

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCH THROUGH PENNSYLVANIA

30 August 1781

The Land Route of Generals George Washington and the comte de Rochambeau to Philadelphia in September 1781 (Route Number 1):

In his diary, 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.³⁹²

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. 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

³⁹² The diary entry is quoted from the internet edition available from the Library of Congress web-site <http://memory.loc.gov> .

Upon arrival Washington and Rochambeau were "received by crowds of people with shouts and acclamations". Trumbull, "Occurrences," p. 332. See also Acomb, *Closen*, p. 116. The diary contains no entries for the days spent in Philadelphia and only resumes on 5 September. The diary entry is quoted from the internet edition available from the Library of Congress web-site <http://memory.loc.gov> .

Rochambeau and his officers lodged with the *chevalier* de La Luzerne. In the evening they dined with Robert Morris.³⁹³

Route:

Departing from their lodgings at the William Trent House in Trenton, Washington, Rochambeau and their entourages of possibly well over 100 officers and men, their servants and their horses, rode to the Lower Ferry at the end of Ferry Street (today cut off by NJ-SR 29). Here they crossed the Delaware River to what is today the intersection of Delmorr Ave South and East Philadelphia Avenue, which becomes West Philadelphia Avenue on the other side of Washington Street and then Bristol Pike on the other side of Post Road.

At the end of Bristol Pike they turned right onto New Tyburn Road (signed to Fallsington), and very soon took the second right onto Old Bristol Pike (PA-SR 13 South, where the railroad seems to have severed the original King's Highway necessitating this leap over the tracks). Next they turned right on Mill Creek Road (again the railroad seems to have forced a switch from the original King's Highway), and rode straight for a short time until the Bristol Bypass (becomes one-way against you). The "Mill Creek" could be the original course of Martin's Creek before the sand dredging radically changed the waterways here.

Under the bridge they turned left onto Fallsington - Tullytown Road which first parallels, then joins, modern PA-SR 13. Almost immediately they turned left onto Fallsington Avenue, which connects back to Old Bristol Pike, turned a sharp left onto Main Street and headed northeast to Martin's Creek (shown on the Berthier maps and identified on the Colles map as "Marrin's or Cook's Run"). Here the road split with Bordentown Road leading to the right and Main Street to the left ("No Outlet" which is the old King's Highway severed by the tracks).³⁹⁴

Today you need to turn around and head back southwest down Main Street to Old Bristol Pike, which becomes North Radcliffe Street, and continue on Radcliffe into Bristol, where the road runs on the embankment looking over the Delaware River until you are forced right onto Market Street (one way). Mill Street, which is the ancient route, is one block farther south. On the northeast corner of Mill and Radcliffe streets stands the King George II Inn.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 116.

³⁹⁴ Christopher Colles, *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America 1789* Walter W. Ristow, ed. (Cambridge, MA, 1961), map 45, p. 159.

³⁹⁵ This road description is taken almost verbatim from the notes taken by Mr. Torben Jenk during a route reconnaissance conducted by Mr. Jenk, Ms. Ursula Reed and myself in August 2006. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Jenk for sharing his enthusiasm for, and deep knowledge of, colonial and revolutionary Philadelphia history with me.

As they continued along Mill Street, they bore to the left onto Otter Street, under the railroad tracks and turn left onto PA-SR 13 South.³⁹⁶

From there Washington and Rochambeau continued south on Bristol Pike/PA-SR 13. As they headed downhill towards Poquessing Creek they passed the Red Lion Inn.³⁹⁷ Today this is an empty lot on the right just before Red Lion Road. Once they had crossed the Poquessing Creek, Bristol Pike became Frankford Avenue. They continued down Frankford Avenue and crossed the Pennypack Creek.³⁹⁸ Next they rode through what is today Holmesburg, Mayfair, Tacony, and Frankford, bore left onto Frankford Avenue and continued south (Kensington Avenue bears right staying under the train tracks). As they continued through Port Richmond, Kensington and Fishtown, they crossed Girard Avenue and passed under I-95, to Richmond Street.³⁹⁹ Here they turned right on Richmond Street to the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Front Street. In 1781, they would have crossed the Cohocksink Creek on a stone bridge that linked to a causeway which is now buried in a sewer. Here they followed the route of the Cohocksink on the winding roads to Second Street where they turned left and down Second Street.⁴⁰⁰ Now their path took them past the "British Barracks" below Green/Spring Garden Street. Next they crossed the former path of Peg's Run (today's Willow Street just north of Callowhill, but then a shallow creek), and on to Vine Street, the Colonial northern boundary of Philadelphia. From there it was on to Market Street and Constitution Hall where they paid their compliments to Congress.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁶ At this point the French and American troops who forded the Neshaminy continued straight on what is today Newport Road. For a discussion of routes and fords across the Neshaminy see below.

³⁹⁷ The Red Lion Inn is shown in a photo in John T. Faris, *Old Roads Out Of Philadelphia*, (Lippincott, 1917), opposite p. 301. Damaged by fire, the Red Lion Inn was demolished in 1996.

³⁹⁸ The bridge that is still crossed today on Bristol Pike was built in 1697. There are no remnants of the Holmes Tavern shown to the southeast of the bridge on Colles' *Survey*, map 47, p. 163, and mentioned in the itinerary for the march in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 74.

³⁹⁹ This is the site of Point Pleasant and Redoubt #1 built by General Howe in 1777 and occupied by Simcoe's Queen's Rangers.

⁴⁰⁰ Here the French troops stopped in 1781 to freshen up before they marched into Philadelphia to parade before Congress.

⁴⁰¹ Route 1, the route of the generals to Philadelphia, is identical with Route 2, the Land Route of the Continental Army, and Route 5, the Route of the French Forces, to Philadelphia.

A great guide to Philadelphia's French connection and to sites and resources beyond those presented in this narrowly focused study is Lynn H. Miller, and Annette H. Emgarth, *French Philadelphia. The French Cultural and Historical Presence in the Delaware Valley* (Wayne, 2006).

Resources identified:

Resource 3: Lower Ferry (or Trenton Ferry) site across the
Delaware River
Morrisville, PA 19067

The Lower Ferry crossing was downstream from the present-day crossing of Alt Route 1, the "Trenton Makes, The World Takes" and Route 1 bridges, but just a bit upstream of the current stone Pennsylvania Railroad bridge.

"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 at the foot of Ferry Street and a ferry known as "Beatty's" with a landing somewhat west of the Calhoun Street Bridge. Continental Ferry, also known as the "New Ferry, was conducted by Elijah Bond from his own property and crossed about a mile down the river from Trenton Ferry at Trenton Landing, i.e., from a point below the present Riverview Cemetery/Lamberton Road.⁴⁰²

The Lower 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."⁴⁰³

The ferrying of Continental Army troops in early September 1781 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 Acct for ferrying the Army across the river Delaware in the Month of September 1781."⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰² Hamilton Schuyler, *A History of Trenton, 1679 to 1929* (Trenton, 1929), Chapter 2: "Trenton and Trentonians in the Revolutionary Era" at: <http://trentonhistory.org/Exp/His/revolutionary.htm>. The Lower Ferry remained in service until the first bridge across the Delaware was built in 1806. A list of the eight ferries across the Delaware from the ferry at "Kirbright's Farm" two miles above Trenton to "Coreyel's Ferry" almost 13 miles upstream is given in a letter by Benjamn Eyre to Brigadier General Thomas Mifflin of 17 June 1777. *Pennsylvania Archives, First Series*, (Harrisburg, 1852), vol. 5, p. 441. See also list of fording places *ibid.*, p. 375.

⁴⁰³ 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.

⁴⁰⁴ 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.

Resource 4: Eighteenth-century house on the Pennsylvania site of the Delaware River
211 Delmorr Avenue South
(intersection with East Philadelphia Avenue)
Morrisville, PA 19067

This property stands at/near the Pennsylvania terminus of the Lower Ferry. It may be the building identified as a landmark on the Berthier map of the crossing.⁴⁰⁵

Resource 5: Martin's Creek, PA 18063

Martins Creek is an unincorporated town located along Martins Creek in Lower Mt. Bethel Township in Northampton County.

On 3 September 1781, Thomas Graton and the company of artificers who formed the rear-guard of American forces camped in the vicinity of Martin's Creek on their way to Philadelphia.

Resource 6: King George II Inn
102 Radcliffe Street (corner of Radcliffe and Mill Streets)
Bristol, PA 19007

Originally established by Samuel Clift in 1681 and known as the Ferry House, the King George II Inn is the oldest continuously operating inn in the country. In 1684, the property was leased by Michael Hurst and, in 1705, opened as an inn by Thomas Brook. After a damaging fire, the inn was purchased in 1735 by Charles Besonett who rebuilt it on a much larger scale using Clift's Ferry House as the base for this new site. The inn was named the King George II Inn in 1765 and licensed as a hotel in 1768

When General Washington approached Bucks County, the image of King George II was removed and replaced with a likeness of the General. Shortly thereafter, Besonett renamed the King George II Inn "The Fountain House." During the 1800's, the King George II Inn catered to wealthy travelers drawn to Bristol, a popular resort and spa, to bathe and drink from the nearby "Bristol Springs".

In 1892, The Fountain House became "Ye Olde Delaware House" but the name King George II Inn, was restored in the mid 1900's.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁵ Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, map 70.

⁴⁰⁶ Quoted from <http://www.brtstage.com/>

Resource 7: Neshaminy Creek Ferry House
1031 Totem Avenue
Bristol, PA 19007

Immediately to the right on Totem Road following the crossing of the Neshaminy Creek, the first house, #1031, is most likely the ferry house in the foreground of the 1777 drawing "Ferry 3 miles below Bristol" by Charles Willson Peale.⁴⁰⁷

This property is, however, listed as the "Ford Inn", built c. 1800, in the PHMC Cultural Resources Database.

Resource 8: Red Lion Inn Site
Bristol Pike at the Crossing of the Poquessing Creek
Bristol, PA 19007

The Red Lion Inn was an important tavern and stop-over throughout its existence. There is an old photograph of the inn in John T. Faris, *Old Roads Out Of Philadelphia*, (Lippincott, 1917), opposite page 301.

While the American campsite of 1/2 September may have been near the Inn, the French campsites of 2/3 and 3/4 September 1781, were on the hill on either side of the road ahead, which changes its name from Bristol Pike to Frankford Avenue on the other side of Poquessing Creek.

Resource 9: Bridge across Pennypack Creek
constitutes part of Frankford Avenue
Frankford, PA 19124

Built in 1697 as part of the King's Highway, this is one of the oldest bridges in the nation that is still in use.

Resource 10: Independence Hall
Chestnut Street between 5th and 6th Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Both the Continental Army and the French army paraded before the Continental Congress on 3 and 4 September 1781.

⁴⁰⁷ The original Peale drawing is in the collections of the Free Library of Philadelphia; a print can be found in Martin P. Snyder, *City of Independence, Views of Philadelphia before 1800*, (Praeger, 1975), page 281, figure 193.

Constructed between 1732/56 as the State House of the Province of Pennsylvania, this was the meeting place for the Second Continental Congress from 1775 to 1783, except for the winter of 1777/78 when Philadelphia was occupied by the British Army. It was in the Assembly Room of this building that George Washington was appointed commander in chief of the Continental Army in 1775, and that the Declaration of Independence was adopted on 4 July 1776. In this room the design of the American flag was agreed upon in 1777, the Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1781 and the Constitution was drafted in 1787.⁴⁰⁸

Independence National Historic Park was established on 28 June 1948, it received World Heritage Designation on 24 October 1979.

Resource 11: Site of the home of Robert Morris
190 High Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Robert Morris' home provided lodging for General Washington, from Thursday, 30 August to Monday, 5 September 1781.

Built in 1767 for Mary Lawrence Masters, it had been the home of the Penn family until 1775. French Consul John Holker rented the house in late 1779, but on 2 January 1780, it had a major fire. Robert Morris contracted to buy the fire-damaged building in 1781. Morris had the house rebuilt in 1781, and had just moved into it in August when he received Washington and Rochambeau there.

The mansion was demolished in 1832. It was located on what is now the 500 block of Market Street, near the site of the current Liberty Bell Pavilion.⁴⁰⁹

Resource 12: Site of Thomas Graeme Building
Chestnut Street (between 6th and 7th Street)
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Luzerne's home was originally built as the residence of Joshua Carpenter. Upon the death of Dr. Thomas Graeme in 1772, it became the property of Colonel John Dickinson, and then of General Philemon Dickinson before it became the residence of French minister Conrad-Alexander Gérard in 1779, and the of his successor, the *chevalier* de

⁴⁰⁸ Information on National Parks, National Historic Landmarks, and National Register of Historic Places sites is taken, usually more or less verbatim, from either the websites of these parks, the NHL website <http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/> or <http://www.nationalregisterofhistoricplaces.com/>

⁴⁰⁹ Quoted and/or adapted from <http://www.ushistory.org/presidentshouse/plans/pmhb/ph1.htm>

Luzerne in 1780. It was torn down in April 1826. On the evening of 1 September, Luzerne gave a grand dinner at his home.

During his stay in Philadelphia, Rochambeau stayed with the French minister, the *chevalier* de la Luzerne, "where M. de Rochambeau and his staff were housed like princes."⁴¹⁰

It was torn down in April 1826.

Resource 13: City Tavern
138 South Second Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Built in 1773, the three-story tavern was the centerpiece of Philadelphia society when it opened in December and the tavern of choice for the members of the First Continental Congress meeting in near-by Carpenter's Hall in 1774, and of the Second Continental Congress meeting in Independence Hall in 1775 and 1776. It was here where John Adams, who called it "the most genteel tavern in America", first met George Washington, where Benjamin Franklin, Peyton Randolph and Thomas Jefferson finished their discussions after Congress had adjourned, and where Paul Revere and Benedict Arnold relaxed from their exertions. And it was here that the first Independence Day celebration was held on 4 July 1777. Six years later, on 4 October 1783, the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati was founded in the City Tavern by officers of the Continental Army who had fought together in the War of Independence, and in 1787, the Constitutional Convention held its final banquet there.

Torn down in 1854, it was rebuilt and re-opened as a historically accurate replica of the original tavern in time for the Bicentennial in 1975.

During his conference with Rochambeau in July 1782, Washington frequented the City Tavern as well. His expense account for July 1782, which runs from 15 July to 24 July, shows three dinners on 21 July; five breakfasts on 23 July; two breakfasts on 24 July, and four "gentleman's breakfasts" this same day at a cost of fifteen shillings.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 116.

