in May 1776, was promoted to ensign on 9 November 1777 and to lieutenant on 27 October 1781. The Second New York Regiment left King's Ferry in the morning of Sunday, 26 August 1781.

The Orderly Book has a gap from 17 June to 24 September 1781.

By early morning of 3 September 1781, the last of the French forces have left New Jersey. The American rear-guard are the last troops to cross the Delaware on 3 September 1781. Samuel Tallmadge records that on 3 September,

the Genl beat at day break, Struck Camp and proceeded on to trentown, from thence to the Landing where we arrived about Eight OClock, there put our boates in the delaware river put the baggage on board, and Imbarked about one OClock and proceeded down the river halted at Brister, Burlington Laying near parrallel to Brister situated on the East side in the Jerseys Brister in Pennsylvania - proceeded on about Six miles below brister and Encamped amount 11 OClock at night.

Following the route taken by all preceding forces, the rear-guard marched directly to the Lower Ferry landing and sailed to Philadelphia in the early afternoon.

On 4 September 1781, American DQMG John Neilson reported to QMG Timothy Pickering, his superior officer, from Trenton the conclusion of the crossing operation. No allied forces designated to participate in the operation at Yorktown remain in New Jersey.

"Sir, I have the pleasure to aeqaunt you that the duties required of the Department under my direction, with respect to he Movement of the Army, have been executed with all the dispatch and Success that could be expected from the Nature of the business. And I believ from what I could discover to the Satisfaction of the officers commanding the respective divisions. Fryday [i.e., 31 August] about noon the van of the Army under the Command of General Lincoln arrived here, and a 6 o'clock Saturday morning the whole of the remaining Troops and Teams had crossed the river, having precariously embarked the Artillery, Hazen's Regiment and heavy baggage on board the Shallops provided for the purpose. At ten o'Clock on Saturday [i.e., 1 September] the first division of the French Army came in, which with the whole of their baggage were crossed by 7 o'clock Sunday morning; that day the 2d Division under the command of Count Viomenil arrived, and at Six O'Clock Monday Morning they with all their baggage were on the Pennsylvani Shore. About this time [i.e., on 3 September] Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment together with the Boats, Quarter Master General's Stores, Clothiers Stores &c came into Town, Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment embarked in the Boats he had with him about two hours after, the Stores were embarked in the Vessels retained for that Purpose, and all the Teams crossed the river by two OClock and the vessels with the stores sailed about four in the Afternoon. - A number of the Shallops were left by Genl Lincoln for transporting the Heavy Baggage of the French Army, which I informed them of on their arrival, but making any use of them observing to me they had Teams &c sufficient to carry all by land, upon which I immediatly ordered all the Shallops except those retained by the Quarter Master & Clotheir Stores to Philadelphia, and to apply to Colonel Miles for further Instructions."²

² NARA Misc. Numbered Records M859, film 14, reel 80, frame 38.

Neilson is only partially correct. In his 1832 pension application Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, Connecticut, wrote that

When the armies took up their March to the Southward for the beseiging of Cornwallis, he, this deponent, started with the hospital one or two days in rear of the armies.

This allowed Loomis, who was in Wadsworth's/French service, to pick up and take care of hurt and/or sick stragglers. This is confirmed in Loomis' pension application where he writes

He arrived with the hospital at Williamsburgh Va. the morning that Washington opened his first batteries in Yorktown [i.e., 9 October].³

The rest of the French wagon train had reached Williamsburg on 7 October 1781.

Jacob Judd, ed., *The Revolutionary War 'Memoir' and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* (Tarrytown, New York, 1976), p. 60:

Arriving about 3 miles from Trenton I was ordered to Incamp for all the army to pass me and then took my Boats to Trenton and Embarked my Regt. and proceeded on the Delaware. To Philadelphia ...

- ☐ The boats had been built in Wappinger's Falls and made it all the way to Yorktown. That is a story in itself.

Jacob Judd, ed., *Correspondence of the Van Cortlandt Family of Cortlandt Manor 1748-1800* (Tarrytown, 1977), has no letter by Cortlandt between 29 August and 17 October 1781.

³ Pension application of Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, Connecticut, NARA Series M805, Roll 536, Image 731, File S17551.

Extracts of Email Correspondence between Robert A. Selig,
Ph.D. and David Bosted and Dennis Waters of the Lawrence
Township Environmental Education Foundation, Inc.

Bob Selig Email Extracts 2022-23

From David Bosted, November 20, 2022

1. We have a map from the Bicentennial which shows JOB PEARSON as the owner of the farm where the Rear Guard encampment was guarding the bridge over the Shabakunk on Sept 2, 1781. I contacted the history-minded Pearson family here, but they have no information about Job Pearson or his farm in the 1770s - 1780s. Has that name arisen in your research, or any other tidbits about the Rear Guard prior to the unit's movement from here toward Yorktown?
2. I've been referring to the local events of late August 1781 as "Rendezvous and Crossing." Have any of the original French military orders surfaced, and do they use the word "Rendezvous" with respect to coming together in Princeton, prior to marching through Maidenhead on their way to Trenton? Is there a better way to describe the local role than "Rendezvous and Crossing?" Is there another word that the French military used when ordering the troops to convene here?
3. For our future research, Is there a place where we might find information about the members of the Rear Guard unit that was encamped here in Lawrence (Maidenhead)?

Reply from Robert Selig November 26, 2022

Re 1: Colonel Van Cortland and his Second New York Regiment formed the rear-guard. Any information I had, or have, is in my W3R in NJ report. I pulled that info out and am attaching it as anWord file.

Unfortunately I have no info on Job Pearson, he did not show up in any of my research. Would you mind sharing the Bi-Centennial map with me? Maybe there is a clue on there that I could pursue further.

Re. 2: The terms "Rendezvous and Crossing" are appropriate. I have a copy of Rochambeau's Orderly Book which runs from 14 August 1780 in Newport to 17 August 1781, the eve of departure from Westchester County. The term "Rendez Vouz/Rendezvous" is used 18 times in it to designate a place for units to gather. Unfortunately Rochambeau's Orderly Book ends before the march begins, so the coming together at Princeton is not in there.

Re 3: Surviving muster rolls with the names of members of the Second NY Regt are listed here:

<https://www.fold3.com/image/10175428>

There are four muster rolls of Capt. Jonathan Hallet's Company from Feb 1781 to Feb 1782.

That's all.

Here is the one that is of interest to you: <https://www.fold3.com/image/10176097>

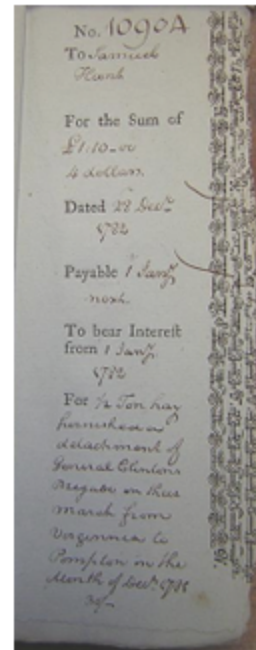
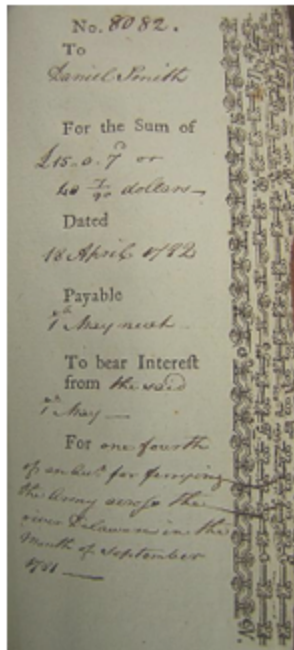
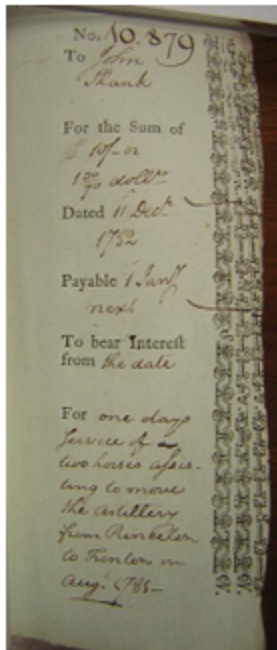
From Dennis Waters November 30, 2022

1. It appears that the most precise evidence we have on where Van Cortland and the 2nd NY bivouacked in Maidenhead comes from the *Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt*, where he recalls "arriving about 3 miles from Trenton I was ordered to Incamp for all the army to pass me." Three miles from Trenton places him at approximately Shabakunk Creek. Can we presume that as rear guard he would have camped on the north side of the creek? Is there any other evidence that provides more precision?
2. The township Bicentennial Map to which David referred was developed in 1976 to show the state of land ownership in Maidenhead in 1776. It traced the provenance of each parcel in the township. I have attached the section showing the area around the crossing of Shabakunk Creek by the Maidenhead Road. The closest properties on the north side are shown as owned by Job Pearson on the west side of Maidenhead Road and by Thomas Tindall on the east side. However, Thomas Tindall sold the latter property to Achsah Lambert in 1779. Pearson, Tindall, and Lambert would be the relevant property owners. You have indicated that Pearson was not mentioned, but what about the other two?
3. In your report you say that "All allied forces marched from Princeton to Trenton on Mercer Road-Princeton Pike – NJ-SR 583 – Princeton Avenue." That road, previously known as the Princeton-Kingston Branch Turnpike, was not constructed until 1807, several decades after the W3R activities. During the colonial period the only north-south road through Maidenhead was variously known as Maidenhead Road, the Great Road, or the King's Highway. This was the road that the army took, today's US-206, Lawrence Road.

Reply from Robert Selig November 30, 2022

Re 1: at this point I have no additional evidence. I would suggest you take a look at the location, and based on which side of the creek in your opinion provides the more convenient campsite, make that side the campsite.

Re 2: Unfortunately neither Thomas Tindall nor Achsah Lambert appear in any of my resources. The officers and men of the 2d NY did not know on whose properties they encamped, nor did they probably care too much. There is, however, one potential source where you might find them. If they applied for compensation for foodstuffs they provided the troops or damages to their property, their names might show up in the John Neilson Papers. Neilson did not have any cash and handed out IOUs. Here is an example of what is in his papers:

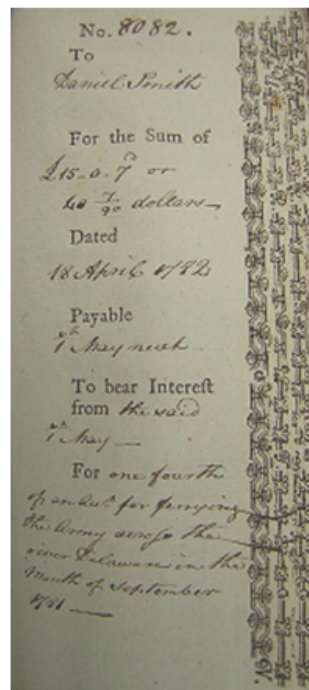


Interest-bearing Continental Debt Certificates issued by John Neilson in his capacity as Deputy Quarter-master-General of the Continental Army in New Jersey. The certificate on the left is for two days' service with horses to move artillery from Princeton to Trenton in August 1781. The certificate in the center (dated 18 April 1782) is for "one fourth of an account for ferrying the Army across the river Delaware in the month of September 1781." The certificate on the right is for ½ ton hay issued to General Clinton's Brigade, i.e., the New York Regiments, as they entered New Jersey on their way back from Yorktown in December 1781. John Neilson, "Papers ... kept as DQM 1780-1782." Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick

Interest-bearing Continental Debt Certificates issued by John Neilson in his capacity as Deputy Quarter-Master-General of the Continental Army in New Jersey allow us to trace the progress of the Continental Army through New Jersey into Pennsylvania.

This certificate is for "one fourth of an account for ferrying the Army across the river Delaware in the month of September 1781." Unfortunately it does not indicate the number of troops. The Lower Ferry as well as the landing were owned by William Trent.

John Neilson, "Papers ... kept as DQM 1780-1782." Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick.



Neilson, John. "Papers ... kept as DQM for NJ, 1780-1782, Box 1" call no. Ac 589, Special Collections, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey. Neilson took over as DQMG from Moore Furman in September 1780. In almost all cases only the signed receipt that payment had been made, i.e., a small strip on left hand of the certificate shown in the images above, has survived.

With a bit of luck you might find a strip mentioning Pearson and/or Tindall or some folks in the neighborhood who had cattle or foodstuffs confiscated for the troops in return for IOUs.

Box 2 contains an account book beginning Trenton, 25 September 1780, with almost daily entries of horses being purchased or dying, materials being received and/or handed out etc. There is no noticeable increase in activity in Neilson's office in early September 1781, and no entry that can be tied explicitly to the 1781 campaign.

There is no mention of French forces in the account book, and since no French forces encamped in the area it is doubtful that you might find anything in the Wadsworth Papers in Hartford, CT.

Re 3: Me culpa - don't know where that is coming from!!!! Thank you for the correction! Having driven the route many times I should know better.

Further reply from Robert Selig December 5, 2022

I have given this some more thought on how to find more info on the campsite.

- 1) French accounts very rarely ever provide any information on where they camp, and then only if they stay at the site for a longer period of time.
- 2) The same is true for Continental Army forces. The odds that any member of the 2d NY had ever been in Trenton or knew the owner of the property they camped on is virtually zero. They camped wherever they were told to.
- 3) Provisions for French forces were handled by Jeremiah Wadsworth of Connecticut; there is a very outside chance that there may be a receipt for purchases in the Wadsworth Papers in Hartford but French forces only marched through and never camped there. If you were to go there (or send someone), I would budget two days to go not only through the piles of receipts but also the ledgers and correspondence in the hope of finding a mention.
- 4) Supplies for Continental Army forces were supposed to be provided by the quartermaster. Folks such as Neilson did not have any cash and handed out IOUs. Hungry soldiers also sometimes engaged in creative foraging, and the farmers submitted damage claims. Those are your two best sources for the information you are looking for.

5) Sometimes account ledgers are helpful, but only if the account keeper was very conscientious. The account books as a rule only list debts and when they were paid; in my experience straight cash transactions are rarely ever recorded.

6) I do not know whether there are any Job Pearson papers anywhere but I never found a mention. That leaves the odd chance that somewhere in a letter or diary &c you may find a note such as "the army camped on my Uncle Job's meadow" or something along those lines, but that is something you usually run across accidentally only.

Email from Dennis Waters January 11 2023

- Is there a report somewhere that shows the order in which the various units marched from Princeton to Trenton? If I am reading the 8/31 map correctly, it looks like Gen. Lincoln and Col. Lamb were first through, followed by the French army. Is that correct?
- Further to that, is it fair to assume that Van Cortlandt's rear guard would have been the last unit to cross the Delaware into Pennsylvania? Would that have been on 9/2 or later?
- I'm no military strategist, but given that they were the rear guard (and presumably guarding against attack from the north) would it be fair to assume that they would have been stationed on the south side of Shabakunk Creek so that the stream itself would have been a natural barrier?

Reply from Robert Selig January 11, 2023

Re: order of units. See the following text. On 4 September 1781, American DQMG John Neilson reported to QMG Timothy Pickering, his superior officer, from Trenton, the conclusion of the crossing operation. No allied forces designated to participate in the operation at Yorktown remain in New Jersey.

"Sir, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the duties required of the Department under my direction, with respect to the Movement of the Army, have been executed with all the dispatch and Success that could be expected from the Nature of the business. And I believe from what I could discover to the Satisfaction of the officers commanding the respective divisions. Fryday [i.e., 31 August] about noon the van of the Army under the Command of General Lincoln arrived here, and a 6 o'clock Saturday morning the whole of the remaining Troops and Teams had crossed the river, having precariously embarked the Artillery, Hazen's Regiment and heavy baggage on board the Shallops

provided for the purpose. At ten o'Clock on Saturday [i.e., 1 September] the first division of the French Army came in, which with the whole of their baggage were crossed by 7 o'clock Sunday morning; that day the 2d Division under the command of Count Viomenil arrived, and at Six O'Clock Monday Morning they with all their baggage were on the Pennsylvani Shore. About this time [i.e., on 3 September] Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment together with the Boats, Quarter Master General's Stores, Clothiers Stores &c came into Town, Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment embarked in the Boats he had with him about two hours after; the Stores were embarked in the Vessels retained for that Purpose, and all the Teams crossed the river by two OClock and the vessels with the stores sailed about four in the Afternoon. - A number of the Shallops were left by Genl Lincoln for transporting the Heavy Baggage of the French Army, which I informed them of on their arrival, but making any use of them observing to me they had Teams &c sufficient to carry all by land, upon which I immediately ordered all the Shallops except those retained by the Quarter Master & Clotheir Stores to Philadelphia, and to apply to Colonel Miles for further Instructions."^[375]

Samuel Tallmadge of the 2d New York Regiment recorded in his diary that on 3 September,

"the Genl beat at day break, Struck Camp and proceeded on to trentown, from thence to the Landing where we arrived about Eight OClock, there put our boates in the delaware river put the baggage on board, and Imbarked about one OClock and proceeded down the river halted at Brister, Burlington Laying near parrallel to Brister situated on the East side in the Jerseys Brister in Pennsylvania - proceeded on about Six miles below brister and Encamped amount 11 OClock at night."

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, 780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 758.

^[375] NARA Misc. Numbered Records M859, film 14, reel 80, frame 38.

Colonel Lamb and the artillery embarked on 1 September and were in Philadelphia by noon. There are more details in my W3R in NJ report "CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCHES THROUGH NEW JERSEY IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1781" which I am attaching for you. Look at the end in particular.

The complete NJ report is here: <https://w3r-us.org/history-by-state/>

I agree with your last point about the stationing of the NY regiments.

Email from Dennis Waters January 16, 2023

Two more questions: (1) The sources do not seem to agree on when van Cortlandt's regiment arrived in Maidenhead. Do you favor one source on this question or do you prefer to acknowledge the disagreement, provide a range of answers, and move on? (2) Did General Edward Hand command any units on the W3R march? If not, do you happen to know where he was at the time?

Reply from Robert Selig January 16 2023

1) I would go with van Cortlandt, you would think he knew where he was when. On the other hand, Washington's private secretary Trumbull got the date for the departure from Mt. Vernon for Yorktown wrong, and his diary is off by a day for the next few weeks.

2) BG Hand became Adjutant General of the Continental Army in January 1781 and thus on the staff of Washington. As Adjutant General he did not hold a command.

Email from Dennis Waters January 17, 2023

Given that Hand was on Washington's staff he presumably was traveling with him. The chronology you sent showed Washington corresponding from Chatham on August 28 and from Philadelphia on August 31. When and how did Washington get to Philadelphia, presumably with General Hand?

Reply from Robert Selig January 17, 2023

On 21 August 1781, Hand is with Washington at King's Ferry (<https://founders.archives.gov/?q=%22Edward%20Hand%22&s=1111311111&sa=&r=259&sr=>) It is most likely that he accompanied GW through New Jersey but at this point I do not know. I found no evidence in my files of Hand traveling with Washington across New Jersey to Philadelphia but that does not mean much.

On 7 September 1781, Hand is in Lancaster, PA, while Washington is on his way from Elkton to Baltimore, where he arrived on 8 September. I do not (yet) know when Hand separated from Washington to travel to Lancaster but I wrote to the Library of Congress for page 4, which may

hold the clue. He most likely, however, accompanied him to Philadelphia for the parade before Congress (Continental Army in the pm of 2 September, French forces on 3 and 4 September) before riding to Lancaster.

