

## THE RETURN MARCH OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY THROUGH DELAWARE, 25 NOVEMBER TO 1 DECEMBER 1781

Supplies were not limited to poetry or foodstuffs: Henry Fisher of "Lewistown," provided "Twelve Musquits four which are french Guns upon the Acct of Capt. Shelden" even though they were "out of Repair" and supplied another "four Guns upon my own Acct which are to be Deliverd."<sup>361</sup> Spurred on by Bailey's fiery rhetoric and in cooperation with Rochambeau's troops and de Grasse's fleet, the Continental Army put Henry Fisher's "Musquits" to good use. On 17 October 1781, Cornwallis offered to negotiate surrender terms. On 18 October, two British officers, one American and French officer each met at the home of Augustine Moore to negotiate surrender terms. Around 2:00 p.m. on 19 October 1781, the British troops with their American and German allies marched out of Yorktown to lay down their arms. News of the victory reached Wilmington around 9:00 p.m. on Sunday, 21 October. Delawareans were overjoyed. "When the news arrived here of the surrender of lord Cornwallis, the citizens to manifest their joy, erected a flag pole near the state-house, on which were hoisted the American continental colours a little above those of the British. After thirteen platoons of musquetry were discharged, all the respectable citizens repaired to an entertainment provided for them, where thirteen patriotic drinks were drank: in the evening the town was illuminated, and every thing was conducted with the greatest decorum. One circumstance was remarkable: while the two flags were flying a westerly storm arose, and blew down that of the British while the other held its station -- A happy presage of its permanent stability."<sup>362</sup> Hopes ran high that independence might be just around the corner as Samuel Canby opined in his diary that "For my own satisfaction I make the following remark viz I find since the reduction of the post held by General Cornwallis at York & Gloucester ... people seem ... more disposed to expect an Independance might take place ..."<sup>363</sup>

On 27 October, St. Simon's troops began to re-embark, and on 4 November de Grasse's fleet sailed out of Lynnhaven Bay for Fort Royal on Martinique, where it arrived on 26 November. Following the same route that had taken them there, the Continental Army left Virginia for New York almost as soon as victory was won. Except for the 85 Delaware recruits, the same units that had marched to Yorktown, the 1<sup>st</sup> New Jersey, 2<sup>nd</sup> New Jersey, 1<sup>st</sup> New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> New York, 1<sup>st</sup> Rhode Island, Hazen's Regiment, Lamb's Artillery, the Light Infantry, the Commander in Chief's Guard, the Corps of Sappers and Miners, and the Corps of Artificers, returned north in November 1781. Colonel Lamb began loading his artillery as well as the captured British pieces on board ships on 28 October; by 4 November the first ships were on their way north. By 13 November, the first units reached Head of Elk and debarked.<sup>364</sup> Among them was Dr. Thacher, who had sailed up the Bay with the artillery and the Light Infantry and who crossed Delaware on 25 November without stopping.<sup>365</sup> The remainder of the troops, including the 2<sup>nd</sup> New York regiment, had also left Yorktown on Sunday, 4 November. But since the escorted prisoners of war into Maryland, they camped at Christina Bridge only on Friday, 30 November 1781. **(Resource 18)** The following day, 1 December 1781, the last units of the Continental Army had completed their crossing of Delaware and were encamped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania.<sup>366</sup> Washington himself had crossed Delaware on 26 November to receive a hero's welcome in Philadelphia.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm frame 415.

<sup>362</sup> The celebration in Newcastle was reported in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 1 November 1781.

<sup>363</sup> Samuel Canby Diary Nov 1779 to Dec 1796. Photostat in HSD from original at Yale University.

<sup>364</sup> Pierson, *Lamb's Artillery*, p. 215.

<sup>365</sup> Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 303.

<sup>366</sup> Tallmadge, *Orderly Book*, p. 767.

<sup>367</sup> The celebrations, dinners, and addresses can be followed in the Philadelphia newspapers, i.e., the *Pennsylvania Packet*, the *Pennsylvania Journal*, and the *Freeman's Journal*.

But even a short stay in Delaware had to be prepared for and supplies organized, and as the state awaited the arrival of the Continental Army. At its meeting on Monday, 29 October 1781, the President's Council read a resolution just received from the Lower House.

"In the House of Assembly, Saturday, October 27, 1781.

Whereas it is expected that General Washington, with a part of the army under his command, will shortly pass through this State, by the post at Christiana Bridge, in New Castle County; therefore, for the immediate supply of that post with such provisions and forage as may be wanting on that occasion, it is

*Resolved*, That Brigadier-General Paterson, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Darby, Major James Black, and Captain William McClay, be authorized to procure and purchase, upon the credit of the Delaware State, such provisions and forage as they, upon consulting with Deputy Quartermaster Yeates, shall think necessary for the supply of the army aforesaid in their passage through this State, not exceeding the sum of one thousand pounds, specie, in its value."

Debts to be due four months from time of contract, gentlemen are to submit an account of their contracts to President as soon after as conveniently may be."<sup>368</sup>

Spurred on by an urgent request from Yeates of 3 November 1781, Patterson, Darby, Black, and McClay went to work. The number of infantry troops and support personnel would be more or less the same as on the march to Yorktown two months earlier, Yeates told them. But the additional "ordinance alone is no less than two hundd and forty five pieces of Cannon." To meet the needs of the army, he requested that "thirty five Tons of Hay, from two to three Thousand Bushels of Indian Corn, thirty Cords of Wood and about thirty Cattle fit for slaughter for the Subsistence of the troops and their passage, together with the fatigue parties that must be retained and necessarily employed in assisting to the transportation of the different stores."<sup>369</sup>

On 10 November, Yeates informed Patterson from Head of Elk that northerly winds had kept the vessels from sailing up the Chesapeake. This caused considerable expense in Elkton, since the "several hundds of Work cattle which came down from the eastern States" and which were assembled in Head of Elk "together with the Horse teams require better than twelve tons of hay per day." His supply of foodstuff at Head of Elk and in the immediate neighborhood were exhausted and he implored Patterson to send as much hay as he could possibly collect to Christiana, even if expenses would exceed the £1,000 allowed him for the purchase of supplies.<sup>370</sup>

Based on his instructions from Rodney, Patterson, "well knowing the state of our bank," had expended but £500 for "hay, forage short, some Beeff wood" to meet the needs of the army, which he estimated at "about 4,000" men and he stored them in Christiana. He hoped that "their stay here will be short," as he told Rodney on 8 November, and "they draw Rations at York Town of Beeff & Flour suposd sofitient for Trentown." The "Brass Cannon" and "a number of Invalids" had already arrived in New Castle County by 6 November, but, almost anticipating Yeates' letter on 10 November, he warned that "Contrary winds those few days" were delaying the arrival of the

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<sup>368</sup> *Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State from 1776 to 1792* (Dover 1886) pp. 656-7.

<sup>369</sup> Yeates to Patterson, 3 November 1781, DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm reel 3, frame 463.

<sup>370</sup> Yeates to Patterson, 3 November 1781, DEPA RG 1300.000 Executive Papers Box 2, Military 1781, microfilm reel 3, frame 466.

main body of troops, and the cattle, their drivers, and other personnel waiting for the arrival of the army from the southward were eating up his supplies. Patterson wanted instruction whether he should purchase additional supplies.<sup>371</sup>

The "contrary winds" continued to delay the arrival of Washington's troops until the last days of November, causing Patterson the additional expenses he had tried to avoid. When he submitted his final balance for "his Excellency Genl Washington and the army on their return from York Town in Virginia," the total bill amounted to £ 773 s 11 11d.<sup>372</sup> Included in the account were £ 28 for 28 days of "Procuring Forage for the Army on their return from Virginia" which were to be paid to McClay and Darby.<sup>373</sup> When Patterson closed his books in the summer of 1783, he submitted a detailed list of expenditures "for procuring at the expense of this State, Forage, and Provisions for the Army under Genl Washington on their March to & from Virginia." Included in this bill, which gives a good overview of the needs of an army on the march, were

50 1/2 oats in bushels  
12,541 oats in sheaves  
16 beaves  
98/2/88 tons of hay  
1,924 bran in bushels  
38/3/9 Shipp Stuff  
1,382 1/2 corn in bushels  
972 shorts in bushels  
9/0/3 buckwheat meal  
4/1/16 rye meal  
95 cords of wood<sup>374</sup>  
400 head of 4 days pasturage @ 3 d each = £ 20  
145 1/2 days of teams @ £ 1 s 2 6 d each  
73 5/8 gallons of spirits  
20 lbs soap  
10 lbs candles

All in all, treasurer recorded, supplies purchased by the state and delivered to the Continental Quartermaster at Christiana for the march of the Continental Army to and from Yorktown had cost the State of Delaware £ 1,104/10/11.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> Patterson to General Assembly, 8 November 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 389.

Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800. RG 1315.7 p. 106 contains this entry: "William McClay and H. Darby for Procuring Forage for the Army on their return from Virginia 28 days at 20 s = 28/00/00."

Samuel Canby recorded in his diary that "From the 25<sup>th</sup> of the last till the 5<sup>th</sup> of the present Month (December 1781) the New England, York & Jersey troops having been going by this place to their Winter Quarters in Jersey, the Pinsylvania Troops went from York to Join General Greene's Army. The French Remain for the Winter at York Williamsburg & some other Towns."

<sup>372</sup> Patterson to General Assembly, 8 November 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 554. Included in this amount are £ 250 "by Colo Bryan their Amts."

<sup>373</sup> DEPA, RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, p. 106.

<sup>374</sup> A cord of wood measures 4 x 4 x 8 feet or 128 cubic feet. A tree with a usable height of 40 feet and a circumference of 75 inches yields one cord of wood.

<sup>375</sup> DEPA, RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, p. 100. A detailed list of expenditures dated 2 June 1783 and signed by Patterson, McClay and Darby for the same amount is in DEPA RG 1300.000, Executive Papers. This list is exclusive of supplies purchased by the Continental Army or of those collected as taxes in kind by the state.

The last units of the Continental Army may have had completed their crossing of Delaware by 1 December 1781, and be encamped at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania, but for newly elected President Dickinson the demands on his state were not yet over.<sup>376</sup> The "invalids" returning from the south needed assistance, and on 1 December, Captain James Gilliland, had already dispensed 24 rations for 4 sick soldiers in the corps of Sappers and Miners. The following day, 2 December 1781, he requested "Rations to five men belonging to the Corps Sappers & Miners who are sick & therefore cannot be brought on at present for seven days."<sup>377</sup> On 3 December 1781, Washington asked Dickinson from Philadelphia to establish a hospital for Continental Army troops in Wilmington. Dickinson immediately went to work and informed Washington the next day that he could provide the building. As so often before, the Wilmington Academy was chosen for this task when Dickinson on 4 December sent a request to the Trustees of the College of Wilmington to turn the College into a hospital.<sup>378</sup> (Resource 19) The hospital also needed straw, firewood and supplies, but the treasury was empty and as he had done many times before, Dickinson was forced to dig into his private purse. To the State Quartermaster General he wrote that his "regard and compassion for the worthy and unhappy objects" suffering in the hospital left him no choice but to "have recourse to the same expedient which I adopted in my former letter to you, for obtaining waggons -- that is, to try what can be done, on my private credit." The 120 cords of firewood and 900 bundles of clean rye straw that Dr. George Latimer received cost Dickinson £ 150/15, which he hoped to pay off the following March.<sup>379</sup>

By late December, Washington's army was safely in winter quarters. Rochambeau's regiments had established their winter quarters in and around Williamsburg where they had to be supplied throughout the winter and spring of 1781/82. Like all other states, Delaware had to contribute its share to the maintenance of these troops as Robert Morris reminded Governor Dickinson on 4 December. "As soon as possible" Dickinson was to send "the specific Supply of Flour and salted meat of the States of Delaware and Maryland" for "the use of the Army of his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau" to Rochambeau's representative in Philadelphia for shipment to Virginia.<sup>380</sup> In the cover letter transmitting Morris' request, Commissary General Ephraim Blaine on 7 December urged "not to loose a moment's time in the execution of this business, as two vessels are waiting to receive the provisions, and a danger of the frost shutting up the Navigation in the Delaware"

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<sup>376</sup> On Dickinson see Forrest McDonald and Ellen Shapiro McDonald, "John Dickinson, Founding Father." *Delaware History* Vol. 23 (1988-1989), pp. 24-38, and John H. Powell, "John Dickinson, President of the Delaware State." in: Carol E. Hoffecker, ed., *Readings in Delaware History* (Newark, 1973), pp. 41-65.

<sup>377</sup> Public Archives Division of Delaware, *Delaware Archives. Revolutionary War. In Three Volumes* (Wilmington, 1919) Vol. 2, p. 1006. On back of the paper is this entry: "Recd on the Within Order thirty five Rations by Order of Geo Latimer, Esq."

<sup>378</sup> Dickinson's correspondence with Washington on the establishment of the hospital can be traced in John H. Powell, "John Dickinson, President of the Delaware State, 1781-1782." *Delaware History* Vol. 1 No. 1 (January 1946), pp. 1-54, p. 42ff. Part 2 of this article was published *ibid.*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (April 1946), pp. 111-134. See also Lewis, "The Minutes of the Wilmington Academy," p. 197, Minutes for 7 May 1782, where a committee is appointed to address Dickinson for "Compensation for the damages done to the School House & the Detention thereof by his Orders contained in a Letter the 4<sup>th</sup> Decr. last."

The Academy had been founded in 1773. For its use as a hospital by Continental Army troops in 1780 see the Meeting Minutes of 16 October 1780 in: Schools, Wilmington Academy, Folder 4, HSD.:

The Trustees taking into Consideration the present State of the School House, rendered unfit for the Reception of Scholars by the great Damages it has receiv'd from being made a public Hospital & for Barracks a considerable Time during the present War, which Damages on a reasonable Estimation amount to near five Hundred Pounds & no immediate Prospect of receiving any public compensation; it is resolved that in such Case rather than leave the Community deprived of the Advantages which may be reasonably expected from opening the School again under able Masters that each Trustee shall in his vicinity solicit Subscription for repairing the House and opening the School against the ensuing Spring ...."

<sup>379</sup> Quoted in Powell, "Dickinson," p. 43.

<sup>380</sup> Morris to Dickinson, 4 December 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 358.

was imminent. Almost as a postscript he added there had been "a large Quantity of flour since last Summer at Duck Creek cross roads, what has been done with it"? If it could be found, Blaine would gladly take the flour as well as 200 bushels of corn -- or anything else that was available.<sup>381</sup>

That was easier said than done: sometimes the supplies had been collected, but could not be delivered. On 11 December 1781, William Millan informed the governor that once again he had virtually all the supplies requested from him collected at Cantwell's Bridge, but he could not get them to Christiana. "Your Excellency may perhaps be surprizd that I would keep any public Stores at hand when they are so much needed, but to this I wou'd beg leave to observe that I am unprovided with every necessary for forwarding them, no provision being made for Flour-Cards, Transportation, or any other expense attending them." He had plenty of paper money, "which when reduce'd to Specie Value was of little Account." He had already advanced £ 100 of his own money to pay freight and other charges, but his credit had now been expended and it was simply "not in my power to forward the Supplies without Assistance."<sup>382</sup>

Money lay at the root of Delaware's problems, and it affected the quality of supplies as well. In the same letter Millan told Rodney that since the assembly had failed to "specify the quality of the hay to be delivered, I was oblig'd to take such as was brought me, and in general it was of the worst kind, - I at first refus'd it and had frequent disputes about it." But without an order from Dover he had to accept these deliveries, which meant that "the Hay at hand is not by any means fit for Horses - at best it is no more than tolerable Cow Hay."<sup>383</sup>

Wilson's problems were not made any easier by Delaware farmers who rather sold for specie to the French than for Continental Dollars or on credit to their fellow countrymen. Purchased by Jeremiah Wadsworth with French silver, large amounts of foodstuffs made their way south. Throughout the fall of 1781, Thomas Lea sent large orders for shipping to Christiana Bridge. On 15 November 1781, Lea sent his largest order yet, 3,569 bushels of wheat, to Virginia, which he had purchased and milled on commission from "sundry" people on the account of Zebulon Hollingsworth of Cecil County, Maryland. Total cost including commissions, cartage, and freight of this single shipment was £ 1,002/10/2, the largest entry in the account book until then. But business continued to increase: another 9,333½ bushels followed on 21 January 1782 for a total cost of £ 2,553/3/8 ½.<sup>384</sup>

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<sup>381</sup> Blaine to Rodney 7 December 1781 DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frames 358-59.

<sup>382</sup> Millan to Rodney, 11 December 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 359-360.

<sup>383</sup> Millan to Rodney, 11 December 1781. DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished), microfilm frame 359-360.

<sup>384</sup> Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783, Ms Books Business L, HSD. His business partner was Zebulon Hollingsworth, a son of Henry Hollingsworth of Cecil County, Maryland. See Bruce A. Bendler, *Colonial Delaware Assemblymen 1682-1776* (Westminster, 1989) p. 60.

### 3 JULY 1782: DELAWARE CELEBRATES THE BIRTH OF THE DAUPHIN

To be sure, when the *duc* de Lauzun and William de Deux-Ponts arrived in Versailles with the news of victory at Yorktown, the court was excited and glad. But just a few days after Lord Cornwallis' troops had laid down their arms outside that small seaside town on the Chesapeake, a much more exciting event had occurred in the private quarters of Queen Marie Antoinette. The birth of Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François, the long-desired *dauphin* and heir to the throne of France on Monday 22 October 1781, overshadowed the news from America.<sup>385</sup>

Known in Williamsburg by 10 January 1782, it was celebrated with a *Te Deum* and "a great fête" on 15 January.<sup>386</sup> American newspapers ignored the birth, and it was not until 9 March 1782, that the *Providence Gazette* reported it to its readers. There the affair rested until French minister Anne César, chevalier de la Luzerne, took up the birth as "a propitious occasion to reaffirm American loyalty to the alliance." Luzerne, according to Stinchcome, "carefully studied the needs of the alliance and attempted to arrange events accordingly. ... Symbolically, the celebrations of the birth offered Americans a chance to bid farewell to the French, to recognize the value of their aid and alliance. This remained implicit in the celebrations, at least thirty to forty of which were held throughout the summer of 1782. In newspaper coverage at least eighty, and probably closer to one hundred, articles appeared in American papers describing the celebrations. No other event during the Revolution, with the possible exception of the Silas Deane affair, received so much concentrated attention in the American press."<sup>387</sup>

On 13 May 1782, four months after it was known in America, Luzerne officially informed Congress of the birth of the dauphin. The following day, 14 May, the Office of Foreign Affairs in Philadelphia sent a circular to the chief executives of all states, including President Dickinson, informing them of the event. Signed by Robert Livingston, the circular expressed the hope that the people of Delaware would "partake in the joy [of] an event that so nearly affects the happiness of their great and generous Ally."<sup>388</sup> Dickinson was on his way to the legislative session in Dover, which began on 27 May and was to run through 22 June. Dickinson took the matter up with the legislature, which on Wednesday, 19 June 1782,

"Resolved, that His Excellency the President be desired to give such Direction as he may judge proper on Occasion for testifying the great and sincere Joy of this State on the happy Event, so interesting to His Most Christian Majesty and to France."<sup>389</sup>

Dickinson, a strong supporter of France and the French alliance knew of other celebrations and in order to ensure that the celebration in Delaware would be a memorable event got involved personally in the planing and preparation of the festivities. To enable the legislators to participate

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<sup>385</sup> The dauphin born in 1781 must not be confused with his younger brother Louis-Charles, the "lost dauphin" of the French Revolution, who was born on 27 March 1785, and who died on 20 Prairial of the Year III of the French Revolution, i.e., 8 June 1795.

<sup>386</sup> Acomb, *Closen*, p. 171.

<sup>387</sup> The only scholarly investigation of the celebrations in America is William C. Stinchcome, "Americans Celebrate the Birth of the Dauphin" in: *Diplomacy and Revolution. The Franco-American Alliance of 1778* Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., (Charlottesville, 1981), pp. 39-72, the quote is on p. 56.

<sup>388</sup> DEPA, Executive papers, Correspondence Folder 2

<sup>389</sup> The resolution of Wednesday, 19 June 1782, is printed in Claudia L. Bushman, Harold B. Hancock, Elizabeth Moyne Homsey, *Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Delaware State 1781-1792 and of the Constitutional Convention of 1792* (Newark, 1988), p. 86.

without other business on their minds, Dickinson scheduled the event for 22 June, the last day of the legislative session.<sup>390</sup> In a carefully prepared account to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Dickinson described the festivities.

Dover, in the Delaware State, June 22, 1782

In pursuance of votes of the Council and House of Assembly, directions were given for "testifying the great and sincere joy of this State on the birth of the *Dauphin*, an event so interesting to His Most Christian Majesty and to *France*."

Preparations having been accordingly made, this morning a triumphal arch was erected in the middle of the square. The sides were formed by two pillars, of the most simple and solid order. the *Tuscan*, ornamented with the emblems of JUSTICE and HUMANITY. These supported the curve, and the whole was finished in the style of architecture proper for such a building.