⁴¹¹ ⁴¹¹ The expense account is part of the Washington papers in the Library of Congress available on the internet at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

31 August 1781

Continental Army (Advance Column):

Summary:

Colonel Lamb and his troops depart from Princeton for Trenton.⁴¹²

Manuscript References:

Sergeant-Major Hawkins of Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment, who marched with Colonel Lamb's column, 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.

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 &

⁴¹² Continental Army forces designated as "Advance Column" in this report had formed the "Right Column" of Washington's army on the march from Chatham via Bound Brook to Princeton and Trenton. On 28 August, Washington had told General Benjamin Lincoln that it would consist of Lamb's "artillery, Boats, Baggage, and Stores of every kind to be escorted by the Corps of Sappers and Miners." For a day-by-day description of the American and French marches through New Jersey see "CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCHES THROUGH NEW JERSEY IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1781" in my *Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of New Jersey, 1781-1783. A Historical and Architectural Survey* (Trenton, 2006), available on the New Jersey Historic Trust's web site at www.njht.org/dca/njht/publ/.

The progress of Lamb's column can be traced in *Orderly Book: Colonel John Lamb's Second Regiment, Continental Artillery, Virginia*. 26 June – 30 December 1781. 85 pages, Library of Congress. There is no entry for 2 September. It also contains a gap between 4 September and 24 September, when it commences at Burwell's Ferry on the James River.

*Horses went by Land. Our Regt was among those that first embarked.*⁴¹³

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.*⁴¹⁴

There are a total of 31 vessels in this small flotilla that will anchor in Philadelphia a few days later. On 27 August, Washington had written to Samuel Miles, DQM in Philadelphia from his headquarters at Chatham

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

⁴¹³ *Journal of Sergeant-Major John H. Hawkins, 1779-1781.* Manuscript Guide 273, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Hawkins' journal is not paginated.

Since the embarkation site about a mile down the river from Trenton Ferry near-day present Riverview Cemetery/Lamberton Road, is still in New Jersey it is not listed here.

⁴¹⁴ Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (1830; repr. Eastern Acorn Press, 1992) p. 222.

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.

The following day, Tuesday, 28 August 1781 the Executive Council in Philadelphia received DQMG Samuel Miles, who

laid before the Council information from His Excellency General Washington of his intention to move a great part of his army to the Southward, and ordering Col. Miles to procure by every means in his power suitable vessels for transporting the same from Trenton to Christiana Bridge; and he also informed the Council that the number of vessels now in port and under one hundred tons burthen will probably be wanted for that purpose.

Council President Joseph Reed immediately issued a proclamation with the order to "lay an embargo on all river craft and vessels of and under the burthen of one hundred tons." Reed, in essence, confiscated the vessels.⁴¹⁵

In response to this proclamation, Miles could inform Washington from Philadelphia on 29 August, that he

hope[d] to have between twenty and thirty sail of River Craft, which will carry on an Average One hundred men or perhaps some more, at Trenton by the 31st. and others shall follow as soon as possible.

⁴¹⁵ Pennsylvania Revolutionary Council Minute Book for Tuesday, 28 August 1781, pp. 371/72, RG 27, microfilm reel 691, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.

On 30 August, Miles sends Washington a list of water craft engaged at Philadelphia. It shows 31 craft all told: four wood flats, four schooners, and 23 sloops. Their estimated total carrying capacity was 4,150 men.⁴¹⁶

Thomas Graton of the Artificers Company, which also arrived in Princeton on 31 August, writes in his journal of the campaign:

*Ye 31st marched to Princeton, Madenhead [i.e., Lawrenceville] Trenton and crossed over the Delaware River into Pensilvania State and encamped.*⁴¹⁷

The Company of Artificers 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 non-commissioned officers, 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 and oxen, as well as how to make nails.⁴¹⁸

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."⁴¹⁹

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 Ferry Street (today cut off by NJ-SR 29) and its campsite along Broad Street in Trenton.

⁴¹⁶ Col. Samuel Miles's "List of water craft engaged at Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1781" is in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

⁴¹⁷ Thomas Graton of Massachusetts joined the Company of Artificers for a five-month enlistment term on 2 August 1781 and marched to Yorktown and back with the Continental Army. Short as it is, Graton's "book" is valuable as the only known primary source for the route of the artificers. It is enclosed in his pension application in the National Archives under the file number W 14824, 34 pp., 1 August 1767-29 September 1790, roll 1110, frames 302-325.

The exact location of the campsite is unknown but it was likely down-stream from the crossing along modern-day Delmor Avenue South.

⁴¹⁸ Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition reel 26, vol. 82. The idea that the officers of the company had to be carpenters must have been mind-boggling to the French aristocratic officers.

⁴¹⁹ 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.

In the evening a detachment of the Continental Army consisting of the Second Continental Artillery, Moses Hazen's Canadian (Congress' Own) Regiment and the Sappers and Miners embark and sail to Philadelphia where they arrive the following morning, 1 September 1781.

The artificers cross the Delaware and are the first Continental Army unit to encamp in Pennsylvania.

Resources identified:

Resource 14: Campsite of the Artificer Regiment
On the Pennsylvania side on the banks of the Delaware
Morrisville, PA 19067

The exact location of the campsite is unknown but was likely along the continuation of the ferry landing road (today's East Philadelphia Avenue, which no longer goes to the river's edge) and Delmorr Avenue.

Center Column:

Summary:

General Lincoln and his brigade depart from Princeton for Trenton.⁴²⁰

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

⁴²⁰ Continental Army forces designated as "Center Column" in this report had formed the "Center Column" of Washington's army on the march from Springfield via New Brunswick to Trenton. It consisted of the Light Infantry under Colonel Scammel, the combined New Jersey Regiment, the First New York Regiment, the Sappers and Miners and the Rhode Island Regiment, which had joined this column at Springfield from Colonel Lamb's column. For a day-by-day description of its advance through New Jersey see the "CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARCHES THROUGH NEW JERSEY IN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER 1781" of my *Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of New Jersey, 1781-1783. A Historical and Architectural Survey* (Trenton, 2006) available on the New Jersey Historic Trust's web site at www.njht.org/dca/njht/publ/.

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.

On 27 August, he repeats his instructions from Chatham:

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 established. Any Vessels which may be procured in Chesapeake 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.*⁴²¹

The American detachment will assemble in this neighbourhood to day. The French Army to morrow.

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.*⁴²²

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. ...

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, which the general had written in response to Miles' letter, from Philadelphia, dated 31 August 1781.

⁴²¹ The troops were eventually paid at Head of Elk. For an account of these events see Chapter 9.1: "Embarkation at Elkton and Sea Journey to Virginia" in this report.

⁴²² Timothy Pickering Papers Microfilm Edition, vol. 82.

D[ea]r 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 Waggon 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 Waggon 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.*⁴²³

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.*⁴²⁴ *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

⁴²³ On 29 August 1781, Washington had written to Simeon DeWitt from Brunswick
Sir:

Immediately upon receipt of this you will begin to Survey the road (if it has not been done already) to Princeton, thence (through Maiden head) to Trenton. thence to Philadelphia, thence to the head of Elk through Darby, Chester, Wilmington Christiana bridge.

At the head of Elk you will receive further orders. I need not observe to you the necessity of noting Towns, Villages and remarkable Houses and places but I must desire that you will give me the rough traces of your Survey as you proceed on as I have reasons for desiring to know this as soon as possible.

DeWitt's maps of the roads to Williamsburg are preserved in the collections of the New-York Historical Society.

⁴²⁴ The list was probably Col. Samuel Miles's "List of water craft engaged at Philadelphia, Aug. 30, 1781." It is in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress..

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 Mornng, 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.

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.

Rear-Guard:

Summary:

Colonel Van Cortlandt and the Second New York Regiment march to their next camp six miles south of Basking Ridge about half-way between Liberty Corners and Martinsville.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ On 21 August 1781, Washington recorded in his diary that "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

Manuscript Resources:

From "Camp Half Moon three miles from Morristown," Tallmadge on Friday, 31 August

*struck Camp at five OClock and proceeded on to Backinridge there halted from then six miles further and Encamped.*⁴²⁶

Route, Rear-Guard:

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

there." (Washington, *Diary*, p. 256.) Eventually the Second New York transported 34 boats to Head of Elk.

John Hudson, who was with the 2nd New York on 26 August when it began transporting the boats from Stony Point, New York, across New Jersey to Trenton, remembered them being "so large that it took a wagon and eight horses to draw them." Hudson reminiscences were printed in volume 3 of the weekly *Cist's Advertiser* of Cincinnati, Ohio, in five installments between 28 January and 22 April 1846. The quote is from the installment of 28 January 1846.

⁴²⁶ Almon W. Lauber, *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780. The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783 by Samuel Tallmadge and Others with Diaries of Samuel Tallmadge, 1780-1782 and John Barr, 1779-1782* (Albany, 1932), p. 759.

The Orderly Book contains gaps from 17 June 1781 to 24 September 1781, and from 10 October 1781 to 19 August 1782.

1 September 1781

Water Route to Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

Colonel John 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.*⁴²⁷

Captain James Duncan of Moses Hazen's regiment, which had accompanied the artillery and stores from Springfield and 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.⁴²⁸

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.*⁴²⁹

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*

⁴²⁷ There is no entry in the Orderly Book for 2 September 1781. The next entry is for 3 September.

⁴²⁸ W. F. Boogher, "James Duncan's Diary of the Siege of Yorktown." *Magazine of History* Vol. 2 (1905), pp. 407-416, p. 408. The "Rhode Island Regiment with ours was obliged to embark on board a number of flat-bottomed boats, which had been constructed at Albany and brought to this place. We set out on this arduous and very hazardous undertaking about Sept. 15." Ibid.

⁴²⁹ 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 (6x140=) 840 draft oxen.

City of Philadelphia. Where we dropped Anchor in the Stream. A few of our Reg^t. went on Shore; I among the rest. I spent almost the Remainder of the Day in visiting my Friends and acquaintances. Having pretty well satisfied myself among them and procured a Number of News papers, &c from my Typographical Brethren, I thot I would close the Scene of the Day in getting my Depreciation Note. [one of the auditors, a Mr. Nicholson] was gone in the Country. I then waited on W^m. Stevenson, the other Auditor, whom I found somewhat drunken then myself [sic]. He did however with much ado tell me that he had none of the Books, Notes &c [...] and he was sorry he could not help.⁴³⁰ Just at dark went on board the Shallop - and about 3 c'Clock the next Morning (Sept. 2) [sic] she set sail.

Route:

American forces follow the course of the Delaware River.

The embarkation site for Continental Army forces lies in Trenton, New Jersey, between modern Landing and Lalor Streets in the vicinity of the Route 29 Tunnel. During the 1780s, Trenton Landing, i.e. Lamberton, was the location of several wharves and the most likely place of embarkation for the Continental Army. Once on board the vessels, these detachments did not land again until they had reached Philadelphia.

Resources identified:

Resource 15: Landing site of Continental Army troops in Philadelphia
Philadelphia, PA 19107

The landing site of these Continental Army troops was along Front Street.

Continental Army (Route Number 2):

Summary:

General Lincoln and his brigade depart for Philadelphia.

⁴³⁰ The pages in Hawkins' "Vade Mecum", as he calls it, are not numbered and the entries are not organized sequentially in chronological order but rather it almost seems that Hawkins wrote his entries wherever he happened to open his book. The page where the Yorktown Campaign continues is headed by the entry "N. 28. Hawkins's Vade Mecum." From Stevenson went to see of Joseph Reed, president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, to ask for his pay but was equally unsuccessful.

Manuscript References:

Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Regiment of the Connecticut Line doing duty with Scammel's Light Infantry, which formed the advance guard of the Continental Army, records in his diary that on 1 September, the Light Infantry

Crosed the Delaware, march^d 17 miles, encamp^d at Lower Doublan twelve miles from Philadelphia.⁴³¹

At "7 oClock" [a.m.] Lincoln, who follows behind the Light Infantry with his forces, 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.⁴³²

The Orderly Book for Lincoln's Brigade only records the arrival of the brigade at the Red Lion.⁴³³

⁴³¹ The journal is published in Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 170-173, the quote on p. 170. The Continental Army campsite is most likely identical with that occupied by the French, which arrived there in the evening of 3 September..

The townships of Dublin date to 1684, when Edward Tanner named his land grant "Upper and Lower Dublin." Lower Dublin Township ceased to exist and was incorporated into the City of Philadelphia in 1854. It was bisected by the Pennypack Creek, known as the Dublin Creek in the eighteenth century. Modern-day Bustleton, Fox Chase and Holmesburg were in this township.

⁴³² Lincoln Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, reel 6.

⁴³³ John Carter Brown Library, Codex Eng 67. On 2 September it records the arrival of the troops in Philadelphia and the crossing of the Schuylkill, for 3 September there is no entry at all.

In his "Journal of the Cornwallis Expedition commencing at Dobbs Ferry, Augt. 19th, '81", Dr. Samuel Shute, a surgeon from Bridgeton, NJ, who served with the Second New Jersey Regiment, wrote

*Sept. 1st. Crossed D[elaware]. River & Shamany Creek & encamped at the Red Lyon -- 19 miles.*⁴³⁴

Route:

Continental Army forces follow the route taken earlier by Generals Washington and Rochambeau and their staffs.

It is unknown though likely that the American wagon train forded the Delaware on its way to Philadelphia. On 31 August, Timothy Pickering had written 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

In his letter of 31 August 1781, written from Philadelphia, Washington had told Lincoln

Dr Sir:

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

On 4 September, the troops are "near Wilmington", it records, somewhat prematurely, that "We have the highest assurance that we shall meet in a few Days a large French Fleet & such a land Force, as gives the fairest prospect that our present expedition into Virginia will be attended with success – the General has the additional Pleasure of congratulating the Troops on the safe arrival of their Winters Clothing, and of the prospects of their soon receiving some pay, a Gill of Rum will be immediately served out to the Troops."

By 5 September, the troops are encamped at the Delaware/Maryland State Line near Head of Elk. In preparation for the march at 4 o'clock this afternoon "Dr. Latimer will immediately inspect the State of the Sick, and all such who have fixed disorders, and will not probably be fit for duty in twenty or thirty days, he will please to order by the first good opportunity to the Hospital in Philadelphia." For all those who may soon be able to join their regiments a hospital should be established at Head of Elk.

