

**THE WASHINGTON - ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE
IN THE STATE OF DELAWARE, 1781 - 1783**

A Historical And Architectural Survey

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Cover Illustration: Detail from Robert Erskine and Simeon DeWitt, *From the Anchor Tavern through Wilmington + Newport + past Christiana Bridge + across Couches Bridge over the South end of Iron Hill to a little past the division line into Delaware.* Map 124 B, Courtesy New York Historical Society.

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INTRODUCTION

2.1 Purpose of the Project

In a 1999 interview with the historical magazine *American Heritage*, renowned author David McCullough claimed that "When you're working on the Revolutionary War, as I'm doing now, you realize what the French did for us. We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for them."¹ Few historians of the war on either side of the Atlantic would dispute that there is a very large grain of truth in McCullough's statement. Still, the notion of Frenchmen fighting side by side with Continental soldiers for American independence comes as a surprise to most Americans: 220 years after Yorktown few Americans are aware of the critical importance of America's French allies during the Revolutionary War.

The support provided by French King Louis XVI toward the success of that war has been largely obliterated in the collective memory of the American people. As the Revolutionary generation passed away in the 1820s and 1830s, and canals and railroads altered modes and patterns of transportation in the 1840s and 1850s, the memory of the "gallant" Frenchmen under General *comte* de Rochambeau, of their crucial contribution to American Independence, and of the bond forged in the crucible of war, was covered by the mantle of Revolutionary War iconography. A prime example of this is given by Benson J. Lossing, who could write in 1852, that "a balance-sheet of favors connected with the alliance will show not the least preponderance of service in favor of the French, unless the result of the more vigorous action of the Americans, caused by the hopes of success from the alliance, shall be taken into the account."²

The tragedy of the Civil War and the turmoil of the Second Industrial Revolution brought massive economic and demographic dislocation in the 1860s and 1870s. As millions of immigrants from southern and east-central Europe settled mid-western and western America in the 1880s and 1890s, interest in the French alliance was increasingly confined to professional historians and Americans living in France. The celebrations of the centennials of the American and French Revolutions in 1876 and 1889 saw the publication of Thomas Balch's *Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1777-1783*, published in Paris and Philadelphia in 1872.³ In 1881, Henry P. Johnston published the still useful *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*, and Edwin M. Stone followed suit with *Our French Allies ... in the Great War of the American Independence*, (Providence, Rhode Island, 1884).

In Paris, Henri Doniol published between 1886 and 1892 his ambitious *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique. Correspondance diplomatique et documents* in five volumes.⁴ In 1903, Amblard Marie vicomte de Noailles' *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique Pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1778-1783* ran off the presses in Paris. Supported by the *Society in France, Sons of the American Revolution*, founded in Paris in September 1897, the French Foreign Ministry in 1903 published a partial list of names in *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine 1778-1783*.⁵

¹ "There Isn't Any Such Thing As The Past." *American Heritage* Vol. 50. No. 1, (February/March 1999), pp. 114-125, p. 124.

² Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* 2 vols. (New York, 1852), Vol. 2, p. 83, note 4.

³ An English translation appeared in two volumes in Philadelphia in 1891/95.

⁴ A supplement volume bringing the history of events to the signing of the Peace Treaty of 1783 (the original volume 5 ends with the signing of the preliminaries of peace) was added in 1899.

⁵ Published in the United States as United States. Congress. Senate. Miscellaneous Publications. 58th Congress, 2nd Session. Document No. 77. (Washington, D.C., 1903/4). For the German-speaking regiment Royal Deux-Ponts and the Irish regiments Walsh and Dillon the document lists "officiers seulement."

A few years later, the First World War brought the renewal of an alliance that had flourished some 140 years earlier. "Lafayette, we are here!" an American officer is said to have pronounced over the tomb of the *marquis* in Paris in 1917. With Armistice Day 1918, the "debt to Lafayette" was paid. But the war "over there" also brought renewed interest in the earlier military cooperation during the Revolutionary War. When Boston banker Allan Forbes retraced the route taken by Rochambeau in the early 1920s, he concentrated on the New England states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.⁶ His research ended at the New York State line; the mid-Atlantic states were covered in but a single article.⁷ Forbes' efforts and recommendations remained without a follow-up, and even though a few determined individuals tried over the course of the century to revive the memory of the role of France in the Revolutionary War, it has until recently been left to town historians and private organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati or the *Souvenir Français*, to commemorate the Franco-American alliance.

All this changed in the late 1990s, when commemorative and preservation efforts that had begun in the State of Connecticut developed into a nation-wide effort to celebrate both the 225th anniversary of the American Revolution as well as the role of France in achieving American independence. In the fall of 2000, both Houses of Congress passed "A Bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600 mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War." The bill was presented to President Bill Clinton on 2 November and signed into law on 9 November 2000.⁸ President Clinton's signature created Public Law No. 106-473, the *Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Heritage Act of 2000*. Similarly on 22 July 2002, the United States House of Representatives voted to make Lafayette an honorary citizen of the United States. This honor places Lafayette among only five others who were similarly honored.⁹

The present resource survey of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route (W3R) commemorating the 225th Anniversary of the American Revolution in the State of Delaware contributes to this federally mandated nine-state (plus the District of Columbia) National Historic Trail study authorized by Congress to be completed by 2005.

The purpose of the W3R project in the State of Delaware is manifold:

- 1) To develop a plan to interpret a) the route that General George Washington's and the *comte de Rochambeau's* armies took through Delaware in the summer of 1781, b) the return march of the American forces in December of 1781, and c) the return march of French forces in the fall of 1782. A fourth component of the study is a historical analysis of the winter quarters of Lauzun's

⁶ Forbes, Allan and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England* 3 vols., (Boston, 1925-1929).

⁷ Allan Forbes, "Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army beyond New England during the Revolutionary War" *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* Vol. 67 (1945), pp. 152-167. Forbes' research notes seem to be lost; they are not in his papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁸ Concurrently First Lady and (then) Senator-elect Hilary Rodham Clinton designated the W3R a *Millennium Trail*, making properties along the route eligible for federal TEA-21 funds through each State's Department of Transportation.

⁹ The Senate approved the Joint Resolution on 24 July 2002 and President George W. Bush signed it into law. The other honorees are Winston Churchill, Mother Teresa, Raoul Wallenberg, and William Penn and his wife Hannah. Since Lafayette was made a citizen of Maryland in 1785, historians such Louis Gottschalk have argued that Lafayette effectively became a US citizen when Maryland became one of the United States. See his *Lafayette Between the American and French Revolutions* (1950); Appendix III, and pages 145-47 of the main text. Congress already proclaimed Lafayette an honorary citizen in 1824.

Legion in Wilmington in 1782/83, and an identification of soldiers who remained in the United States after the departure of French forces in 1783 as a basis for the identification of descendants of these soldiers. A fifth component looks at the shipwreck of the French frigate *l'Aigle* in September 1782 off Duck Creek and the journey of its passengers, including such illustrious names as Lauzun, Vioménil, Broglie, Ségur, Montesquieu, Laval, Fleury, Talleyrand, Lameth, and Laval, through Odessa, Dover, Christiana, and Wilmington to Philadelphia. A sixth component looks at the celebrations during the return marches of the victorious armies as defining moments in American consciousness, and the 1783 festivities surrounding the birth of the dauphin of France.