The only recent biography that I know of him is here:

<https://collections.lancasterhistory.org/en/permalink/lhdo19738>

Email from Dennis Waters January 18, 2023

As for Washington himself, did he travel with Lamb and arrive in Philadelphia on August 31?

Reply from Robert Selig January 18, 2023

I checked again in *Founders.Archives* as well as in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* and the *Letters by Members of Congress &c* but no mention of Hand anywhere. Some research in the Edward Hand Papers, Collection 0261 (Bulk, 1771-1798) 1766-1907 (1.6 Linear feet ; 2 boxes, 3 volumes) in the Historical Society of PA in Philly, or, more promising, in the Hand Papers, MssCol 17927, in the NY Public Library (.3 linear feet, 2 v.), may be necessary to answer that question. I do think, however, that Hand traveled with Washington across NJ into Philly and then made a short detour to Lancaster.

Since you brought this up, here is an example of how unreliable dates can be. In his diary, <http://memory.loc.gov> Washington wrote

30th. I set out myself for Philadelphia to arrange matters there - provide Vessels & hasten the transportation of the Ordnance Stores, &ca. - directing before I set out, the secd. York Regiment (which had not all arrived from Albany before we left Kings ferry) to follow with the Boats--Intrenching Tools &ca. the French Rear to Trenton.

31st. Arrived at Philadelphia to dinner and immediately hastened up all the Vessels that could be procured--but finding them inadequate to the purpose of transporting both Troops & Stores, Count de Rochambeau & myself concluded it would be best to let the Troops March by land to the head of Elk, & gave directions accordingly to all but the 2d. York Regiment which was ordered (with its baggage) to come down in the Batteaux they had in charge to Christiana bridge.

This diary entry seems proof that Washington and Rochambeau arrived in Philadelphia on 31 August, but both Washington's private secretary Jonathan Trumbull and Baron Closen give 30 August as the date of arrival, a date that is also reported by the *Philadelphia Packet* in its edition for 2 September 1781 Since Washington and Rochambeau had crossed the Delaware in the morning of 30 August, an arrival date in Philadelphia of 31 August seems unlikely given the relatively short distance, 30 miles, which the generals had to travel to get to Philadelphia.

It seems therefore safe to assume that having spent the night of 29/30 August at the Trent House in Trenton, they arrived in Philadelphia in the late afternoon of 30 August. Washington stayed with Robert Morris while Rochambeau and his officers lodged with the chevalier de La Luzerne. In the evening they dined with Robert Morris.

New Jersey Project Part 4 - Chronology 1781 - part of vol. I

Compiled by Robert A. Selig, Ph.D.

26 August (15 miles) From Suffern to Pompton [Pompton Plains]. We crossed the river of that name

59. They were not yet in the Jerseys, but still in the state of New York, at the locality known today as the village of Stony Point. It was then within the limits of the township of Haverstraw and is so designated on the map in Vol. II, No. 63.

60. Clermont-Crèvecoeur's statement under this date (which he subsequently repeats, more plausibly, under 7 September, Elkton, Maryland; below, p. 51) is questionable, since Barras's squadron sailed from Newport only on 23 August, as recorded in Verger's journal (p. 135). It was not until 21 August that Fersen, Rochambeau's aide-de-camp, arrived back at headquarters from Newport bringing Barras's letter of 17 August announcing his intention of sailing for the Chesapeake "at the first favorable wind." Fersen (2), pp. 118-119; Von Closen, p. 107; Barras to Rochambeau, Newport, 17 August 1781, printed in Doniol, v, 524-526, original in the Paul Mellon Collection. Barras, who was preparing to go off on an expedition of his own to Newfoundland, acquiesced in this course only after the most urgent representations from Washington and Rochambeau (cf. their letters of 15 August 1781 in Doniol, v, 523-524, and *Writings of GW*, xxii, 499-500). It is thus possible that rumors of Barras's intention to sail

three times. It had many wooden bridges, also two fords. The road is excellent and very smooth. This country, known as the Jerseys, is populated by Dutchmen who seem very prosperous. The land is well cultivated and yields abundant harvests. Ten miles from Pompton, near a village called Totowa, is a waterfall [Passaic Falls] that is regarded in these parts as a great curiosity.⁶⁰ The river flows very tranquilly down to a rock ledge imbedded in its course, which contains a crevice about 15 feet wide into which the river rushes precipitately and falls in a cascade from 70 to 80 feet. The crevice gradually diminishes until it practically disappears at the foot of the ledge, from which the river emerges and resumes its course as quietly as before.

27 August (16 miles) From Pompton to Whippany. Four miles from Whippany we passed a very large estate in one of the most pleasant spots in the whole countryside.⁶¹ Whippany is a small village on the banks of a river of that name. We halted there on the 28th, and the Second Division joined us. Until then we had been marching down river and believed we were bound for Staten Island. What confirmed us in this belief was the fact that the American army and the Lauzun Legion had made a reconnaissance in the vicinity. A dummy camp had been pitched facing

could have been circulating among the lower ranks by 24 August; if so, Clermont-Crèvecoeur retrospectively expanded such rumors into a *fait accompli* when writing up his journal.

61. The route from Suffern, New York, through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware to Elkton, Maryland, is described in Vol. II, Itineraries 3, 4, and 5, and maps, Nos. 50-60 and 64-76.

62. Several officers made an excursion from the Pompton camp on 26 August to see this famous "natural wonder," which is now in the city of Paterson, New Jersey. See, e.g., Cromot Dubourg (1), p. 376; Von Closen, p. 112; Deux-Points, p. 420. An elaborate description was penned by Chastellux, who visited the Falls in November 1780. Chastellux (4), 1, 104-105, and Plate facing p. 73.

63. The "large estate" was "Beverwyck," the property of Lucas von Beverhoudt, who was at this time sharing it with Abraham Lott, a patriot refugee from New York. See Vol. II, Itinerary 3, and map, No. 51. Several of the officers dined at Beverwyck (Von Closen, p. 113). Verger was entertained here when the army was marching northward in September 1782; see his journal, p. 164.

Figure 2.1: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: 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), pp. 42-45.

Staten Island, where fires were kept going for several nights in order to screen our march and keep the English thinking that we planned to besiege New York.⁶⁴ We were much surprised when General Rochambeau left for Philadelphia, thus upsetting our forecasts.⁶⁵

From Whippany to Bullion's Tavern [Liberty Corner] the road was very good. Five miles beyond Whippany we passed a pretty little town called Morristown containing between 60 and 80 houses. It is situated on a small hill in pleasant surroundings. The American army camped here in 1778. Their camp was behind the woods to the left of Whippany. The American general Sullivan was then at Chatham, 7 miles to the left of the town. General [Charles] Lee, who commanded an American force, was ordered to march from Morristown to Newtown [in Pennsylvania] on the other side of the Delaware, but while marching with his army the General and his staff took a different fork in the road from the rest of his troops. Learning of his blunder, the English sent out a body of light troops who captured the General and his staff while they were at lunch.⁶⁶

64. "In order better to conceal our movements from General Clinton . . . I immediately sent M. de Villemazy, *commissaire des guerres*, to set up a bakery at Chatham, which is only three leagues from Staten Island; his work was covered by a small corps of Americans until the arrival of our vanguard. I confided the secret to him and told him that my real intention was to feed the army from this bakery on its march to Philadelphia, but that the enemy must be persuaded by all sorts of demonstrations that the object was to attack the Hook at Staten Island." Rochambeau, *Journal des opérations*.

65. Washington to Rochambeau, Chatham, 28 August 1781: "I do not find that the force upon Staten Island is large, or thrown over for any other purpose than that of defence, for which reason it is submitted to Your Excellency's judgment to march your Troops in one or two divisions, as shall be most easy and convenient to them; their moving in two divisions, & on succeeding days, will occasion no delay, as the Second will be up by the time the first will have embarked. As I propose to go the lower Road I shall not have the honor of joining your Excellency till we arrive at Princeton, where I will order dinner to be ready at three O'Clock, that we may lodge at Trenton (12 Miles further). As this will be a journey of 54 Miles from Whippany I would suggest to you the expediency of making part of it this Afternoon. Colo. [William Stephens] Smith, one of my Aides, who is well acquainted with the Roads, will have the honor of attending you to the rendezvous at Princeton." *Writings of*

In the meantime, his troops were marching along 9 miles from there.

In 1779 the Americans camped again between Morristown and the river to great advantage, since they held the key to all roads in the countryside that led to this much frequented spot.⁶⁷

30 August (12 miles) From Bullion's Tavern to Somerset Courthouse [Millstone] the roads were superb and traveling was easy. We finally realized that we were leaving New York behind and marching to the Delaware, the river that flows past Philadelphia. We learned that M. de Rochambeau had just received a letter from the Marquis de La Fayette, commanding 1,500 troops in Virginia, saying that Lord Cornwallis had retired to York on the river of that name where he had entrenched himself. The plan of the campaign was at last unveiled, for it was now clear that we were marching against this general, though many happy events had yet to occur before this splendid operation was concluded.

31 August (12 miles) From Somerset [Millstone] to

GW, xxii, 58-59; the original letter, reproduced as one of our illustrations, is in the Paul Mellon Collection. "28 August — MM. de Rochambeau, Chastellux, Fersen, Vauban, and I left Whippany at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. . . ." Von Closen, pp. 113-114.

66. General Charles Lee was captured at Widow White's Tavern in Basking Ridge on 13 December 1776 by an English scouting party led by Lieutenant Colonel William Harcourt of the Sixteenth Light Dragoons. Many legends concerning the circumstances of Lee's capture soon flourished (see, e.g., Von Closen, p. 114). A strictly contemporary account by one of the captors, Colonel Banastre Tarleton (who was to be the Duc de Lauzun's opponent at Gloucester during the Siege of Yorktown in 1781), is in his letter to his family, dated Princeton, 17 December 1776. Richard M. Ketchum, ed., "New War Letters of Banastre Tarleton," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, 11, No. 1 (Jan. 1967), 61-81. Lee was subsequently exchanged, 21 April 1778, for General Richard Prescott, who had been captured by the Americans at Newport; Lee played a controversial role in the Battle of Monmouth, was court-martialed, and lived under a cloud until his death in Philadelphia, 2 October 1782.

67. For the role of Morristown, strategically situated in the New Jersey mountains, see Melvin J. Weig and Vera B. Craig, *Morristown National Historical Park, A Military Capital of the American Revolution*, National Park Service, Historical Handbook No. 7 (Washington, 1950, and later editions).

Figure 2.2: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: 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), pp. 42-45.

Princeton the road was very good. This town is well built and pleasantly situated. There is a very handsome college here, which possesses some most interesting physics apparatus, including a clock that marks the passage of time in months and years, as well as the revolutions of the moon, of the earth around the sun, of this orb from tropic to tropic, and the course of the seven planets. This instrument, which is more like a terrestrial and celestial globe than a clock, seems most ingenious.⁶⁸ The English have done much damage to the college. This place is notable for the victory the Americans won here in 1777.

BATTLE OF PRINCETON⁶⁹

On 2 January 1777 General Washington, by a very bold and well-planned march, left Trenton (a town 4 miles from Princeton) at dusk with his whole army, leaving his fires lighted facing General Cornwallis, who had come to attack his camp. Taking a road the enemy could not have anticipated, he was joined en route by a body of militia and arrived at daybreak [3 January] at a point 1 mile from Princeton. On his left he noticed some English troops retreating in disorder down the main road. At his approach they turned and fled towards the camp of the Seventh [Seventeenth] Regiment 2 miles from the town, on the left. The American general ordered his troops to double their pace and had the good fortune to fall upon the Seventh [Seventeenth] Regiment before it could join forces with the rest of the English troops. This regiment beat a retreat but, on being hard-pressed by the Americans, surrendered in the vicinity of the Col-

68. The ingenious instrument was an orrery, completed in 1771 by David Rittenhouse for the College of New Jersey. See H. C. Rice, Jr., *The Rittenhouse Orrery, Princeton's Eighteenth-Century Planetarium, 1767-1954, A Commentary on an Exhibition Held in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1954); and "A Check-list of Items shown in the Exhibition. . .," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, xv, No. 4 (Summer 1954), 194-206. What is left of the orrery is now (1970) on display in William Charles Peyton Hall, Princeton's new astrophysics building.

69. Clermont-Crèvecoeur's recapitulation of the Battle of Princeton—like those of Trenton, Germantown, and Brandywine, included below—is a good example of the historical accounts that many of the officers inserted as a

lege, leaving 280 men as prisoners. The rest escaped into the woods and fell back towards Lord Cornwallis at Trenton.

Meanwhile, General Sullivan had been sent to take up a position at Kingston across the Millstone River, where he destroyed the bridge after his troops had crossed. General Washington had sent him there to prevent the enemy from being reinforced by their troops stationed at Brunswick, which he succeeded in doing.

After a desultory fire several fugitives formed up at the bridge. General Washington pursued them, dispersed them, and continued along the road to Rocky Hill from where he marched to Somerset [Millstone] and finally halted at Pompton Plains where he took up a position. Crossing the Millstone River by another bridge 3 miles below, which he also destroyed, General Sullivan joined him there. When his Lordship was informed of this affair, he marched rapidly to the support of his troops but arrived too late. He had the first bridge repaired and retired to Brunswick. (See map of the Jerseys.)

What is remarkable about this operation of General Washington's is that, being encamped in a very poor position facing the English at Princeton [Trenton], he must have expected Lord Cornwallis to attack him at daybreak. His poor position and the inferiority of his force facing the English prompted him to slip away during the night and fight the English on the road to Princeton. Had his army not been exhausted by several forced marches, he was planning to continue on to Brunswick to capture the rest of the British before Lord Cornwallis arrived.

matter of course in their journals (often copying or paraphrasing one another). Although lacking the authority of eyewitness accounts by participants, they are nevertheless interesting evidence of how the recent military operations of their allies were understood by the French in 1781. Such theoretical exercises in military history and topography formed part of the education of young officers during their campaigns. Berthier's journal (pp. 250-251) gives a glimpse of them at work on such "studies." General Chastellux, among others, set an example with the elaborate descriptions of American battles and battlefields included in his *Travels*. Cf. Samuel Stelle Smith, *The Battle of Princeton* (Monmouth Beach, N.J., 1967), a convenient recapitulation, with maps.

Figure 2.3: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: 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), pp. 42-45.

September 1781

1 September (12 miles) From Princeton to Trenton the roads were excellent. This town is larger than Princeton but less well built and not as pretty. On its outskirts there is a large creek that is a branch of the Delaware and that is spanned by a bridge. The Delaware, where there is both ford and ferry, is half a mile beyond. This town is also notable because of two battles won here by the Americans. The first was fought on 24 [26] December 1776.

BATTLES OF TRENTON⁷⁰

The enemy had established their winter quarters along the Delaware at Trenton, Bordentown, and farther north at Princeton, Brunswick, etc. At the same time the American army was occupying barracks at Newtown and Wrightstown across the Delaware above Trenton. On the night of 24 [25] December 1776 General Washington took his army across the river on boats at McKonkey's Ferry, 9 miles above Trenton. Forming it into two columns, he led the right-hand column and put General Sullivan in command of the left, which was followed by the reserves. At daybreak the troops reached the various pickets the Hessians had posted along the roads leading into town. At the first alarm the latter rushed into the church, almost in the center of the town, where they defended themselves for some time against the right-hand column as it debouched along the road bordering the river. The enemy suffered heavy losses until Colonel Rall, their commander, decided to form them up on a small eminence nearby; thereupon General Washington deployed his column before the town on their left flank, while General Sullivan formed in front and the reserves filed through the small ravines to turn their right. Seeing himself surrounded, Colonel Rall surrendered with 1,000 men, while about 400 succeeded in crossing the bridge over the creek below Trenton and reaching the cantonments at Bordentown.

The second battle took place six days later. The General again crossed the river and took up a position behind the creek flowing south of Trenton along

70. Cf. Samuel Stelle Smith, *The Battle of Trenton* (Mouth Beach, N.J., 1965).

which are 3 miles of impracticable marshes reaching to the edge of the woods. Cornwallis came up immediately with his whole force to attack him, leaving only one reserve corps of two regiments at Princeton to maintain communications with Brunswick, etc., and to halt, or at least retard, the march of the Americans. General Washington sent work parties into the woods to destroy the bridge over the aforementioned creek, obliging the English to seek other crossings, which the Americans defended foot by foot. In addition, two American battalions proceeded with a cannon to a height across the creek in front of Trenton. Pushing back the work parties after a spirited resistance, his Lordship sent the troops of his right flank to turn the two battalions, who discharged a lively fire upon them, recrossed the bridge, and joined their own army. Then the English general deployed his troops on a small eminence facing the creek where he had several batteries set up to knock out the American guns emplaced above the ravines across the creek. Near a mill at the left of the bridge General Washington had a redoubt thrown up to protect his left flank where the creek was fordable. His Lordship sent a column forward to turn his flank on this side, but it was obliged to retire before a brisk cannonade that lasted until night. The troops remained facing one another. From this position, as soon as it was dark, General Washington marched that same evening to Princeton for the operation I have already described in my journal under 31 August. I should mention here that the American army numbered 4,000 men and the English 10,000.

2 September (18 miles) From Trenton to Red Lion Tavern.

Figure 2.4: Comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur's account of New Jersey, 1781
Source: 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), pp. 42-45.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCHES THROUGH NEW JERSEY IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1781

8.1: 19 August 1781

Right¹ (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

The Rhode Island Regiment of 298 officers and men plus 180 sick or detached, the First New York Regiment of 438 officers and men plus 129 sick or detached, Colonel John Lamb's Continental Artillery Regiment of 368 officers and men plus 174 sick or detached, and Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Scammell's Light Infantry of 214 officers and men plus 143 sick or detached (all figures from the July strength report), march north along the Hudson toward Peekskill where they will remain to assist the French army in crossing the Hudson River. Only an advance guard under Scammell continues its march until it reaches a camp in the vicinity of Kakeat (modern-day New Hempstead), New York.²

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

¹ "Right (westernmost) Column" denotes that column of the Continental Army that marches furthest inland.

² The diary of Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Connecticut Regiment assigned to Scammell's Light Infantry confirms this itinerary. On 19 August, he was encamped at Kakeat, marched to Paramus on the 25th, on the 26th to "Second River," i.e. Belleville, on the 27th to Springfield, the 29th to New Brunswick, the 30th to Princeton, the 31st to Trenton, and on 1 September, after having crossed the Delaware, encamped at "Lower Doublan" 12 miles from Philadelphia. The diary is published in Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, pp. 170-173.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

Brigadier General Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) of 17 officers, 38 NCOs and 208 rank and file strong with 85 officers and men detached (July strength report), the First New Jersey Regiment under Colonel Mathias Ogden, consisting of 14 officers, 22 NCOs and 149 rank and file, with 198 officers and men detached, and the Second New Jersey under Colonel Elias Dayton, 18 officers, 37 NCOs and 171 rank and file strong with 180 officers and men detached, are ferried from Dobbs Ferry across the Hudson to Sneedens and march to Paramus.

Manuscript References:

In a letter to Colonel Elias Dayton from Head Quarters at Philipsburg, dated 19 August 1781, George Washington writes:

Sir:

You will march immediately with the Jersey Line and Hazens Regt. to the Heights between Chatham and Springfield. You will take the most eligible position and encamp there.

You will give Colo[nel]. Seely orders to remain at Dobbs's Ferry untill Wednesday when he is to march and join you. You will order him, in a very particular manner, to keep scouts and Patroles towards Bergen, and to take every precaution ag[ains]t. a surprise.³

³ All correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the transcripts of the George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress, available on the internet at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/>, search by name and/or date.