⁴³⁴ Shute's unpublished journal is located in the US Army Military History Institute in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

As the Continental Army approached the Neshaminy Creek further down PA-SR 13 on the other side of Bristol, their wagon train again had to consider the option of using a ford rather than the time-consuming rope ferry which could handle all of 15 horses at a time to cross the creek.⁴³⁵ In his letter of 31 August, Washington had told Lincoln

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.

That same day Pickering had ordered Dearborn from Philadelphia that

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.

The "fork" is the intersection of Otter Street and Bristol Pike/PA-SR 13; the right road is Newport Road, which leads directly to the Neshaminy Creek, but connecting the distances given in the route descriptions with sites on the ground proves difficult. Newport Road is today pushed to the south by I-95; in the eighteenth century it would have connected with today's Grundy Lane (cut off by I-95), to Grundy's Corner, which is about one mile up-stream from the ferry. Once across the creek they could have entered Bensalem Boulevard which they followed to Bristol Pike, which they entered just west of today's I-95 about 1/2 mile from Totem Road and the ferry crossing. There is no known ford crossing in that vicinity - neither is there a known ford 3/4 of a mile upstream from the ferry as postulated in the French itinerary - but there was a ford a little over half a mile beyond that on the south side of Newportville.⁴³⁶

If they took that second, known, ford, they followed Newportville Road along the Neshaminy Creek from Grundy's Corner to Ford Road. Crossing at Ford Road (which today no longer goes to the creek's edge), the troops would have entered onto Bensalem Boulevard, which they followed south to Bristol Pike.

⁴³⁵ Quoted from the itinerary of the march in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 74.

⁴³⁶ Quoted from the itinerary of the march in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 74.

Resources identified:

Resource 16: Ford across the Delaware River at Trenton
Morrisville, PA 19067

The French army and possibly the American as well as used this ford to cross their wagons and artillery over the Delaware.⁴³⁷

Resource 17: Lower Ford across Neshaminy Creek
Bristol, PA 19007

This ford, postulated to be between 3/4 and 1 mile upstream from Bristol Pike, would have been around Grundy's Corner, which is about one mile up-stream from the ferry. Once across the creek the troops could have entered Bensalem Boulevard which they followed to Bristol Pike, which they entered just west of today's I-95 about 1/2 mile from Totem Road and the ferry crossing.

There is, however, no known ford crossing in that vicinity.

Resource 18: Upper Ford across the Neshaminy Creek
south side of Newportville
Newportville, PA 19056

If they took that second, known, ford, they followed Newportville Road along the Neshaminy Creek from Grundy's Corner to Ford Road. Crossing at Ford Road (which today no longer goes to the creek's edge), the troops would have entered onto Bensalem Boulevard, which they followed south to Bristol Pike.

Resource 19: American Campsite at Red Lion Tavern
Bristol, PA 19007

American forces under General Lincoln spent the night of 1/2 September "*encamped at the Red Lyon*".⁴³⁸

⁴³⁷ On 31 August, Pickering had written 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.*" French artillery lieutenant *comte* de Clermont-Crèvecœur wrote in his journal: "we crossed the Delaware by ford and ferry. It is not very deep here. In summer the average depth is only 2 to 3 feet".

⁴³⁸ Samuel Shute, "Journal of the Cornwallis Expedition commencing at Dobbs Ferry, Augt. 19th, '81". Shute was a surgeon from Bridgeton, NJ, who served with the Second New Jersey Regiment; his unpublished journal is in the US Army Military History Institute in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

While the American campsite of 1/2 September may have been near the Inn where Poquessing Creek provided water, the French campsites of 2/3 and 3/4 September 1781, were on the hill on either side of the road ahead, which changes its name from Bristol Pike to Frankford Avenue as it enters the Philadelphia County on the other side of Poquessing Creek.

Resource 20: Campsite in Lower Dublin Township
Frankford, PA 19124

The exact location of this campsite of the Light Infantry from 1/2 September is unknown, but was most likely just east of Holmesburg/Holmes' Tavern along Pennypack Creek by the 1694 bridge crossing the creek. No remnants of the Holmes Tavern which apparently stood to the southeast of that bridge were located during route reconnaissance.

The townships of Dublin date to 1684, when Edward Tanner named his land grant "Upper and Lower Dublin." Lower Dublin Township ceased to exist and was incorporated into the City of Philadelphia in 1854. It was bisected by the Pennypack Creek, known as the Dublin Creek in the eighteenth century. Modern-day Bustleton, Fox Chase and Holmesburg were in this township.

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.

Rear-Guard:

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.*⁴³⁹

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 waggon under a proper Escort you will send by land let them go as light as possible and with dispatch.*⁴⁴⁰

Thomas Graton records:

Returned to the east side of the River again and encamped till ye 3d.

Graton was in the Company of Artificers, whose services were still needed in Trenton.⁴⁴¹ Their campsite is outside the area of this study.

Route, Rear-Guard:

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

⁴³⁹ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, p. 759.

⁴⁴⁰ Lincoln Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, reel 6.

⁴⁴¹ He most likely crossed the Delaware on one of the boats that the 2nd New York Regiment had brought from Stony Point.

2 September 1781

Water Route through Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

American forces follow the route of the Delaware River to Wilmington and Christiana.

Manuscript References:

On 2 September 1781, George Washington orders Moses Hazen from Philadelphia

Sir:

You will proceed immediately to Christiana Bridge at which place I expect you will meet the Boats laden with Ordnance and other stores. You will make the proper general arrangements for the speediest transportation of them across to the Head of Elk. Colonel Lamb, or Lieut. Colo. Stevens will attend particularly to the assorting and forwarding the Ordnance Stores, which ought to be first carried over.

It is of importance that the Road from Christiana Bridge to the Head of Elk, should be put in the best re; you will therefore take a view of it and appoint an active Officer acquainted with such business to go upon it with a party and make the necessary res.

Upon General Lincolns arrival, you will report the progress of the transportation to him and take your further orders from him.

Following a brief rest in Philadelphia, Hawkin's Canadian Regiment, Lamb's Continental Artillery, and Martin's Sappers and Miners boarded their shallops again for Christiana Bridge, where they arrived around midnight 2/3 September.

In the evening of 3 September Hawkins' "Regiment encamped in the Woods. Col. Lamb's Regt. of Artillery encamped on our Left."

In his diary, Sergeant-Major Hawkins records

about half past ten dropped Anchor about 2 Miles from Chester, a few officers and myself and of a Mess from our Shallops went on Shore (the Penns^a Side) the latter for to cook. Returned about 3 Hours after & again set sail, the tide was then in our favor & the Wind against us, which induced us to proceed by tack. Passed Chester, and Marcus Hook, and just at Sunset got into Christiana Creek -- passed Wilmington and Newport and about Midnight arrived at Christiana Bridge.

Joseph Plumb Martin's account of the journey from Philadelphia to Christiana is also worth quoting at length. After a stay of "some days ... we (the Miners) [sic] left the city" and proceeded

down the Delaware in a schooner which had her hold nearly full of gunpowder ... to the mouth of Christiana Creek, up which we were bound.

We were compelled to anchor here on account of wind and tide. Here we passed an uneasy night from fear of British cruisers, several of which were in the bay. In the morning we got under weigh, the wind serving, and proceeded up the creek fourteen miles,⁴⁴² the creek passing, the most of its course, through a marsh, as crooked as a snake in motion. There was one place in particular near the village of Newport [Delaware] (sic) where you sail four miles to gain about 40 rods. We went on till the vessel grounded for lack of water. We then lightened her by taking out a part of her cargo, and when the tide came in we got up to the wharves and left her at the disposal of the artillerists.⁴⁴³

Hawkins' and Martin's accounts, which unlike Hawkins' was written years after the events, indicate that the Continental Army departed from Philadelphia at the same time on 2 September. Hawkins did not anchor for the night but continued on to Christiana and spent the night on board his ship. Martin, who sailed on a larger ship, anchored in the mouth of the Christina in Wilmington, Delaware and arrived at Christiana some time during 3 September.

⁴⁴² It is 10 miles on land from the center of Wilmington to Christiana.

⁴⁴³ Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*, p. 223. One rod equals 5.5 yards.

Route:

Following the course of the Delaware River, the small flotilla leaves Philadelphia again on 2 September. After a brief stop two miles upstream from Chester, Hawkins' shallop reached Christiana around midnight, other vessels as indicated by Martin cast anchors that night in the mouth of the Christiana River at Wilmington.

Resources identified:

Resource 21: Campsite of Sergeant-Major Hawkins' Regiment
"about 2 Miles from Chester"
Chester, PA 19013

Having spent a few days in Philadelphia, Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment (Congress' Own) departs for Delaware.

The exact location of this campsite is unknown but two miles above Chester puts the campsite between Crum Creek and Little Crum Creek.

Continental Army (Route Number 2):**Summary:**

Continental Army forces march into Philadelphia, pass in review before Congress, cross the Schuylkill and set up camp outside the city.

Manuscript References:

On 2 September, Colonel Henry Dearborn, accompanied by Jacob Hiltzheimer, Continental ADQMG in Philadelphia, scouted out a campsite for American and French forces: "Accompanied Colonel Dearborn, deputy quartermaster, over Schuylkill, to select a site for an encampment."⁴⁴⁴ The next day, 3 September, the first Division of the French Army marched into Philadelphia and "encamped on the Commons on the East side of the Schuylkill".⁴⁴⁵

On 2 September 1781, Lieutenant Reuben Sanderson of the Fifth Regiment of the Connecticut Line doing duty with Scammel's Light Infantry,

⁴⁴⁴ *Extracts from the diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia, 1765-1798.* Jacob Cox Parsons, ed., (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 45

⁴⁴⁵ Jacob Hiltzheimer Diary, p. 45.

*Marched thro^d Philadelphia about five miles,
encamped near the Schoelkill.⁴⁴⁶*

Dr. Shute wrote in his journal:

*Sunday 2d Septr. Marched thro Philada. &
crossed Schuylkill & encamped --- 16 miles.⁴⁴⁷*

James Thacher provides a much more vivid account of the march of the Continental army through the city.

2d, In the afternoon, marched through the city of Philadelphia. The streets being extremely dirty, and the weather warm and dry, we raised a dust like a smothering snow-storm, blinding our eyes and covering our bodies with it; this was not a little mortifying, as the ladies were viewing us from the open windows of every house as we passed through this splendid city. The scene must have been exceedingly interesting to the inhabitants; and, contemplating the noble cause in which we are engaged, they must have experienced in their hearts a glow of patriotism, if not emotions of military ardor. Our line of march, including appendages and attendants extended nearly two miles. The general officers and their aids, in rich military uniform, mounted on noble steeds and elegantly caparisoned, were followed by their servants and baggage. In the rear of every brigade were several field pieces, accompanied by ammunition carriages. The soldiers marched in slow and solemn step, regulated by the drum and fife. In the rear followed a great number of wagons, loaded with tents, provisions and other baggage, such as a few soldiers' wives and children; hough a very small number of these are allowed to encumber us on this occasion.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁶ The journal is published in Johnston, *Yorktown Campaign*, p. 170-173, the quote on p. 170. The Continental Army campsite is most likely identical with that occupied by the French, which arrived there in the evening of 3 September. Stevens, "Route," p. 18.

Upon reaching Philadelphia some Continental Army troops did not cross the Schuylkill but camped near where French forces would encamped the next day. Thacher has the light infantry march through Philadelphia on 2 September and only cross the river on 3 September "and encamped four miles from Philadelphia". Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273

⁴⁴⁷ Since Shute had encamped at Mile Marker 80, the Red Lion Inn, the previous night, a sixteen-mile-march would take him to Mile Marker 96. Mile Marker 93 was at the intersection of 2nd and Market Streets in Philadelphia, from where counting began anew. Mile Marker 3 was about 3/4 of a mile on the Chester side of the Schuylkill.

⁴⁴⁸ Thacher, *Eyewitness*, pp. 271/72.

Washington wrote to Lafayette from

Head Quarters, Philadelphia, September 2, 1781.

Nothing, My dear Marquis could have afforded me greater satisfaction than the information communicated in your two Letters of the 21st. and 24th. Ulto of the measures you had taken and the Arrangements you were making, in consequence of the Intelligence I had given you.

Calculating upon the regular force under your immediate Orders, the Militia which have already been called for and may be expected in the field; the whole of the French Army, and the American Corps now marching with Major Gen Lincoln from the Northward in addition to the land Forces expected on board the Fleet; I flatter myself we shall not experience any considerable difficulties from the want of Men to carry our most favourite Projects into execution. The means for prosecuting a Seige with rapidity, energy, and success, and of supplying the Troops while they are engaged in that service (as they are more precarious) have been and still continue to be the great objects of my concern and attention.

Heavy Cannon, Ordnance Stores and Ammunition to a pretty large Amount, are now forwarding. General Knox, in whose immediate province these Arrangements are, who knows our whole resources, is making every exertion to furnish a competent supply, and will be on the spot to remedy every deficiency, as far as the circumstances will possibly admit.

Having also, from the first moment, been extremely anxious respecting the Supplies of the Army (in which, I comprehended not only Provisions of the Bread and Meat kind &c but also Forage and the means of transportation) I had written pressingly to the Governors of Maryland and Virginia on that subject previous to the receipt of your favor of the 21st of August. I have since reiterated my Entreaties, and enforced in the strongest terms I was capable of using, the Requisitions for Specific Supplies made by Congress, and now again called for by the Superintendt of Finance from the States of Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, and as to the supplies of Pennsylvania, we are to look for them, from the Financier

himself. I hope and trust the efforts of these States and of Virginia will be uncommonly great and proportionate to the Magnitude of the object before us.

In Order to introduce some kind of System and Method in our Supplies, to know with certainty what may be depended upon, and to put the business in the best possible train of execution, I shall send forward the Heads of Departments as soon as their presence can be dispensed with. I have spoken to the Surgeon General respecting Hospital Stores and Medicines, all that can be done will be done in that department.

As to Cloathing I am sorry to inform you, little is to be expected, except in the Article of Shoes, of which a full supply will be sent on.

In my progress to the Southward, I shall take care, as far as practicable, to make all the Arrangements necessary for the Operation in view, and to impress the Executives, with an idea of the absolute necessity of furnishing their quotas of Supplies regularly, as we have no other resources to rely upon for the support of the Army, and especially, as I am very apprehensive, that a quantity of 1500 Barrels of salted Provisions which I had ordered to be shipped under Convoy of the Count de Barras, did not arrive in time for that purpose.