On the top of one pillar was fixed a picture, representing three fleurs-de-lis -- the motto -- \*HYEMEM NON SENTIENT --. On the top of the other another picture, representing the sun surrounded by thirteen stars -- the motto -- †SPIRITUS ITEM ALIT --. On the highest part of the arch a third picture, representing a young eagle looking up at the sun and flying towards it -- the motto -- ‡PATRIIS VIRTUTIBUS --. Extending through-out the curve, in silver letters, these words -- §VOTA GALLIÆ ET AMERICÆ -- and under the capitals these letters, ||S.P.Q.D.

At twelve o'clock the french and American colours were displayed on each side of the arch, with a continental salute from the artillery advanced on the right. A body of the militia, under the direction of several officers of our troops, ranged themselves on a line with the artillery, and fired a feu-de-joye.

The highest satisfaction was expressed by every person present on the auspicious event, that contributes so much to the happiness of our august Ally and the French nation.

Afterwards the President and the Members of the Legislature, with several gentlemen of the army who were in town, and a large and respectable company dined together.

After dinner the following toasts were drank: ---

1. Long life and happiness to the Dauphin.
2. The United States.
3. His Most Christian Majesty.
4. The Queen and Royal family of France.
5. The friendly Powers of Europe.
6. General Washington and the Army.
7. Count Rochambeau and the French Army.
8. General Greene and the Southern Army.
9. The combined Fleets.
10. The Chevalier de la Luzerne.
11. Perpetuity to our Alliance
12. A safe and honorable peace -- or no Peace.
13. May the Independence of America add to the Happiness of Mankind in every other Part of the World.

And the day concluded with the greatest festivity and good Order.

\* These perish not with winter

† The same spirit pervades them all

‡ With paternal virtues

§ The wishes of France and America

|| The Senate and people of Delaware

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<sup>390</sup> The manuscripts describing the preparations for the festivities are in Dickinson's own hand. See Milton E. Flower, *John Dickinson. Conservative Revolutionary* (Charlottesville, 1983); on Dickinson's positive attitude toward the French Revolution see William J. Soler, "John Dickinson's Attitude Toward the French, 1797-1801." *Delaware History* Vol. 6 No. 4, (September 1955), pp. 294-298.

The dinner was expensive: the state paid £ 38/15/00 to "Elizabeth Battell for the expense of an entertainment given at the Celebration of the birth of a Dauphin of France."<sup>391</sup> (Resource 20)

On 4 July 1782, Dickinson informed de la Luzerne of "the great and sincere Joy express for the Birth of the Dauphin" by the people of Delaware. "Perfectly convinced of the invaluable Advantages derived from his Most Christian Majesty's friendship," Dickinson expressed his "desire to prove, that we feel every Sentiment honest and grateful Men can entertain on such an Occasion." As he warmed to his subject, he expressed the hope that "this young Prince, we are persuaded, will be educated to regard the Inhabitants of the United States with Esteem. We consider him as our future Friend and hereditary Ally, and the Supporter of that System, which the Wisdom and Virtue of his illustrious father have contributed so much to establish." Realizing the implications of this paragraph -- it would be difficult indeed for the King of France to support a republican system - Dickinson left the paragraph out when he sent the letter and ended his letter on safe ground. He hoped that the young prince may "become a Blessing to France and these States - an Instructor of Monarchs - the Delight of the Human race - and then, diffusing Happiness on Earth, in a full Career of Glory, pursue his Way to Heaven."<sup>392</sup>

De la Luzerne thanked Dickinson profusely for the congratulations on 5 July. The ambassador assured Dickinson that "the name of an American will never strike his Ear, without joining to it the Idea of a Friend & and Ally." But de la Luzerne's hope of a perpetual alliance was not to become reality. Neither was his wish that "when one Day he shall ascend the throne of his ancestor, the Alliance will then have become Antient, and a long course of Friendship will have demonstrated that it is equally indissoluble and mutually advantageous."<sup>393</sup> Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François died not even eight years old on 4 June 1789. The kingdom of his father was in turmoil and shaken to its very foundation. On 20 June 1789, two weeks after the young dauphin's death, the *Estates Générales* pledged in the Oath of the Tennis Court that they would not disband until they had given France a constitution.

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<sup>391</sup> DEPA RG 1315.7, Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800, p. 44, contains an order "in favor of Elizabeth Battell for the expense of an entertainment given at the Celebration of the birth of a Dauphin of France £ 38/15/00." See also James B. Jackson, *The Golden Fleece Tavern. The Birthplace of the First State* (Dover, 1987), with a description of the celebration on pp. 31-33. The tavern, which was kept by French Battell until his death in late 1781, stood on the north-east corner of the Dover Green and State Street.

<sup>392</sup> Dickinson to Luzerne, 4 July 1782. DEPA, Executive Papers, Correspondence Folder 2, microfilm frames 501-02.

<sup>393</sup> Dickinson to Luzerne, 4 July 1782. DEPA, Executive Papers, Correspondence Folder 2, microfilm frame 505.



## THE RETURN MARCH OF THE FRENCH ARMY THROUGH DELAWARE, 29 TO 31 AUGUST 1782

The French forces had spent the winter of 1781/82 in and around Williamsburg. West Point, Virginia, became the camp of the French artillery, under Joseph Dieudonné de Chazelles. Hampton was the camp of Lauzun's Legion until February 1782, when at the request of Nathanael Greene the Legion relocated to the North Carolina border. The Legion remained in the vicinity of Charlotte Courthouse, Virginia, until June 1782, when it returned north, staying briefly at Petersburg before marching with the French Army back to New York and then to Boston.<sup>394</sup>

Williamsburg was the site of the Rochambeau's headquarters and his staff. It also provided quarters for the Bourbonnais regiment, seven companies of the Royal Deux-Ponts, and part of Auxonne artillery. Jamestown hosted the remaining three companies of the Royal Deux-Ponts. Yorktown provided quarters for the Soissonnais regiment, and the grenadiers and chasseurs of the Saintonge regiment; the remainder of the Saintonge was quartered at Halfway House (on the road from Yorktown to Hampton and Back River). This regiment relocated to Hampton in February 1782, once Lauzun's Legion had vacated Hampton for Charlotte Court House. Gloucester was the site for a detachment of 50 men and an artillery company, and there were several other scattered camps for outposts and to establish courier services.

Ten months after their arrival, on 1 July 1782, Rochambeau's forces broke camp and began their return march. Organization and schedule were almost identical to the previous year, though this time the troops marched the whole distance rather than cover parts of the route by boat.<sup>395</sup> Until Fredericksburg was reached, the infantry marched in four divisions a day apart; thereafter they marched in brigades until Baltimore:

- 1) The Bourbonnais under the command of the chevalier de Chastellux
- 2) The Royal Deux-Ponts under comte Christian de Deux-Ponts
- 3) The Soissonnais under the vicomte de Vioménil
- 4) The Saintonge under the comte de Custine.

The siege artillery, and 150 men of the Auxonne artillery, remained at West Point, Virginia. So did the sick and 400 men, 100 each from each regiment, who formed a garrison at Yorktown. Because of the excessive July heat, the march often began at 1:00 a.m. and ended at daybreak. The first camp was at Drinking Spring from 1-4 July (present vicinity of Norge); the 2<sup>nd</sup> was about two miles south of current Barhamsville, the 3<sup>rd</sup> at "Rarcliffe House," an uncertain location between modern Barhamsville and New Kent. Camp 4, from 4-7 July, was at "Hartfield," a location believed to have existed about 3 miles northwest of New Kent Court House. The next camp was at New Castle, 5-9 July, where each division had an extra rest day. Two divisions shared the camp on 6, 7, and 8 July. This community has disappeared, but it is believed to have been about a mile east of the modern bridge over the Pamunkey River on US 360. The next stop was Hanover town, which is also no longer on modern maps (about 10 miles southeast of Hanover Court House). On 8 July the First Division reached Little Page's Bridge, also known as Graham's House, near Hanover Court House, on the north bank of the Pamunkey. Here Lauzun's Legion joined the army and assumed the vanguard position in the march.

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<sup>394</sup> On the Legion's stay at Charlotte Court House see Timothy S. Ailsworth et al., *Charlotte County. Rich Indeed* (Charlotte County, 1979), pp. 118-122.

<sup>395</sup> Maps of the French campsites and itineraries, where they vary from the 1781 march, can be found in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, pp. 174-178. See, however, the note on pp. 172-74.

Burk's Bridge, also known as Kenner's Tavern, Camp 8, was located to the north of the Mattaponi river, most likely in line with present US 301. Bowling Green, 10-13 July, Charles Thornton's House, 11-14 July, about 2 miles south of present day Villboro, on VASR 2, Falmouth, on the north bank of the Rappahannock River, Payton's Tavern or Payton's Ordinary, a few miles north of present day Stafford on US 1, were the next stops before Dumfries, where French troops camped on 15-18 July on the north bank of the Quantico Creek, near modern US 1. Next came Colchester, from where some French officers, such as Lauberdère, visited Mount Vernon to meet Martha Washington.<sup>396</sup> Alexandria, 17-20 July 1781, was the final camp of the march north in Virginia. On the 25 July, the French army marched to about a mile beyond present-day Georgetown in Washington, DC, which was part of Maryland in 1782. Here they ferried across the Potomac to Baltimore, where they remained encamped for most of the month of August. On 24 August, the First Division, i.e., the regiment Bourbonnais, departed Baltimore for White Marsh Forge, then to Camp 23 at Lower Ferry, and Camp 24 at Head of Elk, where they arrived on 28 August.

Coming from Head of Elk, the First Brigade of the French forces camped on 29 August near Newport, and was followed by the Second Brigade on 30 August. Baron Closen described the route from Head of Elk as going through Christiana, "a rather pretty place, but not very large," across the White Clay Creek "on some rather good wooden bridges" and the Red Clay Creek, until he reached Newport, "a small town of about 40 houses. The division camped one-half mile from the place on very convenient ground."<sup>397</sup> (Resources 21 and 22) Blanchard, who camped at Newport on 1 September, described it as "a small town situated on a creek, which communicates with the Delaware and is navigable."<sup>398</sup> And Private Flohr of the Royal Deux-Ponts recorded that "On the 30<sup>th</sup> we departed again, 17 miles to Peis Creek in a beautiful pleasant region where we set up our camp very close to the river called Peiss Creek. During that same day we also passed through a pretty little town called Christinatown or in German, *Christinastatt*, in a pleasant area near a very low mountain range, where one encountered many Germans once again."<sup>399</sup>

On the 30<sup>th</sup> (sic) we departed again, 16 miles to Chester, a pretty little town not far from the Delaware. That same day we also passed three pretty little towns; the first was called Newport, the second Wilmington, a very pretty town all adorned with numerous beautiful buildings, also situated very close to the Delaware River, the third was Brandywine, also a beautiful little town which is also inhabited almost exclusively by Germans. The fourth was Chester, very close to which we set up camp, and had very many visitors from among the inhabitants."<sup>400</sup>

Without stopping again in Delaware, the French forces marched through Wilmington down Philadelphia Pike over the next two days and crossed over into Pennsylvania on 30 and 31 August 1781. Blanchard described Wilmington in 1782 as a "city, built of brick, a mile from the Delaware, (that) is as large as Williamsburg and capable of growth."<sup>401</sup> It seemed to have grown indeed for Closen was amazed at the transformation of the town. Wilmington seems to have benefited more and longer than most cities from the prosperity brought by the thousands of Frenchmen in its vicinity. "Although I have already mentioned this place, I cannot keep from

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<sup>396</sup> See Lauberdère's description of the visit in Robert A. Selig, "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdère" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106.

<sup>397</sup> Acomb, *Closen*, pp. 228-29.

<sup>398</sup> Blanchard, "Journal," p. 172.

<sup>399</sup> Flohr's "Peiss Creek" is probably the White Clay Creek.

<sup>400</sup> There were but few Germans living in Brandywine at the time. See the first chapter of J. Emil Abeles, *The German Element in Wilmington. From 1850-1914* (MA Thesis, University of Delaware, 1948).

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

noting here how much enlarged and embellished I found it. They have built 50 brick houses, very handsome and spacious, since our passage, which make the main street charming. The dollars that the army spends wherever it marches are beneficial to the country, for you can perceive at a glance that they are prospering."<sup>402</sup>

The First Brigade entered its Camp 26 at Chester in Pennsylvania on 30 August. On 31 August the Bourbonnais approached Philadelphia, followed by the Royal Deux-Ponts on 1 September. Once again the French army paraded through Philadelphia before marching on to Bristol (4 September), Trenton, and Princeton. Somerset Courthouse was reached on 8 September. Bullion's Tavern on 9 September, Morristown on 10 September, and finally Whippany on 11 September. On 12 September the troops of the First Brigade marched to Pompton from which they reached the New York State Line on 13 September. On 16 September Rochambeau crossed the river to inspect the camp laid out to the left of the Americans with the Saintonge forming the far left of the allied camp, along the road to Crompond/Yorktown Heights. As Rochambeau's forces crossed the Hudson on 17 September, a review showed this strength:<sup>403</sup>

REGIMENT	PRESENT OFFICERS AND MEN	ABSENTEES	TOTAL
Bourbonnais	758	214	972
Soissonais	768	228	996
Saintonge	799	195	994
Royal Deux-Ponts	798	172	970
Auxonne Artillery	312	190	502
Mineurs	0	22	22
Ouvriers	476	80	556
	3,911	1,101	5,012

As it had the previous year, Lauzun's Legion was covering the flank of the French army. Encamped near Paramus on 13 September, it rested one day before it took up a post near Kakiat on 15 September as the rear-guard of the army. Here it remained on 18 September when it rode to Stony Point, and crossed the river that day as well. Once across, the troops marched past the Continental Army encamped close to the ferry landing via King's Ferry Road and the Albany Post Road to Camp 37 of the return march. Camp 37 was established on the same spot where the Continental Army had encamped in July 1781 on its way to the Philipsburg encampment.<sup>404</sup> From 17 to 23 September 1782, the French forces, with Lauzun's Legion nearest the Hudson, occupied the hills on the north side of Crompond Road between Washington Street and Lafayette Avenue.

On the other side of the river, Clermont-Crèveccœur, "found 8,000 of the American army. Now they were all uniformed and well groomed. We were struck with the transformation of this army into one that was in no way inferior to ours in appearance. Their officers too were well turned out."<sup>405</sup> Verger described the American camp thus: "The whole color-line of the American camp was bordered by a very beautiful arbor, decorated with various designs and coats of arms (which

<sup>402</sup> Acomb, *Closen*, p. 229.

<sup>403</sup> These data again based on Keim, *Commemoration*. Of the absentees, 477 were on special assignments and 631 were in the hospital. Rochambeau's troop contingent is about 1,000 men larger than on the march south, when the army had stood at about 3,400 officers and men. Since neither the siege artillery, the sick nor Lauzun's Legion made the march to Boston, Rochambeau left Yorktown Heights with about 3,700 men.

<sup>404</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 186, based on a note written on a map of the Peekskill camp drawn by Rochambeau's aide-de-camp Cromot du Bourg.

<sup>405</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, p. 78.

were very well executed) representing the different regiments. The American soldiers do not stack their arms in piles like ours but simply lean them against three posts set up in the form of a scaffold before their tents, which they erect on one line. From there we marched 4 miles to our camp at Peekskill. This was on top of an arid mountain surrounded by wilderness."<sup>406</sup>

On 20 September the French army passed in review before General Washington, and then, on 22 September, Clermont-Crèveœur and his fellow officers "went to watch the maneuvers of the American army and were truly impressed. This proves what money and good officers can do to make good soldiers."<sup>407</sup> Dr. Thacher described the scene thus: "The whole army was paraded under arms this morning in order to honor his Excellency Count Rochambeau on his arrival from the southward. The troops were all formed in two lines, extending from the ferry, where the count crossed, to head-quarters. A troop of horses met and received him at King's ferry, and conducted him through the line to General Washington's quarters, where, sitting on his horse by the side of his excellency, the whole army marched before him, and paid the usual salute and honors. Our troops were now in complete uniform, and exhibited every mark of soldierly discipline. Count Rochambeau was most highly gratified to perceive the very great improvement, which our army had made in appearance since he last reviewed them, and expressed his astonishment at their rapid progress in military skill and discipline. He said to General Washington, "You have formed an alliance with the King of Prussia. These troops are Prussians." Several of the principal officers of the French army, who have seen troops of different European nations, have bestowed the highest encomiums and applause on our army, and declared that they had seen none superior to the Americans."<sup>408</sup>

On 22 September, the day of the review, the duc de Lauzun, the comte de Ségur, son of the war minister, together with a large group of French officers returned from France with orders from court. Before the two armies parted, Washington had the opportunity to decorate a number of French officers. Ségur had brought a number of crosses of the Order of St. Louis. Rochambeau asked Washington to do the honors, and the American gladly attached the insignia of the military order to chests of the French officers.<sup>409</sup>

Once the two allies had completed their farewells, the French troops departed on 24 September for an eight-mile march to Crompond/Yorktown Heights. Here they entered their 38<sup>th</sup> camp of the march from Virginia around Hunt's Tavern, where they remained until 22 October.

Following this one-month rest at Crompond/Yorktown Heights, Rochambeau regrouped his troops into brigades for the impending march. His instructions indicated that in case the British were to evacuate either Charleston or New York, he was to take the army to Santo Domingo to await further orders. While a British evacuation of New York seemed remote, the evacuation of Charleston seemed imminent and eventually took place in December.

On 22 October the First Brigade, consisting of the Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, broke camp and began the march to Connecticut. The Continental Army too entered into what would be its final encampment. Dr. Thacher recorded that "At reveille on the 26th instant, the left wing of our army, under the command of General Heath, decamped from Verplank's Point and marched

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<sup>406</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 165, with more descriptions of the American camp.

<sup>407</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 78.

<sup>408</sup> Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 322. See also Verger's description in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 166 and note 154. The "Prussian" influence was in large degree due to the work of Baron Steuben, the Prussian-born Inspector-General of the Continental Army, whom many French officers held responsible for this marked improvement. The Continental Army was between 5,500 and 6,000 men strong at the time.

<sup>409</sup> Lauberdrière, "Journal," fol. 194.

to the highlands; took our lodging in the woods, without covering, and were exposed to heavy rain during a night and day. Thence we crossed the Hudson to West Point, and marched over the mountain called Butter hill; passed the night in the open field and the next day reached the ground where we are to erect log huts for our winter-quarters, near New Windsor."<sup>410</sup> Once the American army had left, Lauzun's Legion too presumably retraced its steps to Peekskill, crossed the Hudson once again, and marched to Wilmington and winter quarters.

The First Brigade meanwhile continued its march and arrived in East Hartford on 29 October, where it was joined by the Second Brigade the next day. Here Rochambeau announced to the troops that they were to march to Boston and embark for the West Indies while he would return to France. On 3 November the artillery left for Bolton; on 4 November it was followed by the First Brigade. At Camp 47 from 5-7 November at Windham, the two brigades joined "in frightful weather." By now it was early November, and winter was upon New England. Clermont-Crèvecoeur could not "express how uncomfortable we were while camping in a country where the cold was already very intense. We were frozen in our tents. And the tents were frozen so stiff that, after the pegs and poles were removed to take them down, they stood alone. So you can judge how cold it was."<sup>411</sup> On 9 November 1782, Rochambeau's troops crossed into Rhode Island.

Following three weeks of rest near Providence, the French forces on 4 December set out for Boston, which they reached on 6 December 1782. "Upon arrival we immediately embarked," wrote Private Flohr of the Royal Deux-Ponts, "the grenadiers and the chasseurs as well as the first fusilier company were embarked on the warship *Le Brave*. The remaining companies were put on a ship called *Isle de France*. A few days later we debarked again ... . We were lodged in the city in an old magazine where we almost perished from the cold."

Nevertheless, departure was near for the troops of the *expédition particulière*. As they said their farewells to each other, even the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* proclaimed in its issue of 9 December 1782, that the "Behaviour of these Troops ... sufficiently contradicts the *infamous Falsehoods and Misrepresentations* usually imposed on the World by *perfidious Britons*." Then, wrote Private Flohr, "on the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> we received orders to embark our regimental baggage. ... . On the 22<sup>nd</sup> the ship was cut lose from the ice; it had frozen fast because it stood very close to the banks. In the afternoon of the 23<sup>rd</sup> we began to raise anchor. That was exactly the day before Christmas. Toward evening we sailed out of the harbor and around 5 in the afternoon we passed the narrows ... In the morning of the 24<sup>th</sup>, Christmas Day, we raised anchor to sail to the West Indies. Around 10 o'clock we left the town of Boston."

Their route took the French infantry to the Caribbean, and then to the Spanish harbor of Porto Cabello in Venezuela on the South American mainland where they arrived in mid-February. The troops knew that Preliminaries of Peace between Great Britain and the United States had been signed on 30 November 1782, but it was not until they heard the news on 24 March 1783, that Great Britain and France has signed Preliminaries of Peace on 20 January 1783 as well that they could begin preparations for their return home. In the first days of April, Rochambeau's forces embarked for the French island of Santo Domingo. From here they began the long journey back to France. Most of the fleet reached Brest on 17 June, except for the ships carrying the Regiment Soissonnais, which had been diverted to the harbor of Toulon in the Mediterranean. More than three years after it had sailed from Brest, the *expédition particulière* was over for Rochambeau's infantry. The artillery and Lauzun's Legion too were already on the high seas and would be home soon as well.