On 30 July, Washington recorded in his *Diary* (p. 403) "Ordered the Jersey Militia, who were directed to Assemble in the first instance at Morristown to Dobbs ferry and there join the remains of the Jersey Brigade", which had arrived at Dobbs Ferry on 13 July. Seeley's troops were militia he had been authorized to raise for three months duty on 27 June. A return dated 10 August at Dobbs Ferry in the Washington Papers shows the militia at a strength of 13 officers, 3 additional staff, 20 NCOs, 6 drummers and fifers, and 222 rank and file fit for duty, with more men coming in. His command also included four companies of the New Jersey State Troops consisting of seven officers, 10 NCOs, 7 drummers and fifers, and 110 rank and file "ready for action."

In his *Journal*, Sergeant-Major John Hawkins of Hazen's Regiment records under 18 August 1781: "This Day about Noon we rec'd Orders to march at 4 o'Clock in the Afternoon." It is 7:00 p.m. by the time the regiment arrives at Dobbs Ferry and "about two Hours after Day break, the 19th" when the horses and teams have finally crossed the river.

After the men had crossed the Hudson during the night of 18/19 August, Hazen's regiment "halted about half a Mile from the River, where "The Jersey Line passed our Regt. about 1 o'Clock [on 19 August], and about 12 o'Clock (sic) our Regt. proceeded on. Just at dark our Regt. halted and rested this night in Houses and Barns in Paramus, about 2 Miles from the Church. ... The Jersey Line lay about three Miles in our Front."⁴

On 25 August, Washington instructs Colonel Sylvanus Seely with his New Jersey Militia to depart for Springfield on 27 August 1781 via New Bridge⁵ and "Acquacanacke," i.e., Passaic.⁶ This is the same route that the New Jersey Line and Hazen had taken a few days earlier.⁷

An itinerary of the New Jersey Line in the New Jersey State Archives has the regiments cross the Hudson on 19 August. On 20 August, the New Jersey Line together with Hazen's regiment marches from Paramus to

Though Washington ordered Seely to "remain at Dobb's Ferry," he meant Sneed's Landing on the New Jersey side of the Hudson, frequently referred to as Dobb's Ferry in the eighteenth Century. Not only would it have been very difficult to send scouts toward Bergen from across the Hudson, but General Heath was still encamped around Dobbs Ferry as well and could keep an eye on the British in New York City.

Washington finished his letter with the admonition "I wish you to be particular in your orders to the officer, that he may take every effectual means in his power to prevent his men from Abusing the Inhabitants, which is a circumstance I am under the painful necessity of Observing, that your troops are too frequently charged with, and I fear not without foundation. By paying particular Attention to their conduct in this particular and punishing with severity offenders a stop May be put to further improprieties."

On Sneed's Landing see Lewis F. Owen, "The Town that was Robbed." *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* Vol. 81 No. 3 (1963), pp. 164-180. 19 August was a Sunday, a departure date on Wednesday would have been 22 August, but since the combined armies were four days behind schedule when the crossing of the Hudson was finally accomplished, Washington adjusted Seely's instructions to Monday, 27 August.

⁴ Hawkins, *Journal*, un-paginated and with entries not always in chronological order, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵"New Bridge" denotes the location of a drawbridge over the Hackensack River built in 1745. It is today part of River Edge.

⁶ The Township of Acquackanonk was created in the northern part of Essex County in October of 1693; in 1854, the Village of Acquackanonk became the town of Passaic. The County of Passaic was created on 7 February of 1837 by taking the township of Acquackanonk from Essex County and a large part of the township of Saddle River from Bergen County from parts of northern Essex and western Bergen County.

⁷ The date of Washington's letter, 19 August, was a Sunday, a departure date on Wednesday would have been 22 August, but since the combined armies were four days behind schedule when the crossing of the Hudson was finally accomplished, Washington adjusted Seely's instructions to Monday, 27 August.

Second River and encamps.⁸ On 21 August, they reach Springfield. Here they stay until 28 August. On 29 August, they camp at New Brunswick and reach Princeton on 30 August; on 31 August they march into Trenton and cross into Pennsylvania on 1 September.⁹

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment march to "Paramus, about 2 Miles from [i.e., North of] the Church." The New Jersey Regiments camp "three Miles in our Front", i.e., one mile south of the "Church."

In modern terms this means that following the crossing, they enter NJ-SR 501 past the intersection Old Hook Road, the old road to the Upper Closter Landing, to Madison Avenue, where they turn inland toward Paramus and the Hackensack River. At the intersection with River Road they turn south toward River Edge, i.e., the New Bridge settlement of the eighteenth century, and then on to NJ-SR 62 and south to Belleville.

Resources Identified:

Resource 1:

Old Paramus Reformed Church
660 E. Glen Avenue
Ridgewood, NJ 07450
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 331, and Appendix D, Map 1

Resource 2:

Zabriskie-Steuben House
Intersection of Main Street and Hackensack Avenue
River Edge, NJ 07661
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 333, and Appendix D, Map 5

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The French artillery leaves White Plains around 11:00 a.m. on 18 August, but bivouacs only four miles from camp.

On 19 August, the artillery marches to its next bivouac north of the Croton at Pines Bridge.

⁸ On Saturday, 24 June 1797, the inhabitants of Second River changed the name of their settlement to Washington and to Belleville on Monday, 26 June 1797.

⁹ New Jersey State Archives, Record Group: Military and Militia, Subgroup: Adjutant General's Office, Series: Revolutionary War Research files, Box 2. Hereafter cited as NJSA, RG, SG, and Series.

Following a different route from the artillery, the French infantry begins its march from White Plains to its camp at North Castle. The grenadiers and chasseurs remain behind as a rear-guard.

Manuscript References:

In a letter to Rochambeau from Philipsburg of 17 August 1781, Washington writes:

Sir:

Upon a full consideration of all circumstances I am of opinion, that the march of the French Army under your command had better be by the following Route, and on the following days:

- *Sunday, 19th. to North Castle ... 14 Miles*
- *Monday, 20th. to Kings Ferry ... 18 Do.*

Allowing for the common chances of Winds and Weather it may take 'till

- *Thursday 22d. to cross the North River.*
- *Friday, 23d, to Suffrans ... 16 Miles*
- *Saturday 24, to Pumpton Meetg Ho ... 14 Do.*
- *Sunday, 25. to Whippany ... 15*
- *Monday, 26 to Bullions Tavern ... 15*
- *Tuesday, 27. to Somerset Ct House ... 14*
- *Wednesday 28 to Princeton ... 14*
- *Thursday, 29 to Trenton ... 12*

I have named no halting day because we have not a moment to lose, and because the Troops will more than probably, be detained sometime at Trenton; but if you should think it absolutely necessary, Whippany will be a good place for a halt, as there is a good Road leading from thence through Chatham (five Miles distant) to Elizabeth Town and Staten Island.

After crossing the North River, Your Excellency may, if you should prefer it, march by Brigades."

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.2: 20 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

At 10:00 a.m., Major Sebastian Baumann receives orders to set out for New Windsor.

Manuscript References:

General Henry Knox writes to Baumann from "New Windsor, 20 August 1781, 10 °clock AM

Dear Major Baumann,

Immediately on receipt of this letter Gen. Knox desires you to set out in order to meet him at this place. It will be proper to provide yourself with cloths and gear for a command of some considerable length. The General is very anxious for your arrival and requests you to be here before sunset this evening."¹⁰

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

Around 10:00 a.m., the army reaches Peekskill and immediately begins to cross the Hudson.

The forces under Scammel remain encamped near Kakeat, New York.

¹⁰ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

Sebastian Baumann (1739-1803) was born in Frankfurt on the Main and educated in Heidelberg. Following brief service in the Austrian army he immigrated to New York around 1755 and served with New York State troops during the French and Indian War. On 30 March 1776, he was appointed a Captain in the New York artillery company that was organized between 6 December 1775 and 27 May 1776 as Captain Sebastian Baumann's Continental Artillery Company and assigned to the Main Army on 13 April 1776. In 1779, he became Commanding Officer of Artillery at West Point, a position he held until the summer of 1781. On 20 August 1781, he received the above order to join the main artillery train that was marching through New Jersey toward Yorktown. He died on 19 October 1803, the 22nd anniversary of the victory at Yorktown. Baumann is best known for a 1782 map of the siege of Yorktown.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

Hazen's Regiment and the New Jersey Line depart from Paramus and encamp in (Hazen) or near (New Jersey) Second River (Belleville).

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins writes in his *Journal*:

Augt. 20. A little after Day Break proceeded and Passed by Paramus Church. Came to a small village called Tottoway (sic), where we halted, and took Breakfast. At this place we found the Jersey Line tho on the opposite Side of the Bridge. Having rested about an Hour we proceeded on. Came to a Small Village called Wesen (i.e., Wesel), and we halted and rested a little while then proceeded on to a long scattered tho' pleasant Village called Second River where we halted and encamped in a field. ... the Jersey Line lay below us about two miles.

Route:

Continuing south on River Road, Hazen and the New Jersey regiments cross the Hackensack at New Bridge and continue south on Main Street to Westminster Avenue, which they follow until they cross the Passaic River at Acquackanonk, i.e., Passaic. From there they follow Main Street into Second River, i.e., Belleville.

Along the way they pick up a patrol that had been stationed between Closter and New Bridge since 17 August, when Washington had ordered Colonel Elias Dayton to “to detach from the Brigade under your command upon the receipt of this, a Capt. And 50 [men], with Orders to patrol the Country between Closter and the New Bridge, the Officer must not consider either of these places as his post, but continue to range the intermediate space untill he receives further Orders.”

The identification this route is based on a comparison between Erskine-DeWitt maps 26, 110, 116 and 79B in the collections of the New-York Historical Society with the maps of William Faden, *The Province of New Jersey Divided into East and West, commonly called the Jerseys*. (Charing Cross, 1777) overlaid on a modern highway map.

Henri Crublier d'Opterre, a captain in the Corps of Engineers, owned a copy of the Faden map and used it to mark the route he took across New Jersey in August 1781. Usually his route marked on the map matches that of the French forces, occasionally, however, as in his route from Pompton through Totowa to the Falls of the Passaic and then through Horseneck to Morristown, it deviates from the route. It forms part of the Crublier Papers in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

Resources Identified:

Resource 3:

Campsite of Hazen's Regiment in Second River (Belleville)
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 334, and Appendix D, Maps 7,8

Resource 4:

Campsite of the New Jersey Line near Second River (Belleville)
Appendix B, p. 299, Appendix C, p. 334, and Appendix D, Map 8

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

French artillery remains in bivouac north of the Croton near Pines Bridge.

French infantry rests at North Castle as it waits for its wagon train to catch up.

Grenadiers and chasseurs begin their march from White Plains.

Manuscript Resources:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.3: 21 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Baumann's detachment departs from New Windsor.

Manuscript References:

General Knox writes to Major Baumann on 21 August 1781:

Dear Major,

As soon as you join the Company of Artillery, Laboratory and artificers which march from this place (i.e., New Windsor) today you will assume the General Command - their route will be by through Smiths clove,¹¹ Ringwood & Curtis's Tavern on Pompton Plains there you will receive further directions ----- You will oblige the Party to be on the march by the break of day each morning until you arrive ... at Curtis Tavern ... Which must be by the day after tomorrow certainly.

Should any teams be wanting on the march you will impress them without delay ... "¹²

The exact size of Major Baumann's "Company of Artillery, Laboratory and artificers" is unknown. It is not listed separately on any return. During the reorganization of the Continental Army in January 1781, Washington took two under-strength companies from Lamb's 2nd Artillery Regiment and merged them "with Gibbs Jones' separate Company of Artillery and Isaac Coren's company of laboratory technicians in the Regiment of Artillery Artificers." The two resulting companies were then assigned to the 4th Regiment of Artillery under Colonel Thomas Proctor. A regular company had a strength of 6 officers, 12 NCOs, and 53 rank and file.¹³

A Company of Artificers to be raised under Captain Stephen Clapp in western Massachusetts and Connecticut in May and June 1781, consisted of two officers who had to be carpenters, four NCOs, 50 privates and six cooks. The trades represented in the company were carpenters (25), smiths (15) wheelwrights (6), boat builders (4), saddlers (2), harness-makers (2) and the six cooks. The smiths had to know how to shoe horses, oxen, as

¹¹ "Clove" is derived from *gleuf* of *kloof*, Dutch terms for "pass."

¹² Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

¹³ Wright, *Continental Army*, p. 159.

well as how to make nails. It seems fair to assume therefore that the strength of Baumann's detachment was most likely less than 100 officers and men.¹⁴

Smith's Clove is a narrow valley south of West Point and about due west of Fort Montgomery. It runs from Suffern to Monroe, New York. Thatcher in his diary refers to it as "a fine level plain of rich land, situated at the foot of the high mountains on the west side of Hudson River. It is about fourteen miles in the rear of the garrison at West Point, and surrounded on all sides by the highlands."¹⁵ It was named after William Smith, the loyalist Chief Justice of the Province of New York until 1782, who was one of the original patentees. In 1801, the town's name was changed to Southfields, to Munroe in 1808, and to Monroe in 1818. There is still a Smith Clove Elementary School on Smith Clove Road.

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

By sunrise the Americans have crossed the Hudson and are encamped at Stony Point.

Washington establishes his headquarters in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey.

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey.

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey.

¹⁴ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition reel 26, vol. 82.

¹⁵ Thacher, *Diary*,

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The combined New Jersey regiment and Hazen reach Springfield.

Manuscript References:

From the Journal of Sergeant-Major Hawkins:

Augt 21. At Day Break our Regt. struck Tents, the Baggage was loaded and the Regt. marched. Came to Orange Town in Essex County where the Regt. halted one Hour to rest and take some Refreshments, after which proceeded and about 2 o'Clock arrived in Springfield, (about 2 Miles from the settled Part of it) where the Regt. encamped in a Field, on a Height, and a very advantageous Post, being on the turn of the Road. The New Jersey Line is encamped about 2 Miles from us."

On 21 August, Washington writes to Colonel Sylvanus Seely from Kings Ferry.

Sir:

I shall not be able to reach Springfield, with the Army, as soon as I expected; for which Reason I desire you will continue to perform the Duties I directed Colo Dayton to enjoin on you, 'till you hear further from me, or from Genl Lincoln by my Order.

When the French Army have crossed the River and the whole are ready to take up a proper Line of March, you will be informed of it, and will be directed to proceed towards Springfield in such a Manner as will best correspond with the general Movement.

I beg you will be pointed in observing these Directions; that you will keep a good lookout, by Land and Water, towards York Island; and inform me of every Thing that stirs worth Notice; and of the Intelligence you may get from thence if it is of Importance sufficient to communicate it by Express.

Seely's acknowledgement of Washington's letter written from Dobb's Ferry on 21 August reads in part that

"as to the orders I received from Coll Dayton they were to Continue on this Ground untill the Morning of the 22nd and then to follow his Rout to Springfield."

Route:

From its camp in Belleville the combined New Jersey Regiment and Hazen's regiment break camp in the morning of 21 August and continue their march south toward Newark. Though neither the Erskine-DeWitt maps 79A or 15B, nor the Faden map show a road leading directly from Newark to Springfield, i.e., an equivalent of Springfield Avenue/Canton Avenue/NJ-SR 124, Hazen's *Journal* entry that the troops came to Orange Town postulates the existence of such a road. This road, parallel to or in part identical to (?) modern-day NJ-SR 510 which leads into Orange, would connect in Orange Town with Morristown Road to the intersection with NJ-SR 124, which leads into Springfield from the north and which is identified on Erskine map 67B.

Entering Springfield on NJ-SR 124, Hazen's Regiment and regiments of the New Jersey Line march directly to their campsites.¹⁶

Resources Identified:

Resource 5:

Campsite of Moses Hazen's Regiment on Hobart Gap along Hobart Road located "(about 2 Miles from the settled Part of [Springfield]) where the Reg[imen]t. encamped in a Field, on a Height, and a very advantageous Post, being on the turn of the Road."

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 335, and Appendix D, Maps 8,12

Resource 6:

Campsite of the New Jersey Line. The exact location of this campsite is unknown but most likely northward along the ridge of the mountains since one of the purposes of the camp was for the British in New York to see the campfires.

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 337, and Appendix D, Maps 8,10,12

Resource 7:

Presbyterian Church (1752)

Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22

Springfield, NJ 07081

Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 338, and Appendix D, Maps 8,12

¹⁶ What is today called Old Short Hills Road is not an eighteenth-century road.

Resource 8:

Statue of Reverend Caldwell next to the Presbyterian Church
next to the Presbyterian Church
Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 339, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 9:

Historic Marker in front of Presbyterian Church
next to the Presbyterian Church
Morris Avenue/NJ-SR 22
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 339, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 10:

Hutchings Homestead (also known as the Cannon Ball House)
126 Morris Avenue
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 339, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 11:

Swaim House
South Springfield Avenue
Springfield, NJ 07081
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 340, and Appendix D, Map 12

Resource 12:

Daniel Sayre House (also known as Old Sayre Homestead, 1745)
Ridgedale Avenue
Madison, NJ 07940
Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 340, and Appendix D, Map 12

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

Advance components of the French artillery reach Peekskill and cross the Hudson.

French infantry marches from North Castle to its camp near Hunt's Tavern.

Grenadiers and chasseurs rejoin the main army.

Manuscript References:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.4: 22 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Major Baumann joins up (?) with his detachment and marches through Smith's Clove on NY-SR 17 toward Sloatsburg.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

American forces assist the French artillery in crossing the Hudson from Peekskill to Stony Point.

General Washington remains quartered in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Manuscript References:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

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

French infantry marches from near Hunt's Tavern to its camp near Peekskill.

Manuscript References:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.5: 23 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

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

Manuscript References:

From his camp "near King's Ferry, Knox orders Baumann on 23 August 1781 to stop at

"some convenient Ground North of & near to Posts mills" since "Colonel Olneys regiment or part of it has march'd to serve as a guard to your charge. You must draw provisions from the nearest place where there are any public provisions - inform me when you arrived - you will soon receive further orders."¹⁷

On 23 August, most of Colonel Olney's Regiment, i.e., the Rhode Island Regiment, is encamped at Stony Point. In order to reach Major Baumann, the Rhode Island Regiment would have taken the equivalent of modern-day NY-SR 17A going due east from Stony Point to its inter-section with NY-SR 17 just south of Southfields.

There is, however, the possibility that these were the men that Washington had ordered Alexander McDougall on 19 August to send south from West Point.

"You will be pleased to direct all the detachments from Colo. Olneys Regt. whether at the point or upon any other duty immediately to join the Regt. at Kings ferry."

In view of Baumann's letter to Knox of 25 August (see below) it is doubtful whether any detachment of the Rhode Island Regiment did meet up with Baumann before his arrival in Pompton Plains.

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

¹⁷ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7. "Posts Mills" has not been identified.

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

American forces assist the French artillery in crossing the Hudson from Peekskill to Stony Point.

General Washington remains quartered in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Manuscript References:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The French wagon train completes its crossing of the Hudson and encamps near Haverstraw.

French infantry remains encamped at Peekskill.

Rochambeau visits West Point with Washington.

Manuscript References

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

8.6: 24 August 1781

Right (Major Baumann's) Column (Route Number 2):

Summary:

Major Baumann's detachment arrives at Pompton Plains.

Manuscript References:

Major Baumann writes to Knox from

"Pompton, Curtises Tavern 25 Augt 1781

Dear Sir,

I arrived here yesterday [24 August] between two and three oClock in the Afternoon - your letter of the 23rd Inst. Signified that the party & stores were to halt North of Posts mills, but the whole is one mile South and in front of Custises House, having got there before your letter came to hand - I have been informed that the ground we lie on is marked out for the left wing of the French line."