But my dear Marquis, I am distressed beyond expression, to know what is become of the Count de Grasse, and for fear the English Fleet, by occupying the Chesapeake (towards which my last accounts say they were

steering) should frustrate all our flattering prospects in that quarter. I am also not a little solicitous for the Count de Barras, who was to have sailed from Rhode Island on the 23d Ulto. and from whom I have heard nothing since that time. Of many contingencies we will hope for the most propitious events.

Should the retreat of Lord Cornwallis by water, be cut off by the arrival of either of the French Fleets, I am persuaded you will do all in your power to prevent his escape by land. May that great felicity be reserved for you!

You See, how critically important the present Moment is: for my own part I am determined still to persist, with unremitting ardour in my present Plan, unless some inevitable and insuperable obstacles are thrown in our way.

Adieu my Dear Marquis! If you get any thing New from any quarter, send it I pray you on the Spur of Speed, for I am almost all impatience and anxiety, at the same time, that I am etc.

*P.S. Since writing the above I have received your favor of the 25th. Col Laurens has just arrived in this Town from France via Boston, but I know not yet what intelligence he brings.*⁴⁴⁹

That same day Washington writes to his chief engineer Jean B. Gouvion

Philadelphia, September 2, 1781.

Sir:

You will proceed with all convenient dispatch to the Camp of the Marqs. de la Fayette in Virginia, and receive further orders from Genl. Duportail or the Marquis.

You will let your route be by Christiana bridge, the head of Elk, the lower ferry on Susquehanna, Baltimore, Elkridge landing, Bladensburg, and George Town. From George Town you will go by the best Waggon road to Fredericksburg by Falmouth avoiding the Ferries of Occoquan and Rappahannock Rivers. And from thence you will take the Road which leads most directly to the above Camp.

From Baltimore, George town, Fredericksburg, and the Virginia Camp you will report the State and condition of the intermediate roads, and the measures proper to re them, and if you could excite the Inhabitants as you passed

⁴⁴⁹ Laurens had sailed into Boston on the French frigate *Resolue* on 25 August 1781 with funds and supplies for Washington on two accompanying transports. The total value of these supplies was almost 2.3 million livres. Morris used some 254,000 dollars, more than half of the cash, reported to be about 2.5 million livres or £ 100,000 by the *Freeman's Journal* on 7 November, to establish the Bank of North America. Gregory D. Massey, *John Laurens and the American Revolution* (Columbia, 2000), p. 190. "Fourteen wagons hauled by fifty-six oxen and lead horses conveyed the specie to Philadelphia," where it arrived on 6 November. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

along to set about this necessary business it would facilitate the movement of our Waggon &ca. which must go by land greatly.

I am perswaded, that it is unnecessary to add any thing, by way of prompting you to the preparation of fascines and other matters which can accelerate our operations and prevent the waste of a single moment.

While in Philadelphia a group of Stockbridge Indians approached Washington, offering their services. Washington referred them to Major General William Heath in Peekskill.

Philadelphia, September 2, 1781.

Dear Sir:

The Bearer of this, one of the Stockbridge Indians, has come from the Chief of that Tribe with an offer of their service for part of the Campaign; their application you have inclos'd. In my answer to those Chiefs I have refer'd them to you; and if you think they can be of any advantage you may order them down but it has ever been my opinion that their services never compensated the expence. You will enquire into the affair relative to the inlistment of that Lad they want a discharge for.

I am &c.

In his letter to the Indians, Washington wrote

Philadelphia, September 2, 1781.

Brothers: I have received your Letter by your Captain with your kind Tenders of a months Service if needed. In Answer I inform you that the Circumstances of the Campaign are such, that at present I have no Occasion for your Aid; but should Genl Heath find Need of your Assistance, I will be glad you will do him the like Service, as you have offered to me; if he should write to you for that Purpose.

In Answer to your Petition in Behalf of the Young Man, I can only say that his being held in Service will depend on the Terms of his Inlistment, which at this Distance I can have no Knowledge of, and therefore referred it to Genl

Heath, who will take Measures to have the Matter inquired into from the Officers, who are now in his Camp. With Thanks for your Offers of Service, I am Brothers &c.

Route:

Following the route of Generals Washington and Rochambeau down Frankford Avenue, the troops continued through Port Richmond, Kensington and Fishtown, and cross Girard Avenue to Richmond Street. Here they turned right to the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Front Street, crossed the stone bridge stood that linked to a causeway across the Cohocksink Creek which is now buried in a sewer. Today one can follow the route of the Cohocksink on the winding roads to Second Street where the troops turned left to march down Second Street, past the "British Barracks" below Green / Spring Garden Street. Next they crossed the former path of Peg's Run, today's Willow Street north of Callowhill, but then a shallow creek), and on to Vine Street, the Colonial northern boundary of Philadelphia, and on to Market Street, which they followed to the Schuylkill. Having crossed the Schuylkill River on a pontoon bridge, the Continental Army set up camp, possibly at the current site of the 30th Street Railroad Station.

Resources identified:

Resource 22: Campsite of the Continental Army
Across the Schuylkill
Philadelphia, PA 19107

On 2 September, Jacob Hiltzheimer, Continental ADQMG in Philadelphia, "Accompanied Colonel Dearborn, deputy quartermaster, over Schuylkill, to select a site for an encampment."⁴⁵⁰

Some Continental Army troops did not cross the Schuylkill but camped where French forces would encamped the next day. Thacher has the light infantry march through Philadelphia on 2 September and only cross the river on 3 September "and encamped four miles from Philadelphia" and 18 miles from Wilmington. These distances are contradictory since it is exactly 27 miles from downtown Philadelphia to the bridge across Brandywine in Wilmington and 28 miles from Philadelphia to the Wilmington waterfront, leaving a gap of five to six miles. Since Thacher indicated a rest on 3 September "to give the men time to rest and wash their clothes", a stop in the vicinity of Darby Creek/

⁴⁵⁰ *Extracts from the diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia, 1765-1798.* Jacob Cox Parsons, ed., (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 45

Morton Homestead not quite six miles from the Schuylkill seems the most likely stopping place.⁴⁵¹

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry leaves its camp in Trenton, crosses the Delaware and marches through Bristol camp at the Red Lion.

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

Manuscript References:

Cromot du Bourg

*crossed the Delaware and continued my route over a flat and pleasant country, over which were scattered very pretty woods and pieces of well cultivated land. At about eight miles distance the same river is met with again, and the road runs along its bank to Bristol, a little before reaching which Burlington is seen on the opposite bank. This is quite a considerable place, and presents a lovely landscape. Bristol is then reached, which, although only consisting of forty or fifty houses, is quite pretty. After Bristol the Shammana River is crossed in a ferry boat. This little river empties near there in the Delaware. From this point it is only seventeen miles to Philadelphia.*⁴⁵²

Route:

The French itinerary states that upon leaving Trenton

On the right is the road going to the ford and another going directly to the ferry. You enter the woods and pass the Burlington Road on the left. Crossing an open plain, which is most suitable for camping, the road makes a sharp turn so that it is perpendicular to the river. You reach the ferry, where there are several houses. At this spot the river is 800 yards wide. There are generally 2 ferryboats and some sailboats available for crossing. This is the highest point for small vessels coming up the river, as navigation is interrupted by the falls that are above the ferry. You can

⁴⁵¹ Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273

⁴⁵² Cromot du Bourg, "Journal", pp. 379-380.

*ford the Delaware above the falls, opposite Colonel Cox's house. The ford is good, but care must be taken to face upstream against the current.*⁴⁵³

Upon leaving Bristol, the itinerary continues,

You come to a symetrical fork. Both roads lead to the north bank of the Neshaminy River. The one on the right goes to the ford, and the one to the left, which is the one to take, to the ferry. ...

*(The Neshaminy) is about 100 yards wide. It is crossed by means of a rope ferry (bac à traite), which has a maximum capacity of 15 horses. The ford over this creek is about 3/4 mile upstream from the ferry.*⁴⁵⁴

The French artillery and the wagon train follow a separate route to the camp at the Red Lion Tavern. Since it is but a few miles long it has not been listed as a separate route in this report.

Artillery lieutenant the *comte* de Clermont-Crèveœur⁴⁵⁵ described the day's march thus:

*From Trenton to Red Lion Tavern. The Pennsylvania Country is very flat. We crossed the Delaware by ford and ferry. It is not deep here. In summer the average depth is only 2 to 3 feet; however, in winter it is very deep. We followed the river to Bristol where we saw on the low bank opposite, the pretty little town of Burlington, which has a charming situation. At Bristol the army and the artillery separated, the former crossing the Neshaminy River by ferry, and the latter by ford 6 miles upstream.*⁴⁵⁶ *We arrived very late in camp, having covered 24 miles with our wagons."*

This description leaves unclear, however, which ford the French wagon train and artillery used since Clermont-Crèveœur's description suggests the use of a third ford to cross the Neshaminy besides the fords at Grundy's Corner and Newportville. A ford six miles upstream from the ferry crossing would be located about one mile upstream of Hulmesville, south of the Old Lincoln Highway and a march that far and back would

⁴⁵³ The itinerary is quoted from Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 72. Colonel John Cox owned the Trent House from 1778 to 1792.

⁴⁵⁴ Quoted from the itinerary of the march in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, p. 74.

⁴⁵⁵ Clermont-Crèveœur, "Journal", p. 45.

⁴⁵⁶ The ferry across the Neshaminy was a rope ferry. The road leading to the ford a mile south-west of Bristol at Mile-Marker 74 is identified on map 46 of Colles, *Survey*, p. 161.

have added more than six miles to the itinerary. Clermont-Crèveœur himself, however, gives that day's march as 24 miles while the distance for the infantry that used the ferry was 17 1/2 to 18 miles.

The *History of Bucks County* postulates the existence of two fords upstream from Bristol Pike when it writes that "At the settlement of the county, two important fords were opened across Neshaminy, and in use for many years, Galloway's ford and Baldwin's." Baldwin's Ford was "down near the head of tidewater below Newportville, near Flushing, where the Bristol road crossed extending through eastern and northern Bensalem, thence northwest parallel to the Montgomery Co. Line and Street road." This was the ford about 1/2 mile south of I-276 at the end of Ford Road. If we take a 3-mile distance from the ford, adding six miles to the day's march, the French artillery and wagons could have crossed the Neshaminy here at Ford Road north of I-95 near Newportville. After crossing they could have returned to Bristol Pike on Hulmeville Road, which merges onto Bristol Pike a little over a mile before the campsite.

Galloway's Ford, about a mile above Hulmeville, "led across the stream from the Growden place, Bensalem, to the Langhorne Manor House, Middletown." This could be the ford mentioned by Clermont-Crèveœur.⁴⁵⁷ If the French artillery did indeed cross the Neshaminy here, it would have continued north on Newportville Road, past Hulmeville until it reached Galloway's Ford and returned to Bristol Pike and the camp at the Red Lion on Bristol and Hulmeville Roads.⁴⁵⁸

Resources identified:

Resource 23: Galloway's Ford
Hulmeville, PA 19047

According to French artillery lieutenant the *comte* de Clermont-Crèveœur, the artillery may have crossed the Neshaminy here.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁷ The "Growden place" was Trevoise, home of Joseph Growden, which is a National Historic Landmark today. "At an early day a stage road crossed Galloway's ford, from Philadelphia to Trenton via Bustleton, Four Lanes End, Oxford to Kirkbride's ferry on the Delaware. ... The old road from Philadelphia to New York via Kirkbride's ferry on the Delaware passed through Hulmeville, crossing the Neshaminy at Galloway's ford". W. W. H. Davis, *The History of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Chapter XI, Middletown*, (1876) quoted from the edition at <http://ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/bucks/history/local/davis/davis11.txt>.

⁴⁵⁸ Hulmeville was originally called "Milford" from the ford across the Neshaminy nearby.

⁴⁵⁹ Clermont-Crèveœur, "Journal", p. 45.

Resource 24: French Army Campsite
Red Lion Inn
Frankford, PA 19124

The French camp site at the Red Lion of 2/3 and 3/4 September 1781, was the last stop before the march into Philadelphia.

Rear-Guard:

Summary:

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

Manuscript Resources:

On 2 September, Tallmadge

*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.⁴⁶⁰*

Route, Rear-Guard:

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

⁴⁶⁰ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, p. 759.

3 September 1781

Water Route to Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

Regimental Orders for the artillery, issued at 6 a.m. on 3 September, at "Christiana Bridge", command that

As soon as the Tents are pitched and the Baggage carried up to the Ground, a fatigue party is to be turned out consisting of one Sup: [erior officer] two Serjeants, to Corp[orals] and twenty Matrosses, to disembark the Ordnance and Stores now on board the Vessells.

That evening Hawkins' "Regiment encamped in the Woods. Col. Lamb's Regt. of Artillery encamped on our Left."

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Continental Army (Route Number 2):

Summary:

The main body of the Continental Army leaves its camp on the Schuylkill to march to its next camp.

Manuscript References:

That day Washington wrote to Governor Caesar Rodney of Delaware.

Sir:

I have the Honor to inform your Excellency, that the Operations of the present Campaign are tending very seriously to the Southward, and that a large Detachment of the American Army, with the whole of the French Troops,

are now on their march for Virginia. As the Article of Supplies for the Army which is collectg., and which will probably be large, will be a Matter of the last Importance in our Operations, I cannot omit to address your Excellency on that Subject.

Mr. Morris the Financier having been kind enough to give me a Copy of a Letter which he had written on this Subject to the several States, requestg. in the most earnest Manner their several Quotas of specific Supplies called for by Congress; It is needless for me to trouble your Excellency any further than to enforce in the warmest Terms, the Application of Mr. Morris, which I now take the Liberty to do, and to entreat your Excellency, that it may meet with all that effectual Attention, which the Importance of the Matter requires, and the urgent Importunity of Mr. Morris can expect or wish.

I will only add that as I am fully persuaded that your Excellency will anticipate the fatal Consequences to the Interest of the States, which must arise from a failure in our Operations; so you will as fully accord with me in Sentiment, that, a Reflection on the Cause of Failure, should it prove to be the one in which I have my strongest Fears, the Article of Supplies, will not fail to fill us with the most mortifying Regret, when we consider that the bountifull hand of Heaven is holding out to us a Plenty of every Article, and the only Cause of Want, must be placed to the Acco. of our Want of Exertion to collect them.

Your Excellency will be pleased to give me the earliest and most decided Information, how far I may rely on your State for the Supplies requested and expected from it, since on that and the like Information from other States, I must ground my Judgment of the Practicability of carrying into Execution the Operations I have concerted. It will be to little Purpose, other than to create an endless and unnecessary Expence, to pursue my Intentions, further than the Aids we can promise ourselves, without fail, to receive from the States, will give us the fairest Prospects to proceed.