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<sup>410</sup> Thacher, *Military Journal*, p. 334.

<sup>411</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 81.

## THE JOURNEY OF THE FRIGATES *L'AIGLE* AND *LA GLOIRE*, 19 MAY TO 26 SEPTEMBER 1782

Charged with bringing the news of the Yorktown victory to France, the duc de Lauzun had left Yorktown on the frigate *Surveillante* on 24 October 1781, and anchored in Brest on the evening of 19 November 1781. Count William de Deux-Ponts, who sailed from Virginia on the frigate *Amazone* on 1 November, reached France even faster after a 20-day crossing. In February 1782, the baron de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, also sailed for France with a list of needed supplies and the request for instructions for the 1782 campaign. But with the victory at Yorktown the relative importance of the theatres of war for France had shifted to the Caribbean and to India. For France, as well as for Britain, the war on the American mainland had become secondary. American independence by itself brought no material gain for France, conquests in the Caribbean and India would. Rochambeau would not get any substantial reinforcements and just enough funds to keep his army afloat. There was no need to be active in the nascent United States, and it was already late April 1782 before War Minister Ségur handed his instructions for Rochambeau to Vioménil. If the British should evacuate either New York or Charleston, he was to embark his troops on the ships of the marquis de Vaudreuil and sail for Santo Domingo. From there he was authorized to hand his command over to Vioménil and return home. Vioménil was to coordinate his plans with the marquis de Bouillé and Spanish General Bernardo de Galvez.

Unbeknownst to Ségur or Vioménil, the instructions Vioménil took with him to America when he set sail from Brest on the frigate *Gloire* on 19 Mai had already been surpassed by events in the Caribbean. Without instructions from France, yet realizing that the disastrous defeat of Admiral de Grasse in the Battle of the Saints on 12 April had voided whatever instructions he might receive from Versailles for the 1782 campaign, Rochambeau began his march to the north in July 1782. Still without instructions he met with Washington in Philadelphia on 19 July. Here the two generals agreed to concentrate their forces outside New York. Though they were fully aware that after the de Grasse' disastrous defeat the naval support indispensable for a successful attack on that city was highly unlikely, there was not much else they could do. On 16 September he crossed the Hudson at King's Ferry. Still without a word from France, Rochambeau set up camp on 23 September in Crompond, today's Yorktown Heights. Three days later Vioménil rode into camp.<sup>412</sup>

The baron was accompanied by a veritable "Who's Who" of the French court nobility. The victory at Yorktown had taken pro-American sentiments in Versailles to new heights. Everyone wanted to see the New World. Vioménil's entourage of twenty-nine officers not only included his 15-year-old son Charles Gabriel, but also the duc de Lauzun, who had wanted to return to America,<sup>413</sup> and Anne Alexandre de Montmorency, marquis de Laval, the former colonel of the Bourbonnais who returned as a brigadier. There was Charles Louis Victor prince de Broglie, the 26-year-old son of the maréchal de Broglie and new colonel-en-second of the Saintonge.<sup>414</sup> Broglie's travel companion was 29-year-old Louis-Philippe comte de Ségur, son of the war Minister and recently appointed colonel-en-second of the Soissonnais.<sup>415</sup> Also in the party were

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<sup>412</sup> See Scott, *Yorktown to Valmy*, pp. 96-99, Kennett, *French Forces*, pp. 158-162, and René Georges Pichon, *Contribution à l'Étude de la Participation Militaire de la France à la Guerre d'Indépendance des États-Unis 1778-1783* Thèse pour le Doctorat du Troisième Cycle (Paris, 1976), pp. 599-600.

<sup>413</sup> Lauzun's account of the journey is in Pilon, *Memoirs*, pp. 214-218.

<sup>414</sup> Broglie's account of the journey is printed in "Journal du Voyage du Prince de Broglie colonel-en-second du Régiment de Saintonge aux États-Unis d'Amérique et dans l'Amérique du Sud 1782-1783" in: *Mélanges publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles Français (Deuxième Partie)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 15-148, pp. 15-53.

<sup>415</sup> Ségur's account is printed in *Memoirs and recollections of Count Segur: ambassador from France to the courts of Russia and Prussia* 3 vols., (London, 1825), vol. 1 pp. 274-345. It was published concurrently in

Charles-Louis baron de Secondat de Montesquieu, the 32-year-old grandson of the famous philosopher who became colonel-en-second of the Bourbonnais in November 1782,<sup>416</sup> and 18-year-old Boson comte de Talleyrand-Périgord, Chastellux' aide-de-camp, whose brother, the bishop of Autun, would become one of the most famous personages of his age. Colonel comte de Vauban, the 28-year-old great grand-nephew of the famous marshal, came to serve as an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. Also of that segment of the nobility which had had the "Honors of the Court" were Louis Alexandre Andrault, comte de Langeron, 22-year-old Alexandre chevalier de Lameth, Jean-Louis de Rigaud, vicomte de Vaudreuil, a cousin of the admiral, 21-year-old André Arsène de Rosset, vicomte de Fleury, the son of the duc de Fleury, 20-year-old Jean Frederic de Chabannes, marquis de la Palice, and Gabriel Marie vicomte de Riccé.

Below this elite of the French nobility stood members of the "noblesse d'épée" such as Claude Bernard Loppin, marquis de Montmort, Vioménil's son-in-law, the vicomte Alexandre de Loménie, Edouard Arnoult chevalier de Fontenay, Louis Pierre Drummond, vicomte de Metfort, whose ancestors had followed the Stuarts to France, Dominique Sheldon, a 22-year-old Irishman attached to Lauzun's Legion as a colonel, and Charles Laure MacMahon, who had come to serve as Lauzun's aide-de-camp. From the lower ranks of the nobility came officers such as Philippe de Verton, Deslon De Montmeril, Louis de Champcenetz, and Mathieu Tisseul d'Anvaux. Carl Pontus Lillienhorn had been an aide-de-camp to the King of Sweden, and Vioménil's aide-de-camp Joseph Friedrich Freiherr von Brentano hailed from Regensburg in Bavaria. Also on board was Jean Ladislas Pollerescky, the Major of Lauzun's Legion who returned from Europe.<sup>417</sup>

But despite these illustrious passengers the journey from the very start had not stood under a good star. On 19 May, the *Gloire*, a frigate of 26 cannon launched at St. Malo in July 1778 and commanded by the chevalier de Vallongue, sailed from Brest, but violent storm forced her into the harbor of Paimbœf near Nantes for repairs.<sup>418</sup> While in harbor she received orders to sail for La Rochelle to meet up with the 40-gun frigate *l'Aigle*. Commanded by the chevalier de la Touche, a crew of 750 and "near three hundred Tons burthen more than the *Warwick*," the *l'Aigle* was "the largest Frigate ever built."<sup>419</sup> Deep in the bowels of each the two ships were casks containing between 1.2 million and 1.3 million livres in cash destined for Rochambeau. On 22 June, the *Gloire* anchored in La Rochelle, and on 15 July the two frigates finally left port. Two

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French as *Mémoires, ou, Souvenirs et anecdotes* 3 vols., (Paris and London, 1825-26). See also "Extraits de Lettres écrites d'Amérique par le comte de Ségur colonel en second du Régiment de Soissonnais a la comtesse de Ségur, Dame de Madame Victoire 1782-1783" in: *Mélanges publiés par la Société des Bibliophiles François (Deuxième Partie)* (Paris, 1903), pp. 159-205, pp. 160-168.

<sup>416</sup> Montesquieu, who had already fought at Yorktown, had sailed with Lauzun to France in November 1781. A biographical essay can be found in Raymond Céleste, "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu en Amérique (1780-1783)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 5 No. 12 (December 1902), pp. 529-556. A brief account of his 1782 journey is published in Raymond Céleste, "Charles-Louis de Montesquieu a l'Armée (1772-1782)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* Vol. 6 No. 11 (November 1904), pp. 505-524, pp. 519-523. His letters describing the journey are published in Octave Beuve, "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu. Soldat de l'Indépendance Américaine (d'après des documents inédits)" *Revue historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire* Vol. 5 (January-June 1914), pp. 233-263, pp. 253-263. On 6 July 1782, Montesquieu wrote from Rochefort that there were seven colonels, two majors, and 13 aides-de-camp waiting to board the *Gloire* with Vioménil. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 253.

<sup>417</sup> Biographical information on these officers can be found in Bodinier's, *Dictionnaire*. On Pollerescky see below. Ségur counted 22 officers on the *l'Aigle* and eight on the *Gloire*. If Montesquieu's total is correct, 28 of these 30 passengers are identified by name in the primary and secondary sources used in this report.

<sup>418</sup> Dull, *French Navy*, p. 357, lists the *Gloire* with 26 guns; Broglie and Feilding give her 32 guns. See William Feilding to Basil Feilding, Earl of Denbigh, 8 October 1782, in: Marion Balderston and David Syrett, *The Lost War: Letters from British officers during the American Revolution* (New York, 1975), p. 220. Feilding was the captain of the 50-gun *Warwick*, which participated in the capture of the *l'Aigle*.

<sup>419</sup> Feilding, p. 221. The *l'Aigle* had only been purchased in March 1782. Dull, *French Navy*, p. 357.

days out at sea, the *l'Aigle* collided with the frigate *Cérés*, which was escorting a convoy of merchant ships and sustained considerable damage.<sup>420</sup>

A full three weeks later, the two frigates reached the Azores, where they put in for three days on 5 August to replenish their supplies and give their sick time to recover.<sup>421</sup> On the night of 4/5 September, the two frigates fell in with the 74-gun ship *Hector*, a French ship of the line which had been taken by the British in the Battle of the Saints. They were badly damaged in the unequal contest and lost 12-15 dead and some 20 wounded.<sup>422</sup> The lookout had just sighted the coast of Delaware around 6:00 a.m. on 11 September, when they noticed a British squadron on the horizon. When a small British corvette leaving Delaware Bay mistook them for British vessels and ventured too close, de la Touche gave chase and took the prize. The capture of the *Racoon*, which took over two hours, was the "cause of our misfortune. We lost time."<sup>423</sup> Later that day, four months after the *Gloire* had first attempted to clear the coast of France, the frigates approached Delaware Bay. But the wind had changed and they were forced to anchor between Capes May and James to await a favorable wind before entering.

Later that evening, de la Touche sent a boat ashore to pick up pilots for the passage. Due to the strong winds and choppy seas, the boat capsized and most of the sailors drowned. The survivors returned to their ship without a pilot. At daybreak of 12 September, French lookouts saw the British squadron consisting of the *Lyon* of 64 guns, the *Centurion* of 50 guns, the *Warwick*, another 50-gun ship, two frigates, i.e., the *Vestel* of 28 guns and the *Bonetta*, and two smaller vessels bearing down on them. It stood under the command of George Keith Elphinstone, who had Prince William, third son of George III, as a midshipman on his flagship *Centurion*.<sup>424</sup>

Still without pilots, de la Touche and de Vallongue immediately cut their cables and headed up the bay. They ended up in the wrong channel and the larger *l'Aigle* struck ground repeatedly. As Elphinstone was gaining ground, de la Touche prepared for battle. When Elphinstone's larger ships touched bottom too, he suspended the chase. This gave the French time to procure two pilots, but their assessment of the situation spelled doom for the *l'Aigle*.<sup>425</sup> Within a short distance the river would become impassable. There was no hope that the *l'Aigle* would reach Philadelphia, but the smaller *Gloire* might be able to slip over the sandbanks. Vioménil called a council of war on board the *l'Aigle* around 3:00 p.m. It decided that the infantry officers should debark immediately and try to procure boats and wagons. Under cover of darkness the sailors would

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<sup>420</sup> Ségur, *Mémoires* Vol. 1, pp. 302.

<sup>421</sup> For an account of the stay on the Azores see Ségur, *Mémoires*, Vol. 1, pp. 284-302. The fault for this long journey to the Azores lay with de la Touche. Hopelessly in love yet unable to board his mistress on the *l'Aigle* (it was against navy regulations to have women on frigates) she had embarked on a merchant vessel following *l'Aigle*. As the vessel was much slower than the frigate, de la Touche took her in tow. Realizing the impossibility of towing her all the way across the ocean, he abandoned her in the Azores, from where the two ships took separate routes. Finding more favorable winds than the *l'Aigle*, the merchant reached the Delaware the same day as the frigates and was captured, with de la Touche's mistress, by Elphinstone.

<sup>422</sup> Montesquieu numbered the losses at 20 or 25 dead. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 260.

<sup>423</sup> Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 259. Ségur called it "a delay that proved fatal to us."

The corvette was the *Racoon* of 14 guns. Built in 1780, she was commanded by Lieut. Edmund Nagle. With the capture of the *l'Aigle*, the crew returned to British service, but the *Racoon* made it safely to Philadelphia with the *Gloire*.

<sup>424</sup> The list of Elphinstone's squadron is taken from Feilding, p. 220. Ségur listed one ship of 64, one of 50, two frigates and two other ships. Montesquieu counted twelve sails, a report in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 19 September claims that eight British ships were involved.

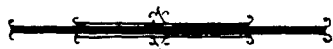
Born in 1765, Prince William became King of England as William IV in 1830.

<sup>425</sup> William West, the pilot on the *Gloire*, received a certificate praising his services. A copy made from the original in the French Navy Archives and preserved in the Mustard Collection Box 3 Folder 22, HSD, is reproduced on the following page. The name of the pilot on the *l'Aigle* is unknown.



Paris (France)

## Extrait des documents conservés aux Archives de la Marine.



Nous Commandant la Frégate du Roy la Gloire, certifions que Le Nomme' William West Pilote de Lewstown venu à Bord de la d<sup>e</sup> Frégate le 13 7<sup>bre</sup> 1782., L'a Pilotée En Remontant La Delaware Jusques à Chester à Travers Tous Les Bancs et En présence de L'Ennemy Supérieur, avec une Intelligence, une Fermeté, et une Connaissance Parfaite des Lieux; et nous déclarons que c'est aux soins du dénommé cy dessus que le Roy doit l'Existance actuelle de la d<sup>e</sup> frégate: en foi de quoy, nous luy avons delivré Le présent Certificat, Priant M de Marbois de traiter ce d<sup>t</sup> Pilote comme le Meritent ses services. A Bord de la Gloire Le 18 7<sup>bre</sup> 1782., Signé Le Ch<sup>ce</sup> De Vallongue.  
Command<sup>t</sup> La d<sup>e</sup> Frégate.

Nous certiffions La Présente Copie Conforme à L'original Resté En nos mains Philadelphie 21 7<sup>bre</sup> 1782. Masson Chausseau & Comp<sup>tes</sup> Agents de La Marine.

Val transmis:

Philadelphia, 15 Octobre 1894

Commissaire Général

L. Vornio



Certifié conforme: Paris, le 7 septembre 1894.  
Le Commissaire général Conseiller d'Etat,  
Directeur de la Comp<sup>agnie</sup> générale,

*[Signature]*

transport the casks containing the 2.5 million livres in cash for Rochambeau's army ashore and hand them over to the officers. The naval officers and ship crews would remain on board their frigates and fight.

Around 6:00 p.m. on 13 September, Broglie set foot on American soil "without servants, without coats, and with the lightest baggage imaginable." He and Vioménil found lodging with a "gentleman called Mandlaw" where Vioménil decided to put up his quarters.<sup>426</sup> Ségur and Lameth "together with the other passengers of *la Gloire*, set out with a negro guide to seek and to detain some boats." After about two hours they arrived "at the tavern of an American, named Pedikies, a short distance from the little river," who assisted them rather reluctantly. Only after numerous bribes could Ségur "induce the masters of several boats to execute our project" of transporting the money casks and personal belongings of the officers on shore. "They directly set out upon being paid, and descended the river; when the sight of the English frigates alarmed them, and they either would not, or could not fulfill their promises."<sup>427</sup>

In the meantime Broglie and Montesquieu scoured the countryside for wagons to transport the money. Some 12 miles from "Mandlaw" Broglie encountered "*Outh's Tavern*." Here he managed to hire three wagons drawn by four horses each and a horse for himself and at 4:00 a.m. set out for Mandlaw's place. Along the way he encountered Lauzun, who informed him that about half of the money had already been brought ashore and put on a wagon obtained by Vioménil when two boats filled with about 100 "réfugiés" had appeared. Unable to transport the rest of the casks to shore, Vioménil had thrown them into the bay and set out for Dover, which lay about 17 miles away.<sup>428</sup> Broglie paid off his wagons and together with Lauzun set off to look for Vioménil.

By early morning of 14 September, Ségur, Laval, Lauzun, Talleyrand and the officers who had joined up them were about half-way to Dover when they encountered Vioménil's wagons which were escorted by Broglie, Vioménil's aide-de-camp Joseph Friedrich *Freiherr* von Brentano, a few soldiers and Broglie's American guide. They informed them that since the British as well as the refugees had disappeared, Vioménil had decided to return to the bay and to retrieve the seventeen casks containing approximately 500,000 livres from the water. Ségur, Lauzun, who was sick with fever, and Broglie were instructed to escort the almost two million livres to Dover where they were to await Vioménil's return. They reached the city "at three in the afternoon" and took quarters in Elizabeth Battle's tavern, where Vioménil joined them at around 11:00 p.m. on 14 September. (Resource 20) Fortunately "he had succeeded in saving the rest of our millions."<sup>429</sup>

The *l'Aigle*, however, was lost. As predicted by her pilots, the *l'Aigle* had run aground in the evening of 14 September. Facing superior British firepower and unable to escape, de la Touche cut down her masts and tried to scuttle her in five different places but was unsuccessful: stuck on a sandbank, she could not sink any further. De la Touche, and his crew, about 630 men in all, were taken prisoners. The following day British sailors had patched up the frigate enough to tow her out to sea.<sup>430</sup> The passengers on the *l'Aigle* had lost everything, or almost everything: Ségur was left with but four servants and "twelve or thirteen trunks."<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>426</sup> This account is based on Broglie, "Journal," p. 29ff. Mandlaw told Ségur "that we were in a small division of the state of Maryland." Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, p. 313.

<sup>427</sup> Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, p. 314.

<sup>428</sup> Montesquieu thought he landed about 10 miles from Dover.

<sup>429</sup> Broglie, "Journal," p. 34.

<sup>430</sup> Feilding, p. 221. Feilding claimed that "we got the Ship off & have brought her safe to New York." On 14 April 1783 he wrote that "the *l'Aigle* Frigate ... is gone to Antigua, she having sprung all her Masts in a gale of wind of Bermuda." *Ibid.*, p. 225. Montesquieu wrote that "Les Anglois l'ont relevée et conduite à New-York," but there is no record that she ever entered British service. Beuve, "Montesquieu," p. 262.

<sup>431</sup> Ségur, *Mémoires* Vol. 1, p. 376. Vioménil estimated his losses at 20,000 écus or 120,000 livres.

Ségur, Broglie, Lauzun, Vioménil and the officers spent the night of 14 to 15 September in Dover, which Broglie described as "a quite pretty little village, which has about 1,500 inhabitants. I made my entry into Anglo-American society under the auspices of M. de Lauzun. I could not yet say more than a few English words; ... I knew how to say to a young lady that she was *pretty*, and to a gentleman that he was *sensible*, which means good, honest, affable etc al at the same time."<sup>432</sup>

Ordered by Vioménil to take the dispatches from Versailles to La Luzerne in Philadelphia, Broglie and Ségur departed from Dover on 15 September. Within two day they had reached Philadelphia. "It was exceedingly hot, but the beauty of the road, the charm of the country which I traveled, the imposing majesty of the forests that I passed through, the feeling of abundance which emerged from everywhere, the hospitality of the inhabitants, the almost universal innocence and gentility of the women all contributed to the delicious sensations that compensated me for the fatigue that I experienced during that constant trot on a bad horse."<sup>433</sup> Ségur

could therefore only see Dover, in passing through it. It was the first American town to which fortune had conducted me. Its appearance struck me; it was surrounded with thick woods, because there, as in other parts of the thirteen States, the population was still scattered over an immense territory, a small portion of which was cultivated.

All the houses in Dover, offered a simple but elegant appearance, they were built of wood, and painted in different colors. This variety in their aspect, the neatness which distinguished them, the bright and polished brass knockers of the doors, seemed all to announce the order and activity, the intelligence and prosperity of the inhabitants.

To an eye familiar with the view of our magnificent cities, the foppery of our young fashionables and the luxury of our higher classes, contrasted with the coarse habiliments of our peasants, and the tatters of the vast crowds of our paupers, the difference exhibited on arriving in the United States, where the extremes of splendor and of misery are no where to be seen, is truly surprising.

All the Americans whom we met were dressed in well made clothes of excellent stuff, with boots well cleaned; - their deportment was free, frank, and kind, equally removed from rudeness of manner, and from studied politeness; exhibiting an independent character, subject only to the laws, proud of its own rights, and respecting those of others. Their aspect seemed to declare, that we were in a land of reason, of order, and of liberty.

The road on which I travelled was very wide, well marked out, and carefully kept in excellent order. In all the places where I stopped, the inhabitants received me with civility, and exerted themselves in procuring horses, both for myself and my guide.