Baumann offers "to move when they arrive" to a different location Knox may have chosen for his detachment.¹⁸ The First French Brigade does not reach its camp at Pompton Plains until 26 August.

Route:

As they approach modern-day Sloatsburg on the "secret" Continental Road, which had been laid down by General Nathanael Greene and which ran from New Windsor/West Point, through Southfields and Tuxedo Park, along Tuxedo Lake (approx. NY-SR 17 to NJ-SR 17 to NJ-SR 511), they pass right in front of the Erskine Manor House. From there they march past Erskine's Tomb, and followed what will later become the railroad bed (which serves the mines until 1957, and which is still in existence minus the tracks, and trestles).

This road does NOT exist today. The modern traveler needs to take Sloatsburg Road/Eagle Valley Road out of Sloatsburg to Ringwood, where it becomes Ringwood Avenue (County Route 511) and continue on it into Pompton, about eight miles to the south, to the campsite.¹⁹

¹⁸ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7.

¹⁹ See Jim Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks of the Ramapos* (New Brunswick, 1966).

Resources identified:

Resource 13:

Ringwood Manor
Sloatsburg Road (NJ-SR 72)
Ringwood, NJ 07456
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 341, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 14:

Tomb of Robert Erskine
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 343, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 15:

Segment of the "Secret Road" in front of the Manor House and past Erskine's tomb.
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 345, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 16:

Long Pond Iron Works State Park and Museum
1304 Sloatsburg Road
Ringwood, NJ 07456-1799
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 346, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 17:

Battleship Maine Memorial
Intersection of Hamburg Turnpike and Ringwood Avenue
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 347, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 18:

Marker on Newark-Pompton Turnpike in Pompton Plains.
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 349, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 19:

Ponds Church Marker
Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 350, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 20:

Pompton Meeting House (First Reformed Church)
529 Newark-Pompton Turnpike
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 351, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 21:

Campsite along Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church in Pompton Plains (identical with that of French forces of 26/27 August).
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 352, and Appendix D, Maps 3,4

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

American forces assist the First French Brigade in crossing the Hudson from Peekskill to Stony Point.

General Washington remains quartered in the home of Jeshua Hett Smith.

An advance guard under Scammel remains encamped near Kakeat, New York.

Manuscript References:

George Washington writes to General Benjamin Lincoln from his Headquarters at Kings Ferry, 24 August 1781:

Sir:

The Detachment under your Command is to march to Springfield in New Jersey, by two Routs; the left Column with which you will go, is to be compos'd of the light Troops, and York Regiments (if Courtlands should get up to you in time²⁰) and four light field pieces with the Baggage

²⁰ After the amalgamation of its line on 1 January 1781, New York had two regiments in Continental service: the First New York Regiment under Colonel Goose Van Schaick, and the Second New York Regiment under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. "Courtlands" denotes the Second New York Regiment. It did not join the Continental Army until it reached Trenton.

Hazen's Regiment and the First New York Regiment arrived in Albany on 5 July 1781, and embarked almost immediately for West Point, where they arrived on 10 July, "but not till the latter had mutinied on acct. of their pay & several had deserted. The other York Regiment [i.e., Van Cortlandt] were detained at Albany to bring down the Boats & boards," as Washington recorded in his *Diary* on 10 July. (p. 392) On 10 August, the First New York, and Hazen's Regiments received

of these sev[era]l. Corps. The right column is to consist of the Parke of Artillery; Ordnance Stores; The Quarter Masters and Commissary Stores the Baggage of the Staff; the Cloathing, [30] Boats,²¹ and other things, covered by Colo. Olneys Regiment and the Corps of Saprs. And M[in]ers.

The left Column will March on the 25th. within 3 Miles of Paramus; 26th. two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e., Passaic], 27th. to Springfield. The right column will march the same day three miles beyond Suffrans. 26. 5 Miles beyond Pompton on the road to the two Bridges at the fork of Posaic. 27. Back of the Mountain to Chatham.

In these positions the whole will halt till further orders. The Jersey Troops are to be put in condition to march the moment you arrive at Springfield together with Hazens Regiment.

When the march is commenced from Springfield the following will be the Route and distances:

orders to march immediately from West Point to Dobbs Ferry. The Second New York Regiment did not depart from Albany until 20 August and arrived at West Point in the evening of 23 August. The following day they joined the Continental Army at Kings Ferry.

²¹ On 29 July, Washington had recorded in his *Diary* that "Part of the Second York Regiment came down from Albany with such of the Boats as had been undertaken by Gen. Schuyler, & were finished. The light Infantry Company of the Regiment were ordered down with the next Boats & the remainder of the Regiment to bring down the rest when done." On 19 August, Washington instructed McDougall at West Point to "hold the four Companies of Courtlands ready to move to Kings ferry the moment the others come down the River. Should any small detachments from Van Schaick's or Hazen's yet remain above they are to be sent to Kings ferry likewise."

Schuyler had informed Washington from Albany on 21 July that 84 bateaux were virtually completed and at least half were ready to be sent forward to the army. On 1 August he wrote in his *Diary*: "By this date all my Boats were ready--viz.--One hundred New ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Genel. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the Qr. Mr. Genl.; besides old ones which have been repaired." (p. 404) On 10 July, Washington had recorded in his diary that "The Boats undertaken by General Schuyler, are, by his letters, in a promising way." (p. 391) But on 18 August, Washington had told Alexander McDougall from Dobbs Ferry that "I am much disappointed in not having the Boats sent from Wapping Creek to King's Ferry, as requested by Colonel Pickering. You will be pleased, on the receipt of this, to order One hundred and fifty Men to bring thirty of the aforesaid Boats to Kings Ferry; from whence the Men may return immediately to West Point."

Washington used these 30 boats as part of the deception scheme against Clinton. On 21 August he wrote in his *Diary*: "During the passing of the French Army I mounted 30 flat Boats (able to carry about 40 Men each) upon carriages--as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there.as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there."

*To bound brooke
to Rocky hill
--Trenton.* ²²

And when our destination is no longer a secret, you will send forward an Officer of activity and resource to Trenton, to arrange matters for passing the covered and such other Waggons as the Qr. Master Genl. Shall think necessary, over the River; as also the Artillery, and such of the Ordnance Stores, as Genl. Knox, or the Officer commanding it may choose to send to the head of Elk by Land. The Troops, Common Baggage, and other things are to go by Water, if the means of transportation can be provided; but as this is scarcely to be expected, a due proportion of what is provided must be allotted to the French Army.

The Troops, Baggage and Stores which go by Water are not to halt at Phila[delphia]. But to proceed immediately to Christiana Bridge; or as near to it as circumstances will admit. Nor is there to be a moments unnecessary delay of any thing that moves by Land to the head of Elk.

*The success of our enterprize depends upon the celerity of our Movements; delay therefore, may be ruinous to it. * I do not hesitate in giving it as my opinion that every horse and Oxen should be Swam over the Delaware. A few Boats above and below the place they are made to enter the River, to give them a proper direction, will remove all difficulty and greatly facilitate the passage across."*

**At this point the draft has the following crossed off: "I have put Colo. Seeley who Commands the Jersey Militia in the vicinity of Dobbs ferry under your orders; it will be proper therefore to direct him to march for Hackensack on the same day that you march for Acqua Kanack; and for the Connecticut Farms the day you march for Springfield where or in that Neighbourhood he is [sic] remain, keeping constant patroles on the Sound as far as Amboy till the French Army has passed Princeton and then act under the orders he may receive from Governor Livingston."²³*

²² The distances are not given in the letter.

²³ After the French army had passed Princeton on 31 August/1 September, Governor Livingston ordered Seeley's forces to take up positions around Connecticut Farms, today's Union, New Jersey, until mid-October, when news of the surrender of Cornwallis ended the threat of a British invasion of New Jersey and the militia went home again. Mark V. Kwasny, *Washington's Partisan War 1775-1783* (Kent, OH, 1996), pp. 305-306. See also "The Orderly Book of Lieutenant John Spear

On 23 August, Knox had compiled a list of ordnance he was taking to Virginia: two 12-pounders, four 3-pounders, six 6-pounders, and three five-inch howitzers, all of brass, with the appropriate implements, carriages and 200 rounds of ammunition. In siege artillery he took three 24-pounders and twenty 18-pounders of iron and two 8-inch mortars, three 8-inch howitzers, ten 10-inch mortars, and six 5-inch mortars of brass, again with the appropriate implements and carriages as well as enough powder for 500 rounds.²⁴

In his *Memoirs*, Van Cortlandt describes this meeting with Washington at Stony Point.

*"Upon approaching him He took my (sic) by the arm and went some distance on the road and gave me his orders both written and verbill, which was to march to Chatham in N. Jersey taken all the boats Intrenching tool &c. and proceed with deliberation Informing him daily of my progress for which purpose he sent a dragoon every day, as my Command was of great importance being the Rear-Guard of the Army."*²⁵

On 24 August, Washington writes to Robert Morris:

"We have been delayed here longer than I expected, by the difficulty of crossing the North River. The American Troops march tomorrow Morning and I hope by the time we reach Springfield we shall hear of the arrival of the fleet in Chesapeak."²⁶ After that, our design may be unmasked. It will take a very considerable number of Craft to carry us down the Delaware and I shall be obliged to you for keeping in mind my request, that you would assist the Qr. Mr. in procuring them and the Vessels in Chesapeak should he call upon you for that Purpose."

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

(July 17 to December 4, 1781)" *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 1 (1916), pp. 129-146. Spear's Orderly Book has the New Jersey Brigade at Connecticut Farms on 30 August; by 3 November it is in garrison in Newark.

²⁴ Henry Knox Papers, Microfilm Edition, reel 7, vol. 7, image 38. Image 41 shows a list dated 30 August of artillery-related "Stores with the Army coming from Hudson's River."

²⁵ *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* Jacob Judd, comp. and ed., (Tarrytown, 1978), p. 59.

²⁶ Washington did not hear of the arrival of the French fleet until 5 September near Chester, Pennsylvania.

Resources identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp at Springfield.

Manuscript References:

George Washington writes to Elias Dayton from Kings Ferry, 24 August 1781.

Dear Sir:

Be so good as to use your best endeavors to obtain intelligence from York and Staten Island, that we may know what effect our late movements have produced. Ascertain the strength of the enemy on Staten Island; and whether any Troops have arrived from Virginia. What Boats could, on an emergency, be procured between New Ark and Amboy for transporting Troops if they should be required. And hold your own Corps and Hazens Regiment provided with teams to move your light Baggage at any moment.

*Let your Expresses (if you should have occasion to send any) come from Chatham by the two Bridges at the Fork, to Pompton and thence along the common Road to this place. I am etc."*²⁷

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

²⁷ The "common road" is today's Ramapo Valley Road as opposed to the "secret road" or "continental road" Baumann was taking through the Clove.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

First French Brigade, the Regiments Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts crosses the Hudson and encamps near Haverstraw.

Second French Brigade, the Regiments Soissonnais and Saintonge remains encamped at Peekskill.

Manuscript References:

On 24 August, Jeffery Whiting, assistant to Jeremiah Wadsworth, writes to John Jeffery, Wadsworth's secretary in Hartford, from Peekskill:

“the French Army finished Crossing the Hudson this day - tomorrow we Cross and proceed to God only knows where.”²⁸

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

²⁸ Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Box 132.

8.7: 25 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):

Summary:

Baumann's detachment remains encamped at Pompton Plains.

The column commanded by Colonel Lamb, and which includes General Washington, camps "three miles beyond Suffern" near the home of Andrew Hopper.

Manuscript References:

Around 4:00 a.m. on the morning of Saturday, 25 August 1781, the Continental Army (minus the New Jersey Line and Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment already in Springfield, Scammell's Light Infantry and the Second New York Regiment which is still on its way from the Hudson Highland), breaks camp at Haverstraw, crosses the Mahwah Bridge and follows what was known as the "Upper Road" via Kakeat, the "English Church" at New Hempstead.²⁹ Scammell's Light Infantry rejoins the Continental Army.³⁰

About a mile into New Jersey on NJ-SR 202 the Continental Army splits into two columns. The Right Column consisting of the sappers, miners, baggage carts and the park of the Second Continental Artillery, and thirty flatboats on carriages -- commanded by Colonel John Lamb and under the protection of the First Rhode Island Regiment, separates from the infantry. Continuing on NJ-SR 202, it marches to Andrew Hopper's House about "three miles beyond Suffrans" and camps for the night.³¹

Thomas Graton of the Company of Artificers, which marches with the Right Column, records that on

²⁹ See John Austin Stevens, "The Route of the Allies from King's Ferry to the Head of Elk." *Magazine of American History* Vol. 5 No. 1, (July 1880), pp. 1-20.

³⁰ There is the slight possibility that Lincoln marched directly from Kakeat to Hohokus, picking up Scammell along the way, but the Orderly Book does not indicate locations for the dates between 22 August, when he is encamped at Haverstraw, and 27 August, when he is at Springfield.

³¹ A description of the march based on "an old order book of the light-infantry, now before me" is printed in Andrew D. Mellick, Jr., *The Story of an Old Farm or Life in New Jersey in the Eighteenth Century* (Somerville, 1889), pp. 534-542, esp. pp. 535-537. See the discussion of the boats under Footnote 21.

Benson J. Lossing, *The pictorial field-book of the revolution; or, Illustrations, by pen and pencil, of the history, biography, scenery, relics, and traditions of the war for independence*. 2 vols., (New York, 1850-1859), Vol. 1 p. 782, reproduces an image of the Hopper House where the Continental Army camped.

*"ye 25th marched to Cakeat into the State of New Jersey
Ramapool and encamped."³²*

Route:

From the Haverstraw camp the Continental Army enters New Jersey on Ramapo Valley Road, NJ-SR 202. The right column under Colonel Lamb stays on Ramapo Valley Road until it reaches its campsite at the Andrew Hopper House near Ramapo Valley College.

Resources Identified:

Resource 22:

Hopper Grist Mill Marker on NJ 202
156 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 355, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 23:

Hopper Grist Mill Site on NJ 202
156 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 356, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 24:

Arie Laroe/Sheffield/Lewis/Bugg House site and Indian Campsite
280 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 357, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 25:

Laroe/Hopper/Van Horn House
398 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 358, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 26:

Laroe/Hopper/Van Horn House Marker
In front of Laroe-Van Horn House
Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 359, and Appendix D, Map 2

³² Pension application of Thomas Graton, NARA W 14824, 34 p., Aug. 1, 1767-Sept. 29, 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

Resource 27:

Hopper Family Cemetery

On Hopper/Van Horn property

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 360, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 28:

Continental Army Campsite of 25/26 August on Route 202

505 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

On the athletic fields/tennis courts of Ramapo Valley College
Commemorates Continental Army Campsites of 1777, 1778, 1780 and
1781.

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 361, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 29:

Henry O. Havemeyer/Continental Army Campsites Monument

505 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

On the athletic fields/tennis courts of Ramapo Valley College.
Commemorates Continental Army Campsites of 1777, 1778, 1780 and
1781.

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 362, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 30:

Andrew Hopper House Site (Henry O. Havemeyer House)

510 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

Washington spent the night of 25/26 August 1781 at the house. The
Hopper House was attached to this house to the south.

Appendix B, p. 302, Appendix C, p. 363, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 31:

Henry O. Havemeyer House Plaque

510 Ramapo Valley Road

Mahwah, NJ 07430

The marker is attached to the Havemeyer House.

Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 366, and Appendix D, Map 2

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

The Center Column of the Continental Army under General Benjamin Lincoln marches to its camp "within 3 Miles of Paramus."

Scammel's advanced detachment, at Kakeat since 19 August, rejoins the Continental Army on the way to Paramus.

Manuscript References:

At about one mile into New Jersey on NJ-SR 202, a Center Column of the Continental Army commanded by General Lincoln and "compos'd of the light Troops, and York Regiments (if Courtlands should get up to you in time) and four light pieces with the Baggage of these sevl. Corps" separates from Colonel Lamb's column and General Washington, who remains with Colonel Lamb. The Center Column marches to "within 3 miles of Paramus", i.e., to around Hohokus.

Route:

Coming from the camp near Haverstraw, the Continental Army enters New Jersey on Ramapo Valley Road (NJ-SR 202). Shortly after it has entered New Jersey, this column branches off to the left onto Island Road (NJ-SR 85) until it hits Franklin Turnpike (NJ-SR 507) in what is now Ramsay and followed it past the Hermitage and the "Old Paramus Church" to its camp to "within 3 miles of Paramus."

Resources Identified:

Resource 55:

Section of original eighteenth-century road
near Ramapo Reformed Church
Mahwah, NJ 07430

This section of the "Old King's Highway of 1703" shown on Robert Erskine's maps runs through Ramapo Reformed Church Cemetery in north-south direction.

Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 388, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 56:

Lutheran Church Site
on Island Road near intersection with North McKee Drive
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Shown on British General Howe's map and on Erskine maps, this was the site of a log church built prior to 1739. It was replaced in 1798 by Ramapo Reformed Church structure built jointly by Lutheran and Reformed congregations.
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 390, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 57:

Old Stone House
538 Island Road (= old King's Highway of 1703)
Mahwah, NJ 07430

This house, dating to ca. 1755, is identified on Robert Erskine's maps as "Wannamaker."
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 390, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 58:

Robert Erskine's Bellgrove Store Site
West Ramapo Avenue
Mahwah, NJ 07430

The store was originally located on Ramapough/Island Road/Old King's Highway before road was moved.
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 390, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 59:

Maysinger-Ramsey-Wright House
142 Island Road (north corner Beehive Court)
Mahwah, NJ 07430

The earliest sections of this house were built in the early to mid-eighteenth century. Bergen County Historic Sites Survey # 0233-17
Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 391, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 60:

Moffatt Road Cemetery
on Moffatt Road between Island Road and Route 17
Mahwah, NJ 07430

The cemetery, which was used from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries -- the earliest stone dates to 1749 -- was located

at the corner of Moffatt and Ramapough Rd/Kings Highway before the road was straightened to become Island Road.

Appendix B, p. 306, Appendix C, p. 391, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 61:

"Petersfield"
475 Franklin Turnpike
Allendale, NJ 07401

This property, which dates to about 1766, was the house of John Fell, a member of the Continental Congress from 1778 - 1780.

Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 391, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 62:

The Hermitage
335 N. Franklin Turnpike
Hohokus, NJ 07423
Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 392, and Appendix D, Map 1

Resource 63:

Campsite of Center Column of the Continental Army under
General Benjamin Lincoln on 25/26 August 1781
"within 3 Miles of Paramus."
Paramus, NJ 07652

The campsite was along River Road in the vicinity of the bridge over the East Saddle River in Hohokus about three miles north of Paramus.

Scammel's advanced detachment, at Kakeat since 19 August, rejoins Lincoln's column as it passes through Kakeat on its way to Paramus.
Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 393, and Appendix D, Map 1

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Manuscript References:

On 25 August 1781, George Washington writes to Sylvanus Seely:

Sir:

On the 27th. Instant you will commence your March with the Troops under your Command, from Dobb's Ferry on the Road by the New Bridge, thro' Acquacanacke [i.e., Passaic] to Springfield, where you will receive further Orders from Major Genl. Lincoln.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

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

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

Manuscript References:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces are yet in New Jersey

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

On 25 August, Washington sends this order regarding the 34 boats to the Second New York Regiment under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt. The regiment was 23 officers and 398 NCOs and enlisted men strong,³³ "which had not all arrived from Albany before we left King's Ferry."³⁴

³³ The strength is that of late September 1781. Lesser, *Strength reports*, p. 208.