That same day he wrote to Rochambeau from Philadelphia:

Sir:

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

*From Fredericksburg, the rout will be by Caroline Court House and Newcastle. I cannot, at this moment, point out the different Marches for want of a sufficient knowledge of the road, and convenient encamping places on it, but Lt. Colo. Gouvion being instructed to reconnoitre these will enable me perhaps to be more particular 'ere the March commences from the head of Elk. I have the honor etc.*⁴⁶¹

The Continental Army leaves its camp on the Schuylkill to march to its next camp, which Lieutenant Sanderson recorded to have been "10 miles - encamp^d three miles from Chester."⁴⁶²

Dr. Samuel Shute records in his journal:

3d To the Plough --- 8 miles.

The "Plough" was located a good eleven miles from Philadelphia and about 3 1/2 miles each from Darby and from Chester.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ "Lieut. Col. William Stephens Smith's account of Washington's traveling expenses (filed in the Washington Papers under the date of 17 September 1781) shows that the route of Washington and Rochambeau from Princeton to Baltimore was via Trenton, Bristol, Philadelphia, Chester, Wilmington, Christiana Bridge, Wormsley's, Susquehanna Ferry, Darling's, and Notingham.

⁴⁶² The distance from the center of Philadelphia to the center of Chester is exactly 15 miles, which places the camp about 1/2 mile distance from the "Plough", where Shute and his New Jersey regiment were encamped. Sanderson's diary is printed in J Henry P. Johnston, *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*. (1881; repr. 1975), pp. 170-173, the quote on p. 170.

⁴⁶³ It is identified in Joshua John Moore and Thomas W. Jones, *The traveller's directory, or, A pocket companion shewing the course of the main road from Philadelphia to New York, and from Philadelphia to Washington, with descriptions of the places through which it passes, and the intersections of the cross roads; illustrated with an account of such remarkable objects as are generally interesting to travellers; from actual survey* (Philadelphia, 1804), map 2.

James Thacher of the Light Infantry recorded on the

*3d. We crossed the river Schuylkill, over a floating bridge, and encamped four miles from Philadelphia where we continued through the day, to give the men time to rest and wash their clothes.*⁴⁶⁴

Route:

From their camp in Philadelphia the troops marched on Market Street to the intersection with PA-SR 13, where they turned left (or south).

They continued on PA-SR 13 until they reached Woodland Avenue, which they followed through South Philadelphia toward Chester. At Cobbs Creek they passed the Blue Bell Tavern on their right. Once past Cobbs Creek, the troops followed Main Street in Darby until they entered Chester Pike (PA-SR 13) which they took to their respective campsites.

Resources identified:

Resource 25: Blue Bell Tavern
Cobbs Creek Park
7303 Woodland Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19142

Built in 1766, the Blue Bell Tavern was purchased by the city in 1909, and is now part of the Fairmount Park system. It is currently closed for restoration. On 6 September 1781, Thomas Graton records: "*ye 6th marched 5 miles and encamped.*" Since Graton and the artificers had encamped on the Philadelphia side of the Schuylkill on 5/6 September, a five-mile-march takes them about 7 miles from Philadelphia, which places their camp along Cobb's Creek at the Blue Bell Tavern about a mile before the center of Derby.

Resource 26: The Woodlands
4000 Woodland Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19107

The Woodlands were built in 1742 as the estate of Andrew Hamilton, a colonial lawyer who helped design Independence Hall.

The Woodlands has been a National Historic Landmark since 1967 - # 67000022.

⁴⁶⁴ Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273.

Resource 27: John Bartram House and Gardens
54th Street and Eastwick Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19107

John Bartram was America's first native-born botanist and well known in 1781. His property lies just off Woodland Avenue. The house and gardens are a National Historic Landmark (listed 10/15/1966, #66000676) administered by Fairmount Park Commission.

Resource 28: Continental Army Campsite at the Morton Homestead
100 Lincoln Avenue
Prospect Park, PA 19076

Upon reaching Philadelphia some Continental Army troops did not cross the Schuylkill but camped near where French forces would encamped the next day. Thacher has the Light Infantry march through Philadelphia on 2 September and only cross the river on 3 September "and encamped four miles from Philadelphia" and 18 miles from Wilmington. These distances are contradictory as it is exactly 27 miles from downtown Philadelphia to the bridge across the Brandywine in Wilmington and 28 miles from Philadelphia to the Wilmington waterfront, leaving a gap of five to six miles. Since Thacher indicated a rest on 3 September "to give the men time to rest and wash their clothes", a stop in the vicinity of Darby Creek/Morton Homestead not quite six miles from the Schuylkill seems the most likely stopping place.⁴⁶⁵

Resource 29: Morton Homestead
100 Lincoln Avenue
Prospect Park, PA 19076

On their way the troops passed the Morton Homestead, the ancestral home of John Morton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The homestead became a National Historic Register site in 1970, #70000546.

Resource 30: The Plough
Between Darby and Chester
Prospect Park, PA 19076

Samuel Shute camped near the "Plough", located a good eleven miles from Philadelphia and about 3 1/2 miles each from Darby and Chester.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁵ Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273

⁴⁶⁶ It is identified in Joshua John Moore and Thomas W. Jones, *The traveller's directory, or, A pocket companion shewing the course of the main road from Philadelphia to New York, and from*

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of Rochambeau's infantry leaves its camp at Red Lion Tavern, marches into Philadelphia, parades before Congress and marches to its camp along the Schuylkill on either side of Market Street.

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

Manuscript References:

For French accounts of Pennsylvania and accounts of their reception in Philadelphia see: 9.2 French Accounts of the March through Pennsylvania

Route:

French forces follow the route taken earlier by the Continental Army but rather than cross the Schuylkill they enter their campsite on the east of the river at approximately 23rd and Market Streets extending south to Locust or even Spruce.

Resources identified:

Resource 31: French Army Campsite along the Schuylkill
23rd and Market
Philadelphia, PA 19107

The march of Rochambeau's troops through Philadelphia provided a morale boost for the Americans. In a letter to Meshech Weare, President of New Hampshire, delegate Samuel Livermore described the scene:

I had yesterday the pleasure to see the first division of the French. They marched through Front & Chesnut streets by the state house and so out to the common where they encamped. The members of Congress were at the door of the state house and recd. from the officers of the army as they passed a royal salute. The ceremony on their part was to let fall the point of the sword, likewise the colours, and the members of Congress took off their hats. The engaging figure and behaviour of the officers of all ranks, their dress,

Philadelphia to Washington, with descriptions of the places through which it passes, and the intersections of the cross roads; illustrated with an account of such remarkable objects as are generally interesting to travellers; from actual survey (Philadelphia, 1804), map 2.

*the cavalry, musick, arms, artillery, the figure & behaviour of the privates, and the uniform motion of the whole, afforded the most pleasing prospect of the kind I ever saw.*⁴⁶⁷

Resource 32: Plaque commemorating the 1781 French encampment
City Hall Courtyard
Philadelphia, PA 19107

This plaque erected by the Pennsylvania Order of the Founders and Patriots of America on 5 October 1908 is the only monument/marker commemorating the French encampment in Philadelphia found in the course of the research for this resource inventory and site survey.

The following is a sample of sites, some still in existence, some not, known to have been visited by American and French officers and men during their stay in and around Philadelphia in 1781 and during the return march in 1782.

Resource 33: Site of Dr. Abraham Chovet home
On Water street near Arch Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Englishman Abraham Chovet had studied medicine in France and came to the US via the West Indies. In 1774 opened his "Anatomical Museum" of wax human figures on Vidal's Alley off Second Street in Philadelphia as a tool to provide knowledge about the human body to assist in the training of physicians. Baron Closen visited there on 31 August 1781. Chastellux visited there as well.

The house is no longer standing.

Resource 34: Site of Pierre Eugene du Simitière Home
Arch Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Born in Geneva, Switzerland, Simitère went to the West Indies about 1750, and to Philadelphia in 1766. Simitière was a well known collector of curiosities, and was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1768. In 1782, he opened the "American Museum" to display his collections to the public.

Baron Closen visited Simitière on 1 September. In the evening he joined the generals for dinner at home of Joseph Reed who resided in the

⁴⁶⁷ Quoted from the on-line edition of Letters of Delegates to Congress.

house of the Tory Galloway which had been confiscated for the use of the Continental Congress.

The house is no longer standing.

Resource 35: Site of Joseph Galloway home
Southeastern corner of Sixth and Market Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Historical Significance:

The house is no longer standing.

Resource 36: Site of Anthony Benezet home
No. 115, Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Closen met Benezet on 2 September 1781, when the well-known quaker went to pay his compliments to Rochambeau.⁴⁶⁸

The house was torn down as early as 1818.

On 2 September 1781, Generals Washington and Rochambeau and their staffs visited the

Resource 37: Chew House or Cliveden
6401 Germantown Avenue
Philadelphia PA 19107

Cliveden is the most important landmark of the battle of Germantown fought on 4 October 1777. Although not decisive in military terms, the battle had vast political implications. Combined with the victory at Saratoga in the same month, it proved a major influence in the consummation of the French alliance that spelled final victory for the new American Nation.⁴⁶⁹

Cliveden is a National Historic Landmark, designation on 20 January 1961, #66000677.

⁴⁶⁸ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 119.

⁴⁶⁹ Adapted from <http://tps.cr.nps.gov/nhl/detail.cfm?ResourceId=504&ResourceType=Building>

Resource 38: American Philosophical Society Hall
104 South Fifth Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Since 1789, this building has housed the bi-monthly meetings of one of America's oldest and most honorable learned societies. The organization traces its origins to 1743, when Benjamin Franklin publicly urged the creation of an institution to stimulate interest in learning. Over the years the Society has counted America's intellectual elite among its members. Thomas Jefferson was one, and at his urging, the records of the Lewis and Clark Expedition are preserved in the Hall. The Society's journal, *Transactions*, continues as the country's oldest scholarly periodical.

The American Philosophical Society Hall is a National Historic Landmark, designated 12 January 1965, #66000675.

Resource 39: Carpenters' Hall
310 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

Erected in 1770-71 as a guild hall for the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia, the building served as a meeting place for the First Continental Congress in 1774, as a hospital for both British and American troops, and as the temporary office of both the First and Second Banks of the United States.

Carpenter's Hall is a National Historic Landmark, designated 15 April 1970, #70000552.

Resource 40: Powell House
244 S. 3rd St., between Spruce and Walnut Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19106

Samuel Powel was the last colonial mayor of Philadelphia before the Revolution and the first mayor after the Revolution.

Powel sided with the Colonies during the Revolution, thus earning himself the sobriquet, "the Patriotic Mayor." He died, among too many others, in the Yellow Fever epidemic of 1793.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁷⁰ Quoted/adapted from http://www.ushistory.org/tour/tour_powel.htm

Resource 41: Site of Benjamin Chew Home
110 S. Third Street (between Walnut and Spruce)
Philadelphia, PA 19106

The Chew House, which until his death in April 1780 had been the residence of the Spanish ambassador Don Juan de Mirailles, was one of the most magnificent houses in Revolutionary Philadelphia. and of Before Benjamin Chew, last colonial Chief Justice, purchased it, it had been the home of John Penn, the last colonial governor of Pennsylvania. It was torn down around 1830.

Washington made his winter quarters in this house upon his return from Yorktown on 26 November 1781. He stayed until his departure for the Hudson on 22 March 1782. On 1 April 1782, General Washington moved into his headquarters in the Jonathan Hasbrouck House in Newburgh.

Resource 42: Jacob Graff House (Declaration House)
701 Market Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

In this building Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence in June 1776. The original building of 1775 was torn down in 1883, but was recreated by the National Park Service in 1975 at its original location.

Resource 43: Old St. Joseph's Catholic Church
321 Willing's Alley
Philadelphia , PA 19106

Founded in 1733, it is the oldest Roman Catholic church in the city. The first church was built in 1733, enlarged in 1821 and rebuilt (the present building) in 1838. It is more than likely that some French officers and/or men went to mass there.⁴⁷¹

Resource 44: Site of the Brick Market (1709/10)
On High Street and Third Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

In the 1830s, Watson wrote that "for many years, its Third street front was marked with the appendages of pillory, stocks and whipping-posts."

⁴⁷¹ Adapted from <http://www.oldstjoseph.org/> and http://www.ushistory.org/tour/tour_stjoe.htm. There is no proof for the claim made on these sites that Rochambeau worshiped at Old St. Joe's.

Resource 45: Site of Brick Market (1773)
On High Street and Fourth Street
Philadelphia, PA 19106

The markets were torn down in the 1830s.

Resource 46: Site of the Pennsylvania Hospital
Fifth and Market Streets
Philadelphia, PA 19106

The Pennsylvania Hospital was founded in the year 1755 at Fifth and Market Streets; the present site on Eighth and Spruce Streets (a National Historic Landmark) dates to the nineteenth century.

Resource 47: "A Man Full of Trouble"
125-127 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

The only tavern remaining from Colonial Philadelphia. It was built about 1759 on the banks of Little Dock Creek. It is more than likely that some French soldiers had a drink there. In his *Reisenbeschreibung*, Flohr wrote: "*When a soldiers was walking about in the city or anywhere else and a German met him he immediately took him and led him to a tavern and paid more than could be consumed only to be able to discuss things with him.*"

Resource 48: Site of the Workhouse
on Spruce Street between Tenth and Eleventh Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

The (second) House of Employment or Workhouse was completed in 1767, fifty years after the first workhouse had opened in Philadelphia. It was used until 1835, when a new Almshouse and Workhouse were built.

In late August 1781, Rochambeau asked President Moore to establish a hospital for the sick of his army. On 29 August 1781, the Supreme Executive Council "Resolved, that the Deputy Quarter Master General be directed to apply to the managers of the House of Employment to appropriate a sufficient part of that building for said purpose, and that it be got ready with all expedition."⁴⁷²

⁴⁷² *Pennsylvania Archives* vol. XIII (1853), p. 42. See also *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council. Vol. XIII: 13 July 1781 to 31 December 1783* (Harrisburg, 1853), p. 47.