2) Concurrently the study also is to contribute to, and form a component of, the greater W3R project aimed at designating the entire nine-state route a National Historic Trail under the National Park Service. In 2006, activities and projects connected with the new interpretations of the role of the State of Delaware during the American Revolutionary War should become an integral component of the celebrations commemorating the 225th Anniversary of the march of the combined Franco-American Armies through the First State.

3) At the same time, the study is also designed to allow for state-wide implementation of its recommendations should Congress decide not to designate the W3R a National Historic Trail.

2.2 Scope of the Project

The current report undertakes a historical and architectural survey of resources for the W3R in the State of Delaware and to develop recommendations for interpretation of these sites. In addition, it is intended as a tool to provide information to support potential archeological surveys and excavations of the campsites, routes, and other physical evidence of the presence of the American and French armies in Delaware from 1781 to 1783. This dual approach adheres to the template developed and followed by the states of Connecticut and New York.¹⁰ Upon completion in the spring of 2003, Delaware will have the basis for joining the W3R National Historic Trail (if so designated by Congress), to begin the research necessary for nominating identified sites to the National Register of Historic Places, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and for the re-interpretation of existing sites within the state.

2.3 Goals of the Project

The project has set itself five goals:

1) to collect, interpret, and evaluate American, French, British, and German primary and secondary sources for information concerning the French role in the American Revolutionary War with a view toward explaining the reasons, goals, and results for and of that involvement.

2) to review these sources for information about the presence of French and American troops in Delaware and their interaction with the inhabitants of the state in 1781, 1782, and 1783.

¹⁰ See Robert A. Selig, *Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing his Journey. Historic and Architectural Survey. Connecticut Historical Commission* (Hartford: State of Connecticut, 1999) and *Rochambeau's Cavalry: Lauzun's Legion in Connecticut 1780-1781. The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Lebanon and its March Through the State in 1781. Rochambeau's Conferences in Hartford and Wethersfield. Historic and Architectural Survey. Connecticut Historical Commission* (Hartford: State of Connecticut, 2000), as well as Robert A. Selig, *The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of New York, 1781-1782. An historical And Architectural Survey* (Albany: Hudson River Valley Greenway, 2001).

3) to identify historic buildings and/or sites as well as modern monuments and markers associated with the campaigns of 1781, 1782, and 1783. This identification of above-ground resources, including portions of the trail where still in existence, and of the campsites (as archeological sites) should (where possible, necessary, or feasible) be followed by the research necessary to bring about nomination of these resources for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places or other appropriate state and/or national registers.

4) to interpret the return marches of the victorious armies and the 1783 festivities celebrating the birth of the dauphin of France as pivotal and defining moments in American national consciousness.

5) to identify French soldiers who remained in the United States after the departure of French forces in 1783.

The route as identified in the historical and architectural survey will be determined by above-ground resources and described in relationship to the currently existing road patterns within the State of Delaware. It will by necessity vary at different locations from the actual eighteenth-century routes taken by the Franco-American armies.

Goals 1), 2), and 5) were achieved by research in American and European libraries and archives with a special focus on unknown and/or unpublished materials relating to the French role in the American Revolutionary War. Local historical research was conducted in the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office, especially in the National Register of Historic Places files, the Delaware Public Archives, the Historical Society of Delaware, and in cooperation with individuals and libraries along the route during fieldwork in the summer of 2002. Goal 4) was accomplished through an evaluation of the enlistment records (*contrôles*) of Lauzun's Legion in the Archives Nationales de France.

Within the parameters set in Goal 3) only structures and sites connected directly and through primary source materials (such as journals, diaries, letters, receipts, or maps) with the march of the infantry, artillery, and cavalry portion of Washington's and Rochambeau's armies in the summer of 1781 and the fall and winter of 1782/83, were included. Goals 4) and 5) provided additional resources based upon the application of the criteria of the National Trails System Act to this study (see 3.1 below). Movements of French forces and/or of French officers or of American forces prior to the summer of 1781, as well as sites connected with actions of Frenchmen in American service such as the *marquis de Lafayette*, are not covered in this report.

Fieldwork and photography were undertaken in the summer of 2002. Copies of the final report are deposited in the offices of the State Historic Preservation Officer in Dover and with the Delaware Society, Sons of the American Revolution. French and German words are in italics unless they are included as English words in *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, tenth edition. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author's.

2.4 Sources

The current study is based almost exclusively on primary sources. In an appendix to Volume 1 (pp. 285-348) of their *American Campaigns*, Rice and Brown provide a list of journals, diaries, memoirs, letters, and other primary sources available at the time of publication of their book. Since then, almost two dozen primary sources have appeared in European and American archives that can be added to the 45 sources listed by Rice and Brown. Most surprising is the fact that

three journals or diaries of enlisted men have come to light since 1972. The most important of these is the journal of Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man in the Royal Deux-Ponts, located in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Strasbourg, France.¹¹ Among the Milton S. Latham Papers in the Library of Congress in Washington, DC was found the *Journal Militaire* kept by an unidentified grenadier in the Bourbonnais regiment.¹² Finally there is the *Histoire des campagnes de l'Armée de Rochambaud (sic) en Amérique* written by André Amblard of the Soissonnais infantry.¹³

Another recently discovered resource is the papers of Antoine Charles du Houx *baron de Vioménil*, Rochambeau's second in command. Some 300 items and about 1,000 pages long, the Fonds Vioménil is preserved in the Académie François Bourdon in Le Creusot, France. These papers shed new light on the decision-making process at the top of the French military hierarchy. For Lauzun's Legion, long the only component of Rochambeau's army without an eyewitness account, a manuscript journal kept by its Lieutenant-Colonel Etienne Hugau entitled *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suite* has been discovered in the Bibliothèque municipale in Evreux, France.¹⁴

Other new sources are the correspondence of Captain Charles Malo François *comte de Lameth*, aide-de-camp to Rochambeau and *aide-maréchal général des logis* (May 1781), and of his brother Captain Alexandre Théodor Victor *chevalier de Lameth*, who replaced Charles Malo François in the summer of 1782.¹⁵ Also unavailable in 1972 was the *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur de Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, of Rochambeau's 21-year-old nephew Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte de Lauberdrière*, a captain in the Saintonge regiment of infantry and one of his aides-de-camp.¹⁶

The largest body of materials not listed in Rice and Brown concerns the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment of infantry: a letter by Jean-François de Thuillière, a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts preserved in the Archives Nationales,¹⁷ two letters by Louis Eberhard von Esebeck, lieutenant-colonel in the Royal Deux-Ponts, dated Jamestown Island, 12 and 16 December 1781,¹⁸ and the papers and letters by Colonel Christian de Deux Ponts, which have been in part deposited in and

¹¹ *Reisen Beschreibung von America welche das Hochlöbliche Regiment von Zweybrücken hat gemacht zu Wasser und zu Land vom Jahr 1780 bis 84*. The writer is preparing an English translation and edition.