³⁴ Washington, *Diary*, p. 256.

Kings Ferry, August 25, 1781.

Sir:

You will take charge of the Clothing, the Boats, Intrenching Tools, and such other Stores as shall be committed to your Care by the Quarter Master General: With these you are to proceed (in the Order they are mentioned) to Springfield, by the way of Sufferns, Pompton, the two Bridges and Chatham.

When you arrive at Springfield you will put yourself under the Orders of Majr. Genl. Lincoln, or any other (your Senr.) Officer commanding at that place.

You will also, if occasion should require it, alter the above Route agreeably to Orders from either Major Genl. Lincoln or the Quarter M. Genl.

You will be particularly careful to collect all your Men that are in a proper condition to march and will use your best endeavours to prevent destruction take charge of the Clothing, the Boats, Intrenching tools, and such other Stores as shall be committed to your care.³⁵

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

These boats carried Van Cortlandt's regiment, about 50 officers and men of the sappers and miners, Lamb's artillery, some 350 officers and men plus their cannon, Hazen's Regiment, some 260 officers and men, and the detachment in charge of the baggage from Trenton to Christiana.

³⁵ See the discussion concerning Van Cortlandt's regiment and the issue of these boats as opposed to the 30 flatboats in Lamb's column above.

8.8: 26 August 1781

Manuscript References:

On 21 August, Pickering had ordered Phillip Pye from King's Ferry

"to examine immediately the state of the roads & bridges from hence to the hither end [i.e., this side of] of Pompton from whence you will proceed by Ogden's iron works³⁶ (without crossing the Ramapough) to the two bridges at the forks. From thence go back to the Yellow House³⁷ & return to this place by the common road.

Be pleased to note particularly all places where the roads & bridges need great repairs & where new bridges must be built for passing of many carriages, mentioning the sizes of the bridges necessary to be built. When you have proceeded on the first route as for as Ogdens iron works (without crossing the Ramapough) be pleased to send back the express with your report in writing whether that road is practicable for carriages or not, & if practicable what kind of repairs are requisite to render it a pretty good road.

The Commander in chief wants this information as soon as possible & I beg you therefore to make as much dispatch as possible."

On 21 August Timothy Pickering informed Washington of the instructions he had given to Pye.

"I have sent a person to examine the roads on the routes mentioned by Genl hand, & urged his returning as soon as possible. I have sent an express to go with him as far as Ogden's iron works (without crossing the Ramapough) to bring back his report whether that route be practicable for carriages. The inspector of the roads will then proceed as far as the two Bridges & return by Dods³⁸ thro' Pompton Plains to the Yellow House, from

³⁶ The "Ogden's Iron Works" mentioned here are not those situated near the village of Boonetown (Booneton, Boonton) on NJ-SR 202 on the Rockaway River (now submerged by the Jersey City Reservoir, about a mile and a half downstream from the center of the present town) about 12 miles south of Pompton and about as far to the west of the Forks which were also owned by the Ogden Family but rather the "Ogden" identified on the Faden map between the Ramapo and Ringwood Rivers in Bloomingdale just north of Pompton.

³⁷ The "Yellow House ... at the Cross Roads" in Pompton was the former home of Casparus Schuyler, and served as a tavern in 1781.

³⁸ Dod's Tavern is still standing on Chapel Hill Road (633 South) in Lincoln Park. Chapel Hill Road becomes Pine Brook and then Two Bridges Road and then Passaic Avenue on the other side of the Passaic River.

whence he is to go down to see the condition of the road to Ogden's iron works & the bridge there - to go back to the Yellow House & return hither in the common road."

That Washington and Lamb took this road outlined in Pickering's letter to the Forks of the Passaic is apparent from this letter by his aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman to Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel of the 2nd New York Regiment from Chatham, 27 August 1781:

Dear Sir:

His Excellency desires me to inform you that he found the Road by Ogdens Iron Works difficult for the Boats, he therefore wishes you to keep upon the Road from Pompton to Morris Town untill you come to a place known by the name of Dodds Tavern, you there turn to the left and proceed to the Fork of Passaic; from thence you will take the same Road upon which the Artillery moved to this place [Chatham]; it is by the way of Colonel Cooks."³⁹

Van Cortlandt's regiment carried 34 boats. In his memoirs, John Hudson of the Second New York Regiment, who had just celebrated his 13th birthday on 12 June 1781, writes that

"We carried on our march boats so large that it took a wagon and eight horses to draw them and two inch plank in quantities, by the same conveyance. These were to enable us to form flotillas to cross our troops upon the water courses which lay in our route."⁴⁰

That means that this regiment alone had 272 horses just for the wagons transporting the boats.

Graton recorded: "Ye 26th marched to Pompton and encamped nigh the two Bridges."

Route:

³⁹ "Colonel Cooks" is most likely Colonel Ellis Cook of Hanover in Morris County, who was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eastern Regiment of Militia in Morris County in 1776. That was also the road followed by the French army, which Van Cortlandt eventually followed all the way to Trenton. This letter indicates that Washington and Lamb followed Passaic Avenue to the campsite at Chatham.

⁴⁰ *Cist's Advertiser* (Cincinnati, Ohio) Vol. 3, No. 3, 28 January 1846.

From its camp near Ramapo College, Colonel Lamb and Washington continue south on Ramapo Valley Road to the intersection with Doty Road in Oakland, where Ramapo Valley Road becomes Terhune Drive. Since they were not to cross the Ramapo they continued on the left bank of the river on Ridge Road and Black Oak Ridge Road to a camp about 5 miles south of Pompton, which places them in the center of Mountain View at the banks of the Ramapo River in Wayne Township.

Resources Identified:

Resource 32:

Abandoned Road Section near Sun Valley Farm
near 800 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 367, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 33:

Ramapo Valley Road Marker
near 888 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 368, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 34:

Continental Soldiers Memorial Highway Marker in townships along
Ramapo Valley Road
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 370, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 35:

John Bertholf's Mill Site
Ramapo Valley Road just north of Darlington Avenue
Mahwah, NJ 07430

Bertholf's Mill is most likely identical with the "Bartoli Moulin" of Berthier's itinerary and located on the west side of Ramapo Valley Road, on Darlington Brook just north of today's Darlington Avenue.
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 370, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 36:

Campbell's Tavern Site
Slightly less than one mile south of Bertholf Mill
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 371, and Appendix D, Map 2

Resource 37:

Garrison/Dater/Price House ruins
owned by Garret Garrison during the AWI (see No. 38)
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 371, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 38:

Garret Garrison House (now called "Waternook")
980 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 39:

Abraham Garrison/C.E. Chapman House and Farm
(now called "Kraus Farm")
1010 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 39a:

John Bertholf House (now called "Amberfields")
1122 Ramapo Valley Road
Mahwah, NJ 07430
Appendix B, p. 303, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 40:

Demarest/Hopper House
21 Breakneck Road
Oakland, NJ 07436
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 372, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 41:

Demarest House
213 Ramapo Valley Road
Oakland, NJ 07436

Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 374, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 42:

Jacob Demarest House
3 Dogwood Drive (252 Ramapo Valley Road)
Oakland, NJ 07436
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 374, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 43:

Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill
13-15 Ramapo Valley Road
Intersection of Ramapo Valley Road and Franklin Avenue
Oakland, NJ 07436
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 375, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 44:

Marker 1 at Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 376, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 45:

Marker 2 at Hendrick-Van Allen House and Mill
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 377, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 46:

Van Winkle/Fox Hall
669 Ramapo Valley Road
Oakland, NJ 07436
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 378, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 47:

Schuyler-Colfax House
2321 Paterson-Hamburg Turnpike
Wayne, NJ 07470
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 379, and Appendix D, Maps 3,4

Resource 17:

Battleship Maine Memorial
Intersection of Hamburg Turnpike and Ringwood Avenue

Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 347, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 18:

Marker on Newark-Pompton Turnpike in Pompton Plains.
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 349, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 19:

Ponds Church Marker
Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 350, and Appendix D, Map 3

Resource 20:

Pompton Meeting House (First Reformed Church)
529 Newark-Pompton Turnpike
Pompton Plains, NJ 07444
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 351, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 21:

Campsite along Newark-Pompton Turnpike north of Reformed Church in
Pompton Plains (identical with that of French forces of 26/27 August).
Appendix B, p. 301, Appendix C, p. 352, and Appendix D, Maps 3,4

Resource 48:

Campsite of Lamb "5 Miles beyond Pompton on the road to the two
Bridges at the "Forks of Passaic" possibly near Mountain View.

The exact location of this campsite is unknown.
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 380, and Appendix D, Maps 4,6

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

Lincoln's forces march from their camp in Paramus to their next camp
"two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e., Passaic]."

Manuscript References:

The Center Column is on its way from three miles north of Paramus to
its camp two miles south of Passaic.

Route:

From its camp three miles north of Paramus, General Lincoln's column continues on River Road along the Saddle River to Hackensack where it enters Westminster Avenue, which it follows until it crosses the Passaic River at Acquackanonk, i.e., Passaic. From there the soldiers follow Main Street to the next camp "two miles below Passaic" From now on they will (most likely) be following the route of the Left Column, i.e., New Jersey Line and of Hazen's Regiment, to Springfield.

Resources Identified:

Resource 64:

Campsite of Lincoln's forces on 26/27 August 1781
"two Miles below Acquakenach Bridge [i.e. Passaic]."
Passaic, NJ 07057

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.
Appendix B, p. 307, Appendix C, p. 394, and Appendix D, Map 7

Other potential witness sites: See Route 1.

Potentially also of interest for the history of the Revolutionary War in New Jersey is a marker commemorating one of a series of communications beacons established across New Jersey located on 226 Hobart Road in Springfield.

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):**Summary:**

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Manuscript References:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Route:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The New Jersey Line and Hazen's Regiment remain in camp in Springfield.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of French infantry leaves its camp at Suffern, crosses into New Jersey and camps at Pompton Plains.

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

At mid-night 25/26 August, the last wagons and the rear-guard of the army cross over to Stony Point and without resting join the Second Brigade on its march to Suffern.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French Army is on its way to camp in Pompton Plains.

Route:

From its camp in Suffern, the French army crosses into New Jersey on Ramapo Valley Road (NJ-SR 202) and follows the route of Colonel Lamb's forces until the intersection with Doty Road in Oakland, where Ramapo Valley Road becomes Terhune Drive. Here they cross the Ramapo and turn left onto Jefferson Avenue and onto Colfax Avenue. Where Colfax ends they turn left onto Wanaque Avenue to the Battleship Maine Monument in the middle of a traffic circle, which was also the site of a "Little Yellow House" memorial.⁴¹ Here they turn right and follow Hamburg Turnpike to Junction 694 where they turn left onto the Newark-Pompton Turnpike (Alt NJ-SR 511). At the intersection of the Turnpike with Greenwich Street they turn left onto NJ-SR 23 South and at the 2nd exit right back onto the Turnpike which they follow to their camp north of the Reformed Church in Pompton Plains.

Resources Identified:

On their first day in New Jersey, French forces follow the route of General Washington and Colonel Lamb (Route 3) into New Jersey but camp in Pompton on the site of Major Baumann's (Route 2) camp. Route and resources are identified on Map 2 and up to that point identical to those of Routes 2, 3 and 4.

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

⁴¹ The memorial commemorating the Yellow House mentioned in secondary literature could be found during field work.

Summary:

Immediately upon receipt of the clothing, tools and other stores, Van Cortlandt was to march "in the Order they are mentioned" to "Springfield, by the way of Suffern's Pompton, the two Bridges and Chatham" as the rearguard of the army.⁴²

Tracing the route of the right wing of the Continental Army and of the French forces that had preceded him through Rockland County, Van Cortlandt spends the night of 26/27 August in Haverstraw.

Manuscript References:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

8.9: 27 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):**Summary:**

From their camp at the "Forks", Lamb's forces reach their camp near Chatham.

The Second New York Regiment encamps near Curtis' Tavern.

Manuscript References:

It is only now that Washington officially informs Congress of his plans to march to Virginia.

Head Quarters, Chatham, August 27, 1781.

Sir:

⁴² Jacob Judd, ed., *Correspondence of the Van Cortlandt Family of Cortlandt Manor 1748-1800* (Tarrytown, 1977), p. 241.

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

As I expect a few Days will bring me to Philadelphia, I shall then have the Honor to open my Motives and Intentions to Congress, more fully than it may be prudent to do by Letter at this Distance. I have the Honor etc

Washington writes to Rochambeau from Chatham on 27 August 1781.

Sir:

By intelligence which I have received since my arrival at this place, I find that the enemy have been throwing Troops upon Staten Island. This circumstance, and a desire of bringing up the rear of the two Armies will induce me to halt the American Troops one day at Springfield, as I pray your Excellency to do those of the French at Whippany.

This halt will occasion no delay, as I could not, before this period, take measures to assemble the Vessels of Delaware, at Trenton, without announcing the object in view; but an Express being now gone for that purpose, I shall expect to have at least a part of them at that place by Friday next, to commence embarkation.

I shall set out the day after tomorrow for Philadelphia, and should be glad to know your Excellency's determination respecting your journey thither; if to precede your Army, we will appoint a rendezvous."

In his reply of the same day from Whippany, the only letter Rochambeau is known to have written during the march through New Jersey, the Frenchman informs Washington

Monsieur,

I have this moment received the letter of Your Excellency. I am making a halt here pursuant to your orders with the First Division which will be joined by the

Second Division tomorrow afternoon. I am awaiting your orders to march the whole [army] the day after tomorrow. As far as I am concerned I shall join Your Excellency at that place which you shall think proper to set in order to precede our troops to Philadelphia and to make the necessary preparations.

*I am with respect ...*⁴³

Thomas Graton recorded:

"Ye 27th marched to Chatham and encamped."

That same day Washington writes to Robert Morris

Chatham, August 27, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Accounts brought by several Vessels to Philada. and to the Eastward leave little doubt but that the Count de Grasse must have already arrived in the Chesapeak, or that he must be very soon there. The Count de Rochambeau and myself have therefore determined that no time ought to be lost in making preparations for our transportation from Trenton to Christiana and from the Head of Elk down the Chesapeak. I have written by this opportunity to Colo. Miles and have directed him immediately to engage all the proper kind of Craft for the navigation of the Delaware which can be found in Philada. or in the Creeks above and below it, and as your advice may be useful to him, more especially so far as respects procuring the Vessels at a distance from Philada., I have desired him to wait upon you for that purpose.

I shall also be obliged to you for using your influence with the Gentlemen of Baltimore to permit any Vessels which may be in that port to come up to Elk to assist us in transportation. I have little doubt, from the cheerfulness with which they furnished the Marquis last Winter, but they will comply with your requisition on the present occasion. But lest there should be a necessity for the interference of the Executive of the State, I have written to Governor Lee upon that and other matters. I inclose the letter under flying seal for your information, and you will be good enough to forward it by a Chain of Expresses which is

⁴³ Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 9. The letter is not in the Washington Papers of the Library of Congress.

established. Any Vessels which may be procured in Chesapeak should rendezvous as soon as possible in Elk River.

You will be pleased to make the deposit of Flour, Rum and Salt Meat at the Head of Elk which I requested in a former letter.

I am very fearful that about 1500 Bbls of salt provisions and 30 Hhds of Rum which I directed to be sent from Connecticut and Rhode Island under Convoy of the Count de Barras would not have been ready when the Fleet sailed from Newport. Should that have been the case, the disappointment will be great. I would wish you to see whether a like quantity of those Articles can be procured in Philada. or in Maryland, if we should find that they have not gone round from the Eastward.

I must entreat you, if possible to procure one months pay in specie for the detachment which I have under my command; part of those troops have not been paid any thing for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shewn marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the Northern Regiments, but I make no doubt that a douceur of a little hard money would put them in proper temper. If the whole sum cannot be obtained, a part of it will be better than none, as it may be distributed in proportion to the respective wants and claims of the Men.

The American detachment will assemble in this neighbourhood to day. The French Army to morrow. I have the honor etc

Route:

From its campsite near Mountain View north of the Forks of the Passaic, Lamb's column remains on NJ-SR 202 until Fairfield Road, where they turn south-west and cross the Forks. Fairfield Road becomes Passaic Avenue, which the troops follow to their next campsite in Chatham. Upon arrival they set up their tents on Main Street (NJ-SR 124).

Resources Identified:

Resource 49:

Campsite of Right Column along

Main Street (NJ-SR 124)
Chatham, NJ 07928
Appendix B, p. 285, Appendix C, p. 367, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 50:

Marker on Main Street in Chatham
Appendix B, p. 304, Appendix C, p. 383, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 51:

Jacob Morell House
63 East Main Street (opposite Presbyterian Church)
Chatham, NJ 07928

Washington lodged here from 26-28 August 1781.
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 384, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 52:

Site of the ovens in Chatham
"East of River Road on the Union County side of the Passaic."

Source: John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack* (Chatham, 1967), p. 37.
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 385, and Appendix D, Map 12
Resource 53:

Bonnell Homestead
Watchung Avenue
Chatham, NJ 07928

Mrs. Bonnell is reputed to have baked bread all night to provide soldiers sleeping on her floors with food for their march to Yorktown.
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 386, and Appendix D, Map 10

Resource 54:

Day/Dey Mansion
199 Totowa Road.
Wayne, NJ 07470
Appendix B, p. 305, Appendix C, p. 387, and Appendix D, Map 4

Other potential witness sites: Ward House, dated 1740, Tallmadge Homestead, and Shepard Kollock's printing house where New Jersey

journal was published (opposite Morrell House on Main Street) with marker in front of house.

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

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

Manuscript References:

Lincoln's forces reach their camp near Springfield.

Route:

From its camp south of Passaic, the forces under General Lincoln (presumably?) follow the route taken earlier by Moses Hazen's Regiment and the New Jersey Line to their camp near Springfield. (see the route description for the **Left Column** for 21 August)

Resources Identified:

Resource 5:

Lincoln's forces join Moses Hazen's Regiment encamped on Hobart Gap along Hobart Road located "(about 2 Miles from the settled Part of [Springfield]) where the Reg[imen]t. encamped in a Field, on a Height, and a very advantageous Post, being on the turn of the Road." Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 335, and Appendix D, Maps 8,12

Resource 6:

Lincoln's forces join the New Jersey Line. The exact location of this campsite is unknown but most likely northward along the ridge of the mountains since one of the purposes of the camp was for the British in New York to see the campfires. Appendix B, p. 300, Appendix C, p. 337, and Appendix D, Maps 8,10,12

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

Manuscript References:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

Sergeant-Major Hawkins wrote:

"August 27. In the Course of this week part of the Main Army arrived via King's Ferry and encamped in our Neighbourhood."

Route:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

Resources Identified:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield re-unite with Continental Army forces under General Lincoln.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of the French Army marches to its camp in Whippany.

The Second Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry crosses into New Jersey and camps at Pompton Plains.⁴⁴

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French army is encamped near Whippany.