Above the city in today's Fairmount Park are a number of sites that are of great importance for the context of this study.⁴⁷³

Resource 49: Belmont Mansion
West Fairmount Park
2000 Belmont Mansion Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19131

William Peters (1702-1786), the builder of Belmont Mansion, was a fascinating and important figure in eighteenth century Philadelphia. A successful attorney and landowner in Liverpool, England, he came to the colonies in 1739 to escape a burdensome marriage and for the promise of wealth; he followed by four years his younger brother, Rev. Richard Peters, the Penn family's secretary and land agent and later rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

William Peters also found favor with the Penns and was granted such offices as Clerk of the Admiralty Court, Notary Public, and Prothonotary of the Superior Court. With these offices, as well as a successful private legal practice and rents from his English holdings, Peters was a wealthy man who owned several properties in the city of Philadelphia in addition to Belmont, which he referred to as his "country retirement."

Construction of the mansion itself, was probably well along in 1745, as recorded by a surviving date stone. Construction of the main block of the mansion, which was probably begun in about 1743, was not completed until about 1751. In the early 1760's Peters added the stair tower and the ornate plaster ceilings to the house. However, his general support of the Loyalist cause forced him to return to England in 1768. His son Judge Richard Peters inherited the property. He became an ardent patriot, Secretary of War until late 1781, and enjoyed the company of such men as Washington, Von Steuben, Madison and Franklin at Belmont.

Resource 50: John Boelsen Cottage
West Fairmount Park
2120 Martin Luther King Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19131

In 1677, the Swedish Court at Upland granted John Schoeten 300 acres on the west side of the Schuylkill. At the same time John Boelson was granted 100 acres of land and became a neighbor of Schoeten. In 1684,

⁴⁷³ All materials on properties in Fairmount Park is quoted from/adapted from information on these properties available at the Fairmount Park website <http://www.fairmountpark.org/index.asp>

William Penn confirmed these Swedish holdings. By that time a house had been constructed on the tract. Built in approximately 1680, the small Boelsen Cottage still standing on West River Drive is believed to be the second oldest building in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Constructed sometime between 1678 and 1684, this building has certain architectural features common to early Dutch and Swedish vernacular architecture of the American colonies; a gambrel roof, small casement windows and internal divisions to accommodate two families.

Resource 51: Laurel Hill

East Fairmount Park
7201 North Randolph Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19121

In 1763-64, Francis and Rebecca Rawle erected the center section of this brick mansion on the laurel covered hill overlooking the Schuylkill River. The pediment of the entrance door is echoed in the roof line. Inside, the paneling above the fireplace and the Delft tiles are decorative features typical of houses built in Philadelphia during this period.

The original symmetry of the house was destroyed when the widowed Rebecca married Samuel Shoemaker in 1767 and added a kitchen wing. In the early 19th century the octagonal wing was added to the opposite side.

Laurel Hill was confiscated by the Pennsylvania legislature during the Revolution because of Shoemaker's Loyalist sympathies and was sold to Major James Parr. In 1784, when anti-British feelings waned, Rebecca Rawle Shoemaker bought her house again.

Dr. Philip Syng Physick, father of American surgery and next owner of Laurel Hill, gave the estate in trust to his daughter, Sally Randolph, in 1828. The Randolphs sold it to the City of Philadelphia for \$68,000 in 1869.

In 1976 the Fairmount Park Commission restored the house, but did not remove recent layers of paint on the exterior because doing so would have damaged the bricks. The house is operated by the Women for Greater Philadelphia.

Laurel Hill is a National Register Site, added in 1972 - #72001169.

Resource 52: Mount Pleasant
East Fairmount Park
3800 Mount Pleasant Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19121

With a fortune acquired by privateering, Scottish sea captain John Macpherson built Mount Pleasant from 1762-65. John Adams dined there and described it in 1775 as "the most elegant seat in Pennsylvania."

The house had several illustrious owners. Benedict Arnold bought it as a wedding gift for his bride, Peggy Shippen, but was convicted of treason before they could occupy it. Jonathan Williams, a great nephew of Benjamin Franklin and first superintendent of West Point, was a later owner.

It was incorporated into the park in 1868. The Park Commissioners created a Dairy here which provided fresh milk and ice cream to city children. Today, the Philadelphia Museum of Art maintains Mount Pleasant and installed its contents to represent the elegant way of life in Philadelphia in the 1760's.

Resource 53: Ridgeland/The Wellness Community
West Fairmount Park
4200 Chamounix Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19131

Ridgeland was originally part of the Bowles / Schoeten tract in the late 17th century. In 1718, John Schoeten sold twenty-five and a quarter acres to William Couch, a Yeoman, who erected the original portion of Ridgeland c.1719-20.

It is a two and a half story house of Wissahickon schist, characteristic of 18th century Philadelphia vernacular architecture. Called Mt. Prospect by its owner in the early 1800's, the name was changed to Ridgeland by the last owner, Jacob S. Waln, before it was incorporated into the Park in 1869. Presently occupied by the Wellness Center.

Resource 54: Woodford

East Fairmount Park
2450 Strawberry Mansion Bridge Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19132

This 1756 mansion has been called "one of the most charming examples of colonial architecture in America." The first owner, Judge William Coleman, Justice of the Provincial Pennsylvania Supreme Court, was a Quaker and Franklin's confidant. After his death in 1769, the house became a Tory residence - first with Alexander Barclay, King George III's Controller of Customs at the Port of Philadelphia, and later as the home of Rebecca Franks, beautiful daughter of a highly placed father, David Franks. Franks added the second floor, with an unusual stair hall, and a Palladian window above the nine-foot high entrance doors. Franks was exiled in 1780 because of his Tory activities, and Woodford reverted to Quaker ownership. The Wharton family held it for several generations until it became part of Fairmount Park in 1868.

In May 1980, Woodford was designated a National Historic Landmark by the National Park Service.

In addition there are a number of resources in Fairmount Park which are worth a stop even if they were not around in 1781/82.

Resource 55: Lemon Hill Mansion

Sedgeley & Lemon Hill Drives
East Fairmount Park
Philadelphia, PA 19130

Robert Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence, financier of the Revolution, and close friend of George Washington, purchased 350 acres of land along the banks of the Schuylkill River and built a farm and greenhouses in July 1770, named "The Hills."

By 1798, he had over extended his financial empire and was sentenced to Debtors' Prison. "The Hills" was sold to Henry Pratt, son of a Philadelphia portrait painter, who developed the property into one of the finest garden spots in Philadelphia. Lemon trees flourished in the greenhouses and the estate became known as "Lemon Hill."

Pratt built the present house, a graceful masterpiece of late 18th century architecture, in 1800. Lemon Hill is a formal Early Republic / Federal house. It displays a two story symmetrical plan with a stone basement, scored stucco walls and chimneys, two wooden side porches and a

shingled hip roof. Its most distinctive exterior and interior features are the projecting three story oval rooms on the south facade of the house facing the Schuylkill River and the entrance hall checkerboard floor of Valley Forge marble.

In 1844, the house and 45 acres were purchased by the City in its initial endeavor to keep the river unpolluted and create public park land. Restored in 1926 and again in 1976 by the City of Philadelphia, Lemon Hill is furnished and operated by the Colonial Dames of America.

Resource 56: Sweetbriar Mansion
West Fairmount Park
1 Sweetbriar Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19131

Samuel and Jean Breck built Sweetbriar in 1797 to escape the yellow-fever epidemic that killed 10,000 Philadelphians between 1793 and 1800. The house stands now exactly as it did in 1797, a three story, Federal mansion displaying refined ornament over geometric simplicity as

developed by the Adam Brothers of England and interpreted by late 18th century English and Philadelphia architects..

Breck was a patron of artist-naturalist John Audubon and supported many philanthropic community projects. Influential French visitors enjoyed his hospitality, including the Marquis de Lafayette when he toured the United States in 1825.

Sweetbriar was incorporated into "Faire Mount" Park in 1868 and bordered the 1876 Centennial Exhibition site. Restored in 1932 by the Junior League of Philadelphia and in 1976 by the City of Philadelphia, Sweetbriar is operated by the Modern Club of Philadelphia.

Resource 57: Strawberry Mansion
East Fairmount Park
2450 Strawberry Mansion Bridge Drive
Philadelphia, PA 19132

Strawberry Mansion acquired its name in the mid-nineteenth century when it was a dairy farm serving strawberries and cream. In earlier days it was the property of Philadelphia judges.

In 1783 the Quaker Judge William Lewis purchased this wooded land near the falls of the Schuylkill River. Remodeling an earlier structure, he

completed the central portion of this house about 1790 in the popular Federal style. He named the house "Summerville."

Judge Joseph Hemphill bought 'Summerville' in the 1820's. He added the flamboyant Greek revival wings to the house and entertained John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, the French Marquis de Lafayette and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts.

His son Coleman built a race track on the property, raised Dalmatian dogs and grew strawberries from roots he imported from Chile.

Strawberry Mansion became City property in 1868 and is now the largest house in Fairmount Park. It is now operated by the Committee of 1926 and is furnished with a mixture of Federal, Regency, and Empire styles popular during the mansion's varied ownership. The attic is filled with antique toys. The collection of Tucker porcelain in the library, one of the first true porcelains made in America, was a product of the partnership of Tucker and Hemphill in Philadelphia.

Enlisted men could not leave the columns for sightseeing or to educate themselves, but officers such as the *vicomte* de Rochambeau, the *comte* de Lauberdière, Baron Closen, or Cromot du Bourg used the opportunity provided by the march through Pennsylvania to visit battlefields of the Revolutionary War. Rochambeau not only encouraged his officers to continue their military education but himself visited important sites along the route as well. In his journal, Rochambeau's son, the *vicomte* de Rochambeau, penned this brief description of the march through Pennsylvania indicating some of the sites he visited.

The troops passed in review before the President of Congress in the best order and in the finest appearance possible.⁴⁷⁴ They even astonished the inhabitants of this section by the excellent discipline which they kept and by their extreme neatness after so long a march.

That beautiful city had been the stopping place of the English and American armies during 1777 and part of 1778. Also we felt obliged to visit the battlefields of Brandywine and Germantown (the defensive points of the river in 1777), and last, the good winter quarters that Washington held from 1777 to 1778 at Valley Forge.

The first was won by General Howe from General Washington. In the second this latter held his own. Trenton and Princeton won for him the reputation of a general.

⁴⁷⁴ The *vicomte* marched through Philadelphia on 3 September 1781.

After a day of rest we once again began marching and came on: September 5th to Chester15 miles.⁴⁷⁵

Resource 58: Battlefield at Germantown
Chadds Ford, PA 19317

Closen in his journal for 2 September that he "went with the generals to see the battlefield of Germantown," after which the group went "to dine at the home of M. [John] Holker, the French consul, who entertained us magnificently in his charming country house, 3 miles from Philadelphia."

Resource 59: Continental Army Winter Quarters at Valley Forge
1400 North Outer Line Drive
King of Prussia, PA 19406

As early as 1781, a visit to Valley Forge, site of one of the most difficult winter quarters of the Continental Army, was a required stop on the itinerary of any visitor to the area.

Valley Forge was designated a National Historic Landmark on 20 January 1961; establishment of the park was authorized on 4 July 1976.

Resource 60: Battlefield of Brandywine
Route 1
Chadds Ford, PA 19317

The Brandywine battlefield was designated a National Historic Landmark on 20 January 1960, #66000660.

At Brandywine, Washington's Continental army fought British forces under Lord Howe on September 11, 1777. Although the battle was an American defeat, the Continentals withstood the attack of British regulars, even while sustaining heavy losses.

Cromot du Bourg, Baron Closen and the *vicomte* de Rochambeau left the columns during the march to Wilmington to see the battlefield of Brandywine. Washington himself, according to Closen, had told him the details of the battle, heightening the officer's interest in the affair.⁴⁷⁶ Cromot du Bourg, who rode with the Second Division, recorded that on 6

⁴⁷⁵ Weelen, *Journal of the vicomte*, p. 226.

⁴⁷⁶ Acomb, *Closen*, p. 124, footnote 35. Lauberdière's *Journal* contains a long description of the battle of Mud Bank of 1777. (ff 101r - 106r)

September "we marched to Wilmington over a very fine road. ... I turned off from the road to see the battle-field of Brandywine."⁴⁷⁷

Rear-Guard:

Summary:

The American rear-guard consisting of the Second New York Regiment are the last troops to arrive in Trenton where they embark.

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.*⁴⁷⁸

The stopover at "Brister", i.e., Bristol, was most likely on the water-front at the King George II Inn, overlooking the Delaware. The exact location of the campsite "*Six miles below brister*" is unknown, but about one mile upstream from the Red Lion Inn.

Thomas Gratton records in his "Book":

marched over the [Delaware] River 4 miles and encamped.

The exact location of this campsite is unknown, but a distance of four miles across the Delaware in Pennsylvania places it in the vicinity of the home of a Mr. "Tully" at Martin's Creek or Cook's Run some five miles before Bristol.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁷ Marie-François baron Cromot du Bourg., "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (March 1880), pp. 205-214, (April 1880), pp. 293-308, (May 1880), pp. 376-385, (June 1880), pp. 441-452, p. 384.

⁴⁷⁸ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, p. 759.

⁴⁷⁹ I have been unable to identify the "Tully" on map 45 in Colles, *Survey*, p. 159. For an identification of Martin's Creek see Resource 5 of this report.

As Graton is crossing the Delaware River on 3 September, Moses Hawkin's regiment, the Second Continental Artillery, and the Sappers and Miners are already encamped some 65 miles away in Christiana in Delaware. Since the armies traveled 12 to 15 miles per day, 65 miles represent four to five days of travel.

By the afternoon of 3 September 1781, all but the hospital wagons of Rochambeau's forces probably have also crossed into Pennsylvania. On 5 September, Washington wrote in his diary

5th. The rear of the French army having reached Philadelphia and the Americans having passed it--the Stores having got up & every thing in a tolerable train.

Part of the "rear of the French army" were the hospital wagons. In his pension application of 1832, Thomas Loomis of Lebanon 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.*⁴⁸⁰

If Loomis, who was in Wadsworth's/French service, remained a day or two behind the armies throughout the march, a reasonable assumption since that would have allowed the hospital to pick up and take care of hurt and/or sick stragglers, then the last components of Rochambeau's army may traveled with the rear-guard of the Continental Army.

If Loomis was indeed two days behind the rear-guard of the army, he would have crossed into Pennsylvania only on 5 September. That day the First Brigade of the French Army crossed into Delaware from Chester, while the most advanced elements of the Continental Army were already encamped along Baltimore Pike in the vicinity of Iron Hill and Cooch's Bridge, about 2 1/2 miles from the Maryland State line.

Loomis arrived in Williamsburg with the hospital wagons the day Washington opened the first batteries at Yorktown, which was 9 October 1781. That was three days after the arrival of the main French wagon train on 6 October.