Every one appearing to feel a lively interest in public affairs, I found it necessary, before taking my departure, to reply as well as I could, to the numerous questions respecting the cause of the firing of cannon which had been heard on the Delaware, our landing, and the force of the enemy who pursued us. All these questions were interrupted by offers of glass after glass of Madeira wine, which I could not refuse without rudeness, nor accept so very often without inconvenience.

Continuing my journey through a path like a fine garden alley, shaded by the oldest and most beautiful trees in the world, I scarcely went a mile without meeting with some habitation already old, and some new plantation. Before arriving at Christian bridge, situated about forty miles from Dover, I passed

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<sup>432</sup> Broglie, "Journal," p. 34.

<sup>433</sup> Broglie, "Journal," p. 35.

through several little towns, very well peopled. Christian bridge lies upon a height, at the bottom of which runs a small river that falls into the Delaware.

Upon entering a very cleanly inn that had been pointed out to me, the master of the house, whom, with much difficulty I succeeded in awaking, the night being advanced, informed me, that he could give me no lodging, his house being entirely occupied by French travellers.<sup>434</sup>

One of the "French travellers" turned out to be Louis de Champcenez, an aide-de-camp to Vioménil, who had remained on board the *l'Aigle* until moments before she struck her flag and who informed Ségur of the events on the ship on the night of 14 September.<sup>435</sup> (Resource 25)

Before he could depart from Dover, Vioménil felt obliged to inquire of the fate of the *l'Aigle* and her captain and crew. On 15 September he sent a flag and a letter to Commodore Elphinstone inquiring about the condition of de la Touche, of de la Touche's younger brother, and of a Naval officer named du Quesne and requested that Elphinstone would "honor them" with all the attention they had earned "by their gallantry and their zeal for the king's service." In return he assured the Englishman that "all the attentions Mr. de la Touche will meet with in his present situation, will be looked upon by us as if they were personal to every one of us; and I beg your excellency may be persuaded, that we shall remember them forever with the warmest acknowledgments." And while he was on the subject, he asked, that "If you find no inconveniency to return to the officers, who were passengers in this frigate, all the servants belonging to them, you will render them a service they will never forget."

Elphinstone obliged immediately and in a letter of the same day assured Vioménil that he had "studied to render the situation of that brave and distinguished officer as comfortable as the confusion of my situation would permit." Elphinstone apologized that "much will be lost" of the personal possessions of the passengers even though "my orders have been express to save every thing for the owners." The *l'Aigle* had been plundered but its crew and one suspects by some of his men as well, though Elphinstone put it much more diplomatically. The losses were "owing to the great number of men on board, and their being of different nations, left the whole night by themselves, as my men were all employed to save our frigates, which were both aground; since which time a variety of things have been thrown over-board in attempting to get off l'Aigle."

In the ultimate but fully expected courtesy of eighteenth-century warfare amongst civilized nations, Elphinstone informed Vioménil that "M. De la Touche, M. Son frere, and mons. Du Quesne have their paroles; and the necessity of getting upon my station prevents me from permitting all the other officers to depart on the same terms."<sup>436</sup>

Having met his obligations to de la Touche, the rest of the officers too departed from Dover later that same day, but at more leisurely pace. Dominique Sheldon's expense account in the Vioménil Papers traces the route in great detail. The first day's journey went only from Dover to "Duck Creek," modern-day Smyrna.<sup>437</sup> Expenses for dinner and lodging ("souper, coucher") and

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<sup>434</sup> Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, pp. 318-321.

<sup>435</sup> The inn was most likely the Shannon Hotel, which was considered the better of the two inns in Christiana. See Scott, *Geography*, p. 134.

<sup>436</sup> The correspondence is printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of 21 September 1782. Despite Elphinstone's assurance of a parole, de la Touche was not released.

<sup>437</sup> Duck Creek Village, at the head of navigation on Duck Creek, was settled in 1700, the village was laid out in 1718. See George L. Caley, *Footprints of the Past* (Duck Creek Historical Society, Smyrna 1965) The settlement was eclipsed by the founding of Duck Creek Cross Roads in 1768, which changed its name to Smyrna on 16 January 1806. It is unknown where the group ate and slept; the earliest known tavern, the "Smyrna House" inn, was only built in 1787

firewood for the first night amounted to 149 livres. Lunch at Cantwell's Bridge, modern-day Odessa,<sup>438</sup> cost 90 livres (**Resource 23**) and was followed by dinner and lodging from 16 to 17 September in Christiana. Including drink for the militia, the bill ran to 150 livres, almost nine months wages for a common soldier. (**Resources 24 and 25**) Then came lunch in Wilmington for "tout le monde," the "whole world," at 155 livres, and supper, again for "tout le monde" in Chester.<sup>439</sup> Having crossed the Schuylkill River, the officers rode into Philadelphia late at night on 17 September.<sup>440</sup> On 17 September, Vioménil informed Versailles from Philadelphia about the seemingly unavoidable loss of the *l'Aigle*. But was it really unavoidable?

In Delaware the affair of the *l'Aigle* was not quite over yet. One of the passengers captured on the *Racoon* was its pilot Luke Shields from Lewes, a Tory who had his property confiscated and been placed on the excepted list of loyalists in 1778 for having piloted British vessels up the bay. After attempts to procure pilots had failed, de la Touche forced Shields to serve as pilot. Shields may have seen in this service his chance to have his name taken off the list and to return home. On 14 October 1782, French minister in Philadelphia de la Luzerne, asked President John Dickinson to lay before the Council of the State of Delaware Luke Shields' petition for pardoning "His preceeding Conduct," which "may have merited the animadversions of his Countrymen." But in view of his services on the *l'Aigle* he should be permitted to return to Delaware, especially since "he promises for the future to conduct himself in every respect as a Good Citizen."<sup>441</sup>

Dickinson submitted the request on 30 October, and there the matter rested. Six months later, on 5 March 1783, Shields reminded Luzerne that "You may remember my being taken Prisoner on board his Brittannic majesty's Brigantine, or sloop of War, *Racoon* Capt Neagle, by his most Christian Majesty's Ship *L'Aigle* - Capt L'Touche, who upon the appearance of the british Ships in the Delaware, obliged me to take charge of *L'Aigle* and pilot her up the Bay, - that after she grounded in the Delaware I was conveyed from thence a prisoner to Philadelphia where in a short time discovered a Publication in a New York Paper respecting my Conduct on board *L'Aigle*.'

Caught between two fires but trusting in Luzerne's letter to Dickinson, he had tried to return home but was kept from entering Sussex County and "compelled to give security for my appearance at the then next Court of Oyer and Terminer ... to be tried for my life for high treason."<sup>442</sup> "In order therefore to give a Testimony of our Friendship and attention to a generous Ally, who hath solicited the Pardon of the said Shields, Delaware's President Nicholas Vandyke on 13 June 1783, again recommended clemency. But the Assembly was in no mood to pardon the Tory. On Monday, 16 June 1783, "the Question was put, and *Passed in the Negative*."<sup>443</sup>

But maybe Shields did not deserve a pardon. Shields knew the bay as well as anyone. He knew that de la Touche was entering the wrong channel. But after he was pressed into service he seems to have continued to steer her in the wrong direction. Maybe there was no opportunity to turn around. Maybe the channel was too narrow. Maybe Elphinstone was too close already. But maybe it was no accident after all that the *l'Aigle* ended up on that sandbank.

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<sup>438</sup> According to Sally Schwartz, "Cantwell's Bridge, Delaware: A demographic and Community Study" *Delaware History* Vol. 19 No. 1 (Spring 1980-81), pp. 20-38, p. 24, Cantwell's Bridge had 17 households and 149 inhabitants in 1780. The town changed its name to Odessa in 1855.

<sup>439</sup> Ségur described Wilmington as "a well built, commodious, and populous town, and which, from the great number of its shops, appeared a place of considerable commercial activity." Ségur, *Memoirs and Recollections*, pp. 323.

<sup>440</sup> The expense account reproduced on the following page is in the Vioménil Papers.

<sup>441</sup> Luzerne's letter is printed in *Delaware Archives. Military and Naval Records* 3 vols. (Wilmington, 1911-1916), vol. 2 (1912), pp. 940-941.

<sup>442</sup> Shields' letter to Luzerne *ibid.*, pp. 941-942.

<sup>443</sup> Bushman, *Proceedings of the House of Assembly*, pp. 101, 164, and 166.

Etat des dépenses faites

pour conduire la comtesse de Boves à Philadelphie

Such creek payé pour la nourriture d'opium, tabac, maletots,	
tout pour souper couché, que pour le bois de la garde	149 <sup>tt</sup>
cartes de bridge pour Dinier	90 <sup>tt</sup>
Cheriteen pour coucher, et de raccommodage de tonneau et po	
avoir donné à boire, à la milice	150 <sup>tt</sup>
à Wilmington pour les deniers de tout le monde	155 <sup>tt</sup>
cher de soupe de tout le monde, donné 48 à la	
milice	206 <sup>tt</sup>
pour rafraichissement et passage de pont sur le Rhod	
en arrivant à Philadelphie	23 <sup>tt</sup>
pour la cage d'un cheval à Boves à Philadelphie	44 <sup>tt</sup>
dépenses faites par m. de Fontenay	15 <sup>tt</sup>
dépenses faites sur la route	100 <sup>tt</sup>
<u>total</u>	<u>1032<sup>tt</sup></u>

## LAUZUN'S LEGION IN DELAWARE, 24 DECEMBER 1782 TO 7 MAY 1783

### 14.1 A Brief History of Lauzun's Legion

Lauzun's Legion, one of the most colorful units in the French army, derived its name from its commanding officer and *colonel* Armand Louis de Gontaut-Biron, duc de Lauzun. Born in Paris on 13 April 1747, Lauzun became an ensign in the elite French Guards, commanded by his uncle the duc de Biron, three months before his 14<sup>th</sup> birthday; six months after he turned 20, he was breveted a colonel in the Guards. Not quite 19 when he married the 14-year-old Duchess Amélie de Boufflers, he lived separate from his wife and had no legitimate children.<sup>444</sup> In 1769, Lauzun fought in Corsica, five years later, in February 1774, he was colonel of the *Légion Royale*, but when the *légion* was dissolved in March 1776, Lauzun was without a military appointment.

His personal life had taken a turn for the worse as well. Lauzun and his wife had lived a grand life of balls, dances, and gambling -- as it was expected of a member of the highest aristocracy. By the fall of 1776, he had, according to his *Mémoires*, amassed "dettes considérables" of at least 1,500,000 livres, almost half his assets of some 4 million. Encouraged by his enemies at court, Lauzun's creditors demanded payment at a most inopportune moment. Refusing the aid offered by the King, Lauzun sold his estates to the Prince de Guéméné for a life annuity of 80,000 livres, paid his debts, separated his remaining assets from those of his wife, and set her up independently. When the shots at Lexington and Concord signaled an opportunity for France to take revenge for the peace of 1763, Lauzun was free to embark on a new phase in his life.<sup>445</sup>

When Louis XVI signed the treaties of Amity and Friendship and of Military Alliance with the United States on 6 February 1778, France and Britain understood them as a declaration of war. France quickly realized that she was short of marines, from 260 men and four officers for a 110-gun man of war to 15 soldiers for a corvette of 16 guns, to provide the infantry supplement for the navy vessels. On 1 September 1778, *comte de Sartine* ordered the creation of the *Volontaires étrangers de la Marine*, eight *légions* of some 70 officers, four companies of infantry, one of artillery, one of workmen plus two escadrons of hussars each. A *compagnie générale* brought the *volontaires* to almost 600 officers and 4,500 men. Raised mostly from German-speaking subjects of the crown and *étrangers*, i.e., foreigners, the *légions* were to double the number of marines.<sup>446</sup>

Lauzun volunteered his services as soon as war was declared and became *colonel propriétaire* of the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine*. He did not wait idly for the men to be recruited, equipped, and trained. In January 1779, he commanded the military force that conquered Senegal. Come April, he was back in Brittany with the Second *Légion* of his *volontaires* preparing for the attack on England. Commanded by Lauzun, the *légion's* 32 officers, 523 infantry, and 156 hussars (in of June 1779) formed the vanguard of the first wave of the assault scheduled to cross the

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<sup>444</sup> On the possibility that Lagarde was Lauzun's son with the Polish Princess Czartoryska see Jacques LeBerger Carrière, "Augarde, dit Lagarde, fut-il le fils du duc de Lauzun?" *Miroir de l'Histoire* No. 99, (1958), p. 345-350. The last two children of the *marquise* de Coigny may also have been Lauzun's.

<sup>444</sup> Besides the brief entry in Lauzun's *Mémoires*, see John Austin Stevens, "The Duke de Lauzun in France and America" *American Historical Magazine* vol. 2, No. 5 (September 1907), pp. 343-373, and the dual biographical essay on Lauzun and Chastellux by Arnold Whitridge, "Two Aristocrats in Rochambeau's Army" *Virginia Quarterly Review* vol. 40, No. 1 (Winter 1964), pp. 114-128.

<sup>445</sup> *Mémoires du Duc de Lauzun Général Biron* Jean-Jacques Fiechter, ed., (Paris, 1986), p. 191.

<sup>446</sup> Gerard-Antoine Massoni, "Le Corps des Volontaires-Etrangers de la Marine" *Carnet de la Sabretache* No. 135, (1998), pp. 9-14.

Channel. But the attack never came. In its place Louis XVI approved plans for the *expédition particulière*, the ferrying of ground forces to America under the command of Rochambeau. Since Rochambeau wanted light troops as well, Lauzun, eager to participate in the campaign, offered his services. "Too much in fashion not to be employed in some brilliant manner," Lauzun was promoted to brigadier and appointed to command the light troops on 1 March 1780.

Lauzun needed troops, but his *volontaires étrangers de la marine* were unavailable. The First Legion had been raised in the West Indies and participated in the capture of Grenada in July 1779. The Third Legion was stationed on the Île de France (Mauritius) in the Indian Ocean for deployment in India. But the Second Legion, quartered on the coast of Normandy, was available. On 5 March 1780, an *Ordonnance du Roi* suspended further recruitment for the remaining five Legions of the *Volontaires-étrangers de la Marine*. The preamble of the *ordonnance* further declared that those segments already raised and deployed in the colonies would be preserved, but out of the "surplus" the king wished to create "un nouveau Corps affecté (i.e., posted to) spécialement au service de la Marine & des Colonies."

In its first article, the *ordonnance* confirmed the continued existence and organization of the First and Third Legions of the *Volontaires étrangers de la Marine* created in 1778.

Article 2 suppressed the surplus of the general staff of the old *Volontaires*, its *compagnie générale*, its headquarters hussars, the *Volontaires étrangers de Nassau* attached to the Second *légion* since 1 June 1779, the three infantry companies created *à la suite* of the Second Legion on 4 August 1779, the company of grenadiers created for service in the colonies on the same day, and what was available in recruits of the Second Legion. Out of these men the *ordonnance* created a new corps to be known as the *Volontaires-étrangers de Lauzun*. (Article 3)

According to Articles 4 to 6, its infantry component consisted of two companies of fusiliers, a grenadier company, a company of *chasseurs*, and a company of artillery. Fusiliers and *chasseurs* each consisted of six officers, i.e., two captains and four lieutenants, 19 non-commissioned officers, i.e., a sergeant-major, five sergeants, ten corporals, a *fourrier-écrivain* or quartermaster-sergeant/clerk, a *frater* or medic, a noble officer aspirant called *cadet-gentilhomme*, two tambours "or other instruments" and 144 men each for a total of 171 officers and men. The grenadier company had the same number of officers but only four sergeants, eight corporals, and 84 enlisted men for a total strength of 108 officers and men.

Article 7 declared that its artillery or cannonier company was to have the same six officers of an infantry company, i.e., a *capitaine-commandant*, a *capitaine en second*, a *lieutenant en premier*, a *lieutenant en second*, and two *sous lieutenants*. Its NCOs comprised a sergeant-major, five sergeants, ten corporals, a *frater*, a *fourrier-écrivain*, a *cadet-gentilhomme*, two tambours and 144 cannoniers for a total strength of 171 officers and men handling its four-pound guns. When the *volontaires étrangères* were set up in September 1778, each Legion was to have four-pound guns *à la suédoise*, i.e., light artillery. The *ordonnance* creating Lauzun's Legion does not specify the number of guns for the new unit, but it seems fair to assume that it kept the four guns assigned to the original *légions* in September 1778.

Article 8 defined its cavalry component, two squadrons of hussars of one company each, as being comprised of two captains and four lieutenants, 14 non-commissioned officers, two trumpets, and 152 hussars for 174 men each. Article 9 declared that each of the four infantry companies and the two hussar escadrons was to be divided into four "divisions" of equal strength of 40 NCOs and men each.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>447</sup> Their names are recorded in a register 17 October 1783 following its return to France and in preparation for its transformation into a regiment of hussars. Archives Nationales de France, Marine D2/c/32.



Article 10 established the staff of the Legion. It consisted of five officers with Lauzun as proprietary colonel and inspector at the top. The other positions were eventually filled by friends of Lauzun. René Marie *vicomte* de Darrot, who became *colonel commandant* on 1 April 1780.<sup>448</sup> Darrot as well as Robert Dillon, the Legion's *colonel-en-second*, had accompanied Lauzun to Senegal in the spring of 1779.<sup>449</sup> Claude Etienne Hugau, a long-time friend of Lauzun's and aide-major of the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* in 1778, became the Legion's lieutenant colonel,<sup>450</sup> while Jean Ladislas Pollerescky became its major.<sup>451</sup> The other members of the staff were one aide-de-camp each for the infantry and the cavalry,<sup>452</sup> a quartermaster-treasurer,<sup>453</sup> an

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<sup>448</sup> René Marie *vicomte* Darrot (1754 (or 1749?)-1821), became a *sous-lieutenant* in the *légion de l'Île de France* in December 1767, and a lieutenant in the *Régiment de Pondichéry* five years later but never served in India. He took part in the conquest of Senegal and became colonel of Lauzun's Legion on 1 April 1780. A life-long royalist, he experienced the French Revolution in the Caribbean but returned to France in 1802. He died in Paris in 1821. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 140.

<sup>449</sup> Robert Guillaume Dillon (1754-1837), was a captain in the Lorraine Dragoons when he transferred to the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine* in 1778. Following the conquest of Senegal, he became *colonel en second* in Lauzun's Legion and its commanding officer once Lauzun had sailed for France with news of the surrender at Yorktown. Colonel of the Lauzun Regiment of Hussars in July 1784, he was forced to retire after a riding accident in October 1787. He remained in France during the Revolution and died in Paris in 1837. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 163. See also F. W. Van Brock, "Lieutenant General Robert Dillon, 1754-1831 (sic)." *The Irish Sword* vol. 14 No. 55 (1980), pp. 172-187, and idem, "Le Lieutenant General Robert Dillon." *Revue historique des Armées* (1985), pp. 14-29.

<sup>450</sup> Claude Etienne Hugau (1741-1820), entered the Regiment Bretagne as a common soldier in March 1761, but was already its *porte-etendard* in June 1765. Following service in India after 1769, he became lieutenant-colonel of Lauzun's Legion in 1780. He retired from military service in 1789, and embarked on a successful career as a civil servant. His *Détails intéressantes*, which he kept only during Lauzun's absence in France in between November 1781 and September 1782 as a record to justify his own conduct once the *duc* returned, provide a fascinating insight into the internal affairs of the Legion and are the only known eyewitness account of its stay in America. They contain no information on the Legion's winter quarters in Wilmington. Hugau died in Evreux in 1820. His *Détails* were edited and published by Gérard-Antoine Massoni, *Détails intéressants sur les événements dans la guerre d'Amérique. Hyver 1781 à 1782. Hampton, Charlotte et suite. Manuscrit de Claude Hugau, lieutenant-colonel de la Légion des Volontaires étrangers de Lauzun.* (Besançon: Université de Franche-Comté, 1996. Maîtrise d'histoire moderne).

<sup>451</sup> Jean Ladislas Pollerescky (1748-1828?), a German-born Slovak, was apparently one of the greatest scoundrels to have ever served in Lauzun's Legion. When he asked for leave to sail for Europe on 11 November 1781, Lieutenant Colonel Hugau placed him under arrest. Hugau feared that Pollerescky wanted to return to Europe since "there was nothing left for him to glean (i.e., to steal) in this country." Among the more serious charges in the 20-count indictment against Pollerescky was that of running a horse-theft ring, but he also seems to have traded in slaves. The "beautiful table" he was supposed to have stolen and shipped to France, Item 5 of the indictment, is most likely the one still missing from Rosewood Plantation near Gloucester, Virginia. Since he had a letter from Lauzun approving his leave, he left Hampton for Europe on 13 November. His fellow officers declared they would never again serve with Pollerescky. They kept that promise, and the ostracized Pollerescky was back in Boston in late 1784. With the help of General Benjamin Lincoln, whom he had befriended before Yorktown, he purchased a farm in Dresden, Maine, in 1785. When General Henry Dearborn, another friend of Yorktown days, became Military Governor of the district of Maine in 1790, he appointed Pollerescky census commissioner. This was Pollerescky's first in a long line of civil service positions that included lighthouse keeper on the island of Seguin, and 25 years as town clerk, a position he still held at age 80 in 1828. His position is listed as vacant in the 1783 reviews.