Route:

After breaking camp in the morning of 27 August, French forces follow Comly Road (NJ-SR 504) to ALT NJ-SR 511 through Pompton Plains and Pequannock (the road is now called Ryerson Road) to Lincoln Park (now Comly Road) and NJ-SR Alt 633 West. At the intersection of Alt 633 West (Main Street) and 633 South (Chapel Hill Road) they pass Dod's Tavern on their left but continue on 633 to Towaco. A bit past Towaco they enter NJ-SR 202 and continue on to Montville Township. Here the eighteenth-century road is on the other side of the railroad tracks. NJ-SR 202 crosses the railroad tracks via an underpass (Widow Jacobusse's House stood at the intersection of Alt 655 and 504; you need to backtrack from the underpass to get there) to the Doremus House and Tavern. On NJ-SR 621 (Changebridge Road) the forces turn left toward Pine Brook. Next they turn right onto River Road and the right again on Horseneck Road. After they have crossed the river they turn left onto Knoll Road to Beverwyck Road which takes them through Lake Hiawatha. As they cross

⁴⁴ Since the Second Brigade exactly follows the route of the First Brigade, the route taken by these troops has not been listed separately.

what is today I-80 they pass the Lott-Beverwyck archaeological site on their left. From Beverwyck Road they turn onto Reynolds Road which they follow into Hanover Township. Reynolds Road ends at Parsippany Road, where they turn left, cross the river twice and turn right on NJ-SR 511 to their campsite at 67 Whippany Road/Lucent Technology Park.⁴⁵

Resources Identified:

The campsite of the French Army north of the Reformed Church in Pompton is identical with the campsite of Major Baumann's detachment.

Resource 65:

Dod's Tavern
Chapel Hill Road (633 South)
Lincoln Park, NJ 07035
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 395, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 66:

Widow Jacobusse House
Intersection of Alt 655 (Main Street) and Alt 504 (Jacksonville Road)
Lincoln, Park, NJ 07035
Driving on NJ-SR 202 you cross the railroad tracks via an underpass; you need to backtrack from the underpass to get to the site.
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 396, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 67:

Henry Doremus House
490 Main Road (Rt. 202).
Montville, NJ 07045
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 397, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 68:

Henry Doremus House Marker
in front of Doremus House
Montville, NJ 07045
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 397, and Appendix D, Map 4

Resource 69:

⁴⁵ See: The 1981 French Army Reception Committee, *French Army Day in the Township of Hanover* (Hanover, 1981) for a brief historic overview of Whippany in 1781, maps and portraits of important actors of 1781.

Abraham Lott-Lucas von Beverhoudt Archaeological Site
Beverwyck Plantation
Intersection South Beverwyck Road and US 46 in Troy Hills
Parsippany, NJ 07054
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 398, and Appendix D, Map 6

Baron Closen and other French officers were entertained here on 27 August 1781; so was Lieutenant Verger on the march north in September 1782.

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New Jersey stopped here for the night of 29/30 August 1781.

Resource 70:

Campsite of First French Brigade on 27/28 and 28/29 August 1781
67 Whippany Road/Lucent Technology Park (511 South)
Whippany, NJ 07981
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 399, and Appendix D, Maps 6,10

Resource 71:

Marker in front of First Presbyterian Church
494 Route 10 West
Whippany, NJ 07981
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 400, and Appendix D, Maps 6,10

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

The Rear-Guard under Colonel Van Cortlandt camps in Suffern.

Manuscript References:

On 27 August 1781, Washington's aide-de-camp Tench Tilghman writes to Philip Van Cortlandt, Colonel of the 2nd New York Regiment, from Chatham.

Dear Sir:

His Excellency desires me to inform you that he found the Road by Ogdens Iron Works difficult for the Boats, he therefore wishes you to keep upon the Road from Pompton to Morris Town untill you come to a place known by the

name of Dodds Tavern,⁴⁶ you there turn to the left and proceed to the Fork of Passaic; from thence you will take the same Road upon which the Artillery moved to this place [Chatham]; it is by the way of Colonel Cooks."⁴⁷

In his diary, Samuel Tallmadge of the 2nd New York Regiment records

"Camp Harvistraw Monday Augt 27^h 1781. Continued our march, proceeded on within three miles of Soverance and Encamped [in Suffern]."⁴⁸

Route:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces are yet in New Jersey

8.10: 28 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 3):

Summary:

The troops of the Right Column of the Continental Army rest in Chatham.

The Second New York Regiment camps near Curtis' Tavern in Pompton.

Manuscript References:

From Chatham, Washington writes to Rochambeau on 28 August 1781.

Sir:

⁴⁶ Dod's Tavern is still standing on Chapel Hill Road (633 South) in Lincoln Park. Chapel Hill Road becomes Pine Brook and then Two Bridges Road and then Passaic Avenue on the other side of the Passaic River.

⁴⁷ "Colonel Cooks" is most likely Colonel Ellis Cook of Hanover in Morris County, who was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel of the Eastern Regiment of Militia in Morris county in 1776. That was also the road followed by the French army. Eventually Van Cortlandt followed the French route all the way to Trenton. This letter indicates that Washington and Lamb followed Passaic Avenue all the way to the campsite at Chatham.

⁴⁸ 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, 780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 758. Tallmadge had enlisted in May 1776, was promoted to ensign on 9 November 1777 and to lieutenant on 27 October 1781. The Second New York Regiment left King's Ferry in the morning of Sunday, 26 August 1781.

I do not find that the force upon Staten Island is large, or thrown over for any other purpose than that of defence, for which reason it is submitted to your Excellency's judgment to March your Troops in one or two division's as shall be most easy and convenient to them; there [sic] moving in two divisions succeeding days, will occasion no delay, as the Second will be up by the time the first will have embarked.

As I propose to go the lower Road I shall not have the honr. Of joining your Excellency till we arrive at Princeton where I will order dinner to be ready at three OClock that we may lodge at Trenton (12 Miles further). As this will be a journey of 54 Miles from Whippany I would suggest to you the expediency of making part of it this Afternn. Colo. Smith, one of my Aides, who is well acquainted with the Roads will have the honor of attending you to the rendezvous at Princeton."

Rochambeau, Chastellux, Fersen, Vauban, and Baron Closen take Washington's advice and leave Whippany at about 4:00 p.m. and spend the night at Bullion's Tavern, i.e., in Liberty Corner.⁴⁹

Upon arrival of Lamb's detachment in Springfield, Washington orders that the Continental Army be re-organized into two columns, one consisting of three brigades, the other of a single brigade.

Chatham, August 28, 1781.

Sir:

The Troops composing the Detachment under your Command may, till they are united with the force in Virginia, be formed into three Brigades, viz: the light Infantry to be commanded by Colo. Scammell on the Right. The two York Regiments under Brigadr. Genl. Clinton on the left; and Hazen's Jersey and Rhode Isld. In the Center.

You will March to morrow at four OClock in the Morning, in two Columns, for Trenton. The left column is to consist of the three Brigades above (if Courtlands Regimt. Should join in time) the Baggage belonging to them, and 6 field pieces (two to each Brigade).

⁴⁹ En route from Philadelphia, the *chevalier* de Chastellux stopped there for the night of 17/18 December 1780. Chastellux, *Travels*, vol. 1, pp. 183/4.

The right column will consist of the remaining artillery, Boats, Baggage, and Stores of every kind to be escorted by the Corps of Sappers and Miners.

The left column is to March through Westfield and Lamptown [Samptown in South Plainfield] to Rariton landing (above Brunswick): 30th. To Princeton 31st. To Trenton.

The right column is to proceed thro' Scotch plains and Quibbletown to Bound Brooke: 30th. to Princeton 31st. to Trenton.

The junction of these two Columns will be at Kingston (three Miles short of Princeton) from whence the right column is to proceed, and be covered by the left.

I have not, as yet, made precise arrangements with the Or. Mr. General respecting the number of Waggon's and Teams which are to go on from Trenton to the head of Elk, and from thence to Virginia. And it is possible, as he is yet behind, and I shall set out early in the Morning for Philadelphia, that I shall not, for which reason I commit the matter to you, giving it as my opinion, that all the covered Waggon's, if no more, will certainly be wanted in Virga.

I foresee a difficulty which will arise from the deficiency of Water transportation from Trenton to Christiana bridge, and that is, how to a portion the Craft equally between the french Army and ours, without delay, as the Vessels will come up as they are engaged, and the American Troops ought to be the advance. Some delicacy must be used in effecting the latter, without the appearance of selfishness, and giving umbrage to our Allies by taking more care of ourselves than them."

Colonel Lamb's Orderly Book records for

"Tuesday, Chatham Augt 28th /81.

The General will beat at one OClock, the assemble at 1/2 past one, and the March commence precisely at 2 OClock.

Springfield, Tuesday Augt 28th /81

B[rigade] O[rder].

*Capt. Savage's Company is to take the two 6 Poun.
From Doughty's and is to join the Jersey Brigade and Capt.
Doughty's is to take charge of the two Eight Inch
Howitzers.*

Division Orders [Springfield] August 28th 1781

*The General will beat at three, the assemble half past,
and the March precisely at 4 OClock. The different Routes,
and order of March, will be given by the Dep^y QMGen^l on
Parade, at 4 OClock.⁵⁰*

Route:

The troops are resting in Chatham.

Resources Identified:

The troops are resting in Chatham.

See Map 10

Center Column (Route Number 4):

Summary:

The troops of the Right Column of the Continental Army rest in Springfield

Manuscript References:

Thomas Gratton records:

"Ye 28th marched to Springfield and encamped."

Route:

The troops are resting in Springfield.

Resources Identified:

The troops are resting in Springfield.

⁵⁰ Brigade and Division orders are identified under the locale of Springfield where the headquarters were located rather than Chatham, where Lamb was.

See Map 10

Left (easternmost) Column (Route Number 1):

Summary:

The combined New Jersey regiments and Hazen's unit encamped near Springfield are re-united with the Continental Army.

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins writes:

"This Day our Regt. received Orders to march Tomorrow 4 oClock."

Route:

The troops are resting in Springfield

Resources Identified:

The troops are resting in Springfield

See Map 10

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

Rest Day for the First French Brigade at Whippany.
The Second Brigade arrives in Whippany

Manuscript References:

The French army takes a rest day at Whippany, which is about 4 miles from Springfield and 6 miles from Paramus.

Route:

Rest Day for the First French Brigade at Whippany.
The Second Brigade arrives in Whippany

Resources Identified:

Rest Day for the First French Brigade at Whippany.
The Second Brigade arrives in Whippany

See Map 9

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

The Rear-Guard under Colonel Van Cortlandt marches from Suffern to Pompton where it encamps.

Manuscript References:

From his headquarters at Chatham, Washington writes to Colonel Van Cortlandt on 28 August 1781.

Sir:

As the Army will march tomorrow Morning before you will probably have arrived, you will be pleased when you reach Col. Cook's to make yourself acquainted with the best Road leading above the Mountains towards Trenton, this you will pursue at least to Bound Brook, and from thence will continue the most direct Route to Trenton, with your Regiment and all the Stores and other Articles which have been committed to your charge. You will keep your destination a perfect secret for one or two days at least.

Later that day, Van Cortlandt replies from his camp in Pompton that

"I have just received your Excellency's order of this date" but informed Washington that "the best Rout is by the way of Troy to turn of by Bulls Tavern and then the road is very direct to Chatham the difference 24 or 25 Miles.

The regiment is encamped near the Yellow House (Curtiβ' Tavern) some of the Boats are three Miles in the Rear, so that it will take them Two Days before they can arrive and perhaps it will be Fryday morning about Nine Oclock before they will all be in.

If your Excellency should think proper to direct my Rout through Troy an Express may meet me where the road turns of at Dodds Tavern tomorrow morning at Nine Oclock.

"Upon my arrival at Pumpton Plains [Washington] altered my rout but on my request permitted me to take a more circuitous one through Parsipany -- the road being better passing Mr. Lott & Beaverhout -- but not pass the junction of the Morristown Road with the Chatham untill the next morning then Instead of going to the Latter I must

pass thro Morris and make an Expeditious March to Trenton."⁵¹

Tallmadge records in his *Diary* for 28 August:

"Struck Camp at 5 OClock and Continued our march to Soverance, from thence to Pumpton, and Encamped our Regt Escorting the battows which was transported by Land on waggons together with intrenching tools."

Route:

Colonel Van Cortlandt's regiment follows the route of the French Army (Route Number 5)

Resources Identified:

Colonel Van Cortlandt's regiment follows the route of the French Army (Route Number 5)

8.11: 29 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 6):

Summary:

Leaving at 2:00 a.m., Colonel Lamb and his column depart for Bound Brook.

The Second New York Regiment encamps near Troy on the Lott-Beaverhoudt property.

Manuscript References:

Washington writes in his *Diary* on 30 August:

⁵¹ Quoted in Jacob Judd, ed., *Correspondence of the Van Cortlandt Family of Cortlandt Manor 1748-1800* (Tarrytown, 1977), p. 241.
The "junction of the Morristown Road with the Chatham" is today's NJ-SR 124.

"As our intentions could be concealed one March more (under the idea of Marching to Sandy hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the Bay), the whole Army was put in motion in three columns--the left consisted of the light Infantry, first York Regiment, and the Regiment of Rhode Island--the Middle column consisted of the Parke Stores & Baggage."

Sergeant-Major Hawkins records in his *Journal* for 29 August:

"At Half past two this Morning the Revelie beat, which was followed between three and four oClock by the beat of the General when the Baggage was loaded and the Regt under Arms and marched and just at fair day Break our Regt arrived at the Foundation of the burnt Church at Springfield.⁵² After waiting a little until the other Troops was under Way our Regt. took the Rear."

Next, Hazen with the

"Park, Boats, Baggage, and Stores of every kind" as well as the Sappers and Miners "passed thro the Village called the Scotch Plains and about 12 oClock arrived at Quibble-Town, where they halted and rested three Hours. Our Destination is kept so secret that our Officers are at a loss to know where they are going."

"When they [i.e., the troops] proceeded on, and passed thro a scattered old fashioned Village called Bound Brook, adjoining to which halted and encamped in a field at Middle Brook, about an hour before dark."

Colonel Lamb's Orderly Book records for 29 August that

"The General will beat at 3 o'Clock tomorrow Morning, the Assemble at half past three, and the march commence precisely at 4 oClock."

Route:

Leaving from their camp in Chatham, the troops march to Springfield on Main Street (NJ-SR 124), where they pass in front of Reverend James Caldwell's Presbyterian Church. Here they turn right/south-west onto River Road (NJ-CR 649) to Scotch Plains, where they enter onto Valley Road (NJ-SR 527), which they follow to its intersection with NJ-CR 531

⁵² The Presbyterian Church on Morris Avenue had been burnt by the British on 23 June 1780, during the Battle of Springfield.

through Watchung, where they turn south-east toward Quibbletown and New Market and NJ-SR 28.⁵³

As they approach Bound Brook marching in on the Old Raritan Road, today obliterated by the railroad, they turn left in Bound Brook to the camp "in a field at Middlebrook." This may have been the site where Maryland troops had camped in the winter of 1778/79, though Hazen's observation preclude the possibility that the Maryland huts of 1778/79 were still standing in 1781.

Resources Identified:

Resource 99:

Continental Army Campsite from 29/30 August along the Middle Brook south of Main Street and East of the Middlebrook
Bridgewater, NJ 08807
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 431, and Appendix D, Map 11

This is the same site where Maryland troops had camped in the winter of 1778/79.

□ at Millstone this column enters the route taken by the French forces a few days later (Route 5)

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his column depart for New Brunswick.

Manuscript References:

Thomas Graton records:

"Ye 29th marched to Westfield, Spanktown [a community between Westfield and Brunswick], Brunswick and encamped."

⁵³ John T. Cunningham, *Chatham at the Crossing of the Fishawack* (Chatham, 1967), p. 37, describes the march route thus: "westward through the village via Main Street and King's Road, on through Madison, along Division, Woodland and Garfield Avenues, toward Green Village."

Route:

Leaving their camp in Springfield, General Lincoln's column on 29 August 1781 turns south-west on roads now rearranged near Mountain Avenue (NJ-CR 635) to Westfield Avenue toward Mountainside (briefly on NJ-SR 22) and continuing on to Westfield where they enter Maple Avenue toward Samptown, today's South Plainfield. From Samptown they march to New Market on Old Raritan Road and then via Brunswick Road to Hoe's Lane to River Road and Landing Bridge. They cross the Raritan on Landing Lane and camp at Raritan Landing along River Road and in Buccleugh Park between George Street and NJ-SR 527 (Easton Avenue).

Resources Identified:

Resource 102:

Campsite of the Center Column on 29/30 August 1781
Raritan Landing along River Road and in Buccleugh Park
between George Street and NJ-SR 527 (Easton Avenue)
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Appendix B, p. 314, Appendix C, p. 433, and Appendix D, Map 13

Resource 103:

Buccleugh Mansion (Colonial estate built in 1739, local DAR HQ)
200 College Ave., Buccleuch Park
New Brunswick, NJ 08901
Appendix B, p. 314, Appendix C, p. 434, and Appendix D, Map 13

□ at Kingston this column enters the route that will also be taken by French forces a few days later (Route 5)

French Army (Route Number 5):**Summary:**

The First Brigade of the French army marches from its camp at Whippany to Bullion's Tavern.

The Second Brigade has its day of rest at Whippany.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade marches from Whippany to Bullion's Tavern.

Route:

After it had broken camp on 29 August, the First Brigade continues to follow NJ-SR 511 toward Morristown, where the road becomes a one-way street opposing the direction from where the forces would have marched. Having passed Washington's headquarters (the road that needs to be followed today is Lafayette Avenue) and left onto Ridgedale and then right back onto Morris Avenue (NJ-SR 510) they march around the Morristown Green onto NJ-SR 202. Next they follow Mount Kemble Avenue (NJ-SR 202) past Jockey Hollow, the 1779/80 Continental Army camp (on their right) to Van Doran's Mills. Here they turn left onto North Maple Avenue, cross I-287 and turn right onto Oak Street toward Basking Ridge, march through Basking Ridge, and turn left onto Finley Avenue. At the intersection with SPUR 527 they take a right turn onto Lyons Road to Bullion's Tavern (Liberty Corner) and their next camp, Camp 22 since their departure from Newport, at the "English Farm" in Liberty Corner.

Resources Identified:

Resource 72:

Peter Kemble House Site (built about 1765)
Northwest corner of Kemble Avenue/Route 202 and Tempe Wick Road
Morristown, NJ 07960

The Kemble House was moved about 1/4 mile to the southward on NJ-SR 202.

Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 403, and Appendix D, Map 9

Resource 73:

Washington Headquarters (Ford Mansion)
Morristown National Historical Park
30 Washington Place
Morristown, NJ 07960
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 404, and Appendix D, Maps 9,10

Resource 74:

F. Gerald New House
1270 Kemble Avenue

Morristown, NJ 07960
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 405, and Appendix D, Map 9

Resource 75:

Jockey Hollow, site of 1778/79 winter quarters of the Continental Army
Administered by Morristown National Historical Park
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 405, and Appendix D, Map 9

Resource 76:

Van Dorn Mill
Intersection of NJ-SR 202 and North Maple Ave, toward Somerville/I-287
Bernards, NJ 07920
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 405, and Appendix D, Map 14

Resource 77:

Widow White Tavern Site Marker
South Finlay Avenue
Basking Ridge, NJ 07939
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 406, and Appendix D, Map 14

General Charles Lee was captured by British forces while lodging in Widow White's tavern in December 1776. This incident is mentioned in many accounts.

Resource 78:

Lord Stirling Home Site
Lord Stirling Park and Environmental Education Center
Lord Stirling Road
Basking Ridge, NJ 07939
Appendix B, p. 309, Appendix C, p. 407, and Appendix D, Map 14

Resource 79:

Bullions Tavern Site on Lyon's Road in Liberty Corner,
(there is an Exxon Station there in 2005)
Bernards, NJ 07920
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 408, and Appendix D, Map 14

Resource 80:

Marker at the French Campsite of 29/30 August 1781
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 408, and Appendix D, Maps 11,14

Resource 81:

French Campsite of 29/30 August 1781, at the "English Farm"
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 409, and Appendix D, Maps 11,14

Resource 81a:

DAR Marker at French Campsite of 29/30 August 1781
Liberty Corner, NJ 07938
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 411, and Appendix D, Maps 11,14

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp at the Lott-Beverhoudt farm.