¹² Milton Latham Papers MMC 1907.

¹³ Amblard, who enlisted at age 19 in 1773, was discharged as a captain in 1793. His manuscript is located in the Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche in Privas, France. It is as yet unknown why numerous passages from his journal can be found verbatim in the journal of an unidentified officer of the Soissonnais regiment in the Huntington Library in California. See Robert A. Selig, "A New View of Old Williamsburg. A Huntington Library Manuscript provides another glimpse of the city in 1781." *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 22 No. 1, (Spring 2000), pp. 30-34.

¹⁴ Published by Gérard-Antoine Massoni, *Détails intéressants sur les événements arrivés dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suite. Manuscrit de Claude Hugau, lieutenant-colonel de la Légion des Volontaires Etrangers de Lauzun* (Besançon: Université de Franche-Comté, 1996)

¹⁵ The letters are in the Archives du Département Val d'Oise in Cergy-Pontoise, No. 1J 191 and 1J 337/338.

¹⁶ Lauberdrière's *Journal* is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris, France. See Robert A. Selig, "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdrière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106, and "Lauberdrière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdrière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37.

¹⁷ The letter is catalogued under B4 172, Marine.

¹⁸ John M. Lenhart, "Letter of an Officer of the Zweibrücken Regiment," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, Vol. 28, (January 1936), pp. 321-322, and Vol. 28, (February 1936), pp. 350-360.

in part acquired by German archives.¹⁹ Through the good offices of Ms Nancy Bayer, the writer has also gained access to four letters written by her ancestor Wilhelm de Deux-Ponts from America.²⁰ I have not seen the journal kept by Dupleix de Cadignan of the Agenois,²¹ nor that of Xavier de Bertrand, a lieutenant in the Royal Deux-Ponts.²²

These discoveries bring the total of known French sources to over 60, but their value for the Delaware project varies greatly. For one, the location of the journals by Ollonne, Saint-Cyr, Menonville or Rosel listed in Rice and Brown is unknown. Three items listed by them are collections of maps drawn by engineers for the march and/or for the siege of Yorktown. Other primary sources are but collections of letters written during different stages of the campaign, many of which contain little or no information on the march through Delaware. Berthier's extremely valuable account ends on 26 August 1781, many more end with the siege of Yorktown, e.g., the accounts by Cromot du Bourg or William de Deux-Ponts. Others, i.e., those of Ségur or Broglie begin only in 1782 when their authors arrived in America, though they contain detailed accounts of their encounter with British naval forces in the Delaware Bay. Of those officers who participated in the marches some, such as Blanchard, either marched ahead of the main army to check on campsites or, as in the case of Lauberdière, followed behind the main army. Others again, such as Brisout de Barneville simply give a list of miles (his journal ends 5 December 1781), just like that of the grenadier in the Bourbonnais. The *chevalier* de Chastellux did not write a word about the march,²³ neither did the *duc* de Lauzun, and the *Détails intéressants* of lieutenant-colonel Hugau do not begin until after the siege of Yorktown. Desandrouins had the misfortune of losing his journal in the wreck of the *Duc de Bourgogne* in the spring of 1783, and his surviving description of the march to Yorktown consists of 10 lines; those of the return march are four pages long.

The usefulness of the majority of journals is further reduced by the fact that virtually all officers who made the march to Yorktown kept their comments on the return march very short: Clermont-Crèvecœur's journal, an excellent source for 1781, devotes all of 20 lines to the return march a year later. Fortunately Verger, who had sailed with the siege artillery to Yorktown in August 1780, fills some of that void.

Indispensable for biographical research on the 1,034 French officers serving in d'Estaing's, Rochambeau's, and St. Simon's forces as well as on the French officers in the Continental Army is Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance 1776-1783* 3rd edition, (Chailland, 2001). Enlistment records or *contrôles* of enlisted personnel in Rochambeau's corps, indispensable for statistical data on his troops are preserved by the Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre in the Château de Vincennes;²⁴ only those of Lauzun's Legion are in the Archives Nationales in Paris.²⁵ On the

¹⁹ The papers of Christian von Zweibrücken deposited in the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv - Geheimes Hausarchiv - in Munich are owned by Marian Freiherr von Gravenreuth; those deposited in the Pfälzische Landesbibliothek in Speyer were acquired at auction and are owned by the library.

²⁰ The letters are owned by Anton Freiherr von Cetto in Oberlauterbach, Germany.

²¹ The last known owner of this ms was Bernard Zublena, domaine de Iagarde, 32 250 Montreal, Canada.

²² The journal is quoted in Régis d'Oléon, "L'Esprit de Corps dans l'Ancienne Armée" *Carnet de la Sabretache* 5th series (1958), pp. 488-496. Régis d'Oléon is a descendant of Bertrand.

²³ Chastellux did not become a *marquis* until the death of his eldest surviving brother in early 1784. See the introductory essay to Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782*. Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed., 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, 1963).

²⁴ The Bourbonnais *contrôles* are catalogued under 1 Yc 188 (1776-1783 and 4 Feb 1784 to 1786), Soissonnais *contrôles* have the number 1 Yc 966 (1776-1783 and 4 Feb 1784 to 1786), the Saintonge *contrôles* are 1 Yc 932 (1776-1783 and 4 Feb 1784 to 1786), the Royal Deux-Ponts *contrôles* are 1 Yc 869 (1776-1783 and 4 Feb 1784 to 1786). The *contrôles* of the Auxonne Artillery are listed as 10 Yc 1 (1776-1783 and 4 Feb 1784 to 1786).

American side Francis B. Heitman's, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution* (Washington, 1893; many reprints) is still indispensable.

If less than half of the accounts by officers in Rochambeau's little army have been published in their entirety, the situation is similar for accounts by American participants. The papers of major participants, such as George Washington, Henry Knox, or Benjamin Lincoln, are available either in print, on microfilm, or on the Internet. The best-known source on how enlisted men saw the war is still the account penned by Joseph Plumb Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle* (Hallowell, ME, 1830; many reprints). Martin's account contains much information on the campaign of 1781/82, as does the unpublished diary of Sergeant-Major Hawkins of the Canadian Regiment in the Pennsylvania Historical Society. So do other accounts listed in <http://www.RevWar75.com>. A unique source on individual soldiers and the war that can be easily overlooked are pension applications of Revolutionary War veterans in the National Archives (NARA) in Washington, DC. The auto-biographies attached to these applications are lengthy at times and contains information not found anywhere else. Some discharged or deserted soldiers from Rochambeau's regiments also applied for pensions, and their applications too shed light on the campaigns of 1781 and 1782.

Reconstructing the logistics behind the American march is easier than for the French side because the Americans, unlike the French who paid in cash for their purchases, left a paper trail of IOUs along the way. But these IOUs, which cover everything from purchases to ship rent for the passage to Yorktown to tavern bills to bridge tolls and compensation for pasturage, are preserved in many public and private repositories and in many record groups. In NARA such records can be found in the 126-microfilm reel record group entitled *Miscellaneous Numbered Documents* and on the microfilms of Record Group M 926, *Letters, Accounts, and Estimates of the Quarter-Master General's Department 1776-1783*, which occasionally also covers French purchases, or on the over 100 microfilm reels of Record Group 93, Revolutionary War Rolls.