⁴⁸⁰ Pension application of Thomas Loomis of Lebanon, Connecticut, NARA Series M805, Roll 536, Image 731, File S17551. I am grateful to Ms Alicia Wayland of Lebanon, Connecticut for pointing this pension file out to me.

Resources identified:

Resource 61: The stopover of the Second New York Regiment at "Brister"
Along the waterfront of the Delaware River in Bristol
Bristol, PA 19007

On 3 September Tallmadge and the 2nd New York regiment briefly made landfall in Bristol, most likely on the waterfront at or near the King George II Inn, overlooking the Delaware.

Resource 62: Campsite of the Second New York Regiment
"Six miles below brister"
Bristol, PA 19007

In the evening of 3 September, Tallmadge and the men of the Second New York Regiment sailing down the Delaware River camped for the night approximately one mile upstream from the Red Lion Inn. The exact location of the campsite is unknown.

Route, Rear-Guard:

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

Thomas Graton's artificers are the last American forces to cross into Pennsylvania and encamp between Trenton and Bristol.

In his diary, Van Cortlandt wrote that he proceeded from Philadelphia to Marcus Hook, "passing Wilmington to the Head of Elk, where I left the Boats and Marched by land to Baltimore where I encamped on the Hill being a part of Mr. Howards Farm now a part of Baltimore City (13 September 1781)."⁴⁸¹

⁴⁸¹ Jacob Judd, ed., *The Revolutionary War Memoir and Selected Correspondence of Philip Van Cortlandt* (Tarrytown 1976), pp. 59-60. Lauberdière wrote that "pendant notre séjour à Philadelphie ils passerent au large de cette ville en descendant le Delaware pour se rendre à New Castle." Lauberdière, "Journal," fol. 100. Lauberdière had joined Rochambeau on 1 September.

4 September 1781

Water Route through Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

Colonel Lamb's Orderly Book directs "The Commissary [to] issue one Weeks' Allowance of Rum to the Officers."

In his Division Orders for the day, Washington thanks the army for

The chearfulness with which the Troops have borne the fatigues of their present march, the dispatch, good Order and regularity" which caused him "the highest expression of satisfaction.

He also informs them that

*We have the highest Assurances, that we shall meet in a few days, a large French Fleet, and such a land force, as gives the fairest prospects, that our present Expedition into Virginia will be attended with compleat success.*⁴⁸²

More important for the troops, however, was "the prospect of their soon receiving some Pay." In anticipation of that rare event, Washington ordered that "A Gill of Rum will be immediately served out to the troops."⁴⁸³

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

⁴⁸² Washington learned of the arrival of Admiral de Grasse in the Cheasapeake in the afternoon of the following day, 5 September.

⁴⁸³ The troops were paid upon their arrival at Head of Elk on 8 September. The next entry in the Orderly Book dates from Burwell's Ferry in Virginia, 24 September 1781.

Continental Army (Route Number 2):

Summary:

The main body of the Continental Army leaves Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

At 5:00 a.m., Lincoln writes to Washington from Chester

My Dr General,

*The troops are now under way and are just leaving their ground. we shall encamp to night a mile or two on the other side Willmington - I do not observe any desertent (sic) among the troops - a little money however would make us good.*⁴⁸⁴

Samuel Shute records in his journal:

*4th Marched two miles below Wilmington -- 7 miles*⁴⁸⁵

Thacher writes in his journal for 4 September that he

*Marched through Wilmington, eighteen miles*⁴⁸⁶

Sanderson wrote

*Marched through Chester, through Brandywine, through Wilmington - encamp^d one mile from Wilmington, which was about 20 miles we marched the day.*⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁴ Lincoln Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, reel 6.

⁴⁸⁵ Shute probably meant to write "17 miles" as it is about 18 miles from the "Plough", where he had spent the night, to Richardson Mill, which was situated "2 miles below Wilmington" and not quite 30 miles from Philadelphia. A distance of seven miles would indicate a camp near the Anchor Tavern and the Three Tuns Tavern, 1 1/2 and 2 miles respectively, inside Delaware.

⁴⁸⁶ Thacher, *Eyewitness*, p. 273. That would indicate a camp near the "Plough" and Crum Creek, where Shute and Sanderson also had camped. Yet it is 13 miles from Philadelphia to Crum Creek and Thacher had indicated for the previous day that they had camped but four miles from the city.

⁴⁸⁷ A campsite one mile from the outskirts of Wilmington on the way to Newport places him in the vicinity of Canby Park on the slopes of Robinson Hill facing the Mill Creek of Richard Richardson's Mill. C. A. Weslager, *The Richardsons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1957). On Richard (1720-1797) see pp. 46-57. It is about 19 miles from "the Plough" to Richardson Mill situated "2 miles below Wilmington."

On 4 September, Washington writes to General Nathanael Greene from Philadelphia

Dear Sir:

Two Days ago, I received your Favors of the 6th. and of August by Colo. Morris: as he does not return immediately, and as I have a favorable Opportunity of writing by a Gentleman, who is recommended by Mr. Bee,⁴⁸⁸ I will give you a Sketch of our Proceedings, Circumstances and Prospects, without entering into a Detail of Affairs, which however, I will not fail to communicate, as soon as Matters have ripened a little more, thro' Colo. Morris, or some other confidential Person.

In the first Place I have to inform you that the Plan of Operations for the Campaign is totally changed; this was occasioned by a Variety of concurring Circumstances, two only of which it is necessary to mention Vizt. the Arrival of a Reinforcement of more than 2000 Germans at N York, and a certain Information that the Count D Grasse, would make his first Approach in the Chesapeak and commence his Operations against the Enemy in Virginia, and that he could not continue a long Time on the Coasts; no Alternative being then left, It was determined to improve the naval Assistance of our Allies in that Quarter to the best Advantage. For that purpose I am thus far advanced on my March with the whole of the french Army, a Detachment of more than 2000 American Infantry, a Regiment of Artillery and such Apparatus for a Seige as we have been able to command.

While these things were in Agitation, and the Enemy totally unacquainted with our real Designs (our Army being then in Motion towards Staten Island, with the professed Intention and universal Belief of co-operating with the french fleet, which was reported by us, to be hourly expected) a British Fleet of 13 Sail of the Line, under Admiral Hood, arrived on the 29th. ulto. at Sandy Hook, from the West Indies, and two Days after sailed (it is reported steering Southerly) in Conjunction with 7 Ships of the Line which lay at the Hook previous to their Arrival. A little before this Time, vizt. on the 24th. of Augt. Count de Barras sailed with his Squadron from Rhode Island, to form a Junction with the Count de Grasse in the

⁴⁸⁸ Thomas Bee, Delegate to the Continental Congress from South Carolina.

Chesapeak, as the latter was expected from his own Account, to be certainly there by the Time the former left Rhode Island. Nothing has since been heard of either of the Fleets; from the circumstances related, you will readily conceive, that the present Time is as interesting and anxious a Moment, as I have ever experienced. We will hope however for the most propitious Issue of our united Exertions.

Among the many Contingencies which may take place, should the french Fleets form a Junction, their superiority will be decided; should the Count de Grasse only fall in with the English Fleet, it will probably be a fortunate Event, as his is stronger than the British by at least 5 ships; should either of the French fleets get possession of the River, and cutt off the Retreat of Cornwallis by Water, he must in all probability, be forced to surrender, unless he should make his Escape by Land; against which Event, I have repeatedly written to the Marquis to take every possible precaution, and to advise you (should the Attempt ever be made) to take such further Measures as you shall think proper on the Occasion.

I shall set out Tomorrow for the Head of Elk, and shall expedite the Movement of the Troops; Ordnance and Stores as much as possible, that not a Moment may be lost, when the fortunate, long wished for Period arrives.

Altho the Land Force which is expected in the fleet, will not, by my Information, amount to more than 3000 Men, yet if Heaven smiles upon us, our united Strength, will be equal to the Attainment of some very important Objects, before the Close of the Campaign.

I will thank you for every Information and Advice, which may be interesting in our Circumstances, and hope that a mutual confidential Intercourse may be facilitated, by diminishing the Distance and Hazard of Interception, which have so much interrupted our Correspondence.

Route:

Leaving from their campsites between Darby Creek (Thacher) and Crum Creek (Sanderson, Shute) along Chester Pike (PA-SR 13), which becomes Morton Avenue once you cross Ridley Creek into Chester, the troops continued straight on Morton Avenue, cross the railroad tracks and turn right onto Fourth Street to Market Place, where they turned left on Egmont Avenue to Third Street. In the eighteenth century, Morton Avenue continued to Third Street and Market Square, indicated on the map, where they would have turned right.⁴⁸⁹ They follow Third Street until it ends at Price Street, turn right and when Price ends left on Post Road, which they followed to Marcus Hook. Just past Marcus Hook they passed the Blue Ball Tavern (Blue Ball Avenue is all that remains today) on their right. From there it was 1 1/2 miles until they entered Delaware.

Resources identified:

Resource 63: 1724 Chester Courthouse
Market Street below 5th Street
Chester, PA 19013

Built in 1724, this is the oldest public building still standing in the United States and was used as a courthouse until 1967. It was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on 27 May 1971, #71000702.

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

The First Brigade of the French army is encamped along the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia.

The Second Brigade of French infantry leaves its camp at Red Lion Tavern, parades before Congress, and camps next to the First Brigade.

Manuscript References:

Rochambeau uses the opportunity to let Admiral de Grasse know that he has received via Laurens his letter of 15 May and informs him in very open terms of his frustration with American unwillingness to contribute their fair share toward the expenses of the campaign.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁹ Since many of the modern streets no longer follow the eighteenth-century road pattern and are also One-Way in the direction of the march, it is impossible to drive the route through Chester.

⁴⁹⁰ The only other known letter written by Rochambeau from Philadelphia went to the *duc* de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, on 2 September.

Route:

French forces follow the route taken by the Continental Army.

Rear-Guard:**Summary:**

The Second New York Regiment follows the course of the Delaware.

Manuscript Resources:

On 4 September Tallmadge records from "Six miles below Brister"

*at six OClock Embarked and Continued our march
down the river arrived at Philadelphia about Eight OClock
-- there halted, Continued there the night.*⁴⁹¹

The location where they spend the night it is unknown.

Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, who commanded the 2nd New York Regiment, wrote that "halted one day [in Philadelphia] to accommodate my officers."

Behind the New York Regiment follow the artificers of Thomas Graton, who records in his "Book":

Ye 4th marched to Bristol Frankford and encamped.

The exact location of the campsite of the Artificers is unknown.

Resources identified:

Resource 64: campsite of the Second New York Regiment in Philadelphia
Along Front Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

The exact location of the camp of the Second New York Regiment in Philadelphia for the night of 4/5 September is unknown, but it was presumably in the harbor along the waterfront.

⁴⁹¹ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, p. 759.

Resource 65: Campsite of the Company of Artificers
in/near Frankford
Frankford, PA 19124

On 4 September Thomas Graton wrote in his "Book":

Ye 4th marched to Bristol Frankford and encamped.

The exact location of the campsite in/near Frankford is unknown.

Only now, on 4 September 1781, can American DQMG Neilson report to QMG Pickering from Trenton the conclusion of the crossing operation. No allied forces designated for 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 Pennsylvania 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 & Clothier Stores to Philadelphia, and to apply to Colonel Miles for further Instructions."*⁴⁹²

⁴⁹² NARA Misc. Numbered Records M859, film 14, reel 80, frame 38.

5 September 1781

Water Route through Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Continental Army (Route Number 2):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

The Water Route of Rochambeau from Philadelphia to Chester (Route Number 6):

Summary:

As Washington left Philadelphia in the morning of 5 September 1781, Rochambeau decided to make a detour to see Red Bank with Fort Mercer, Fort Billingsport and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island. Visits to such sites formed part of the continuing education process for his senior officers and his aides. On the journey Rochambeau was accompanied by Artillery Captain Mauduit du Plessis, who had been in command of the American artillery at Fort Mercer as a lieutenant colonel in the Continental Army

during the British siege of 1777. His travel expenses were covered by the public. On 10 September 1781, the treasurer was ordered to pay Joseph Robenett "the sum of Nine pounds twelve shillings and six pence, Specie," to cover the "expenses in carrying down the French Generals to view the Forts at Mud Island and Billingsport."⁴⁹³

Cromot du Bourg who also took part in the excursion wrote

*"It would be difficult to imagine a more beautiful view than Philadelphia presented from the water as we left it."*⁴⁹⁴

Manuscript References:

Visiting these sites on 4 October 1781, Lieutenant Enos Reeves wrote:

*"The fort at Billingsport is not in good repair at present; Fort Mifflin on Mud Island is in a tolerable state of defence, if it were well mounted and man'd. This place is famous for holding out against the British fleet for two months, before which they had two ships burnt, one of which was blown up, with a number of men. Red Bank, quite destroyed, is famous for standing the attack made by General Kniphausen, before which fell six hundred Hessians with the famous Count Denaub [Donop]."*⁴⁹⁵

Route:

Rochambeau and his entourage follow the course of the Delaware River to Chester, where they land to meet up with Washington.

Resources identified:

According to Baron Closen's account, the group started its excursion at Fort Mifflin, and then continued on to Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin. Red Bank with Fort Mercer and Fort Billingsport lie on the New Jersey side of the river but are listed here since they form an integral part of Rochambeau's journey through Pennsylvania.

⁴⁹³ Pennsylvania Revolutionary Council Minute Book for Tuesday, 28 August 1781, pp. 386, RG 27, microfilm reel 691, Pennsylvania State Archives, Harrisburg.

⁴⁹⁴ Cromot du Borg, "Journal," p. 383.

⁴⁹⁵ For an account of his journey see "Extracts from the Letterbooks of Lieutenant Enos Reeves, of the Pennsylvania Line [Sept. 1780-April 1782]." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 21 (April-October 1897), pp. 235-256, p. 238. His letters were published in six installments from October 1896 to January 1898.

Resource 66: Red Bank Battlefield Park
100 Hessian Avenue
National Park, N. J. 08063

On 22 October 1777, American forces successfully defended Fort Mercer, an earthen fort erected to guard the river approach to Philadelphia, in the Battle of the Red Bank. Their victory delayed the opening of the Delaware River as a route of supply for General Howe's army, which had occupied Philadelphia on 26 September 1778.

On 28 November 1972, the battlefield became a National Historic Landmark, #72000796. The U.S. Government owns the 44-acre site.