Manuscript Resources:

In the morning of 29 August, Van Cortlandt informs Washington from Dod's Tavern that he

"was favored with yours of this morning and shall proceed on immediately. The Boats and stores are all come up so that I Expect to reach Troy this Evening."⁵⁴

Van Cortlandt in his *Memoirs* writes that

"after Dining with r. Lott & spending the afternoon with his family my camp being near his House & marched by Day Break next morning [i.e., 30 August] 24 miles."

Tallmadge's *Diary* records that on 29 August the regiment

"struck Camp at five OClock and proceeded on to Rockaway and halted, the continued our march and arrived at Troy about six OClock and Encamped on the roade Leading to Chatham."

Route, Rear-Guard:

Following the route that the French forces had taken a few days earlier though not necessarily the same campsites, the Second New York

⁵⁴ Washington's letter to Van Cortlandt of 29 August has not survived.

Regiment spends the night of 29/30 August at the Lott-Beverhoudt House, now an archaeological site.

Resources Identified:

Resource 69:

Abraham Lott-Lucas von Beverhoudt Archaeological Site
Beverwyck Plantation
Intersection South Beverwyck Road and US 46 in Troy Hills
Parsippany, NJ 07054
Appendix B, p. 308, Appendix C, p. 398, and Appendix D, Maps 4,9

8.12: 30 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 6):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb departs for Kingston and on to Princeton.

The Second New York Regiment camps south of Morristown.

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hazen describes this day's march thus:

"August 30. The General beat at half past two oClock when the Tents was struck, the Baggage loaded, and about half an hour before Day Light our Regt. with the Artillery paraded and marched back to Bound Brook - took the right Hand Road over the Bridge and marched up the East Side of the Raritan. To what this Counter march back to Bound Brook was owing to an intended Feint or Ignorance I am at a Loss to tell, neither is it any Matter which.

Went a round about way passed over Millstone Bridge, and about two hours after through Somerset, a County Town - and a little while after another Town called Millstone.⁵⁵

About an Hour after halted about 3 Hours on the Road and took some refreshments after which proceeded on. Came to Rocky Hill halted about 2 Hours then proceeded on, and just at dark entered Princeton. Passed thro it and about one Mile and a half from it, on the Road to Trenton, halted and rested this night.

The rest of the Troops lay last Night a few Miles in our Rear."

Colonel Lamb has the

"General [beat] tomorrow morning four oClock, the Assemble at half past four, and the march will commence at five."

Route:

From their camp along Middlebrook the column doubles back to the Queens Bridge at Bound Brook and marches on the west side of the Raritan to the south-east on Easton Avenue to Cedar Grove of DeMott to Amwell Road, which it follows almost due West to Millstone. Staying on the east side of the Millstone River, they follow the river through Griggstown to Rocky Hill, where they cross the Millstone River on Washington Street (NJ-CR 518), and turn left on Princeton Avenue and again left on Mt. Lucas Road toward the crossing to Kingston on the other side of the river, where the left wing of the Continental Army had crossed the river. In Princeton, Mt. Lucas Road becomes Witherspoon Street,

⁵⁵ Somerset Court House, i.e., Millstone on the Millstone River, is not identical with the community of Somerset about six miles to the north-east on the Raritan.

which took them right to Nassau Hall. Here they turn right onto NJ-SR 27 South/Nassau Street/ Princeton-Kingston Turnpike to their campsite "about one Mile and a half from it, on the Road to Trenton."

Resources Identified:

Resource 100:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 30/31 August
along South Street/Stockton Road to Trenton
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

This campsite and connected resources are (most likely) identical with those for the French Army the following day. See the resources listed under Route 5.

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his brigade depart for Kingston and Princeton.

Manuscript References:

Benjamin Lincoln writes to Washington on 30 August from "Brunswic Landing":

My dear General,

The troops arrived here about 2 oClock in the afternoon yesterday - I went toward evening to Bound Brook where I met Colo. Lamb & everything in order. - as there are so many circumstances to be taken into consideration prior to a determination what number of waggons ought to proceed Southward and as we cannot avail of all of those circumstances here, such as ye probability of a full supply of vessels at the Head of Elck, horses in Pennsylvania, (illeg.) when independent of those with us, Colo Pickering has just taken a resolution to wait on your Excellency this evening in Philadelphia to receive your Excellency further orders.

I expect we shall be on our ground about three this evening.

Thomas Gratton records:

"Ye 30th marched to (illeg.) mild Brook, Kingston and encamped."

Route:

Leaving their camp along River Road in New Brunswick early in the morning, the column enters NJ-SR 527 and marches through Franklin Park and Kendall Park to Kingston. Here it crosses the Millstone River and follows the Right Column of the Continental Army into Princeton, camping between Princeton and the Right Column.

Resources Identified:

This campsite and connected resources are (most likely) identical with the place where the French Army will camp the following day. See the resources listed under Route 5.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade marches from Bullion's Tavern to Somerset Court House.

The Second Brigade marches from Whippany to Bullion's Tavern.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French Army marches from Bullion's Tavern to Somerset Court House.

Route:

Turning right onto Martinsville Road/ Liberty Corner Road (NJ-CR 525) across I-78 in the morning of 30 August, the troops turn right onto NJ-CR 620 after about 1/4 mile onto Newman's Lane, then left onto Steel Gap Road and left again onto Foothill Road. Then follows a right turn onto Adamsville Road to the Old York Road., which was the original road. Adamsville Road is today cut off by I-287 and one has to follow Foothill Road over I-287 (US 22), make a U-turn at Adamsville exit, take FINDERNE Avenue (NJ-CR 533) to Van Veghten Drive and the Van Veghten House. Following FINDERNE Avenue (NJ-CR 533) through Manville on Main Street, which becomes Millstone River Road, still NJ-CR 533, which they follow along the course of the Millstone River to Millstone. Here they set up the camp just south of Millstone, known as Somerset Court House in the 18th century, along the banks of the river south of the old Court House site.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ The Somerset Court House burnt by Simcoe's raiders in 1779 was re-built at Somerville. Lauberdière described Somerset as having seven or eight houses. Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 96.

Resources Identified:

Resource 82:

Van Veghten Home
Van Veghten Drive (Finderne)
Bridgewater, NJ 08807
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 411, and Appendix D, Map 11

Resource 83:

Van Veghten Home Marker (In front of Van Veghten Home)
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 413, and Appendix D, Map 11

Resource 84:

John Van Doren House (Millstone)
NJ-CR 533 South between Manville and Hillsborough, NJ
Millstone, NJ 08844
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 414, and Appendix D, Map 13

Resource 85:

French Campsite of 30/31 August 1781
Millstone, NJ 08844
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 415, and Appendix D, Map 13

Resource 86:

Somerset Court House Marker
Millstone, NJ 08844
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 417, and Appendix D, Map 13

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march from their camp at the Lott-Beverhoudt farm to Trenton.

Manuscript Resources:

Marching 24 miles that day, Van Cortlandt later claimed to have set up camp on 30 August "about 3 miles from Trenton" where he "was ordered

to Incamp for all the army to pass me and then took my Boats to Trenton and Embarked my Regt."⁵⁷

Tallmadge's *Diary* however states that on 30 August the regiment

*"struck Camp at day breake and proceeded on to Morristown there halted, from thence to the half moon [tavern] and Encamped."*⁵⁸

Route, Rear-Guard:

Colonel Van Cortlandt's men follow the route taken by French forces.

Resources Identified:

Resource 104:

Campsite of Second New York Regiment from 30/31 August 1781

At "half moon [tavern]"

Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 435.

There is no map since the location of the tavern is unknown.

8.13: 31 August 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Route Number 6):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb and his troops depart from Princeton for Trenton.

The Second New York Regiment departs for Trenton.

⁵⁷ Jacob Judd, ed., *The Revolutionary War 'Memoir' and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* (Tarrytown, New York, 1976), p. 60.

⁵⁸ The "Half Moon Tavern" about three miles south of Morristown and site of a camp of the New York Regiments on the return march as well, has not been identified.

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins describes this day's march thus:

"August 31. Just at day Break the General beat - the necessary Preparations made - hazen's and Lamb's Regiments paraded and marched.

Passed thro Trenton towards the Lower Ferry, close by which halted and encamped.⁵⁹

About an Hour after we encamped Col. Scammel's Corps of Light Troops, the Rhode Island and New Jersey Lines, and Part of the New York Line and Sappers and Miners passed us and encamped in our Front between us & the River. The French troops are encamped between us and Princeton.

About 6 oClock Part of our army embarked on board Shallops with the Artillery & Bagagge - the Waggon & Horses went by Land. Our Regt was among those that first embarked."

Joseph Plumb Martin of the Corps of Sappers and Miners arrives in Trenton at sunset of 31 August, but

"instead of encamping for the night, as we expected, we were ordered immediately on board vessels then lying at the landing place, and a little after sunrise found ourselves at Philadelphia."⁶⁰

Route:

Departing from their camp along Stockton Avenue (NJ-SR 206, designated the Washington Victory Trail), the Right Column of the Continental Army marches to the Lower Ferry at the end of South Warren Street and its campsite along Broad Street in Trenton.

Resources Identified:

Resource 101:

⁵⁹There were two ferries where the armies could cross the Delaware, in Trenton and downstream in Lambertson, plus a ford further upstream. The first bridge across the Delaware in Trenton was built in 1806.

⁶⁰ Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (1830; repr. Eastern Acorn Press, 1992) p. 222.

Campsite of the Continental Army from 31 August to 1 September 1781
"close by" the Lower Ferry
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

The Lower Ferry was at the end of what was called Ferry Street, today's South Warren Street; the Continental Army Camp was most likely along Broad Street on the same site where the French army would camp over the next few days.

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his brigade depart from Princeton for Trenton.

Manuscript References:

The Center Column marches from Princeton to Trenton.

In preparation for their arrival at the Delaware, Washington had written to Robert Morris from Dobbs Ferry on 17 August 1781.

Dear Sir:

I have in confidence imparted to you the alteration of our late plan and made you acquainted with our intended operations. Besides the provision necessary at the Head of Elk to carry the troops down the Bay a very considerable Quantity will be wanted in Virginia. I should suppose three hundred Barrels of Flour, as many of salt Meat and eight or ten Hhds of Rum would be sufficient at Elk. For what will be consumed in Virginia, I imagine the order must be general, as we can neither ascertain the number of Men which will be drawn together or the time they will be employed.

I have written to the Count de Grasse and have requested him to send up his light Vessels of every kind to Elk, but I would nevertheless wish to have all that may be at Baltimore and the upper parts of the Bay secured. I shall therefore be obliged to you to take measures at a proper time for that purpose. When that time will be and when you shall give orders for the deposit at Elk, I will hereafter inform you.

I shall direct the Quarter Master in due season to take up all the small Craft in Delaware for the purpose of transporting the Troops from Trenton to Christeen. Should he have occasion for advice or assistance from you upon this occasion I must request you to give him both.

I am confident it will be necessary to give the American Troops destined for southern service one Months pay in specie. This will amount to about ... [blank] dollars. If it will be possible for you to procure this sum you will infinitely oblige me and will much benefit the service. I shall also stand in need of a sum of specie for secret service. I suppose about 500 Guineas.

From Chatham, he had instructed Samuel Miles, DQMG for Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, on 27 August 1781.

Sir:

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

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

I have delayed having these preparations made until this moment, because I wished to deceive the Enemy with regard to our real object as long as possible, our Movements have been calculated for that purpose and I am still anxious the deception should be kept up a few days

longer, untill our intentions are announced by the Army's filing off towards the Delaware.

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

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

On 31 August, Timothy Pickering writes to Colonel Dearborn from Philadelphia:

"Colonel Neilson will show you a ford at Trenton which he was to try with a waggon if found practicable, you will cross the carriages there on this side of Bristol, instead of coming to Neshaminy Ferry, you take the right road at the fork & go to a fording place - if the tide be up you pass up the river to the second fording place, which may be crossed at all time except in a fresh. The bottoms are good. I was particular in these enquiries yesterday as I passed. The 1st fording place is about a mile above shamminy ferry, the 2^d half a mile above that. I suppose all Cortlandt's reg^t. & their baggage may go down in the batteaux & their necessary teams go empty by land."⁶¹

The letter reaches Dearborn, who is traveling with Lincoln, at the encampment of the Continental Army in Trenton. On 31 August, Lincoln writes to Washington from Trenton at "Noon":

Our van has passed the rear will be at the ferry in about one hour - no moment will be lost in loading the artillery stores &c. ...

⁶¹ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, vol. 82.

As soon as I can ascertain the time I can have the ferry I will inform your Excellency of it.

We shall encamp tonight on the bancks of ye river by this I hope to prevent all desertion - few only have yet happened five or six only have repented (sic).

About 1 1/2 hours later, he receives Washington's letter from Philadelphia, dated 31 August 1781.

Dr Sir:

Upon Enquiry I have too much reason to fear we shall not be able to procure Craft eno' to embark all our Troops, Stores, Baggage, &c. upon the Water; in which Case some must go by Land. You will therefore be pleased to consult Colo Lamb respectg the Heavy Cannon, Carriages, Stores and Baggage, and find what will be most cumbersome and Heavy to transport by Land and let that have the first Chance in the Transports by Water; the quantity of these you will best judge by the Number and kind of Craft which you will receive; many if not all of the Covered Waggons with some others will possibly be found necessary to go by Land, with the light Field Pieces and perhaps some cannon Carriages; the Heavy Cannon, Mortars and Hoitzs with Cloathg and Entrenchg Tools will most conveniently go by Water; the Cannon to be divested of their Carriages.

Colo Nelson [i.e., Neilson] at Trenton informed me that he thought a Ford might be found, by which the Waggons and Carriages might be easily passed at that Place, and promised to make the Experiment. You will please to consult him on that Subject.

When you are on the Rout from Trenton I fancy there is a Road leading direct to a Ford across the Nesamuny Creek above the Ferry past Bristol; if so it will be most expeditious to pass by that Rout and avoid the Ferry which will be troublesome and occasion much Delay. I passed myself by this Ford, and I think you will find such a Road as I mention.

The Troops which are the lightest and best able to march, and such as are least suspected of Desertion from disaffection, Want of Pay, or any other Cause, will, if Craft should fail, be best to march by Land.

You will send down as soon as the first opportunity presents 100 pickt Men who are acquainted with Water, and who are the most suitable on other Accounts, to assist in Embarkg and forwardg the Stores at this Place.

General Knox's Letter which accompanies this will help you to Determine respectg the Cannon and heavy Artillery Stores.

The Waggon and whatever else goes by Land, will proceed by the Shortest Rout, immediately to the Head of Elk; you will so order the Marches as not to encamp by or near this City; the Troops who march by Land, will move on by slow and easy Marches, so as not to be fatigued.

You will appoint an active Officer to superintend the Embarkation at Trenton, whose Arrangements must be calculated for Dispatch and to save Confusion: another Officer of like Character, must go on with the first Embarkation to Christiana, to superintend the Debarkation; with this Officer some Troops must go down to the place of Debarkation, to assist in unloadg, forwardg the Stores, &c.

You will please to use every Exertion for dispatch in your Movement, as not a Moments Time is to be lost.

P.S. Inclosed is a List of Craft sent up.⁶² The Topsail Vessels will not be sent, and the Wood Craft will be wanted for other Purposes from here. Send Colo Gouvion to me as soon as possible; let him come prepared to go directly to Virginia.

At "1/2 past 5 pm", Lincoln acknowledges receipt of Washington's letter and informs the Commander in Chief that

"we have put and are putting on board the vessels the ordnance ordnance stores &c - I shall send in the same vessels the Corps of Artillery, Corps of Sappers & Miners, and also Colo Hazen's Regt. By sending Genl Hazen's Regiment suppose will be unnecessary to send the hundred men you mention I thought it was best to send whole corps and not a detachment on ye former mode would fully comply with the spirit of your order. The vessels I expect

⁶² The list was probably Col. Samuel Miles's "List of water craft engaged at Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1781." This shows altogether 31 craft: 4 wood flats, 4 schooners, and 23 sloops. The estimated total carrying capacity of these was 4,150 men. This list is in the Washington Papers as well.

will leave this at about 7 oClock so as to be down early in the morning. I have under (illeg.) to wait on your Excellency's further orders.

The Light troops the Jersey Brigade & Col van Schaick's Regt will leave this in the morning.

As there are so many empty wagons I think the Troops, with their aid, will march with ease and dispatch this idea & the necessity the French will have for ye vessels has induced me to send none by water saving the invalids and those before mentioned.

I shall obtain one vessel to move such of the stores as are in our rear with Col Coartland and may not be exposed to rain - the other stores and the troops can go in ye same boats they have with them. Their waggons will be made light & sent round.

The moment I have made the necessary arrangements I will follow ye troops & wait on your Excellency in Philadelphia.

Later that day Lincoln receives a second letter from Washington, again dated Philadelphia, 31 August 1781.

Sir:

Since my Letter of this Morng, upon Consultation with Count Rochambeau, I find that he is inclined to have the French Troops march by Land from Trenton to Head of Elk, which will give a larger proportion of Craft for the American Baggage and Troops. You will therefore notwithstanding my preceeding Letter, after alotg a Sufficiency for the French Baggage &c. they request first put on Board such Heavy Stores and Baggage, Cloathg Tools Garrison Carriages &c. &c. as Colo Lamb and you shall think proper, and then Embark the Troops on Board the Water Craft and let them fall down the River to Christiana Bridge as soon as possible, reserving only such Number as will be necessary to cross by Land with the Waggons and Baggage that may go on in that Way; and the 100 Men to be sent to this Place.

General Knox has just mentioned that the Artillery Stores and the Pieces may best go on by land without any

Change, as they are lightly loaded for the Purpose of easy Carriage and their Shiftg may occasion much Delay; you will think on that Circumstance.

In fordg the Waggon and Carriages you will be particularly Careful that no Accident happens by miscrossing, as that will create much Trouble and Delay.

The Q M G will direct what Number of spare Waggon, open as well as Covered ones, will be wanted to be taken along to the Christiana Bridge, for the purpose of transportation from that Place to the Head of Elk: these will also go on by Land. I am &c.

The Q M G will see the Boats comg on with Colo Cortlands Regt. put in Re, as soon as they Arrive; these will take down the Regt. which accompanies them and perhaps some other Matters.

Desire our A Q M at Trenton to give every Assistance in his Power to the French Troops, in crossing the Ferry, or in any other Circumstance in which they may need his Aid.

"In 1781, there were two or perhaps three ferries over the Delaware in close proximity to the town, - Trenton Ferry," the Old Ferry operated by Hugh Rankin in 1781" at the foot of Ferry Street, and a ferry, known as "Beatty's" with a landing somewhat west of the Calhoun Street Bridge. There was also a ferry about a mile down the river from Trenton Ferry known as the "New Ferry" which was conducted by Elijah Bond from his own property.⁶³ The ferry as well as the landing were owned by William Trent, who on 7 June 1781, had charged the Continent £ 40.16.2 or 108 74/90 Spanish Milled dollars "for the Priveledge of the Landing at his ferry seven months and 13 days from 25 Octr to 7 June 1781."⁶⁴

The ferrying of troops was also paid for with certificates. On 18 April 1782, Daniel Smith received an interest-bearing certificate, payable on 1 May, for £15.0.7 or 40 7/90 Spanish Milled Dollars For "one fourth of an

⁶³ Hamilton Schuyler, *A History of Trenton, 1679 to 1929* (Trenton, 1929), Chapter 2: Trenton and Trentonians in the Revolutionary Era. Quoted from the internet edition available at <http://trentonhistory.org/Exp/His/revolutionary.htm>

⁶⁴ The certificate for the landing account, No. 8170, is 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.