A second, more immediate, if very uneven source for the reconstruction of the march, are the Orderly Books of the regiments involved. Orderly books record the daily orders for each regiment, including the place where the regiment is at the time and where it was to march that day and set up camp. Of the five infantry regiments that made the march to Yorktown in 1781 -- 1st New Jersey, 2nd New Jersey, 2nd Canadian (Congress' Own), 1st Rhode Island, 1st New York, and 2nd New York -- only one copy of the Orderly Book of the 2nd New York (from 9/24 - 10/10/1781) has survived in the New York State Library (NYSL) # 10464, vol. 10, part 1; another copy (from 9/26 - 10/30/1781) is available at the New York Historical Society (NYHS), microfilm #149, reel 15. In addition, the Orderly Book of Colonel John Lamb's 2nd Continental Artillery has survived in two versions (6/20 - 10/21/1781 and 8/4 - 10/27/1781) in New York Historical Society microfilm #143, reel 14, and New York Historical Society microfilm #118.1, reel 12. Lastly, the Orderly Book of Lt.-Col. Jean Joseph Gimat's Light Infantry Regiment (Muhlenberg's Light Infantry Brigade, 5/18 - 10/30/1781), is available in the Connecticut Historical Society microfilm Reel 3, frames 939 to end and Reel 4, frames 4 - 10, as well as at NARA, M853, reel 8, vol. 52 (6/7 - 10/2/1781).²⁵ No Orderly Book for the march has survived of the Commander in Chief's Guard, of Joseph Plumb Martin's Corps of Sappers and Miners, and of the Corps of Artificers.

Except for the small group of 85 Delaware recruits and the 3rd and 4th Maryland Regiments, which had arrived at Yorktown from Maryland just a few days ahead of the Continental Army in September 1781, and which joined General Nathanael Green's forces in the Carolinas, the same

²⁵ The Lauzun *contrôles* in the Archives Nationales have the catalogue number D 2c 32 (March 1780-1783) and 8 Yc 17 (beginning on 4 Feb 1784 to 1786).

²⁶ A most exhaustive list of orderly books of all warring parties can be found at www.RevWar75.com.

units of the Continental Army that had marched south in August and September made the return march in November and December 1781. Unlike for the march to Yorktown, only one Orderly Book, that of the 2nd New York Regiment survived.²⁷ The next Orderly Book is for Col. Lamb's Artillery Regiment, which wintered in Burlington, New Jersey, from 7 December 1781 to 4 February 1782, and marched to the Highlands in August 1782, and which is preserved in the NYHS, microfilm: #152; reel 15.²⁸

Within the holdings of the Delaware Public Archives a few Record Groups proved particularly helpful in the preparation of this report. Foremost among them is the unpublished sixth volume of the *Delaware Archives*, which contains a wealth of information on the war in 1781/82. An extremely helpful resource is RG 1315.6 Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, which contains entries such as the one for 21 June 1784: "William McClay and H. Darby for an order to enable them to pay for provisions purchased for the army under Genl Washington 703/17/1"²⁹ or "United States to State Treasury for hire of Houses for Quartering the French Troops as appears by the Certificates of George Craghead and John Lea Esqrs for which rent was pd as follows ... " which lists the names of the 41 property owners where French troops were quartered during winter quarters in 1782/83.³⁰ Equally important are RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, and the John Dickinson Papers.

Within the collections of the Historical Society of Delaware, the collections entitled "Revolutionary War" and the papers of Thomas and Caesar Rodney, particularly their letters, contained much valuable information. Indispensable for the reconstruction of the presence of French forces in Delaware are account books such as the James Lea Receipt book 1784-1806 or the Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783. Context is provided by the diaries of personages such as Samuel Canby (November 1779 to December 1796; Photostat; original at Yale University).

Any study of the march of the combined Franco-American armies through Delaware has to include an identification of the routes and their location on the ground today. On the French side, the indispensable collection of primary sources is the compilation of maps and routes published by Rice, Jr. and Brown in their *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army*. Volume 2 reproduces maps of the routes and camp-sites located in the Rochambeau Papers and the Rochambeau Family Cartographic Archive (GEN MSS 146) at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and in other repositories. These maps were drawn mostly by Louis Alexandre de Berthier and, though not to scale, provide the exact location of each camp sites. This superbly edited volume is indispensable for anyone interested in the march of Rochambeau's troops from Newport to Yorktown in 1781 and back to Boston in 1782. There are very few sites and routes such as the route of Lauzun's Legion through Connecticut in June 1781, the camp of Rochambeau's Second Brigade near Newport, Delaware, in September 1781,³¹ or the 1782/83 winter quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington, that Rice and Brown either could not locate or that lay outside their immediate research interest. Using sources either not available to

²⁷ Almon W. Lauber, ed., *Orderly Books of the Fourth New York Regiment, 1778-1780. The Second New York Regiment, 1780-1783, by Samuel Tallmadge and Others*. (Albany, 1932). The two New York regiments wintered in Pompton, NJ; the return march is recorded on pp. 765-768.

²⁸ George Washington spent the winter 1781/82 in Philadelphia, as did the Rhode Island Regiment. The 2nd Continental Artillery, the Sappers, Miners, and Artificers lived in barracks in nearby Burlington, NJ. The two New Jersey regiments wintered in Morristown, NJ, Moses Hazen's Canadian Regiment was quartered in Lancaster, PA. Of the forces that had marched to Yorktown in August 1781, only the Light Infantry returned to the Hudson and wintered in Continental Village, NY.

²⁹ Delaware Public Archives, RG 1315.6 Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, p. 32.

³⁰ Delaware Public Archives, RG 1315.6 Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, p. 173, 24 August 1786.

³¹ There is a map of that campsite in the journal of an unidentified officer of the Soissonnais regiment in the Huntington Library. The journal is listed in Rice and Brown, but apparently was not consulted.

Rice and Brown, or not used by them, this study is an attempt to fill in these gaps in our knowledge of the marches of the French forces through Delaware.

On the American side there also exists a complete body of cartographic work for the marches of 1781 from Philadelphia to Yorktown and back. Once the decision to march to Virginia had been made in August 1781, Washington ordered his cartographer Simeon DeWitt to draw up maps of the routes to be taken by the Continental Army to Yorktown. These maps are preserved as Erskine-DeWitt Maps in the New York Historical Society under the call numbers 124 A-U for the march from Philadelphia to Yorktown in August and September 1781, and 125 A-K plus half-sheet C 125 for the march from Yorktown to Elkrige Landing in November and December 1781. There are no maps for the routes of the Continental Army from Philipsburg, New York, through New Jersey to Philadelphia, but there are many contemporary maps of New Jersey on which the route can be traced with the help of Orderly Books, diaries, and other primary source materials. Unlike the French maps, DeWitt's maps are drawn to scale, with mile markers indicated on them. They do not show the campsites, but since they point out numerous landmarks such as inns, churches, fords, ironworks etc, these mostly unpublished maps represent important resources not only for the W3R project, but for state and local history as well.