Pollerescky's role as portrayed in Joseph Cincik, "Major John L. Pollerecký fought for America's Independence" *Slovakia* (September/December 1957), pp. 83-87, and George J. Krajsa, "Major Jan L. Polerecký. An Officer of Slovak Heritage in the American Revolution." *Jednota Annual Furdek* vol. 18 (1979), pp. 223-232, are pure fantasy.

<sup>452</sup> During winter quarters in Wilmington, Louis Henry du Beffroy (1745-post 1815), entered the *École militaire* in July 1756, became a cornet in the Royal-Dragoons in 1761, and aide-major for the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine* in 1778, and for Lauzun's hussars in 1780. Colonel of the 12<sup>th</sup> dragoons in February 1792, he resigned at the outbreak of the war with Austria, but did not emigrate. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p.

ensign for the infantry (*porte-drapeaux*) and a cornet (*porte-étendard*) named de Vrigny for the hussars.<sup>454</sup> Lower ranks were to be held by two adjutants,<sup>455</sup> the "chirurgien" and his aide,<sup>456</sup> a priest,<sup>457</sup> a drum-major named Louis Mory with a total of six tambours and four trumpets,<sup>458</sup> a master farrier named Nicolas Begel/Begelle/Bahel,<sup>459</sup> and a master saddler named Vollet as well as a gunsmith for a total staff to 10 officers and 19 NCOs and enlisted men. The strength of the unit was to be 1,196 officers and men. That strength was never reached and Lauzun never had more than 600 under his command.<sup>460</sup>

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41. Charles Georges Calixte Deslon De Montmeril (1747-1817), entered the Légion de Conflans in 1771, and became a captain and aide-major for the infantry of Lauzun's Legion in April 1780. He left for France on 1 February 1782, but returned with Lauzun on the *l'Aigle* in September. A captain in the Lauzun Hussars, he commanded a detachment of his regiment charged with protecting the king during the fight at Varennes. He fought with the counter-revolutionaries and did not return to France until 1803. By 1814, Napoleon had promoted him to *Maréchal de camp*. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 74.

<sup>453</sup> The quarter-master treasurer was Henri Sirjaques (1751-1832). A captain in the Lauzun hussars, he allowed himself to be captured by the Austrian army at Longwy with the treasury and all the papers of the regiment. He served against France until all emigrants were permitted to return in 1799. After 42 years of service he retired as a colonel in Napoleon's army in October 1814. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 510.

<sup>454</sup> Denis Felix de Vrigny (1754-1803), became a dragoon in the Légion Royale in 1772 and Lauzun's *porte-étendard* in 1780. Promoted to lieutenant in 1782, he became *porte-étendard* of the Lauzun Regiment of Hussars in October 1783. Following a rapid rise to *général de brigade* in June 1793, he was suspended in July but reinstated in 1795. Retired in November of the same year, he returned to active duty in 1800, and died of a fever in Martinique in July 1803. The precise form, shape, and color of his standard are unknown. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 160. The Legion does not seem to have had a *porte-drapeau* for the infantry. The position is neither filled nor listed as vacant in the reviews.

<sup>455</sup> Maurice (or Martin) Pichon was born in Metz around 1755. Adjutant of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion on 1 April 1780, he became a lieutenant in the First Squadron after the death of Lieutenant Jacques Hartman outside New York on 18 July 1781. A lieutenant in the Lauzun Hussars in 1783, he emigrated in 1792. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 103, and Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 439.

During winter quarters in Wilmington, Jacint Laval was adjutant of the Legion. Born in Lyon around 1752, joined the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine* in December 1778, transferred to the Second Squadron of the hussars in Lauzun's Legion, and became adjutant on 19 June 1781. In the 24 December 1782 review "Sieur de Laval" is listed as present as "Adjutant d'hussards." Furloughed on 15 January 1783, he is listed as absent thereafter but returned to sail to Europe in May. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 162.

The Legion does not seem to have had an adjutant for the infantry. The position is neither filled nor listed as vacant in the reviews.

<sup>456</sup> On the medical staff of the Legion see below.

<sup>457</sup> The Legion did not receive a priest until February of 1783, three months before its return to France. The Abbé Bandolle (or Baudolle) was present for the first time at the review in Wilmington on 25 February 1783. His wages are registered to begin with the last week of January 1783. He is present at the last review in Wilmington on 7 Mai 1783, and returned to France with the Legion.

<sup>458</sup> Mory was born in Lyon around 1751. He came to the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine* from the Royal Dragons in January 1779, and became tambour major of Lauzun's Legion in April 1780. Broken from the ranks on 1 July 1782 and integrated into the chasseur company, he was discharged in October 1783. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 168.

During winter quarters in Wilmington the tambour major was Joseph Badoux, born around 1754 in the canton of Freiburg in Switzerland. He transferred to the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine* from the Royal Dragons in January 1779, to the grenadiers of Lauzun's Legion in April 1780, and became tambour major in July 1782. He returned to France and was discharged in October 1783. Massoni, *Détails*, p. 170.

<sup>459</sup> Born in Lorraine in 1761, he deserted on 30 April 1782, and the position was left vacant thereafter. The master saddler was Vollet; his first name is unknown. The position of *armurier* was apparently never filled.

<sup>460</sup> On 21 July 1781, Antoine Vacar, a former *sous-lieutenant* in the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* who had been in charge of the Legion's recruiting station in Metz in the summer and fall of 1778, became provost for Lauzun's Legion. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 542.

Article 11 decreed that the internal justice of the Legion was to be handled by a provost. It was to be based on the same privileges and rights enjoyed by the other foreign regiments ("des autres régimens Étrangers") in the service of France.<sup>461</sup> Article 12 stated that in all other aspects of discipline, training, and service Lauzun's Legion was to be bound by the *ordonnances* of 26 March 1776, with the revisions and changes in effect for the French land forces on 5 March 1780.

While forming his new unit, Lauzun, appointed proprietary colonel in Article 13, was to compile lists with the names of all officers, NCO's and enlisted men, collect all arms and pay all salaries up to the date of dissolution of the units involved, close the books on the assets of the dissolved units, and send a report of these proceedings to the naval minister as ordered in Articles 14 to 18. He received the right to choose his own officers, but was instructed to keep the NCO's as much as possible in the ranks they had held previous to their integration into Lauzun's Legion.

Articles 19 and 20 gave Lauzun a free hand to organize the individual companies and to make the appointments of the NCOs. Article 21 ordered that a written record be kept of the proceedings setting up the Legion, and Article 22 decreed that the officers and men were to receive their pay without deductions either of the "four deniers" or the "capitation." These royal taxes were to be covered from the "masse."<sup>462</sup> Article 23 set up the pay scale, which ranged from 20,000 livres *per annum* for the duc de Lauzun to 720 livres for a "sous-lieutenant" and the "porte-drapeau" of the infantry and the "porte-étendard" of the hussars. The "colonel commandant" had 12,000 livres, the "capitaine-commandant" of each of the six companies received 2,400 livres, the "chirurgien-major" 1,200 livres, a "cadet-gentilhomme" in the infantry had 216 livres, in the hussars he received 270 livres. Among the NCOs, the "sergent-major" or "maréchal-des-logis en chef" in the hussars were the best-paid at 360 livres per annum, corporals had 186 livres in the artillery and infantry, but the "brigadier," his equivalent in the hussars, received 180 livres. A hussar received 132 livres per year, a fusilier or chasseur had all of 114 livres.<sup>463</sup>

Articles 24, 25, and 26 regulated stoppages and their administration, and Articles 27-30 dealt with the horses of the staff. Article 31 decreed that the uniform of the Legion would be the same as that set up for the *Volontaires-Etrangers de la Marine* on 1 September 1778, except for the hussars which were to wear the uniform of the "compagnie générale." But even though the color and style of the uniform of the compagnie générale is known, that does not necessarily mean that hussars in fact wore it in America. The pants of the "compagnie générale" were red, but the only known contemporary drawing of a Lauzun hussar shows the soldier wearing yellow pants, and in

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<sup>461</sup>The rights and privileges enjoyed by foreign regiments were codified in special agreements or *capitulations* between the colonels of the regiment and the French crown. These *capitulations* regulated the internal administration of a regiment such as pay, justice system, number of women and children permitted per regiment, exercise of non-catholic religions, language of instruction and command, recruitment etc. The last *capitulation* between the crown and the German regiments, signed on 18 January 1760, went into effect on 1 March 1760. The original is in SHAT, Vincennes, France, call number 1M1771.

By the 1770s, the colonels of many foreign regiments, e.g., the Duke of Zweibrücken who was *colonel propriétaire* of the Royal Deux-Ponts, were also sovereign rulers of their own states, who signed bilateral agreements with the French crown regulating the conditions under which these units could be used against whom. In the case of the Royal Deux-Ponts this meant for example that the King of France could not use the Royal Deux-Ponts in a war against the Emperor or against the *Herzog von Zweibrücken*. But these conditions were very narrowly defined and do not alter the fact that the "Foreign" regiments were trained, equipped, and officered like "French" regiments and were part of the crown's armed forces in an (usually) open-ended service agreement with and for France rather than allies with short-term treaty obligations.

<sup>462</sup> The *capitation* was a direct royal tax established in 1695, and levied on all individuals; it was based on an assessment of property that placed individuals in one of 22 professional and status groups called *états*. The *Quatre Deniers Pour Livre* was a royal surtax on the *capitation* -- a tax on a tax.

<sup>463</sup> These wages were increased by the *Ordonnance du Roi Pour régler le traitement des Troupes destinées à une expédition particulière* of 20 March 1780.

his *Details*, Lieutenant-Colonel Hugau suggest that the styles and colors of the uniforms were even more varied. During a review of the Legion in Baltimore in August 1782, Count Dillon and Lieutenant Jennings de Kilmaine wore white pants, Captain de Beffroy and Lieutenant Grabowsky wore yellow, and Captain de la Marle wore slate-colored pants instead of the regulation red worn by some of the officers.<sup>464</sup> Also unknown is the uniform worn by the gunners; neither the *ordonnance* of 1 September 1778, nor that of 5 March 1780, contains any information to that respect. Massoni, an expert on the Legion, thinks that they either wore the same uniform as the infantry, or the uniform of the French naval artillery.

Article 32 decreed that in all aspects not specifically dealt with in the *ordonnance*, the infantry and hussars were to be subject to and guided by the *ordonnances* valid for the infantry and the hussars. In practical terms that meant primarily the *Ordonnance du Roi Concernant l'Infanterie Française & Étrangère* of 25 March 1776 and the *Ordonnance du Roi Concernant les Hussards* of the same date. A second paragraph ordered all naval administrators in France as well as in the colonies to carry out the instructions contained in the *ordonnance*. Countersigned by the duc de Penthièvre as *Amiral de France* -- the Legion was "au service de la Marine & des Colonies" -- the *ordonnance* went into force on 10 March 1780.

Even by eighteenth-century standards this was a unique unit. They were part of the French armed forces, light infantry and cavalry, but received their orders from the naval minister, except for promotions, pay, and of course its deployment for its entire existence! Its officers hailed from Sweden France, England, Ireland, Poland, and from sundry German states. The officers all conversed in French, the *lingua franca* of the eighteenth century, but the rank and file amongst themselves spoke eight different tongues. And by tradition and heritage they cursed in Hungarian.

The rank and file may have spoken eight different tongues, but in order to insure any kind of cohesion, instruction and command had to be conducted in a commonly understood language. But which one? The *capitulations* between the colonels and the French crown stipulated that in *régiments étrangers*, in *foreign regiments*, commands and instruction would be given in the language that most of the soldiers understood. That was German in the German regiments, German or French in the Swiss regiments, Italian in the Italian regiments. That does not mean that these units were "German" or "Italian" in the modern, post-French revolutionary sense of the word, because as René Chartrand has also pointed out, "The German regiments were not defined by nationality as such, but rather by the language of command used in the unit."<sup>465</sup> "Foreign Regiments" were "Foreign" if the language used was not French, but German or Italian.<sup>466</sup>

That does mean, however, that drill and instruction manuals had to be translated into those languages, and they were. There were bi-lingual German-French as well as German-only translations of the 1750, 1764, 1775, and 1776 ordinances regulating the drill and training of infantry, and the 1775 regulation is known to have been translated into Italian as well.<sup>467</sup>

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<sup>464</sup> The best history of the *volontaires* and the Legion is in Massoni, *Détails*; the uniform detail on p. 181.

<sup>465</sup> René Chartrand and Eugène Lelièvre, *Louis XV's Army (3): Foreign Infantry* (London, 1997), p. 7. The most thorough discussion of this issue can be found in André Corvisier, *L'Armée Française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul. Le Soldat*. 2 vols., (Paris, 1964), vol. 2, pp. 257-274: "Le Recrutement Etranger." The language issue is addressed on pp. 262-265.

<sup>466</sup> This also applied to the Irish Brigade. Paragraph 35 of the *Ordonnance du Roi, concernant les régiments d'Infanterie irlandaise du 26 Avril 1775* and Paragraph 3 of the *ordonnance* of 14 May 1776 creating the regiment Walsh decree that "il n'y soit admis que des soldats Irlandois, Anglois ou Etrangers, défendant très expressément Sa Majesté aux officiers dudit régiment d'y recevoir, sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, aucun homme né en Alsace, dans la Lorraine ou dans toute autre province de sa domination."

<sup>467</sup> Ordinances concerning hospital service or the justice system were also translated into other languages.

The *volontaires étrangers de Lauzun* were by name and definition a foreign regiment, but what areas of Europe did the recruits come from? Massoni in his very thorough research on the Legion concluded that about half of the recruits for the infantry companies came from **German-speaking** -- German defined in linguistic, not political or ethnic terms -- parts of Europe. 19 per cent of the infantry originated in the various states of the Holy Roman Empire, 18 per cent from the Alsace, 13 per cent from Lorraine, and that the language of command was German.<sup>468</sup> There is evidence in the *Détails* of Hugau to confirm Massoni's research. As the *légion* broke camp outside Princeton, New Jersey, in the morning of 7 September 1782, Colonel Dillon "ordonné à chaque cap. d'infanterie de commander sa compagnie pour la rompre parce que ne sachant pas l'allemand il a voulu me priver de commander l'infanterie comme a l'ordinaire." -- Dillon instructed each infantry captain to order his company to fall out, because, not knowing German, he wanted to deprive me (i.e., Hugau) of the command of the infantry as it was usual."<sup>469</sup>

But Lauzun's Legion was not a unified regiment: in America it consisted of two companies of infantry, i.e., the grenadiers and chasseurs, two squadrons of hussars, and an artillery company. It is almost certain that Lauzun's hussars spoke German as well. According to Massoni's research, 87 per cent of the Legion's hussars came from German-speaking parts of Europe -- 33 per cent from the Alsace, 30 per cent from Lorraine, 24 per cent from the various states of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>470</sup> There is ample evidence that the hussar troopers spoke in German to each other. In a letter to David Trumbull in Lebanon dated 27 April 1781, William Bingham of Canterbury, Connecticut, complained facetiously of these "German Gentlm" of Lauzun's hussars who "understand nothing but what they have a mind to."<sup>471</sup> In an interview on 5 November 1845, William Griffen of Mamaroneck remembered a visit by a friendly party of hussars to his father's house. The "men took cider, - three or four barrels from us without paying, and Griffen told McDonald that "I think some of the Duke's legion - officers and men - were Dutch or German."<sup>472</sup>

More important for this study is the fact that the language of command and instruction in hussar units since 1773 at the latest was German.<sup>473</sup> On 22 June 1776, French War minister St. Germain had once again designated the hussar units as "étrangère." That means that the "French" hussars of the Legion had to be, and were, recruited in German-speaking Lorraine or Alsace to maintain a common understanding of the orders. When a new training manual was issued in 1777, St. Germain decreed that the *Ordonnance du roi, pour régler l'exercice de toutes les troupes à cheval* of 1 May 1777 be translated into German for use in hussar regiments.<sup>474</sup> Officers who could not give the orders in German were to be discharged.<sup>475</sup>

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<sup>468</sup> Massoni, *Détails*, p. 18.

<sup>469</sup> Massoni, *Détails*, p. 201.

<sup>470</sup> Massoni, *Détails*, p. 18.

<sup>471</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782. CHS.

<sup>472</sup> McDonald Papers, Westchester County Historical Society, Elmsford, NY, Vol. 3, p. 403.

<sup>473</sup> See Jean and Raoul Brunon, *Hussards. Gouaches du général baron Jean-François-Thérèse Barbier peintes en 1789 comme lieutenant en premier au Régiment de Hussards de Chamborant et en 1803 comme colonel commandant le 2e Régiment de Hussards*. (Marseille, 1989), pp. 9-10: "La Langue Allemande."

<sup>474</sup> The translation was eventually published in 1786. See also Corvisier, *l'Armée Française*, vol. 2, p. 270, where he writes about hussars that "Les ordres durent bientôt être donnés en allemand," and that by the 1760s "Les hussards étaient devenus un corps allemand, surtout alsacien."

The most recent ordinance for the artillery was the *Ordonnance du roi concernant le corps-royal de l'artillerie du 3. Octobre 1774*. The writer is not aware that any ordinance for the artillery was ever translated into another language. The artillery was almost 90 per cent ethnic French.

<sup>475</sup> That the Regiment of Lauzun Hussars after 1783 spoke German is undeniable: an inspection report of 1786 states that "le défaut de la langue allemande fait qu'il (i.e., Robert Dillon) servirait plus utilement dans un autre corps." Quoted in Massoni, *Détails*, p. 53.

But no matter what language the troops spoke and what language was used on the company level, command words to maneuver a "Foreign" regiment within a brigade with French regiments would have had to be in French, and officers, all of whom spoke French, were trained to understand them. Otherwise, a "Foreign" regiment would not have been able to follow its own brigade. How this issue was solved is indicated by Hugau's example for the use of German in the Legion: as they received them from their superiors, the officers were interpreting or translating the French commands into German as they passed them on down the chain of command.

But Lauzun's Legion had one more peculiarity that set it apart from other units. Standard equipment for the hussars was a curved *sabre à la hongroise* described in great detail in the *ordonnance* establishing the *volontaires étrangers de la Marine* similar to a 1767 French saber model. Some of them may have received a Model 1777 pistol, but most would have had the 1763 model, modified in 1766. The musket was either the cavalry carbine Model 1766, or the 1767 hussar carbine. What set the Legion apart from all French cavalry units was the fact that the Second Squadron of the hussars was equipped with lances. These lances were a personal touch added by Lauzun himself. They were mentioned nowhere in any official document relating to the Legion, nor are they mentioned at the dissolution of the Legion and its transformation into a regular hussar regiment in the fall of 1783. And yet we know that the Second Squadron had them. Describing how he and British Colonels David Dundas and Banastre Tarleton were trying to set up an ambush near Yorktown in 1781, the Hessian *Jäger*-Officer Captain Johann Ewald wrote: "...Here, all of a sudden the scene changed. This small body of horsemen, which was in the greatest disorder, suddenly ran into the entire corps under General Choisy. The Duc de Lauzun, who at this instant should have fallen on the head of these disorganized horsemen with a single troop, formed himself into two lines with 8 troops of his lancers and hussars, which amounted to 300 horsemen without the Virginia cavalry. This gave Dundas and Tarleton enough time to bring off their cavalry in orderly fashion, and to resist and withdraw toward Gloucester."<sup>476</sup>

Lauzun himself described the use of his lancers in the fight with Tarleton in the Battle of the Hook in Gloucester on 3 October 1781,<sup>477</sup> and Hugau mentions them as well in his *Détails*, when he wrote under the date of 2 April 1782, "que les réparations faites depuis Hampton et celles à faire aux armes à feu et aux lances serons à la charge du soldat."<sup>478</sup>

Within three weeks at most, a regimental size unit of cavalry and light infantry under the department of the navy had been created for Lauzun expressly for use across the ocean, and by late March 1780, he was set to go.<sup>479</sup> On 5 April, Lauzun, his staff, and most of his men boarded the 64-gun *Provence*, the rest embarked on the *Baron D'Arras*, some 60 men made the crossing on the *Lyon*. Due to a lack of shipping space, only some 250 men of the hussars, grenadiers, chasseurs, and cannoniers, some 600 men in all, made the crossing. Because of a lack of shipping space, the two fusilier companies, some 400 men and the hussar's horses were left behind. On 11 July 1780, the convoy sailed into Narragansett Bay. Lauzun's troopers were then deployed around Brenton Point, southwest of Newport. On 16 July, General Heath informed Washington that "The French troops are landed and encamped in a fine situation South East of the Town ... . The troops

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<sup>476</sup> Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War* Tustin, ed., (Princeton, 1976), p. 330.

<sup>477</sup> Lauzun, *Mémoires*, p. 208.

<sup>478</sup> Massoni, *Détails*, p. 99. The desertion of "un lancier" on 2 July 1782, *ibid.*, p. 171.