Resource 67: Fort Mercer Commemorative Monument (1906)
In the northern section of the Red Bank Battlefield Park
100 Hessian Avenue
National Park, N. J. 08063

Fort Mercer was one of three military installations, which guarded the Philadelphia harbor and the communities along the Delaware River.

Resource 68: Fort Billingsport
Borough of Paulsboro, NJ 08066

On 5 July 1776, Margaret Paul, sold 96 acres of Billingsport for £ 600 Pennsylvania currency to the Council of Safety of Philadelphia. The land was charged to Congress. In 1777, a redoubt and fort was erected at Billingsport by troops from Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina and New Jersey as part of a defense system for the lower Delaware river. The other posts were Fort Mercer at Red Bank and Fort Mifflin on Mud Island. After its capture in 1777, by British forces under Lord Howe, the fort was briefly occupied, but was again evacuated in 1777.

The fort was again occupied by American troops in the War of 1812. After the peace treaty was signed, the fort was deserted and forgotten.

Resource 69: Fort Mifflin
Fort Mifflin Road
Philadelphia, PA 19153

Begun by the British, just below the mouth of the Schuylkill River, in 1772, to defend river approaches to Philadelphia, it was completed by Major General Thomas Mifflin after the War for Independence started. After the British captured Philadelphia in September 1777, their water

transportation was blocked by Forts Mifflin and Mercer and a series of obstructions, i.e., *cheveaux des frises*, in the Delaware River. The forts were attacked in October and November and defended stubbornly. Mifflin was evacuated and destroyed by the Americans on 16 November, Fort Mercer at Red Bank a few days later. A new Fort Mifflin was completed in 1795 of stone faced with brick and banked with earth. Further construction and repairs were carried out during the War of 1812, during the 1830's and 1840's. During the Civil War it served as a Confederate prison and disarmed in 1904. It was used for military storage in World War II. Its transfer to the City of Philadelphia was authorized by Congress in 1956. Restored to its 1834 appearance it is open to the public except during winter months.

Fort Mifflin was designated a National Historic Landmark on 29 August 1970, #70000554.

Washington also had left Philadelphia in the morning of 5 September. In his journal, Jonathan Trumbull records that "About 3 miles below Chester meets an Express from Admiral de Grasse. The fleet arrived in the Chesapeake 26 ult^o. News welcome though strangely delayed. The General returns to Chester to meet and rejoice with Count Rochambeau, who was coming down by water, and to communicate the joy to Congress."⁴⁹⁶ Rochambeau takes the opportunity to inform French War Minister Ségur of the arrival of de Grasse as well.⁴⁹⁷

Three miles below Chester places the two generals at Marcus Hook, and Trumbull's account as well as Washington's and Rochambeau's letters leave no doubt that the two generals returned to Chester to write their letters. It is unknown, however, where Rochambeau and Washington spent the night of 5/6 September 1781. The *comte* de Lauberdrière writes: "M de Rochambeau and M Washington departed on the 6th from Chester to betake themselves to Head of Elk." This indicates that the two men stayed in Chester where they could have slept in *the Blue Anchor Tavern* at Fourth and Market, the *Pennsylvania Arms* on Market Street across from the Court House, or even in the Blue Ball Tavern near Marcus Hook.⁴⁹⁸

This stands however in contradiction to Trumbull, who wrote in his "Minutes of Occurrences": "At evening [GW] proceeds to Wilmington. 6. Breakfast at Christiana Bridge, where our boats, stores &c. are brought from Delaware Water through the Christiana Creek, debarked and carried across by land about 12 miles to the head of Elk where the troops and a great part of the stores are arrived and beginning to embark."⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁶ Trumbull, "Occurrences," p. 332.

⁴⁹⁷ Rochambeau's letter to Ségur is in the Rochambeau Papers, vol. 9.

⁴⁹⁸ The tavern is identified in Colles, *Survey*, p. 160.

⁴⁹⁹ Trumbull, "Occurrences," p. 332.

Resource 70: Landing Site in Marcus Hook
Market Square Memorial Park
Marcus Hook, PA 19061

It was probably at this spot that Washington on 5 September 1781 awaited the arrival of the *comte* de Rochambeau from his visits to the Delaware River fortifications.

Resource 71: Site of the Blue Anchor Tavern
Fourth and Market
Chester, PA 19013

The Blue Anchor Tavern represents a potential site where Washington and/or Rochambeau may have spent the night of 5/6 September 1781.

Resource 72: Site of the Pennsylvania Arms Tavern
on Market Street across from the Court House.
Chester, PA 19013

The Pennsylvania Arms Tavern represents another potential site where Washington and/or Rochambeau may have spent the night of 5/6 September 1781.

Resource 73: Eagle Tavern
46 East Delaware
Marcus Hook, PA 19061

The Eagle Tavern represents another potential site where Washington and/or Rochambeau may have spent the night of 5/6 September 1781.

Resource 74: Marcus Hook Plank Log House
221 Market Street
Marcus Hook, PA 19061

Also known as Blackbeard's Mistress's House, this is one of the oldest buildings (1683) in Pennsylvania. Blackbeard's presence in that area in the early 1700's can be documented, and there is evidence to suggest that the house was once owned by a woman who was Blackbeard's mistress, known only by the name of "Margaret."

Resource 75: Site of the Blue Ball Tavern
Blue Ball Tavern Street
Marcus Hook 19061

The name of the street is all that remains today of the tavern, the site of which is in the middle of the SUNOCO refinery in Marcus Hook.

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of the French army leaves its camp along the Schuylkill River for Chester.

The Second Brigade of the French army camps along the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia.

Manuscript References:

For French accounts of Pennsylvania and accounts of their reception in Philadelphia see: 9.2 French Accounts of the March through Pennsylvania

Route:

French forces follow the route taken by the Continental Army.

Resources identified:

Resource 76: French Campsite Marker
Avenue and McDowell Avenue
Chester, PA 19013

The marker is meant to commemorate the 1781 campsite of French forces in Chester. It is, however, on the wrong location. In 1781, French forces camped along Old Chester Pike on the other side of Chester. It was only on their return in 1782 that French forces camped here.

Resource 77: French Army Camp
along PA-SR 13 (Post Road) between Main and
Gilbert Streets
Marcus Hook, PA 19013

The First Brigade spent the night of 5/6 September on this campsite in Chester; the next morning it marched on to Wilmington, Delaware. The Second French Brigade occupied the same site on the night of 6/7 September 1781.

Rear-Guard:

Summary:

The New York Regiment follows the course of the Delaware River to Christiana in Delaware while the artificers encamp outside Philadelphia.

Manuscript Resources:

Samuel Tallmadge records on 5 September from Philadelphia

*about sunrise Embarked and proceeded down
the river as far as Chester fifteen miles, halted a few
minutes, then continued our march to Marcus hook
four miles further where we arrived about 10
OClock and Encamped.*⁵⁰⁰

The exact location of this campsite at Marcus Hook is unknown but probably at the landing in Marcus Hook where Washington had waited for Rochambeau in the vicinity of the Eagle Tavern about one mile from the Delaware State Line. See Resource 70.

Following this stop-over on 4/5 September, Van Cortlandt continued to use the Delaware River as a conduit and on 5 September sailed on

*to markees Hook where I remained a few days for the
Army to pass and my men to wash their clothes.*⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, p. 659. For a potential site for the stop in Chester see Resource 21.

⁵⁰¹ Van Cortlandt's memory seems to have failed him here since the regimental Orderly Book records only a one day stay. Jacob Judd, ed., *Correspondence of the Van Cortlandt Family of Cortlandt Manor 1748-1800* (Tarrytown, 1977), p. 241.

Behind Tallmadge follow the artificers, who reach Philadelphia on 5 September. Thomas Graton records in his "Book":

*Ye 5th marched to Philedelphia and past ye City
one mile and encamped.*

The exact location of the campsite for Graton and his Company of Artificers is unknown but it was most likely alongside French the forces on the Schuylkill. See Resource 31.

Route Rear-Guard:

The New York Regiment follows the course of the Delaware River to Christiana in Delaware while the artificers encamp outside Philadelphia.

Resources identified:

No new resources

6 September 1781

Water Route through Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Continental Army (Route Number 2):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The First Brigade of the French army leaves its camp at Chester and marches across the Delaware State line to its next camp in Wilmington.

The French set up camp on a line with Second Street between today's Justison and Adams Street on the edge of the Ships Tavern District.

The Second Brigade of the French army marches to its camp at Chester.

Manuscript Resources:

For French accounts of Pennsylvania and accounts of their reception in Philadelphia see: 9.2 French Accounts of the March through Pennsylvania

Route:

French forces follow the route previously taken by the Continental Army.

Resources identified:

No new resources

Rear-Guard:**Summary:**

The New York Regiment leaves Pennsylvania and arrives in Christiana in Delaware. Thomas Graton and the artificers encamp about 5 miles from Philadelphia.

A camp five miles from Philadelphia places the camp along Cobb's Creek at the "Blue Bell Tavern" and about three-fourth of a mile before the center of Derby.⁵⁰² See Resource 25.

Manuscript Resources:

Samuel Tallmadge records on 6 September from Marcus Hook

*Embarked about Six OClock Continued our march down to Wilmington passed by the town, and proceeded on to Newport there halted half an hour then Continued our march to Christeen Bridge where we arrived about one OClock and Encamped. Willmington, and Newport is situated on Christeen Creek, the latter in Delaware state.*⁵⁰³

Thomas Graton records:

ye 6th marched 5 miles and encamped.

⁵⁰² The Blue Bell Tavern still standing in Cobbs Creek Park, 7303 Woodland Avenue, is owned by the Fairmount Park Commission.

⁵⁰³ Tallmadge, *Orderly Books*, pp. 759.

Resources identified:

No new resources. For the campsite of Thomas Graton and the Company of Artificers see Resource 25.

Route, Rear-Guard:

Continental Army troops leave Pennsylvania and arrive in Christiana. Washington is already in Head of Elk from where he writes to de Grasse:

Sir:

I have been honored by your Excellency's Favor of the 2d Instant and do myself the Pleasure to felicitate you on the happy arrival of so formidable a Fleet of his most Christian Majesty, in the Bay of Chesapeak, under your Excellencys Command; this happy Event, I hope will be improved to the most salutary Purposes for the united interests of both Nations.

Expecting to have the Honor of a personal Interview with your Excellency, almost as soon as this will reach your Hand, I shall not give you the trouble in Writing, of a particular Detail of my Designs. Will only inform you, that the Van of the two Armies, the French and American, consistg of about 2000 Men, (there not being Transports for the whole) will be embarked in about two Days, and will fall Down the Chesapeak to form a Junction with the Troops under the Comd. of the Ct. de St. Simon and the Marquis Lafayette and to cooperate in Block up L[or]d Cornwallis in York River, and preventg him to make his Retreat by Land, or collecting any Supplies from the Country.

This Junction of the Van of our Troops is proposed to be made in James River, unless your Excellency and the Commanders of the land Troops, should judge some other Point of Debarkation to be more favorable to our Intentions, in which Case you will be pleased to meet the Transports while on their Way, with Orders to proceed to any other Point which may be fixed on.

The Remainder of the Troops from hence will be forwarded on with all the Expedition our Circumstances will admit. In the Mean Time, as it will be of the greatest Importance to prevent the Escape of his Lordship from his

present Position, I am persuaded that every Measure which prudence can dictate Will be improved for that Purpose, untill the Arrival of our Compleat Force, when I hope his Lordship will be compelled to yield his Ground, to the superior power of our Combined Forces.

Washington's diary contains no entries for 6 and 7 September. His private secretary Jonathan Trumbull, Jr. records however:

"6. Breakfast at Christiana Bridge, where our boats, stores, &c. are brought from Delaware Water through Christiana Creek, debarked and carried a[c]ross by land about 12 miles to the head of Elk. Here they are again embarked up the Elk River and transported down the Chesapeake. The General proceeds to the Head of Elk where the troops and a great part of the stores are arrived and beginning to embark.

The want of water craft obliges part of the troops to march by land to Baltimore, and eventually as far as Anapolis. Many ox and horse teams are sent on by land, the General expecting to find little or no means of land transportation in Virginia. The many rivers and great abundance of water communication almost superceeding the necessity of that convenience.

7. At Elk writing letters, forwarding troops, stores &c. The country through which we have passed greatly pleased with the prospect of our Expedition."

7 September 1781

Water Route through Philadelphia (Route Number 3):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Continental Army (Route Number 2):

Summary:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No American forces remain in Pennsylvania

French Army (Route Number 5):

Summary:

The Second Brigade of the French army leaves its camp at Chester and marches across the Delaware State line, through Wilmington and another five miles to a camp in Newport. No French forces remain in Pennsylvania

Manuscript References:

No French forces remain in Pennsylvania

Route:

No French forces remain in Pennsylvania

Rear-Guard:**Summary:**

Once the artificers of the Continental Army have crossed into Delaware by late afternoon or early evening on 7 September 1781, no American forces remain in Pennsylvania.

Manuscript Resources:

For 7 September Thomas Graton records a 21-mile march from Cobb's Creek and the Blue Bell Tavern to Wilmington:

*ye 7th marched to Darby Chester and encamped at Brandywine in Delaware State.*⁵⁰⁴

Route, Rear-Guard:

Following the route taken previously by Continental Army troops as well as the French army, the rear-guard crosses into Delaware.

Resources identified:

No new resources

This last group of allied troops marching into Delaware may once again have included Thomas Loomis and the French hospital wagons though they may have followed a day or two behind. Even further behind Graton, Loomis and their wagon trains followed Lieutenant Enos Reeves with reinforcements for the Pennsylvania Line.⁵⁰⁵ Reeves' vessels "weighed anchor" from its mooring "opposite Almond street" in Philadelphia "about sunrise in the morning" on 4 October 1781. By the morning of Friday, 5 October, the ships were anchored in the Christiana River in Wilmington. Sailing down the Chesapeake from Head of Elk he reached Yorktown on 29 October 1781, ten days after Lord Cornwallis had surrendered.

⁵⁰⁴ The Brandywine flows through Wilmington, Delaware. Brandywine Village was one of the most important milling centers in the mid-Atlantic states in the eighteenth century. The 156 feet long and 36 feet wide bridge across the Brandywine had been built in 1765. A campsite at the Brandywine places the troops in the 1800 block of Market Street on either side of that bridge.

⁵⁰⁵ Reeves, "Letterbook," p. 237. See also the "Diary of the Pennsylvania Line. May 26, 1781-April 25, 1782." *Pennsylvania Archives* Second Series vol. 11 (1880), pp. 677-727.