Among the published materials, the standard histories of Delaware yielded surprisingly little to no information. Reading these books one could get the impression that no French forces had ever been to Delaware. Even the usually thorough work by J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* 2 vols, (Philadelphia 1888), mentions Rochambeau only twice: once briefly in vol. 1, page 262, but not in connection with his march through Delaware, and a second time on page 481 in connection with Dr. Capelle, the medical doctor of Lauzun's Legion who remained behind in Wilmington in 1783; winter quarters are not mentioned at all. Anecdotal evidence is provided by Elizabeth Montgomery, *Reminiscences of Wilmington in familiar village tales, ancient and new* (Wilmington, 1851). Anna T. Lincoln, *Wilmington Delaware. Three Centuries under Four Flags, 1609-1937* (Rutlan, 1937) page 92 mentions the presence of the French at 606 Market Street, but does not have a word about Rochambeau. Neither do Carol E. Hoffecker, *Delaware. A Bicentennial History* (New York, 1977), or John. A. Munroe. *Colonial Delaware. A History* (Millwood, NY, 1978) mention Rochambeau or Lauzun in their indices.

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Criteria for Selection: How Sites Were Chosen for Inclusion

Since this survey is conducted with a view toward the study currently conducted by the NPS regarding the eligibility of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route to be designated a National Historic Trail, the criteria for selection in this Delaware resource inventory are those of the National Trails System Act [(Public Law 90-543) (16 U.S.C. 1241-1251) as amended through P. L. 106-509, November 13, 2000]. Of particular importance for the Delaware inventory is Section. 3. [16USC1242] (a) (3), NTSA, which states that "National historic trails shall have as their purpose the identification and protection of the historic route and its historic remnants and artifacts for public use and enjoyment." Point (4) includes "Connecting or side trails, established as provided in section 6 of this Act, which will provide additional points of public access to national recreation, national scenic or national historic trails or which will provide connections between such trails" as potential components of a National Historic trail.

This historical and architectural survey study was also conducted in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Identification and Evaluation* (NPS, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1983). A discussion of the general methodology to be utilized can be found in *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning. National Register Bulletin 24* (Derry, Jandl, Shull, and Thorman, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1977; Parker, rev. 1985). These criteria were further refined by state-specific guidelines developed in cooperation with the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs and the Delaware SHPO.

The criteria used for the evaluation of properties were based on those of the National Register of Historic Places, administered by the National Park Service under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. Properties listed in the National Register include districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that are significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture. Recognition of these resources is intended to contribute to an understanding of the historical and cultural foundations of the nation.

The National Register's criteria for evaluating the significance of properties, which were developed to recognize the accomplishments of all peoples who made a contribution to the country's history and heritage, state the following:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity in location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, association and:

- a) that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- b) that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
- c) that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
- d) that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Previous studies conducted in other states along the W3R as well as for the NPS have resulted in the establishment of a number of categories for resources along the route:

- 1) Campsites and Bivouacs
- 2) Buildings and Building Sites
- 3) Plaques, tablets, and markers placed by federal, state and local authorities, by patriotic organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati, or by historical societies
- 4) Tombstones and/or Grave Markers and other emblems
- 5) Archeological Sites: terrestrial and underwater
- 6) Natural Landscape Features
- 7) Paintings and Murals
- 8) Water Routes and River Crossings
- 9) Historic Road Segments
- 10) National Parks
- 11) State Parks
- 12) Historic Preservation/Education/Tourism Areas (Historic Newport, Mount Vernon, Colonial Williamsburg)

Using the criteria developed in 2.3 above, the writer inspected and inventoried on site all resources listed in this report and identified thirty sites separate on seven different route segments taken by various components of the two armies in Delaware. These route segments are as follows:

Route 1: The Land Route of the Continental Army to Elkton, 3-9 September 1781

Route 2: The Water Route of the Continental Army to Christiana, 3-9 September 1781

Route 3: The March of the French Army, 5 – 7 September 1781

Route 4: The Return March of the Continental Army, 25 November – 5 December 1781

Route 5: The Return March of the French Army, 29 August – 1 September 1782

Route 6: The March of the Shipwrecked Party to Wilmington, 13-16 September 1782

Route 7: The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion, 16 December 1782 to 11 May 1783

Routes/road segments in this report are listed *chronologically* as much as possible, since some routes were traveled concurrently, as they were visited by Washington's and Rochambeau's troops. Geographically they are organized as a modern traveler following the route(s) would encounter them in the field when traveling from the Pennsylvania State Line to the Maryland State Line for the year 1781, and from the Maryland State Line to the Pennsylvania State Line for the year 1782.

The 29 sites identified on these routes fall into nine different categories:

- 1) Campsites and bivouacs
- 2) Buildings and building sites
- 3) Plaques, tablets, and markers
- 4) Monuments
- 5) Historic Districts
- 6) State Parks
- 7) Historic Preservation Area
- 8) Water Routes and River Crossings
- 9) Archeological Sites: terrestrial and underwater

3.2 The Form

Inventory Number. Each inventoried property is assigned an inventory number, which appears on the form. Site profiles and inventoried properties are arranged chronologically according to the marching sequence. Street names and street numbers are recorded as they appear in town records.

Historic Name. The historic name serves as a shorthand for indicating the site's significance. In the case of commercial buildings, churches, and public buildings, the historic name is straightforward and represents the buildings earliest known use. With houses, the historic name is usually the name of the family that built it or who lived there for many years.

Date. Dates of construction are based on architectural evidence, information from primary and secondary sources (see bibliography), research files maintained by the Delaware State Historic Preservation Office within the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, original research in primary sources, and other historical documentation. The forms generally indicated the reason for ascribing a particular date to a building or site.

Materials. In cases where cement or other types of facing were applied to underpinnings it was not possible to determine, without access to cellars or scraping away the cement from the foundation of a monument, what the actual foundation materials were. "Asbestos siding" was checked off for houses with any type of rigid composition shingles; however, many of these are wood-pulp products containing no asbestos.

Dimensions. Building and monument dimensions are either taken from Tax Assessor's street cards or were determined by measuring the object itself in the field. The dimension of the elevation facing the street is given first.

Condition. Without extensive analysis, it was not possible to assess professionally the structural condition of any building.

Threats to Buildings and Sites. Unless the survey personnel had direct knowledge of a specific threat, "None known" was checked.

Wherever possible National Register of Historic Places or National Historic Landmark registration forms addressing these issues were attached to the site form.

3.3 Other Parts of the Survey Report

In addition to the inventory forms and site profiles, which form the core of the survey, the project report includes an overview of the French army of the *ancien régime*, and of French forces in America before their march with the Continental Army through Delaware in 1781 and 1782. It also includes a discussion of primary resources still standing in the field as well as mention of resources listed in earlier sources that have since disappeared.

3.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are divided into two groups: those that should to be acted on by the State, (Points 1) through 5), and those that require local coordination, (Points 6) through 10).