<sup>479</sup> Uniform and equipment of the Legion are described in Vicomte Grouvel "Les Volontaires Etrangers de la Marine" *Le Passepoil* vol. 18, No. 1, (1938), pp. 5-8, Harry C. Larter, "The Lauzun Legion, French Navy, 1780-1783" *Military Collector and Historian* vol. 3, No. 1, (March 1951), pp. 40-42, Eugene Lelièvre and René Chartrand, "Volontaires Etrangers de la Marine, 1778-1783. Volontaires Etrangers de Lauzun 1780-1783" *ibid.* vol. 24, No. 4, (1974), pp. 226-228, Albert Rigondaud, "The Lauzun Legion in America 1780-1783" *Tradition* No. 68, (1992), pp. 2-7, and by Peter J. Blum, "Some Notes on the Lauzun Legion" *The Soldier Shop Quarterly* Vol. 14, No. 4, (August 1970), pp. 1-3.

make a good appearance. The Legion under the command of the Duke de Lauzun, (the officer who took Senegal last year) is as fine a Corps as ever I saw; it is about 600 Strong."<sup>480</sup>

#### 14.2 The Winter Quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington

On 21 October 1782, the First Brigade of Rochambeau's troops left its camp at Yorktown Heights for Salem. Lauzun's Legion stayed behind. "It was to leave in a few days, to re-cross the North River and return, by the same route by which the army had come, to Wilmington, where it is to spend its winter quarters, since the State of Delaware is within close reach of our detachment in Baltimore, and Pennsylvania, which abounds in excellent food and forage."<sup>481</sup> Rochambeau left clear instructions for Lauzun. He was to remain on the American mainland as commanding officer of his Legion, which by now numbered about 550 officers and men. The siege artillery under the marquis de la Valette in Baltimore and the sick together formed another corps of about six hundred officers and men, which brought the total of French forces on the American mainland to about 1,150. He was to receive his orders from Washington, who had agreed to place his corps into winter quarters in Wilmington, though Lauzun was free to investigate other possibilities for winter quarters in Delaware or along the Chesapeake Bay as long as they would be close to the troops in Baltimore. Until the departure of Washington's army for its winter quarters in Continental Village, Lauzun was to take up a defensive position near Peekskill. If he should receive news from Admiral de Vaudreuil that contrary to expectation there would be enough shipping space available for him to sail to the Caribbean he was to obey these orders and join Rochambeau. Rochambeau promised to leave him enough funds until January; thereafter he was to approach French minister de la Luzerne in Philadelphia for additional funds.<sup>482</sup>

On 27 October 1782, almost a week after Rochambeau's departure in mid-October, Lauzun and his men broke camp too.<sup>483</sup> Having crossed the Hudson, they followed the by now well-known route to Suffern into New Jersey and camped at Hanover Court House on 1 November. A review that day showed the Legion staff at six officers and six NCOs. The two hussar squadrons

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<sup>480</sup> Washington, *Writings*, vol. 19, p. 211, footnote 66.

<sup>481</sup> Acomb, *Closen*, p. 259.

<sup>482</sup> "Instructions laissées a Mr Le Duc de Lauzun par Mr le Cte de Rochambeau au camp de Crompond le 21 8bre 1782." Viomenil Papers, LB0075 No. 95. There is also a copy in Rochambeau to Lauzun, 22 December 1780, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 11.

<sup>483</sup> The editor of Lauzun's *Memoirs* (1929 edition, p. 252, note 287) states without naming a source that the Legion left Crompond on 27 October, which seems plausible. That means that they had almost two months to cover the same distance that it had taken a little over two weeks to march in September 1782.

During his stay at Verplanck's Point, Lauzun almost picked up a recruit for his Legion as the result of a court martial on 24 October 1782.

"George Ledween of Captn. Vanheers corps was found guilty of Desertion in breach of article 1st. Section 6th. of the rules and articles of war and sentenced to receive one hundred Lashes on his naked back.

The General approves the sentence of the Court but in consequence of the recommendation of the Duke de Lauzun and Colonel Dillon of the Legion of Lauzun he is pleased to remit the punishment he will join his corps." Quoted from Washington Papers at <http://memory.loc.gov>, searching under the date.

The review of the Legion held in Wilmington on 24 December 1782, indicates that beginning on the date of the court-martial, 24 October 1782, two recruits started drawing pay in the Legion, one in the Second Squadron of Hussars, and one in the Artillery Company. There is no evidence that Ledween joined the Legion; no soldier is identified in the *contrôle* as having enlisted in September or October 1782; the closest date is for Joseph Klisky, who is listed in the *contrôle* as having joined on 15 November 1782. He was discharged on 1 May 1782 since he had enlisted only for the duration of the war.

Jean Folmer of Pennsylvania joined the Second Squadron of Hussars on 5 November 1780. Congress had forbidden the recruitment of Americans into the French army and Folmer was the only American-born soldier to serve in any of Rochambeau's units. Having enlisted only for the duration of the war, he was discharged on 1 May 1783.

were 133 and 134 men strong, the grenadiers numbered 98 men, there were 96 men in the chasseur company, and 95 artillerymen for a total of 568 officers and men.<sup>484</sup>

Over the next week, they retraced their steps following the road to the southward through Liberty Corner, Bound Brook, Kingston, Trenton, on to Burlington, New Jersey. From Burlington Lauzun wrote to Rochambeau in Newport that his Deputy Quarter-Master Collot had conducted "reconnaissances" in Wilmington and Burlington concerning winter quarters. Lauzun thought that Burlington offered the possibility of setting up without great expense very comfortable quarters for the cavalry since there were already "excellent barracks for the men." Burlington was "in all respects better than Wilmington."<sup>485</sup> The chevalier de la Luzerne agreed with Lauzun's assessment, but Lauzun was afraid that in an emergency he would not be able to get quickly enough to Baltimore and the siege artillery. Crossing the Delaware either at Bristol Ferry or Cooper's Ferry might prove too difficult during the winter. More importantly, however, the "inhabitants of Burlington agreed to lodge the officers only after having made the greatest difficulties and with the greatest ill will." That did not bode well, especially since across the river the situation was very different. "The inhabitants of Wilmington appear to be willing to deliver us (from our problem) by being disposed to do everything that suits us. But it will be necessary to completely build our quarters, and this expense, as we know from the reconnaissance of M Collot, will cost around eight hundred dollars." Lauzun hoped that for a reasonable amount of money the Governor of New Jersey would allow him to dismantle the stables and ship them to Wilmington. In the meantime he requested instructions from Rochambeau on how to proceed.<sup>486</sup>

Rochambeau's response to this inquiry has not survived, and Lauzun decided on Wilmington for winter quarters. On 26 November 1782, the Trustees of the Wilmington Academy discussed at their meeting how the

"Duc de Lauzun commanding a legion of the King of France's troops in the service of America has fixed upon our School-house as a barrack for those troops the ensuing winter; that they have had a conference with Col. Collot, Quarter-master of the troops in which he gave them expectations that he would pay the rent of any two rooms which the Trustees would hire for the accommodation of the Scholars and would at the expence of his master make such repairs upon the house as should be necessary for their own convenience and would have them done in such manner as would be most agreeable to the Trustees, and be of most permanent use to the School-house: But as nothing particular was stipulated between them and the Quarter-master has not given his workmen explicit directions in what manner to proceed Gov. Dickinson, Gen. Mifflin, Dr White, Saml Magaw, Ben. Wynkoop, Dr Way and Miers Fisher or any two of them are appointed a Committee to draw up and present to the Duc de Lauzun a memorial in the name of the Trustees requesting him to give directions to the Workmen to glaze the windows, and obey the orders of the Trustees in the manner of setting up the partitions &: and in their memorial to adduce such reasons as shall occur to them to convince the Duke of the propriety of Granting the request."<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>484</sup> The review is in Archives Nationales de France, Colonies D2c32, Paris, France.

<sup>485</sup> The accommodations described by Lauzun were probably the Continental Army barracks in Burlington used by Colonel John Lamb's Second Continental Regiment of Artillery during the winter of 1781-82.

<sup>486</sup> Lauzun to Rochambeau, 9 November 1782, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 5, pp. 599.

<sup>487</sup> Schools, Wilmington Academy (Manuscript), Folder 4, HSD. Present at the meeting were Benjamin Wynkoop, Joseph Shallcross, John Stapler, James Lea, Vincent Gilpin, Jonas Stidham, Thomas May, Nicholas Way, and Miers Fisher.



No such memorial to Lauzun or Collot has come to light, and there the matter seems to have rested. In the meantime Collot traveled to near-by Philadelphia where on Monday, 16 December 1782, he in obtained a Congressional Resolution ordering the quartering of the Legion.<sup>488</sup>

"On motion of Mr. [Richard] Peters, seconded by Mr. [Thomas] McKean,

Resolved, That the honorable the executive of the State of Delaware be, and hereby are requested to give the necessary directions for providing quarters for the troops of his Most Christian Majesty, serving with the army of the United States, now on their march for Wilmington."

In doing so, Collot followed Delaware's Quartering Act of 27 January 1779, which required Congressional requisition before Continental troops could be quartered in the state.<sup>489</sup>

"Whereas by the Declaration of Rights of this State it is established That no Soldier ought to be quartered in any House in time of peace without the Consent of the Owner and in time of War in such manner only as the Legislature shall direct, - And whereas it is necessary during the present war with Great Britain to provide proper and convenient Quarters for the troops of the United States or any of them when necessarily ordered within this State or occasionally passing through the same,"

the Act stipulated that such requests be made either by the Congress or the Commander-in-Chief. Upon such a request, the President and Commander in Chief of the State of Delaware in cooperation with the requesting authority would authorize the quartering.

Armed with the resolution of 16 December, Collot on 17 December paid a visit to John Lea, one of Wilmington's Justices of the Peace, Burgess Thomas Kean, and City Assessor Jacob Broom, who immediately informed John Cook, Vice-President of Delaware.<sup>490</sup>

Sir,

Inclosed you will receive a Resolution of Congress of Yesterday this day delivered us by Colonel Collet – the Troops are coming in & we are under the necessity of Quartering them without your Order – the time

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<sup>488</sup> The resolution is in the Journals of the Continental Congress at <http://memory.loc.gov> under the date.

<sup>489</sup> "An Act for the Quartering of Soldiers" of 27 January 1779. A copy of this act can be found in DEPA RG 1800.099, Delaware Archives - Military, Vol. 6 (unpublished).

<sup>490</sup> Revolutionary War, Box 32 No. 9, HSD. Born 20 March 1750, Henri Victor Collot joined the Chamborant Hussars in October 1765 and served as *aide-maréchal général des logis* in Rochambeau's army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Governor of Guadeloupe in 1792, he briefly came to the US as a British prisoner of war on parole after the surrender of the island in April 1794. Paroled in Philadelphia in 1796, he was approached by Pierre Adet, the French minister to the United States, to survey the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and investigate how they could be claimed for France. Having completed his journey along the Ohio and Mississippi, despite American and Spanish suspicions and numerous arrests, he returned to Paris from Louisiana in December 1796. Based in part on Collot's information, Napoleon was able to acquire the Louisiana Territory from Spain on 1 October 1800, but sold it to the United States 2 1/2 years later. Collot died in Paris on 13 May 1805. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 119. See also Neil A. Hamilton, "A French Spy in America. French Cartographer Victor Collot." *American History* Vol. 34 No. 3, (August 1999), pp. 22-27, and Clifford M. Lewis, "The Reconnaissance Expedition of two French Navigators." *West Virginia History* Vol. 43 No. 1, (1981), pp. 21-38.

being so short would not admit of delay until we should hear from you – hope under these circumstances you will excuse it – we are under the necessity of opening some of the Vacant Houses by force – and wish you to issue your Order to Confirm all our proceedings therein for time past present & to come relative to this Business agreeable to Law – as nothing but Absolute necessity would have induced us to Act in this manner – we have sent this by express – and have no doubt but you will take such notice thereof & Act in this business as the nature and exigencies of the Case requires.

We are with all respect your most Obedient Hble Servts  
Jho Lea

Lauzun's Legion, which by now had spent about six weeks in Burlington, was not far behind, for "about the first of this Year (1783) came to this Town for Quarters the Duke de Lauzens Legion of French Troops, consisting of About 300 horse & about the same number of foot."<sup>491</sup> Canby's memory seems to have failed him here, for the first review of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington is dated 24 December 1782. That day, the First Squadron of Hussars consisted of seven officers (including a *cadet-gentilhomme*), 10 NCOs, the *fourrier-écrivain*, two trumpets, a medic, a farrier, and 118 hussars, five of whom were in the hospital, for a total of seven officers and 133 rank and file. The Grenadier Company had six officers, 15 NCOs, two tambours, and 79 grenadiers, five of whom were in the hospital. The Artillery Company had six officers, 18 NCOs, two drummers and 76 rank and file. The company was harder hit than the others by disease: two sergeants, one corporal, one of the drummers and two of the enlisted men were in the hospital. The Chasseur Company had its full supplement of seven officers though two officers are listed as absent. There were 18 NCOs, two drummers, and 76 chasseurs, two of whom were in the hospital. The Second Squadron of Hussars finally numbered seven officers, 13 NCOs, two trumpets and 120 hussars, nine of whom were in the hospital. Since the review at Crompond/Yorktown Heights on 17 October 1782, the artillery and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Squadron of Hussars had received one recruit each. The staff consisted of eleven officers (three are *à la suite*) and three enlisted men; three officers were absent, and the position of Major is listed as vacant. On Christmas Day 1782, Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington numbered 39 officers, 559 rank and file, and 281 horses.<sup>492</sup>

Upon arrival, the magistrates "issued an order to all the Inhabitants of the town to lodge each of them an Officer of the said Corps in their houses."<sup>493</sup> A list of the landlords is preserved in the Delaware Public Archives:<sup>494</sup>

"Auditor's Office 24<sup>th</sup> August 1786

United States to State Treasury for expenses of Quartering the French Troops, vizt

To Simon Johnston for House Rent 5..0..0

Sarah Allison do 7/10/00

Harlin Cloud do 5/0/0

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<sup>491</sup> Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783. Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.

<sup>492</sup> The review can be found in Archives Nationales, Paris, (France) under Colonies, Marine D2c32.

<sup>493</sup> Deposition by Collot on 16 May 1783 in Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Incoming Correspondence, Box 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

<sup>494</sup> Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800. DEPA RG 1315.7 Page 159. The same list is also in *ibid.*, Auditor of Accounts, Wastebook A, 1784-1796, p. 173, dated 24 August 1786: "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 vizt has same list of 41 names.

John Ferris 7/10/0  
 Joseph Shallcross 7/10/0  
 Ralph Walker 7/10/0  
 Nicholas Robinson 7/10/0  
 Griffith Minshall 6/0/0  
 Sarah Richardson 7/10/0  
 John Richardson 4/0/0  
 Joel Zane 7/10/0  
 Patt: O Flynn Esq: 7/10/0  
 Samuel Preston Moore 7/10/0  
 Vincent Bonsall 5/0/0  
 John Hayes 7/10/0  
 Isaac Stroud 7/10/0  
 David Brinton 7/10/0  
 Bezaleel Bentley 7/10/0  
 Joseph Warner 9/0/0  
 Bancroft Woodcock 6/0/0  
 John Thilwell 7/10/0  
 Jacob Broom Esq: 7/10/0  
 Francis Robinson 7/10/0  
 James Chandler 7/10/0  
 Joseph Lawson 7/10/0  
 John Gruble 7/10/0  
 Thomas Kean Esq 7/10/0  
 John Crow 7/10/0  
 Richard Cheney 7/10/0  
 Sampson Babb 7/10/0  
 Elizabeth Rice 6/0/0  
 William Shipley 7/10/0  
 Benjamin McLean 5/0/0  
 Thomas May 5/0/0  
 John Jones 5/0/0  
 David Bush 7/10/0  
 Danil J. Adams 10/0/0  
 Henry Reynolds 7/10/0  
 George Taylor 5/0/0  
 Watkins Crampton 7/10/0  
 Samuel Canby 6/0/0            284/10/0

The above payments were made on Certificates given by George Craghead & John Lea Esqrs under the Act of General Assembly for Quartering soldiers."

At least one person was left off the list, for the Auditor's Office recorded on 24 October 1789, "United States for paying Dr. Nicholas Way for 5 Ms House Rent for Quartering French Troops 15/00/00."<sup>495</sup>

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<sup>495</sup> Auditor of Accounts, Journal A, 1784-1800. DEPA, RG 1315.7 Page 276. One of the Frenchmen mentioned in the case of the robbery of the French treasury lodged with Dr. Way, but his name is not known. Also missing on this list of landlords is Martin Delany, but he may have only rented the property. See the chapter entitled "The Robbery of the French Treasury."

The rent charged is in line with that in other accounts such as the James Lea Receipt book 1784-1806, Business L, HSD: "12 April 1784 24 pounds for a year of house rent" or "Received Ochr 4<sup>th</sup> 1785 of James Lea Jr Five Pounds Eleven Shilling & 9d in full for a Quarter Rent Due Sepr 27<sup>th</sup> 1785. Eliza Springer."

The landlords came from some of the wealthiest and best-known families in town, but unfortunately the list does not tell us which officer lodged with whom, and in the absence of a city directory it is almost impossible to establish the location of the residences mentioned on the list. In only one case are the identity of both renter and landlord known: Samuel Canby recorded that "we have a Doctor quartered with us (a Low Dutch Man his name Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle) (sic.)."

At a rate of one, sometimes two, officers per family, the 42 known homes would have been sufficient for the officers of the Legion and the remaining administrative and medical staff, but where did the enlisted men stay? We know that Collot had rented the building of the Wilmington Academy, but when the Legion arrived in Wilmington just before Christmas 1782, it numbered 559 men, far too many, one would think, to fit into a school building that had previously housed 30 students. Yet that seems to be just what Collot had done:

"As to the Quartering of the Troops there was not in town one Building calculated to receive them. The College had been destroyed by the English and by the Militia in such a manner as to render it quite inhabitable (sic. Presumably he wanted to write: uninhabitable) without repairing it at a considerable expence. This was however the only measure to be taken to prompt the Quartering of the troops in a season already advanced. In consequence of which I proposed to the Trustees to let me that Building to lodge the said troops during the Winter."

It is almost impossible to imagine the living conditions of hundreds of men lodged in a single building for four months, and Lea's letter of 17 December -- "we are under the necessity of opening some of the Vacant Houses by force" -- suggests the possibility that not all of them were indeed lodged in the Academy. (Resource 26)

And there were still the horses, 281 on 24 December, to be dealt with. For them, Collot built "Stables ... at the expence of his Majesty ... upon a lot entirely separate from the College and assigned for the said purpose by the Magistrates of the town."<sup>496</sup> In 1795, the land where they were located, "Grove Hill," belonged to Joshua Gilpin who described it thus:

"This lot remains vacant with some wood on it - perhaps fenced from the time of purchase until the French troops were quartered at Wilmington, when temporary Stables were erected on it for the accomodation of De Lauzuns Legion- this was done I believe with the consent of Doc Way who undertook the care of the Lots in common with his own adjoining the whole being called the "Grove Lots."

The French commander left and I believe gave the Stables as a rent for the Lots -- when the troops quitted Wilmington which I think was in the Spring 1781 (sic) & that the occupation was the preceding winter. From that time they remained under Doc Ways care."

There were two lots on Grove Hill, "one laying between a Lot of Doc Ways on the west and a lot of Capt. Robinsons on the north, the other between a lot of Doc Ways on the north and (blank) street on the west and both bounded by King street on the west and Hanover Street on the east in breadth 4 1/4 rods each and length from Kings to Hanover Street." This description in the deed did not make any sense to Gilpin either, who added a note saying that "the street in 'blank' not

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<sup>496</sup> This sentence suggests that Lauzun had been unsuccessful in acquiring the stables in Burlington.

filled up is Kent Street and the one he calls Hanover is French Street."<sup>497</sup> Kent is today's Eighth Street; a lot between Eighth and King and King and French streets places the lot in the north-west corner of Holloway Park, kitty-corner across from the Spencer Plaza Park. (Resource 27)

Given the number of sick in the 24 December 1782 review, 27 men, the establishment of a hospital was a high priority. Now that the Academy with its long history as a hospital had been taken over by the Legion for lodging, it seems unlikely that the building also housed the hospital, but it is unknown where the hospital was located.<sup>498</sup> Like everything else, the French had to repair that building as well: the Lea Mills Account Book contains this entry: "19 February 1783: M Lazaleer, director of the hospital in Wilmington, 2000 feet of pine boards 14/0/0."<sup>499</sup> M. Lazaleer is most likely identical with one of the two *gardes-magasins* of the hospital named "l'Arzillière." He departed for France on the appropriately named *duc de Lauzun* from Philadelphia on 15 May and reached Lorient on 28 June 1783.<sup>500</sup>

The *ordonnance* establishing Lauzun's Legion had set up seven medical positions: the chief surgeon, his assistant, and one *frater* in each of the companies or squadrons. The chief *Chirurgien* listed in the État-Major for the Legion in Wilmington was Anatole Joseph Girard, who had come with the Legion from France in 1780. As chief medical officer he received 1,200 livres *per annum* with a supplement of 800 livres for the American campaign. On 1 October 1781, he received a gratification on 300 livres and another 400 livres after the capture of Yorktown.<sup>501</sup>

His assistant was Dr. Joseph Capelle, who received an annual salary of 800 livres and a supplement of 600 livres. According to Bouvet, Capelle departed from Boston on the *Ariel* on Christmas Day 1782, but that seems unlikely, if not impossible -- Capelle had just moved in with Samuel Canby as recorded in his diary. "We have a Doctor quartered with us (a Low Dutch Man his name Joseph Eugene Philip Capelle)."<sup>502</sup>

Born in Flanders in 1757, Capelle decided to remain behind in Delaware when the Legion sailed out of Philadelphia in May 1782.<sup>503</sup> On 8 November 1783, Capelle married Mary Isabella Pearce at Old Swedes. Their son Marcus Eugene Capelle was baptized on 4 August 1784, but he did not live long. Three months later, on 5 November 1784, Caesar A. Rodney Jr. informed his father Thomas Rodney from Wilmington that "Mr Capell lost his son yesterday morning, which he very much lamented."<sup>504</sup> On 24 March 1787, a daughter named Maria May Capelle was born,

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<sup>497</sup> Joshua Gilpin, Delaware Land Papers, vol. 1, HSD. The description is dated 22 March 1795.