Acct for ferrying the Army across the river Delaware in the Month of September 1781." ⁶⁵

Route:

The troops of the Center Column follow the route of the Right Column but camp between the Delaware River and the troops of the Right Column.

Thomas Grafton of the Artificers Company writes:

"Ye 31st marched to Princeton, Madenhead [i.e., Lawrenceville] Trenton and crossed over the Delaware River into Pensilvania State and encamped." For 1 September 1781, Grafton recorded however: "Returned to the east side of the River again and encamped till ye 3d then marched over the River 4 miles and encamped. Ye 4th marched to Bristol Frankford and encamped."

Grafton was in the Company of Artificers and his services were still needed in Trenton."⁶⁶

On 31 December 1782, Thomas Ashmore received an interest-bearing certificate from DQMG John Neilson for "10 days hire of his vessel transporting the Artificers of the Army and their Tools & baggage onto Christiane Bridge."⁶⁷

Resources Identified:

Resource 101:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 31 August to 1 September 1781 "close by" the Lower Ferry
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

The Lower Ferry was at the end of what was called Ferry Street, today's South Warren Street; the Continental Army Camp was most likely along Broad Street on the same site where the French army would camp over the next few days.

⁶⁵ The certificate for the ferrying, No. 8082, is 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.

⁶⁶ He crossed the Delaware on one of the boats that the 2nd New York had brought from Stony Point.

⁶⁷ The certificate, No. 2270, is 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.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry marches from its camp at Somerset Court House to its camp at Princeton.

The Second Brigade marches from its camp at Bullion's Tavern to its camp at Somerset Court House.

Manuscript References:

Following the same route that the Continental Army had taken a few days earlier, French forces on 31 August march south along the banks of the Millstone River from Somerset Court House. The First Brigade crosses the Millstone at Griggstown and continues to march south to Rocky Hill, where it takes Mount Lucas Road into Princeton and Camp 24 along Nassau Street (NJ-SR 206).

Route:

Following NJ-CR 533 past the Van Doren House through Blackwell Mills, today's Hillsborough, they cross the Millstone River at the intersection with NJ-CR 632 just south of Griggstown and follow Rocky Hill Road/Canal Road to Rocky Hill. Here they cross the river again on Washington Street (NJ-CR 518), and turn left on Princeton Avenue and again left on Mt. Lucas Road toward the crossing to Kingston on the other side of the river, where the left wing of the Continental Army had crossed the river. In Princeton, Mt. Lucas Road becomes Witherspoon Street, which took them right to Nassau Hall. Here they turn right onto NJ-SR 27 South/Nassau Street/Princeton-Kingston Turnpike to their campsite near the Stockton House.

Resources Identified:

Resource 87:

Marker at crossing of Millstone River at Griggstown
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 419, and Appendix D, Maps 13,15

Resource 88:

Black Horse Tavern
1101 Canal Road

Griggstown (Franklin Township), NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 421, and Appendix D, Map 15

The "Black Horse Tavern" is identified on French road descriptions.

Resource 89:

Red Horse Tavern
1135 Canal Road
Griggstown (Franklin Township), NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 310, Appendix C, p. 421, and Appendix D, Map 15

The "Red Horse Tavern" is identified on French road descriptions.

Resource 90:

Nassau Hall
Nassau Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 422, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 91:

French Campsite of 31 August/1 September 1781
along Stockton Street across from Morven
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 423, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 92:

Morven (Richard Stockton House)
55 Stockton Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 424, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 93:

Markers in Monument Drive
Off of Stockton Street
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 425, and Appendix D, Map 16

Resource 94:

Thomas Clarke House - Princeton Battlefield

500 Mercer Road
Princeton, NJ 08540
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 426, and Appendix D, Map 16

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march from their camp at the Half Moon Tavern to a camp past Basking Ridge.

Manuscript Resources:

From "Camp Half Moon three miles from Morristown," Tallmadge on Friday, 31 August "struck Camp at five O'Clock and proceeded on to Backinridge there halted from then six miles further and Encamped."

Route, Rear-Guard:

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces.

Resources Identified:

Resource 105:

Campsite of the Second New York Regiment from 31 August to
1 September 1781

six miles south of Basking Ridge about half-way between
Liberty Corners and Martinsville

The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 435; no map since location unknown.

8.14: 1 September 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Water Route to Philadelphia, Route Number 11):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb and his troops embark on boats for Philadelphia.

Manuscript References:

By "12 oClock A.M." Colonel Lamb is in Philadelphia and orders

"Returns to be made immediately of the Number of Men in each Company expected to do duty in the Field, that Shoes may be drawn for them."

Captain James Duncan of Moses Hazen's regiment, which had accompanied the artillery and stores from Springfield/Chatham, records from Trenton that "the artillery stores with our regiment and some other troops embarked" are ordered to sail to Christiana Bridge in Delaware.⁶⁸

On 1 September, Pickering informs his DQM Donaldson Yeates and ADQM Peter Wade, Yeates' assistant in Delaware, from Philadelphia that

*"some American troops will embark at Trenton today, & arrive at Christiana Bridge as soon as the wind & tide will admit. I must request you to make such preparations as shall be necessary for their reception. Besides the troops there will be several hundred tons of Stores to be landed & transported from the Bridge to the Head of Elk."*⁶⁹

Sergeant-Major Hawkins describes this day's march thus:

"At daybreak (Sept. 1.) set sail, passed Bordentown, Bristol and Burlington and about noon appeared before the City of Philadelphia. Where we dropped Anchor in the Stream."

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

Resource 108:

⁶⁸ W. F. Boogher, "James Duncan's Diary of the Siege of Yorktown." *Magazine of History* Vol. 2 (1905), pp. 407-416, p. 408. The diary contains no information on the route through New Jersey.

⁶⁹ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, reel 26, vol. 82. In his letter to Yeates, Pickering estimated the stores to weigh 700 tons. At the outset of the march in June 1781, Wadsworth had insisted on six oxen per wagon. At a rate of five tons per wagon, these stores would have filled at least 140 wagons drawn by 840 draft animals.

Embarkation site for Continental Army forces in Trenton
Trenton Landing
between modern Landing and Lalor Streets, (vicinity of Route 29 Tunnel)
Trenton, NJ 08648
Appendix B, p. 317, Appendix C, p. 436, and Appendix D, Map 17

During the 1780s, Trenton Landing (Lamberton) between modern Landing and Lalor Streets was the location of several wharves and was the most likely place of embarkation for the Continental Army. Once on board the vessels, the detachments did not land again until they had reached Philadelphia.

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his brigade embark for/depart for Philadelphia.

Manuscript References:

At "7 oClock" [a.m.] Lincoln writes to Washington from Trenton that

"I was the last evening honored with your Excellencys favor of yesterday afternoon on the receipt of it I applied to Colo Dearborn DQM General what number of Vessels were left and what number it would probably take to transport the French Artillery baggage Sick &c. on his report I found it impossible to take vessels enough for an other corps and leave a sufficcincy for the French. I therefore attended to the regulation which had been made prior to my receiving your letter. - the troops are all over & the rear of the waggons are just now passing we shall halt to night thirteen miles from Philadelphia - I will wait on your Excellency at 7 oClock tomorrow morning.

I will leave orders for Colo Court[landt] to send his waggons round light and shall bark (?) his regiment in the boats he has with him. one vessel will be [illeg.] to take in such flour as he may have with him and which must not be exposed to the rain.

The Dukes legion is just now arrived.⁷⁰

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

⁷⁰ Lincoln Papers, reel 6.

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of French infantry marches from its camp at Princeton to its camp at Trenton.

The Second Brigade marches from its camp at Somerset Court House to its camp at Princeton.

Manuscript References:

The troops of the First Brigade march into Trenton and encamp.

Route:

Following NJ-SR 206 on 1 September through Lawrenceville, the troops of the First Brigade reach Trenton on Brunswick Avenue, their last camp in New Jersey, Camp 25, along Broad Street on the banks of the Delaware River.⁷¹

Resources Identified:

Resource 95:

Trenton Victory Monument
Intersection of North Warren and North Broad Streets
Trenton, NJ 08600
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 427, and Appendix D, Map 17

Resource 96:

William Trent House (Bloomsberry Court) and Museum
15 Market Street
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 428, and Appendix D, Map 17

Resource 97:

Old Barracks Museum

⁷¹ The route has been traced by Henri A. de Bonneval, *American Revolution Bicentennial Celebration. March of the French Army Across the State of New Jersey* (typescript, n.p., n.d., 1976?). There are also two itineraries of the march in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, pp. 52-8 and 60-7.

Barrack Street
Trenton, NJ 08608
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 429, and Appendix D, Map 17

Resource 98:

French Campsite of 1/2 September 1781
along Broad Street to the east of the Assunpink
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 311, Appendix C, p. 430, and Appendix D, Map 17

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp seven miles south of Somerset Court House/Millstone in the vicinity of Rocky Hill

Manuscript Resources:

For Tallmadge at "Camp Sumersset County" on 1 September,

"the Genl. Beat an hour previous to day light, struck Camp and proceeded on to Sumersset Court house, halted untill three OClock P.M. the Continued our march about Seven miles and Encamped."

On 1 September, Lincoln wrote to "Colo Courtland" from Trenton:

"As soon as possible after your arrival you will embark such Stores as may not be exposed to ye went (sic) on board of a vessel which will be given you by the QM. Some other Stores you will put into the boats now under your care in these and in the Vessel your regiment may with ease go to Christian bridge - your waggons under a proper Escort you will send by land let them go as light as possible and with dispatch."⁷²

Route, Rear-Guard:

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces.

Resources Identified:

Resource 106:

⁷² Lincoln Papers, reel 6.

Campsite of the Second New York Regiment on 1/2 September 1781
Seven miles south of Somerset Court House/Millstone in the vicinity of
Rocky Hill.
Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 435; Map 15

8.15: 2 September 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Water Route to Philadelphia, Route Number 11):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry leaves its camp in Trenton and crosses the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

The Second Brigade of French forces marches from its camp at Princeton to its camp at Trenton.

Manuscript References:

The First Brigade of the French Army crosses the Delaware just as the Second Brigade arrives in Trenton.

Route:

From their campsite in Trenton the First Division of the French army marches to the ferry site (Resource 103) and crosses the Delaware.

Resources Identified:

Resource 101:

Campsite of the Continental Army from 31 August to 1 September 1781
Ferry Site for crossing the Delaware River
"close by" the Lower Ferry
Trenton, NJ 08611
Appendix B, p. 313, Appendix C, p. 432, and Appendix D, Map 17

During the late eighteenth century, there were three and possibly four ferry locations on the Delaware in Trenton and Lambertton, but the two main ferries in use in 1781-1783 were the Trenton Ferry and Bond's (or Lower) Ferry operated by Hugh Runyon in the 1780s. American and French forces camped close to, and made use of, this ferry located at the end of Ferry Street as well as the near-by ford to cross the river.

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):**Summary:**

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp between Lawrenceville and Trenton.

Manuscript Resources:

On 2 September, Tallmadge recorded that

"at four O'clock struck Camp loaded the Bagage and proceeded on to prince Town, and halted to take breakefast, the Continued our march too Maidenhead town [i.e., Lawrenceville] and Encamped about Sunset."

Route, Rear-Guard:

The Rear-Guard follows the same route as French forces to Trenton.

Resources Identified:

Resource 107:

Campsite of the Second New York Regiment of 2/3 September
between Lawrenceville and Trenton
See Appendix B, p. 316, Appendix C, p. 436; Map 17

8.16: 3 September 1781

Right (westernmost) Column (Water Route to Philadelphia, Route Number 11):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Center Column (Route Number 7):

Summary:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Route:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No American forces remain in New Jersey

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The Second Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry leaves its camp in Trenton and crosses the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

Manuscript References:

By early morning on 3 September 1781, the last of the French forces have left New Jersey.

Route:

No French forces remain in New Jersey

Resources Identified:

No French forces remain in New Jersey

Rear-Guard (Route Number 10):

Summary:

The American rear-guard are the last troops to cross the Delaware on 3 September 1781.

Manuscript Resources:

Samuel Tallmadge records that on 3 September,

"the Genl beat at day break, Struck Camp and proceeded on to trentown, from thence to the Landing where we arrived about Eight OClock, there put our boates in the delaware river put the baggage on board, and Imbarked about one OClock and proceeded down the river halted at Brister, Burlington Laying near parrallel to Brister situated on the East side in the Jerseys Brister in Pennsylvania - proceeded on about Six miles below brister and Encamped amount 11 OClock at night."

Route, Rear-Guard:

Following the route taken by all preceding forces, the rear-guard marches directly to the Lower Ferry landing and sails to Philadelphia in the early afternoon.

The French wagon train has finished fording the Delaware and is encamped at the Red Lion Tavern in Pennsylvania.

On 4 September 1781, American DQMG John Neilson reports to QMG Timothy Pickering, his superior officer from Trenton, the conclusion of the

crossing operation. No allied forces designated to participate in the operation at Yorktown remain in New Jersey.

*"Sir, I have the pleasure to acquaint you that the duties required of the Department under my direction, with respect to the Movement of the Army, have been executed with all the dispatch and Success that could be expected from the Nature of the business. And I believe from what I could discover to the Satisfaction of the officers commanding the respective divisions. Fryday [i.e., 31 August] about noon the van of the Army under the Command of General Lincoln arrived here, and at 6 o'clock Saturday morning the whole of the remaining Troops and Teams had crossed the river, having precariously embarked the Artillery, Hazen's Regiment and heavy baggage on board the Shallops provided for the purpose. At ten o'clock on Saturday [i.e., 1 September] the first division of the French Army came in, which with the whole of their baggage were crossed by 7 o'clock Sunday morning; that day the 2d Division under the command of Count Viomenil arrived, and at Six O'clock Monday Morning they with all their baggage were on the Pennsylvani Shore. About this time [i.e., on 3 September] Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment together with the Boats, Quarter Master General's Stores, Clothiers Stores &c came into Town, Colonel Cortlandt's Regiment embarked in the Boats he had with him about two hours after; the Stores were embarked in the Vessels retained for that Purpose, and all the Teams crossed the river by two O'clock and the vessels with the stores sailed about four in the Afternoon. - A number of the Shallops were left by Genl Lincoln for transporting the Heavy Baggage of the French Army, which I informed them of on their arrival, but making any use of them observing to me they had Teams &c sufficient to carry all by land, upon which I immediately ordered all the Shallops except those retained by the Quarter Master & Clotheir Stores to Philadelphia, and to apply to Colonel Miles for further Instructions."*⁷³

⁷³ NARA Misc. Numbered Records M859, film 14, reel 80, frame 38.

Selected Correspondence of Edward Hand

#12

THE PAPERS OF
BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD HAND
ADJUTANT GENERAL OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY.

Brigadier General Edward Hand

Correspondence of Edward Hand, Vol. II (1779-
1784). (Excerpt: letters written in October,
1781)

- a. Siege of Yorktown, 1781 - Personal Narratives
- b. Personal Narratives - General Edward Hand

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EDWARD HAND, Correspondence,

to call a full Court Martial for the trial of ex-
cell. **Vol. II (1779-1784).** You are disappointed
to find it is to be in arrears at this critical
point. **Force Transcripts** in preparation which are
of great value to a great degree. The records
of the **Library of Congress.** are being prepared
for the next year.

I am
Dear Sir
Yours very truly
J. E. Hand

Library of Congress, MSS Div.
Edward Hand, Yeates Letters, 1775-1782, p. 262:39.

Jasper Yeates Esqr
Honored by) Lancaster
Col. Hartly)

Baltimore 8th Sept^r 1781

Dear Dr Yeates

When I left you yesterday I expected to go to the head of Elk, but as I left Lancaster late and rode slow, I could not reach it by day light, therefore thought it best to get into the road leading from Elk to this place, where I might hear what passed. This give me an opportunity of learning that the Genl intended proceeding on his journey at 3 o'clock this morning. I prepared myself and met him near Elk, and by his desire have accompanied him, on one of my Carriage horses, and despatched Martin to bring me another.

Count de Grace has taken his station in Chesepeak Bay, where he arrived the 26th ultimo. He has with him 28 sail of the Line including one 50. When joined by the R. Island Squadron the fleet will consist of 36 sail -- against 20. Lord Rhawdon is on board the French fleet -- he was taken on his passage to England. Unfortunately we have not Vessels to carry the whole of our Troops to the point of action from the head of Elk. This, if anything, by producing delay, will save Ld Cornwallis 3000 men from the fleet have landed and no doubt joined the Marquis before this time.

I beg you will apologise to Kitty for my not now writing particularly to her. I have nothing to say and am much streightened in time. My Love and Compliments to all in haste, Farewell Dr Yeates

Most affectionately yours

J. Yeates Esqr

Edwd Hand

Library of Congress, MSS Div.
Edward Hand, Yeates Letters, 1775-1782, p. 262:40

Jasper Yeates Esqr
Lancaster

Williamsburg 17th Sept. 1781.

Dear Yeates

I wrote you from Baltimore and committed it to the care of Col. Hartley. The 14th in the evening, I arrived here in company with the Genl. A universal joy appeared in the Country as we passed. The towns were illuminated, and as we generally entered them after the candles were lighted they had a very pleasing effect. Count de Grasse with 28 sail, of the Line arrived in the bay the 26th ult. having captured Ld Rawdon on his passage. He immediately disembarked 3000 men under the command of the Marquis de St. Simond who has joined the Marquis de la Fayette here. The 5th the British fleet appeared at the entrance of the bay. As the fleet from R. Island not then arrived, Count de Grasse immediately made sail with 22 sail of the line to attack them. However as the British fleet had the weather gauge, no more than 14 of the best sailing vessels could come up and engage. As the British declined the combat as much as possible, the manoeuvre had the desired effect on the side of the French, as Count de Barras arrived safe from R. Island in the mean time. On count de Grasse's return he took the Iris, formerly the Hancock, and the Richmond, frigates of 32 guns each, who had followed Count de Barras' fleet into the bay. Count de Rochambeau's Heavy artillery and all his siege apparatus are arrived with the R. Island fleet. They are now within 3 miles of this place. The Romulus and three frigates with 15 3 masted vessels passed the mouth of Potomac on Thursday last on their way to Baltimore to take in the second division of our troops. The first I doubt not is now in James river with our heavy artillery and Stores. The Genl is this day gone with Count de

[Rochambeau]

Library of Congress, MSS Div.
Edward Hand, Yeates Letters, 1775-1782, p. 262:40

Rochambeau on board Count de Grasse's fleet to settle the plan of operations. Since the return of the fleet into the bay, the British have reappeared, but the Count having accomplished his desire by his junction with the R. Island fleet did not attempt to follow them. I hope he may adhere to that resolution. If he does not leave us, and we can get provisions, our work is sure. Cornwallis employs his army night and day in fortifying York and Gloster. He has drawn up his ships to the shore moored them head and stern, landed their guns, and cut up their sails for tents, and has given orders to burn or sink them on the first attack. The moment our troops are landed we will invest him closely with at least double his number of regular troops. At present our advanced post is seven miles from York. Inclosed is a letter for Kitty. I beg my duty love and compliments to all.

Expect to hear often from me and
believe me to be

Dr Yeates
very affectionately yours

Edwd Hand

Jasper Yeates Esq