- 1) Thirty sites have been identified in this report as connected with the W3R in Delaware, and while all deserving buildings are listed already on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), the campsites are not. Wherever possible an attempt should be made to work toward their protection and preservation by integrating them into the appropriate Delaware State preservation program with a view toward nomination to the NRHP. Such protective measures are also advocated in view of Recommendation 2).
- 2) Only a few of the sites are identified in the field as part of the W3R; most are not. This applies for well-established historic sites such as Cooch's Bridge as well as for lesser known sites such as the taverns of Christiana. Since some of these resources, especially the campsites, may prove tempting targets to relic hunters, protection of these sites is highly desirable.
- 3) The story of Delaware's role in the American Revolutionary War and in the campaign of 1781 needs to be told. Delaware's role is larger than the engagement at Cooch's Bridge on 3 September 1777, and Caesar Rodney's ride, and this project provides the opportunity to tell this story. The Resource Inventory produced by here should be rewritten and edited into a monograph intended for wider distribution to the general public. For further research, the edition and publication of the materials collected for volume 6 of the *Delaware Archives* is highly desirable. They are a rich source for the Revolutionary War history of Delaware, and it was here that this writer found many of the sources for this study. The already published volume 1 contained no item at all, volume 2 had two items, volume 3 had three, and there were none in volumes 4 and 5.
- 4) The names of the owners of 41 homes where French soldiers were quartered in the winter of 1782/83 are known, but the location of these homes has not yet been determined with enough accuracy to list them as individual sites. In the absence of a city directory for Wilmington (the first directory dates to 1814), the identification and location of these sites goes beyond the scope of this study but could be undertaken as part of the Ships Tavern District revitalization project. For such a task, which may require a title search for each and every one of these properties, the map of Wilmington drawn by Benjamin Ferris in 1785, and held by the Historical Society of Delaware, which lists property owners and lot sizes should prove a good starting point. The State of Delaware Department of Transportation reports for Wilmington Boulevard, Block 1191, and the report on Block 1194, Christiana Gateway, may also provide information on lot ownership and locations within the city. But the historical interpretation of the Ships Tavern District with a view toward the campaign of 1781 and Franco-American friendship and cooperation as a component of the renovation process presents a great opportunity to integrate historic preservation, education, heritage-based tourism, and economic revitalization.
- 5) Individual properties within the Ships Tavern District such as the "Tavern at the Sign of the Ship," a place where George Washington stayed repeatedly and where Lafayette was lodged briefly after the Battle of Brandywine, could become anchors within this district. After the war it was owned by Patrick O'Flinn, a Revolutionary War veteran; in October 1824, it became the LaFayette Hotel after a visit by the *marquis* during his triumphal return to America. Similarly the anniversaries of the French return march through Wilmington (29 August – 1 September) with its concurrent celebrations could become components of the annual Labor Day festivities celebrating Franco-American cooperation during the Revolutionary War. Such festivities could be tied to the rich French heritage and tradition within Delaware. The restored Riverfront in Wilmington might be considered the site for a small visitor center and permanent exhibit on the Revolutionary War.
- 6) The restoration and maintenance of neglected historical sites, especially in the NRHP district in Christiana, should be initiated as soon as possible, focused on buildings and properties within that district, and accelerated for the 2006 anniversary. A concurrent step in the W3R project should be the compilation of a list of sites to be marked, once funds are available, as components

of the W3R, if possible in cooperation with other states such as Connecticut, which have already begun marking the trail. Concurrently, public and private owners and/or managers of historic sites and properties should be encouraged to integrate the W3R into the interpretation of their sites.

7) Identification and marking of known sites should involve local historical societies and interested groups rather than be done unilaterally by the state. By 2006, all of these sites should form a string of fixed points along which a state-wide inter-connected bicycle or automobile route or Heritage Trail supplementary to the national effort could be established. Concurrently local walking tours could be established, e.g., in Wilmington in the Lower Market Street Historic District/Ships Tavern District as its renovation proceeds.

8) Such a trail or trails should be advertised and described in tour guides, travel books, or brochures to enable historically interested tourists to trace the routes taken in 1781 and 1782.

9) In December 2000, First Lady and (then) Senator-elect Hillary Rodham Clinton designated the W3R a *Millennium Trail*, making properties along the route eligible for federal TEA-21 funds through each State's Department of Transportation. This, and other Federal funding opportunities for the preservation and interpretation of resources on the route, should be explored.

10) To implement these recommendations, coordination on the State and local level still need to be organized by the W3R Committee in cooperation with the DHCA and SHPO. For some of them, such as the publication of educational and tourism materials, other state agencies are already in place, which need to partner with the W3R. For others such as the development of the Ships Tavern District in Wilmington, the existing private-public partnership needs to be expanded to include the W3R. Depending on the extent and intensity of Delaware's commitment both to the national effort to commemorate the 1781 march to victory as well as to reinterpreting the role of Delaware within the broader context of the American Revolutionary War, the time and financial commitment needed may go beyond the resources of the currently voluntary W3R committee.

It is suggested that the State of Delaware take a closer look at the creation of an umbrella organization for historic resources in Delaware either outside or within the framework of the current Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, such as a National Heritage Corridor or a National Heritage Area. The W3R could form the "spine" of such a Christiana River National Heritage Corridor district that stretches geographically from Claymont and the mouth of the Christiana to Iron Hill and to Dover and Odessa, encompassing a significant portion of the colonial history of Delaware. Working in partnership with historic preservation areas, such as the Historic Houses of Odessa, Brandywine Village State Park, the Pencader Heritage Area and Swedish heritage organizations/Kalmar Nickel and centered in the historic core of the NRH district of Christiana, it could not only help preserve this neglected jewel of Delaware history with its historic buildings, but transform it into a major tourist attraction in Delaware. Implementation of such a project would require a multi-year financial commitment from the state and support from the State's Congressional delegation until such a designation is achieved.

Parts of this report can be found in different form in previous reports for the States of Connecticut and New York. I am very grateful to Jack Shannahan, SHPO of the State of Connecticut, and to the Hudson River Valley Greenway for permission to integrate them into this report. Though the basic facts of history have not changed, historical research and writing is always "work in progress." As new sources come to light, details will change and so will the interpretation of events. The reader is therefore encouraged to contact the writer to add whatever he or she can to contribute toward the task of making the WASHINGTON - ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE a reality. The advancement of historical knowledge depends as much on sharing of information as it does on individual research.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON-ROCHAMBEAU REVOLUTIONARY ROUTE

When Forbes and Cadman published their *France and New England* in 1925, they indicated that an "effort has been made to get the State Park Commission of Connecticut to mark all the nineteen camp sites in that State and it is hoped that some time this will be done."³² Thirty years later, the sites were still not marked and it was only in response to the establishment of an Interstate Rochambeau Commission that the General Assembly took up the issue again in 1956.