Wadsworth and Carter continued to supply the Legion during winter quarters. See HSD, Business Papers Folder 1: "Wilmington, January 24, 1783. Andrew Alison £ 8/18/3 for delivery of hay."

<sup>498</sup> The Legion's hospital in Wilmington is mentioned briefly in Maurice Bouvet, *Le Service de Santé Français pendant la Guerre d'Indépendance des États-Unis (1777-1782)* (Paris, 1934), p. 100.

<sup>499</sup> Lea Mills Account Book 1775-1783, Ms Books Business L, HSD.

<sup>500</sup> Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, p. 105. The other *garde-magasin* was named Braconnier; he is the "Bracoigné, a person enjoying some office in the French hospital, who also lodged and boarded in the house of the said Martin" Delany, mentioned in the case of the robbery of the French treasury. He departed on the same ship as l'Arzillière. The writer has been unable to identify the "M (onsieur) de l'Orme" mentioned in the file.

<sup>501</sup> Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, p. 43. He was still chief medical officer of Lauzun's Hussars in 1789.

<sup>502</sup> Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, p. 35.

<sup>503</sup> J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Delaware* 2 vols, (Philadelphia 1888), page 48. The story as told by Scharf that Capelle came with Rochambeau (in 1780) but was "afterwards" placed on the staff of Lafayette is chronologically impossible, especially when connected with the Battle of Brandywine of 1777, when Capelle is supposed to have tried to dress the wounds of Lafayette. Capelle is also mentioned in Munroe, *Federalist Delaware*, p. 146n, p. 149, and p. 185. The writer has been unable to confirm the date of his birth; in personal communication with the author neither the SHAT, the Archives de la Marine, nor the Archives de la Service de Santé acknowledged possessing any information on Capelle.

<sup>504</sup> Rodney Collection, Caesar A. Rodney Box 4, folder 2 (May 1784-May 1788), HSD.

and after more than ten years of marriage, a son and heir Henry Pearce Capelle entered this world on 31 December 1793. Dr. Capelle, who was one of the incorporators of the Delaware Medical Society, died at age 39 on 5 November 1796. He is buried in Plot 1038, Old Swedes Cemetery in Wilmington. (Resource 28)

In addition, every company and squadron of the Legion was to have a *frater* or barber with an annual pay of 279 livres, but only the name of one of them, Guillaume Schmitt, who wintered with the Legion in Wilmington and arrived in Brest on the *Gloire* on 11 June 1783, is known.<sup>505</sup>

Once settled in, the officers encountered few distractions. We have no news of balls or other entertainments as had been the weekly custom in Williamsburg, no news of officers going fox-hunting or of a building set aside specifically for gambling as Rochambeau had done in Newport. Not a single French or American eyewitness provides concrete details of how the officers, at least those who stayed in Wilmington, spent their free time. Lauzun was not among them. Though he wrote in his *Memoirs* that following the departure of the French infantry for Boston he "returned across the North River, and went to take up my winter quarters in the County of Delaware," he did not remain in Wilmington for long. He was present at the review of 24 December 1782, but when the French frigate *Danaë* arrived in Philadelphia the following week, Lauzun, looking for mail, rode to Philadelphia only to find out that he had lost the remnants of his private fortune in the gigantic bankruptcy of the prince de Guéméné in September. Seeking distraction, Lauzun traveled from Philadelphia to Newport, Rhode Island, where he spent the next three months. It was only when he heard in April that the Preliminaries of Peace had been signed, and that he was to return to France that Lauzun returned to Wilmington.<sup>506</sup>

Among the few distractions were the meetings of the local freemasons, Wilmington Lodge No. 14.<sup>507</sup> The first recorded monthly meeting of the lodge took place on 19 July 1781, in Bezaleel Bently's tavern. On 16 January 1783, at the first meeting of the lodge after the arrival of the Legion, its Lieutenant-Colonel Claude Etienne Hugau, "Br. Hugo," attended as a "visiting brother." We don't know if Hugau returned or not, but on 20 March 1783, the commanding officer of the artillery company, Claude Joseph Guy Edouard Blondeau, "Br. Blando," is listed as a visiting brother, and he did return on 17 April 1783, when the lodge met at the home of John Thelwell.<sup>508</sup> By the time the lodge met again on 15 May 1783, the Legion was gone.

Much of the time of officers and men was spent on taking care of their horses, maintaining equipment, guard and other military duties, and weapons drills and exercise.<sup>509</sup> Various ordinances such as *the Règlement concernant la cavalerie* of 10 April 1773, the *Ordonnance du*

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<sup>505</sup> Bouvet, *Service de Santé*, pp. 44 and 105.

<sup>506</sup> Lauzun, *Memoirs*, pp. 220-21.

<sup>507</sup> Wilmington Lodge No. 14, Records 1781-1805, HSD. The official history of the lodge does not mention the visits by the French officers. See Charles E. Green, *History of the M.W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1956). There were five active lodges in Delaware during the Revolutionary War: No. 5 at Cantwell's Bridge, No. 14 in Wilmington, No. 18 in Dover, No. 33 at New Castle, and No. 44 at Duck Creek Crossroads (Smyrna).

That Masonry could build bridges between warring factions is evident from the entry for 18 April 1782: "Jeremia Parker and Charles Cook, Masters of two Flagg Vessels Lying in this Harbour for Permission to spend the Evening with the Worshipful Master and Bretheren of this Lodge." Both were admitted.

<sup>508</sup> Claude Joseph Guy Edouard Blondeau (1747-post-1792), became a lieutenant in the Ornans Militia in 1748 in his father's company. By 1774, he was a sub-lieutenant in the Légion royale; in 1778, he became a captain in the artillery company of the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* and came to America in that capacity with Lauzun's Legion. A lieutenant-colonel in the summer of 1792, he emigrated in September and served in the armies of the counter-revolutionaries. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 61.

<sup>509</sup> No orders and instructions for the winter quarters of Lauzun's Legion in Wilmington seem to have survived. The following paragraphs are based on ordinances for French cavalry in effect in 1781.

*Roi Concernant les Hussards* of 25 March 1776, the *Ordonnance du Roi pour régler l'exercice de toutes les troupes à cheval* of 1 May 1777, and the *Règlement provisoire sur le service de la cavalerie et des dragons en campagne* of 1778, governed the daily lives of officers and soldiers alike. The most important ordinances for the infantry were the *Ordonnance du Roi concernant l'infanterie française et étrangère* of 25 March 1776, the *Ordonnance du Roi pour régler l'exercice de ses troupes d'infanterie* of 1 June 1776, and the *Règlement provisoire sur le service de l'infanterie en campagne* of 1778.<sup>510</sup>

For Lauzun's hussars that meant that the men were divided into three groups based on their riding skills. Within their groups they were to practice riding three times a week under the supervision of their officers and particularly skilled NCOs and enlisted men serving as riding teachers. The last and worst class of horsemen was to practice more often with times and frequency set by the commanding officer. Only the first two classes were to practice in gallop; all were to practice only in single file. At irregular intervals the colonel was to exercise each of the squadrons of his regiment separately. In addition to these exercises, the troops during winter quarters, which was set to last from 1 November to 1 May, were to exercise on a company level once a week in a hall or covered riding area and go through the manual of arms with the horses either walking or trotting. They were to be supervised and commanded in these exercises which were to last about a hour, never more than 1 1/2 hours, by their officers and NCOs. During the winter months the officers were to give particular attention to instruct their men in using their sword in combat which was to be practiced twice a week sitting on a wooden horse. Weather permitting the regiment was to mount every two weeks for a march of about 2 1/2 miles to get the horses and men used to ride in groups and in columns. During winter quarters, officers and NCOs were to get theoretical instruction once a week.<sup>511</sup>

The Legion had just settled into its quarters in Wilmington, when it almost became a federal police force against the State of Pennsylvania. In December 1781, goods destined for British prisoners of war in Pennsylvania sent there under a flag of truce issued by Washington had been seized. Some "of the Seizers had pursued their claim under the law of the State & that in consequence the goods had been condemned & ordered for sale." On 24 January, Congress had ordered an inquiry. On 13 February 1783, the committee, "consisting of Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Ghorum & Mr. Lee," recommended "that the Secy. at War should be authorised & directed to cause the goods to be taken from the places where they had been deposited, to employ such force as wd. be sufficient, and that the Duke de Lauzun whose Legion was in the neighbourhood, should be requested to give the Secy. such aid as he might apply for."

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<sup>510</sup> Most of these ordinances are available in the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, and in the library of the Society of the Cincinnati in Washington, DC.

A very thorough list of ordinances for all branches of the eighteenth-century French military based on holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France can be found at: <http://www.ifrance.com/patricemenguy>

<sup>511</sup> *Règlement concernant la cavalerie* of 10 April 1773, paragraphs 37 to 40: "Des Jours d'Exercices." The drill and training schedule for new recruits, who were to be ready to join their squadrons after six months at most, were different.

The best source for reconstructing the daily routine of a unit are the orderly books, but not a single pre-1789 orderly book has survived; the last known copy of such a book was destroyed in an air raid on Tours in June 1940. It was published as *Le Livre d'ordres d'un Régiment d'Infanterie en 1781 d'après un manuscrit original*. Clement de la Jonquière, ed., (Paris, 1898). Jonquière did not publish the book in its original form but instead arranged the information topically.

Invaluable for the workings of an infantry regiment is Charles Victor Thiroux, *Manuel pour le corps de l'infanterie: extrait des principales ordonnances relatives à l'infanterie française & le plus journellement en usagè*. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1781). The writer is not aware of a similar manual for the duties of light infantry, but Article 32 of the ordinance establishing Lauzun's Legion ordered that in all aspects not covered in the ordinance the Legion would be subject to the ordinances in force for infantry and hussars.

Under European conditions, the use of cavalry, especially of hussars, for police functions was standard practice, but would have been a complete novelty under American conditions, especially if foreign forces such as Lauzun's Legion would have carried them out. Not surprisingly

"This report was generally regarded by Congs. as intemperate, and the proposed recourse to the French Legion as flagrantly imprudent. Mr. Hamilton said that if the object had been to embroil this country with their Allies the expedient would have been well conceived.<sup>512</sup> He added that the exertion of force would not under these circumstances meet the sense of the people at large. Mr. Ghoram sd. he denied this with respect to the people of Massachusetts."

As the debate went back and forth, each side defending its position: "Mr. Lee on the part of the Com. said that the D. de Lauzun had been recurred to as being in the neighbourhood & having cavalry under his command which would best answer the occasion; and that the report was founded on wise & proper considerations.

Mr. Mercer, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Ramsay, Mr. Wilson & Mr. Madison, strenuously opposed the report, as improper altogether as far as it related to the French Legion, and in other respects so until the State of Pa. sd. on a summons refuse to restore the articles seized.

Mr. Rutledge with equal warmth contends for the expediency of the measures reported.

Mr. Mercer & Mr. Madison at length proposed that Congress sd. assert the right on this subject & summon the State of Pa. to redress the wrong immediately. The Report was recommitted with this proposition & Mr. Wilson & Mr. Mercer added to the Committee."<sup>513</sup>

We don't know how the dispute with Pennsylvania over the confiscated goods ended, but the Duc de Lauzun and his Legion were not involved.

The legionnaires were good guests in Wilmington. Samuel Canby wrote of the behavior of the rank and file that they "conduct with more regularity & much more civility to the Inhabitants than any troops we have ever had in this town scarcely an instant of their stealing the smallest thing."<sup>514</sup> That would have come as a surprise to many inhabitants of Lebanon, Connecticut, site of the Legion's first winter quarter of 1780/81, and of Charlotte Court House in Virginia, sites of the 1781/82 winter quarters, where locals had voiced loud complaints about the legionnaires.

In Lebanon, problems with the hussars had arisen almost from the day the troops had arrived in November 1780. On 6 February 1781, David Trumbull wrote to Wadsworth, that "since the artillery horses have been in Colchester," there had been no end of trouble because of language difficulties.<sup>515</sup> On 13 March 1781, William Williams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, in an angry letter on behalf of his brother Dr. Thomas Williams berated Lauzun how the people of Lebanon had been promised "that the French Troops were kept under the best government and discipline and that the Inhabitants of Newport had not lost a Pig nor a Fowl by them, which was a great Inducement to provide them Quarters here. ... but soon they began to pilfer and steal, which was, and is, in many instances borne." Lately, however, they had begun "to steal wood from Dr. Williams, ... thirty or more trees, ... much of his fence, four or five sheep, a

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<sup>512</sup> A note in the manuscript here reads: "This was an oblique allusion to Mr. Lee, whose enmity to the French was suspected by him &c. "

<sup>513</sup> The debate can be found at <http://memory.loc.gov>, searching the Journals of the Continental Congress under the date, Thursday, 13 February 1783.

<sup>514</sup> Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783. Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.

<sup>515</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782, CHS.



number of Geese" and much more. Lately they had even threatened Williams' life for complaining to the duke. Williams demanded an immediate end be put to these practices, but it does not seem that he had much success: in his letter he even implied that some of these events took place with the tacit consent of the officers! From Canterbury, William Bingham sent David Trumbull a bill on 27 April 1781, and asked "Please to make Proper allowances for all miss understanding between those German Gentl. and me - for they understand nothing but what they have a mind to."<sup>516</sup> When they finally left in June 1781, Mary Williams, second daughter of Governor Trumbull, wrote her husband William "O how glad and how thankfull I shall be when they are gone for never was I so sick of any people in my life. ... joy go long with them and wish never to see another French man in my life."<sup>517</sup>

Unlike previous winter quarters, not a single incident of misbehavior during the Legion's four-month stay in Wilmington has come to light, which even Canby found surprising because "their pay is very Small, every five Days their pay is a quarter dollar."<sup>518</sup> How small was it? To say that the armies of the *ancien régime* were poorly paid is an understatement, but the French army ranked at the very bottom of the pay-scale. When the salary of the infantry was increased by 50 per cent for the *expédition particulière*, a fusilier received 9 sols 6 deniers per day or 14 livres 5 sols per month or 171 livres a year. The better-paid grenadier, as did a hussar, made 11 sols for a total of 16 1/2 livres per month or 198 livres per year. The highest-paid NCO of the line, a sergeant-major of grenadiers or hussars, had 486 livres per year, the *maréchal-des-logis-en-chef*, his equivalent in the hussars, even 540 livres. Before departure, the rank and file received one month pay plus 18 livres from the *masse générale* to equip themselves, and another 18 livres from this *masse* were distributed upon arrival in Newport.<sup>519</sup> But they also had to pay stoppages from their pay. The *ordonnance* of 20 March 1780, set food costs at 2 sols for bread, 1 sol 6 d for beef per day. This meant a monthly food bill for every NCO and enlisted man of

3 livres	for bread
2 livres 2 sols	for beef
1 sols 6 deniers	for 1 pound of salt per month
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5 livres 3 sols 6 deniers	

Also increased were the deductions for the *masse de linge et chaussure*, the regimental fund to pay for a soldier's uniform and for his shoes. NCOs contributed 16 denier per day to this *masse*, corporals and enlisted men half as much. That meant additional stoppages of 2 livres for a sergeant, and 1 livre for each hussar, fusilier, grenadier, or *chasseur*, leaving a fusilier or *chasseur* with 7 livres 18 sols 6 deniers per month. A grenadier or hussar received 10 livres 3 sols 6 deniers per month or 122 livres 2 sols per year after stoppages. A sergeant or *maréchal-des-logis en second*, who received 1 livres 4 sols per day or 36 livres per month before stoppages, was left with 28 livres 13 sols 6 deniers. A grenadier or artillery sergeant had 27 livres 6 sols, a sergeant in the chasseurs earned 22 livres 13 sols 6 deniers per month after stoppages. For corporals the numbers were 15 livres 3 sols 6 deniers for the hussars, 16 livres 18 sols 6 deniers for the

<sup>516</sup> Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Correspondence, July 1781 to February 1782. CHS.

<sup>517</sup> Mary Williams to William Williams, 10 June 1781, William Williams Papers, CHS. For examples of misdeeds in Virginia see Hugau's *Détails*.

<sup>518</sup> Samuel Canby Diary November 1779 to December 1796, entry for January 1783, Photostat HSD, from the original at Yale University.

<sup>519</sup> The various regimental masses were the purses from which expenses of a regiment were met; stoppages were made from a soldier's pay to these accounts. To some *masses* such as the *masse de propreté* only some soldiers contributed, in this case only those soldiers with permission to work in their trades in town. All contributions to the *masse générale*, increased from 36 livres for the French infantry and 72 livres for the Foreign infantry to 48 and 84 livres for the American campaign, were covered by the crown.

grenadiers, and the artillery, 14 livres 13 sols 6 deniers for the chasseurs and fusiliers.<sup>520</sup> To put this figure into perspective: Axel von Fersen estimated that it cost him 20 livres a month to keep his dog! But since a French soldier was paid in specie rather than in paper, even 8, 9, or 10 livres was more than what a Continental Soldier would have received -- if he had been paid. A look across the battlefield shows that his British and German enemies were considerable better off. A common soldier in the British army received 8 pence a day or £ 1 pound per month, almost exactly 23 livres, though stoppages reduced his wages to some 19 livres. A soldier in a Brunswick regiment in British service had 16 shillings 1 penny 1 farthing for 4 weeks of service. After stoppages for food and clothing he was left with 14 shillings, a *Gefreiter* had s 16 4 p, just about 19 livres, 2 1/2 times the pay of a French fusilier.<sup>521</sup>

Canby's statement that the soldiers received 1 1/2 Spanish dollars or 8 livres 2 sols per month comes very close to the actual wage of a common fusilier. But account books were kept in pounds and shillings, not in livres or in Pieces of Eight. Since Canby reckoned a Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight at s 7 6 d, and one écu or 6 livres at s 8 4 d, which made 1 Piece of Eight = 5 livres 8 sols, 1 1/2 Pieces of Eight = 8 livres 2 sols. 1/4 Piece of Eight, five days worth of monetary wages, equalled 1 livre 7 sols or s 1 10 1/2 d.<sup>522</sup> What could a soldier buy with that amount of money? By Canby's own reckoning, 1 1/2 Spanish Dollars, 30 days, a whole month's monetary wages in the French army, were the equivalent of s 11 3 d Delaware currency -- and it was pitiful indeed. If s 3 9 d were the generally accepted daily rate for manual labor, s 11 3 d, a month's monetary wages in the French army, is exactly the same amount of money a slave-owner such as Thomas Rodney charged for three days of labor of "Peter Miller Negro" or what he paid "Jacob Miller's daughter 10 days of oats binding @ 3/9" per day.<sup>523</sup> It was very little even by French standards. Domestic workers, a traditionally poorly-paid group, in eighteenth-century France received on average 250 livres per year, four times what a soldier stationed in France received! An enlisted man on work detail in Rochambeau's army, e.g., erecting fortifications in Newport, digging trenches outside Yorktown, or cutting firewood, was paid 20 sols, one whole livre, per day without any deductions, 2 1/2 times his salary as a soldier.<sup>524</sup>

Account books preserved in the Delaware Historical Society contain prices for a wide range of goods sold and purchased in Wilmington in 1782 and 1783. John Serrill's Account Book informs us that on 25 October 1782, 1 lb Coffee cost 0/2/4; on 26 November the price had risen to 0/3/0. A quart of rum, an item possibly of interest to a soldier, sold for 3/6 on 26 November 1782 -- but that was almost ten days salary (3/8) for one of Lauzun's chasseurs!<sup>525</sup> On 15 December 1782, 3 lbs of rice sold for 0/2/0, on 21 December, 3 lbs of sugar cost 0/3/6, and on 27 February 1783, 1/2 bushel of corn sold for 0/2/6. Simon Wilson's account book lists "1/4 lamb for 0/2/6" on 10 May 1783.<sup>526</sup> The Lea Mills Account Book on 6 August 1783 lists 1 lb of beef at s 4 9 d, bacon at s 9 6 d per pound.<sup>527</sup> Thomas Rodney in his Account Book on 2 January 1782 has an entry for 5

<sup>520</sup> This compilation of a soldier's income is based on figures given in Thiroux, *Manuel*, pp. 178-190, the *ordonnance* establishing Lauzun's Legion, and the *ordonnance* of 20 March 1780, *Pour régler le traitement des Troupes destinées à une expédition particulière*.

<sup>521</sup> Otto Elster, *Geschichte der Stehenden Truppen im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* 2 vols., (1899-1901; reprint Bad Honnef, 1982), Vol. 2, p. 388.

<sup>522</sup> See Samuel Canby, *Accounts, 1773-1785* (Ms 6603, HSD) the entry for 17 January 1782:

"23 French crowns @ 8/4 = 9/11/8" and " 5 Spanish dollars @ 7/6 = 1/17/6"

<sup>523</sup> Rodney Collection. Thomas Rodney. Box 10, Folder 2, HSD. "An Account of Harvest Wages 1775." "5 days mowing @ 3 sh and 6 days raking @ 0/3/9= 1/17/6" for Peter Miller.

<sup>524</sup> See the entry for 26 July 1780, in Rochambeau's *livre d'ordre*, Archives Générales du Département de Meurthe-et-Moselle, Nancy, France, call number E 235.

<sup>525</sup> John Serrill Account Book 1782 to 1798, Ms 5920 Business S, HSD.

<sup>526</sup> Simon W Wilson "Account Statement 1781-1784." in: H. F. Brown Collection, Caesar Rodney Papers, MS drawer, HSD.

<sup>527</sup> Lea Mills Account Book, 1775-1783, Ms Books Business L, HSD.

turkeys for s 12/6, 5 geese for s 10, 2 ducks for s 2.<sup>528</sup> A mare, 5 years old and 13 hands high, that sold for £ 10 or almost 240 livres on 11 March 1781 would have been almost twice the annual cash wage of 126 livres 7 sols of a hussar. On 5 June 1781, a bushel of potatoes weighing 60 lbs is listed in Alexander Porter's ledger of the Hamburgh Mill at 7/6 "gold or silver" - 20 days of cash wages for a fusilier. Beef was 8 d per pound on 4 March 1782 was cheap, but the "good milk cow and calf" which he bought in October 1781 for £ 11 silver or the bull calf he sold for £ 15 on 29 August 1782 were two, three annual cash wages of a soldier.<sup>529</sup>

These were low monetary wages to be sure, but the soldiers also received wages in kind such as food, clothing, shelter, and while stationed in France had opportunities to earn additional income while working in their trade. The value of these "social wages" offered by the military to a young man and potential recruit is difficult to assess, but it must have been attractive since the *ancien régime* was always able to find enough volunteers for its armed forces.

Attractive maybe in the environment of the Old World, but now the troops were in America, a land of plenty compared to France, and a land of freedom and opportunity. Given the possibilities offered in the New World, it is not surprising that throughout their stay in America, many of Lauzun's men liked the country well enough to want to escape the discipline of the military and stay for good. But Rochambeau did not discharge many soldiers while in America: every loss had to be replaced, preferably from France, and that was expensive. The only way out for the majority of troops was desertion, and push and pull factors, e.g., harsh treatment within the Legion and the lure of opportunity, caused many men to do just that. In his *Détails* Hugau claimed that it was due to the harsh discipline imposed capriciously upon the soldiery by Captain Louis Henry de Beffroy that the men deserted by the dozen: "a too harsh and maybe too partial discipline disgusted the men and caused them to desert." He accused Beffroy of "throwing soldiers in jail indiscriminately and for all kinds of reasons, (of) humiliating the poor soldiers with punishments, of treating them ignominiously, of handing out three punishments at a time to the same person, prison, standing at the stake, and beatings with a stick." No wonder that soldiers such as the *chasseur* Jean-Claude Passant told Hugau that he "would rather stay with his girl-friend (*maitresse*) in a country that offered him the sweetness of liberty." Passant, born around 1753 in Franche Comté, however did not act on his anger, but returned to France where he was discharged in October 1783.<sup>530</sup>

Faced with the same options, many Germans and German-speaking soldiers in the Legion acted differently, for it is here that the multi-national character of the Legion, the sometimes checkered service record of its personnel, and its non-French ethnic composition asserted itself. Germans were more likely to desert in America than French. Of 316 deserters of Rochambeau's corps who avoided recapture, 104 were Germans or German-speaking soldiers of the German Royal Deux-Ponts. Another 186 were German-speaking soldiers mostly from Lorraine or Alsace in Rochambeau's other units; 132 of them belonged to Lauzun's Legion.<sup>531</sup> As early as December

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<sup>528</sup> Thomas Rodney Account Book, 1776-1789, Ms 5706 Personal R, HSD.

<sup>529</sup> Alexander Porter, ledger of Hamburgh Mill, 1 October 1769 to November 1783, HSD.

<sup>530</sup> Hugau, *Détails*, p. 161.

<sup>531</sup> Only 26 deserters were from French-speaking parts of France. For some of these men the New World did not keep its promise. DEPA, Executive Papers, Treasurer 1788, contains this entry:

"By orders of the overseer of the Poor of Mill Creek Hundred

1788 For keeping Lewis Luandres a Sick French Soldier from the beginning of April to May twentieth being seven weeks at 15 sh the first five week 3/15/0 and at 7 sh the last two weeks at 7/6 = 15 sh

For one gallon wine by order of the doctor 0/6/0

For one day with a horse helping him out of the County 0/5/0

For cash given him at his going 0/7/6

For the overseers at the poor 0/10/0

Total 5/18/6

Joseph Ball

1780, a complete patrol of hussars, horses and all, took off into the forests of Connecticut from their winter quarters in Lebanon. On 22 December 1780, a few days after the event, Rochambeau wrote to Lauzun how he was "angered by the desertion of your patrol, and you have taken the best precautions to prevent a recurrence, which is always that of not to taint yourself with the business of recruiting Hessian deserters, of whom as you know I have never had a good opinion."<sup>532</sup> It is unknown when that event occurred, hussars Kober and Sauker deserted on 12 December, LaTour and Jemme on the 18 December and Rochambeau's letter of 22 December acknowledged receipts of Lauzun's letters of 16 and 21 December -- but when one of the culprits was captured again, Lauzun decided to make an example of him. On 26 December 1780, Jacques Sauker, age 25, of the Second Squadron of Hussars, was executed by firing squad in Lebanon.<sup>533</sup>

While the armies were encamped outside New York, a steady trickle of deserters continued to leave Rochambeau's army. On 10 August Frederick Mackenzie, an British officer in New York, recorded the well-established tendency of German soldiers to desert. "Four French Hussars came in yesterday afternoon, with their horses and appointments: Two more came in this Morning. There is no doubt but if the Armies were in the Field, and nearer each other, the desertion from the French troops would be very great. Many of them being Germans, particularly Duponts, and the Legion, wish to come in when they have an opportunity."<sup>534</sup> Entries listing French deserters can be found almost daily in his diary, e.g., two deserters on 11 July, five on 30 July, four farriers from the Legion on 1 August, "several" on 7 August, four from Saintonge on 16 August, etc. Adjutant General Baurmeister of the Hessians also reported the arrival of French deserters: 14 hussars, 11 grenadiers, 9 fusiliers and 5 artillerymen by 19 August.<sup>535</sup> During the fifteen months between the arrival of Rochambeau's forces in Newport and the siege of Yorktown, 16 hussars, 4 grenadiers, 2 cannoniers or artillerymen, and 1 chasseurs deserted.<sup>536</sup>

After a decline in the spring of 1782, only 3 men deserted in January and February 1782, the desertion rate for all units increased again as the campaign season approached. For Lauzun's Legion this meant that five men deserted in March and April, 16 men in May and June, and 15 in July and August 1782. Until then, most of the deserters had been hussars, but now other branches became affected as well. At the 1 November 1782 review at Hanover Court House in New Jersey, 4 grenadiers, 4 cannoniers, 8 chasseurs, and 22 hussars for a total of 38 men are known to have deserted during the months of September and October 1782. During the winter months and quarters in Wilmington, desertion slowed down again. At the review of 25 February 1783, the First Squadron of Hussars had lost only one man, the grenadiers two, the cannoniers had lost one, the chasseurs had kept their strength, and the Second Squadron of Hussars had lost four.

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Luandres may well have been on his way to Richmond. In July 1785, French consul Martin Oster wrote from Virginia that he had granted passports to 13 deserters to return to France under an amnesty granted by the king on 17 December 1784, and valid for six months beginning on 1 January 1785. J. Rives Childs, "French Consul Martin Oster reports on Virginia, 1784-1796" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 76, (1968), pp. 27-40, p. 37.

<sup>532</sup> Rochambeau to Lauzun, 22 December 1780, Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress, vol. 7.

<sup>533</sup> Sauker's execution, one of five executions for desertion, is recorded in Colonies D2c32, Archives Nationales de France, Paris. The other four soldiers executed were Jean Gitter on 12 May 1782, Alexander Boucher on 17 May 1782, and Corporal Christoph Hand on (23 April 1781, all from the Grenadier Company and Corporal Joseph Frank from the Artillery Company, also on 23 April 1781. Sauker, Gitter, and Boucher were shot, Hand and Frank were hanged for "deserting to the enemy." Jacques Bergeot of the Chasseur Company was executed on 1 October 1781, for homicide. Since only two soldiers were killed in combat on 3 October 1781, and three men are known to have died of combat-related wounds, the Legion had more men executed than were killed in battle!

<sup>534</sup> *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie* 2 Vols., (Cambridge, 1932), vol. 2, pp. 584-585.

<sup>535</sup> Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, ed., *Revolution in America. Confidential Letters and Journals of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 459.

<sup>536</sup> Massoni, *Détails*, p. 128.

But as the departure date approached, the inspection reports record an increasing number of desertions. When the next review was conducted on 24 April, the Legion had lost another 15 enlisted men, two thirds of them from the Second Squadron of hussars. Four of the men had died, eleven had deserted. The total strength of the Legion stood at 13 officers (including Lauzun who had returned from Newport), NCOs, and enlisted men on the staff, 31 company-grade officers, 533 NCOs and enlisted men, and 287 horses. During the first 1 1/2 weeks of May, another 11 men deserted. When the Legion held its final review in Wilmington on 7 May 1783, the first Squadron of Hussars was down to 118 men from the 133 it had had on 24 December 1782. The grenadiers had 85 rather than 96, the cannoniers 86 rather than 96, the chasseurs 88 rather than 96, and the Second Squadron of Hussars was down to 103 from the 135 of December of 1782. On the eve of departure, the Legion had 41 officers, eight staff members, and 480 rank and file.<sup>537</sup>

But not all of the missing men had deserted: some had died, and some had been discharged.<sup>538</sup> And even with this *caveat*, these figures are somewhat misleading. In defense of the Legion it should be said that many (44) of these deserters, at least those for 1780 and 1781, had once before deserted from Britain's German allies. They had not come with the Legion from France but had been recruited after Lauzun's arrival in America.<sup>539</sup> In late December 1780, Rochambeau ordered Lauzun to cease recruiting Hessian deserters, though he seems to have ignored the order.<sup>540</sup> And lastly, as American historian Samuel F. Scott has pointed out, the overall desertion rate for Rochambeau's forces in America, slightly over 5 per cent over 2 1/2 years in America, "is remarkably low" and well below the annual average of forces stationed in France proper.<sup>541</sup>

The problem of desertions were not confined to French land forces. Naval forces suffered from it as much as land forces, if not more. By June 1781, Barras' fleet was nearly 1,000 sailors short and Rochambeau had to detach 700 men to the navy to supplement the ship crews.<sup>542</sup> French sailors tended to desert to the Americans. In 1781, at least six French deserters from Ternay's fleet appeared on the roster of the American frigate *Concorde*. When fellow sailors forcibly carried a deserted sailor back onto a French warship, the town of Boston served the captain with a writ of *Habeus Corpus*, which the French captain honored!<sup>543</sup> Delaware was not immune from this problem. On 8 October 1782, de la Luzerne asked Dickinson's help in manning a French frigate with the with the justification that "on m'assure qu'il y a plusieurs matelots François à Wilmington soit à terre soit sur les Vaisseaux Americains -- I have been assured that numerous French sailors are in Wilmington either on land or on the American vessels."<sup>544</sup> Ten weeks later, on 29 December 1782, La Luzerne informed Dickinson, who by now was chief executive of Pennsylvania, that there were four Frenchmen in the prison of the city of Philadelphia - Georges

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<sup>537</sup> The reviews are located in Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine D2c32.

<sup>538</sup> For details see Appendix 2: Members of Lauzun's Legion who remained in the United States.

<sup>539</sup> The same is true for many of the deserters from the Royal Deux-Ponts: 35 of the 67 American recruits deserted again, comprising more than one third of the 104 men who deserted in America. See *A Journal by Thos: Hughes For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long (1778-1789)* E. A. Benians, ed., (Cambridge, 1947), p. 95: "Sept: 10<sup>th</sup>. A French recruiting party is at present beating up in this town (Philadelphia) for Hussars (or Light Horse); they offer twenty guineas bounty. An American party who were here lately gave six guineas at enlistment and a promise of 300 acres at the conclusion of the war. They pickt up 14 men out of this town, mostly deserters -- there are above a thousand German deserters settled at different farm houses within 30 miles of this town." For the names of these 14 men and their fates see Appendix 2.

<sup>540</sup> See Baurmeister, p. 406: "On the 8th of this month, (January 1781) a French recruiting command left Philadelphia with twenty-eight recruits, among whom were five Hessians and two Anspachers."

<sup>541</sup> Scott, *Yorktown*, p. 103.

<sup>542</sup> Kennett, *French forces*, p. 85.

<sup>543</sup> Kennett, *French forces*, p. 82 et passim.

<sup>544</sup> John Dickinson Letters 1782, DEPA.

Manson, Nicolas Servin, Russ Talley, and Michel Lyon - and asked that these men be transferred to French warships.<sup>545</sup>

By late April, news of the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace between France and Great Britain on 20 January 1783 had reached the hussars in Wilmington and with it came orders for the Legion to return to France. A grateful Congress used the opportunity to pass a resolution of thanks for his services:

"A letter having been read from the minister of France to the Secretary for Foreign affairs, requesting him to inform Congress of the proposed departure of the Duke de Lauzun's legion and other detachments of Count Rochambeau's army for France; and expressing, with the Duke de Lauzun, the sense that he and the other officers and men of this army entertain of the harmony which has subsisted between them and the inhabitants of these states, and of the hospitality with which they have been treated by them:

Resolved, That the Secretary for Foreign affairs inform the minister of France, that Congress learn with pleasure the satisfaction which the Duke de Lauzun, and the officers and men of the French army in America express, in the harmony which has subsisted between them and the inhabitants of these states, since it exhibits at the same time a strong proof of the good disposition and discipline of the commanders, officers and men, and the just sense the people of this country entertain of the important services they have rendered.

As a further testimony of which,

Resolved, That the Secretary for Foreign affairs inform the Duke de Lauzun, and the officers and men under his command, that the United States in Congress assembled are highly sensible of their successful exertions in the cause of America, and of the strict attention which they have at all times paid to the rights of its citizens; and while they rejoice at the events which have brought tranquillity to these states, it adds to their pleasure to reflect, that it restores those who have been active in procuring it to their friends and their country."<sup>546</sup>

It is unknown whether the State of Delaware or the City of Wilmington sent a note of thanks to Lauzun on the eve of its departure. Neither the records of the state legislature or the Governor nor local records, such as the "Minutes of the Council, Wilmington, September 1771- 8 September 1783," and the "Minutes of the Proceedings of the Burgesses and Assistants of the Borough of Wilmington relating to Publick Affairs of the Corporation" mention such a note.<sup>547</sup>

We do know, however, that there was a meeting between the Trustees of the Wilmington Academy and Lauzun in early May that did not go well. The trustees had "waited upon" the duke "in order to request an indemnification" for damages done by his troops to the Academy. Lauzun

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<sup>545</sup> John Dickinson Letters 1782, DEPA.

<sup>546</sup> The resolution is available at <http://memory.loc.gov> in the Journals of the Continental Congress, under the date, Thursday, 1 May 1783.

<sup>547</sup> Both sets of minutes are located in HSD, Microfilm D 5.1.1, Reel 1.

had "answered he had no power to pay anything but what had been stipulated in the original convention and that the Trustees did not make a reply to this answer."<sup>548</sup>

But the Trustees were not prepared to let the matter rest that easily. At their next meeting 6 May 1783, they decided that "The same Committee viz: Thos Duff, Nicks Way Vincent Gilpin are requested to apply to two Magistrates of their County agreeable to Law & procure a Warrant for allowing a Compensation for the Use of the School House as Barracks for the Legion of the Duke de Lauzun the last winter."<sup>549</sup>

This was a venue often employed by Americans in order to get a final *écu* out of the French, the most famous case being that of Miller Hallock at Crompond. In order to appease his allies, Rochambeau had usually paid whatever amount of money was requested. But Collot was not prepared to give in so easily and responded with a deposition on 16 May 1783, disputing the claims of the trustees of the Wilmington Academy. In it, Collot declared that he had seen to it that all "necessary repairs were made at the expence of his Majesty." He had agreed "that the materials employed for that purpose should not be removed after the Departure of the Troops, that the Students who were thirty in number should be transposed and that an appartement should be provided in town at the King's expence for their reception." Even though he had spent 12,000 livres on top of "the rent of the appartement for the Students, ... now the Troops being gone the Trustees claim rents which they pretend have been promised and the property of the Stables, which have been build at the expence of his Majesty for the horses of the Legion upon a lot entirely separate from the College and assigned for the said purpose by the Magistrates of the town, and which have been sold together with the horses to Mr. Jacob Broom."

No document indicating the success, or failure, of the Trustees' plan has survived; it did however prevent Collot from sailing for France as planned on the frigate *la Gloire* on 11 May 1783. That day, Lauzun, the 528 men left of his *légion*, and most of the remnants of the *expédition particulière* sailed from Philadelphia. The five frigates that took the remnants of Rochambeau's forces to Europe -- *la Gloire*, *la Danaë*, *l'Astrée*, *l'Active*, *Le St. James* -- carried 62 officers, 636 enlisted men, five "femmes de soldats" and 51 domestics to Brest, where they docked around 11 June.<sup>550</sup> The *expédition particulière* was over.

Nine days later, on 20 June 1783, the *Volontaires étrangers de Lauzun* ceased to exist as well. It took considerable effort on the part of Lauzun to effect the transformation of his unit into a regular hussar regiment. The *Lauzun Hussards* were created by Royal *ordonnance* of 11 October 1783 and stationed in Lauterbourg in the Alsace in December. Five years later, an inspection report of 21 December 1788, a good six months before the outbreak the Great Revolution, showed the regiment, still under its *colonel propriétaire* the duc de Lauzun, one lieutenant short of its full supplement of 47 officers, plus four standard bearers, and a *cadet gentilhomme*. Its rank and file consisted of 592 NCOs and men, 56 short of its authorized strength of 648.

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<sup>548</sup> Deposition by Collot on 16 May 1783 in Coxe Papers, Tench Coxe Section, Incoming Correspondence, Box 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

<sup>549</sup> Schools, Wilmington Academy (Manuscript), Folder 4, HSD. The notice about this meeting in the 24 May 1783 issue of the *Pennsylvania Packet* mentions the use of the building by Lauzun's Legion only indirectly. In it, the trustees promise that "The school-house will immediately be put into repair for the accommodation of the pupils," and "as there is no probability that it will be again occupied as a barrack for troops, the trustees expect that the inconveniences heretofore experienced by removing the scholars to private houses will not again occur." In 1792, the Academy unsuccessfully appealed to Congress for compensation for losses incurred during the war. It received a new charter in 1803, but unlike the near-by Academy in Newark, it never flourished and was closed by 1833, when the building was torn down.

<sup>550</sup> The embarkation list is in Archives Nationales, Paris, Marine B/4/185. A final transport of 85 soldiers under Captain François Xavier Christophe baron de Hell of Lauzun's Legion sailed from Baltimore on the *Pintade* 5 October 1783, and entered Brest on 10 November 1783.

In the course of the army reforms of the summer of 1791, the Lauzun Hussars became the 6<sup>th</sup> Hussars and Lauzun lost his proprietorship. A year later, the revolutionary government in Paris had declared war on Austria, and the 6<sup>th</sup> Hussars had fallen completely apart. The majority of its officers deserted; when its chief administrative officer, American War veteran *quartier-maitre* Sirjacques, handed the regiment's funds, supplies, and records over to the enemy in August 1792, the unit had to be completely re-constituted. In the fall of 1792, the 6th became the 5th Hussars; the old 3rd or Saxe Hussars were erased from the army list after all but the 4th escadron had gone over to the enemy. As the war went from bad to worse, the revolution turned on itself. Among the victims was Lauzun, who had initially welcomed the revolution. Despite faithful service in the Vendée, he ascended the scaffold on 31 December 1793. Flamboyant to the end he shared his last meal with his executioner. Encouraging him to drink, he told the man: "You must need courage in your profession."

His regiment, the Fifth Regiment of Hussars, was dissolved as an active regiment in the French military on 1 January 1976, but survived through various reserve units until its final dissolution on 31 December 1992.