That commission was the brainchild of Charles Parmer, who took it upon himself to resurrect the memory of French participation, and to identify the route taken by Rochambeau's troops. In the spring of 1951, Parmer began prodding state governments and patriotic societies for funds.³³ In 1952, the Colonial Dames of Virginia endorsed his proposal for a uniform marking of the route and on 16 January 1953, Virginia Governor John S. Battle appointed Parmer to head a *Rochambeau Commission*. Its purpose was "to arrange with other States for the uniform marking of the route taken in 1781 by General Rochambeau and his French forces (... and) to arrange for a joint celebration of the anniversary of the Rochambeau Victory March."³⁴

On 16 April 1953, Parmer called for a meeting of interested parties at Mount Vernon. The event was widely reported in the press; even President Dwight D. Eisenhower and French Foreign minister Georges Bidault sent congratulatory telegrams. Parmer was elected *General Chairman of the Interstate Rochambeau Commission of the United States* and by the fall of 1953, "Rhode Island, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut had appointed Commissions or Representatives to work with Virginia." New York, New Jersey, and Maryland had "leaders of patriotic groups making plans to do the marking with State permission."³⁵ But interest in the project seems to have waned as fast as it had arisen. Parmer's Commission was continued until 1958, but only Connecticut seems to have carried out the task of identifying and marking the route. In its January 1957 session, the Connecticut General Assembly passed House Bill No. 2005, "An Act concerning erecting Markers to designate the Sites of Camps occupied by the French troops under Rochambeau." Approved on 4 June 1957, it appropriated \$ 1,500 to cover expenses and instructed the State Highway Commissioner to "erect roadside signs" in cooperation with Parmer's "Interstate Rochambeau Commission" and "local historical societies or fraternal community groups." Pursuant to this legislation, the State Highway Commission placed a total of 27 signs at or near known campsites of Rochambeau's army across the state.³⁶

Parmer died in 1958 shortly after the dedication of the Fourteenth Street Bridge (I-395 between the Jefferson Memorial and the Pentagon) over the Potomac in Washington, DC, as the Rochambeau Memorial Bridge in October 1958.³⁷ The project died with him as well.³⁸

³² Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England* 3 vols., (Boston, 1925) Vol. 1, p. 131.

³³ The writer is very grateful to Albert D. McJoynt of Alexandria, Virginia, for providing copies of correspondence and newspaper clippings he had acquired from Parmer's widow.

³⁴ The origins of Parmer's activities are outlined in his *Report of the Rochambeau Commission to the Governor and the general Assembly of Virginia* Senate Document No. 19 (Richmond, 1953).

³⁵ Parmer apparently never contacted Massachusetts for cooperation. The list of states involved is taken from his *Report of the Rochambeau Commission*, p. 10.

³⁶ See Robert A. Selig, *Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing his Journey. Historic and Architectural Survey. Connecticut Historical Commission* (Hartford: State of Connecticut, 1999), 1957), pp. 17-17.

³⁷ United States 85th Congress, 1st Session, House Resolution H.R. 572, January 3, 1957, and Senate Bill S. 768, January 22 (legislative day, January 3), 1957.

In his report to the General Assembly of Virginia of 1953, Parmer listed Delaware as one of four states that had "appointed Commissions or Representatives to work with Virginia" on marking the route.³⁹ We have no reason to doubt Parmer's word, but if there was indeed such a commission or representative this writer has been unable to locate any trace of their existence or activities during his research in the summer of 2002.

Nineteen years later, in 1972, Anne S. K. Brown and Howard C. Rice, Jr., published the authoritative and groundbreaking study *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*. Volume 2 of the work contains 204 pages of itineraries and texts followed by 177 contemporary maps, charts, and views of the routes taken by Rochambeau's army on the American mainland as well as in the Caribbean. These maps identified and definitely established the route of the main body of the French forces.

During preparations for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, Representative Hamilton Fish of New York introduced on 16 April 1975, House of Representatives Concurrent Resolution 225. It called upon federal, state, county, and local governments to recognize the route taken by Rochambeau's forces as identified in the Brown and Rice work as "The Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route." On 14 November 1975, the United States Department of the Interior as the supervisory body of the National Park Service (NPS) informed Representative James A. Haley, Chair of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, that the department had no objections to the resolution. It recommended, however, that the word "National" not be used since the route was neither part of the NPS nor met the criteria of integrity required by the NPS.

The Sub-Committee on National Parks and Recreation held hearings on the resolution and the correspondence from the Department of the Interior dated 17 November 1975, and sent a favorable report to Haley, whose committee took up the resolution on 27 January 1976. In its report to the full House, Haley's committee recommended passage of the resolution creating the "Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route" albeit outside the National Park System. On 17 February 1976, the resolution declaring the recognition of the route "as one of the more useful and enduring educational patriotic accomplishments to come from the bicentennial of the American War for Independence" passed without objection as amended, and was referred to the United States Senate the following day.

More than five months later, on 21 July 1976, the Department of the Interior informed Senator Henry M. Jackson, chair of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, that it had no objection to House Concurrent Resolution 225. Following a hearing by the Senate's Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation on 2 August 1976, Jackson's committee recommended on 5 August that the Senate pass the resolution as well.⁴⁰ The Senate passed the resolution on 25 August 1976.

Joint House-Senate Resolution 225 had asked that the states "through appropriate signing, call attention to the route," but failed to appropriate funds to pay for signs beyond the boundaries of Colonial National Historical Park in Yorktown, Virginia. Due to this lack of federal funds, a private "Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route Committee" established itself in

³⁸ In September 1973, Mrs. Parmer was still asking French government officials to forward her the insignia of *Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur* which her husband had been awarded posthumously in May 1959.

³⁹ *Report of the Rochambeau Commission* p. 10.

⁴⁰ See United States. Congress. House. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 94-799, *Recognizing the Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route*, and United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 94-1145, *The Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route* (Washington, DC, 1976).

Yorktown, New York, and set up its own signs. Few of these signs seem to have survived.⁴¹ But even without federal funds or markers, however, hundreds of re-enactors traced the route from Newport to Yorktown from 9-16 October 1981, to commemorate the bicentennial of the siege.⁴²

Concurrently a "Committee of the Bicentennial 1776-1976" was established by the French government. One of its tasks was the erection of markers along the "Washington-Rochambeau Route" in the State of Virginia (?) between Mount Vernon and Yorktown where this writer has seen them at three locations.⁴³ At the current stage of research it is unknown whether markers were erected by the French government in other states as well; there are none in Delaware.

Almost twenty years passed before another effort to identify, mark, and protect the route began in Connecticut. In 1995, the Inter-Community Historic Resources Committee began its work of identifying and classifying known campsites according to their state of preservation and the danger of potentially destructive development. The Committee set itself the goal in October 1995 of having Rochambeau's route, already recognized as the "Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route" by the United States Congress, listed in the National Register of Historic Places as the "Revolutionary Road." Concurrently it asked State Representative Pamela Z. Sawyer to introduce legislation in the General Assembly to allocate the funds for the historical, archeological, and architectural research required for that registration. After three years, and with the help of 26 co-signers, the state legislature in the spring of 1998 appropriated \$ 30,000 for the first of three annual phases to document the route through Connecticut as the first step toward having the entire route from Newport to Yorktown listed in the National Register.

Concurrently in June 1998, a commemorative initiative of the National Park Service began as an effort of Revolutionary War-related parks in its Northeast and Southeast regions to use the 225th anniversary of the American Revolution to enhance public understanding of events from 1775 to 1783. In collaboration with, but organizationally separate from this initiative, almost 50 local and regional historians and historically interested individuals from New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut met at Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, New York, on 16 December 1999, to organize a Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route committee. Chaired by Dr. Jacques Bossiere, the W3R functions as a working committee that is part of a broader initiative to commemorate the 225th Anniversary of the American Revolution. Its goals were, and are, the identification and preservation of the route itself and of historic sites along the route on a state level, and the creation of a National Historic Trail to promote inter-state heritage preservation.

The W3R Committee was soon successful in its lobbying efforts for funding for the national effort. On 3 July 2000, on the doorsteps of the Dean-Webb-Stevens Museum in Wethersfield, CT, site of the historic May 1781 meeting between Washington and Rochambeau, Representative John B. Larson announced that he had introduced on 29 June 2000, what has become the *Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Heritage Act of 2000*. That same day, his bill, entitled "A Bill to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600 mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War," was referred to the House Committee on

⁴¹ The author has been unable to identify or make contact with any member of that committee, which seems to have disbanded at an unknown date though its markers in Connecticut are still maintained.

⁴² The "Rochambeau. A Reenactment of His Historic March from Newport to Yorktown" project was sponsored by the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantation and directed by the Office of the Adjutant General of the state. The writer is grateful to Roy P. Najecki for sharing his folder of press releases and marching orders relative to that march. There also seems to have been some support in France for such a project: see the attached page from the *Revue économique française* Vol. 104, No. 2, (1982).

⁴³ Images of some of these markers are available at <http://xenophongroup.com/mcjoynt/vawrrmrk.htm>

Resources. Referred to the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands on 14 August with an executive comment requested from the Department of the Interior, the bill, which by now had attracted 42 co-sponsors, was back on the floor of the House on 23 October where it passed under suspended rules by voice vote at 3:17 p.m.

Received in the Senate on 24 October 2000, where Senators Joseph Lieberman, Christopher Dodd, and eight co-sponsors had introduced an almost identical Senate Resolution 3209 on 17 October 2000, and read twice, it passed without amendment and by Unanimous Consent on 27 October 2000. A message on this Senate action was sent to the House the following day; the bill was presented to President Bill Clinton on 2 November, who signed it on 9 November 2000.⁴⁴ President Clinton's signature created Public Law No. 106-473, an "Act to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600-mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War." Unlike previous legislation, this bill allocated federal funds to the NPS to carry out a feasibility study that began in late 2001.

Concurrently efforts were under way for a state-wide resource inventory in Delaware, where the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (DESSAR) took the lead. In the summer of 2000, then DESSAR State President William H. Severns and DESSAR State Historian Dr. Ralph D. Nelson Jr. contacted the writer about the possibility of conducting research in Delaware. By the spring of 2001, the DESSAR was also in contact with State politicians such as Delaware House Majority leader Rep. Wayne Smith, and administrators such as Daniel R Griffith, Director of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs and State Historic Preservation Officer. Since funding a complete study of resources in the state went beyond the resources of the DESSAR, and attempts to secure funding from public or private sources seemed to end in failure, the DESSAR at the urging of Mr. Nelson in the fall of 2001 decided to fund a partial study of resources in Delaware. A proposal by this writer for such a study was approved by the DESSAR Board of Managers on 20 January 2002 and subsequently entered into in early February 2002.

By then Rep. Smith had taken an active interest in the project. Made aware of the project by Mr. Severns during an SAR dinner on 22 February 2001 (Washington's Birthday), Rep. Smith in November 2001 introduced the following resolution:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
141st GENERAL ASSEMBLY

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 3

DIRECTING THE DELAWARE DIVISION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL
AFFAIRS TO WORK WITH THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE TO IDENTIFY AND
MARK OUT THE EXACT ROUTE THROUGH DELAWARE TAKEN BY GENERALS
WASHINGTON'S AND ROCHAMBEAU'S TROOPS.

WHEREAS, during the American Revolution, in the summer of 1781, General George Washington and French General Jean Rochambeau combined their troops and began a 600 mile march from Newport RI to Yorktown, VA; and

⁴⁴ Concurrently First Lady and Senator-elect Hilary Rodham Clinton designated the W3R a *Millennium Trail*, making properties along the route eligible for federal TEA-21 funds through each state's Department of Transportation.

WHEREAS, it was on this march where Generals Washington's and Rochambeau's troops fought in the decisive battle of Yorktown where they trapped a major British army and thus created a major turning point in the American Revolution; and

WHEREAS, without this first Franco-American alliance there would not have been the victory of liberty and democracy over British tyranny; and

WHEREAS, 2006 will mark the 225th anniversary of this historic march; and

WHEREAS, many of the historic sites are in danger of being lost to urban sprawl if they are not accurately documented and preserved; and

WHEREAS, a bill has been introduced in Congress that would direct the National Park Service to study the route for purposes of preserving the historic sites and creating a historic trail; and

WHEREAS, the Revolutionary troops camped in 40 locations on their way to Yorktown, and 55 on their way back, two of these encampments were in Delaware; and

WHEREAS, in Delaware, as in many states, there are few markers that denote these locations; and

WHEREAS, by connecting these landmarks along this historic trail people would be able to obtain a real geographic sense of the distances that had to be covered by the troops; and

WHEREAS, current plans for the trail include a self-guided auto route, hiking trails, campsites, visitors centers, signage, and literature; and

WHEREAS, creation of this historic route would be an opportunity to combine historic preservation with environmental preservation, resulting in the economic benefits of heritage tourism.

NOW, THEREFORE:

BE IT RESOLVED that the House of Representatives and the Senate of the 141st General Assembly of the State of Delaware, with the approval of the Governor, directs the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs to work with the National Park Service, upon enactment of the relating legislation, to identify and mark out the exact route through Delaware taken by Generals Washington's and Rochambeau's troops, and prepare a brochure that discusses the history and importance of the journey.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs is to undertake this effort on their own, in cooperation with the Delaware Historical Society, if the bill does not become law.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a suitably prepared copy of this resolution be forwarded to the director of the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs.

On 20 November 2002, Mr. Ray Hester of Claymont agreed to coordinate the efforts in Delaware as Director, Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route, Delaware Chapter. Mr. Nelson and Mrs. Roger G. E. (Joyce) Franks, former State Regent of the Delaware Society Daughters of the American Revolution, joined Mr. Hester as founding members of the Delaware Chapter of the W3R. By early December, Mr. Griffith's office asked the writer to submit a proposal for a complete resource inventory in Delaware. Following initial meetings in Dover and Wilmington on 15-18 January 2002, and promises of support by the State, the DESSAR on 24 February 2002 changed its contract with the writer to the effect that DESSAR funds would be given to the state to allow full funding of the project proposal the writer had made to the state. Once State funding was assured, the contract and Purchase Order were executed in late April 2002. Though much remains to be done, Delaware is the third of nine states to have completed a resource inventory. The W3R is on schedule to meet its 2006 deadline, the 225th anniversary of the march of the Franco-American armies to victory in Yorktown.