

***“NO REGULAR CORPS COULD HAVE MAINTAINED ITS
GROUND MORE FIRMLY”***

**SITE DOCUMENTATION AND PRESERVATION PLAN FOR THE BATTLE OF THE
HOOK, OCTOBER 3, 1781**

GLOUCESTER COUNTY, VIRGINIA

AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD PROTECTION PROGRAM GRANT

APPENDICES



PREPARED FOR GLOUCESTER PARKS, RECREATION & TOURISM

BY

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FINAL - 2021

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APPENDIX I

US MILITARY, WEEDON CORRESPONDENCE

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Hubbard's Heights 18 Sept 1781

Dr. Sir,

I am honor'd with your Letter of 18th Inst and take the earliest opportunity to offer my warmest congratulations to your Excellency on your safe return once more to your own Country — the greatest attention shall be paid to the small supply of cartridges arrived in Camp last Night: previous to which the Troops in this Quarter had not two per man and am sorry to inform your Excellency that great part of the Men are badly armed and worse equipt, there not being Cartouche Boxes for more than one third & I have no Artillery of any sort. — on my taking the command here [five Days ago] made strict enquiry into the Supplies laid in for the support of the Troops, and found that sofar from their being --- any Magazine of Grain or provisions of any sort in Store, there was not sufficient for two days support:. Part of the specific Tax of the County had been collected at a place called Burwell Mills. --

On the Troops first assembling in this Quarter they removed part, & the remainder as I am informed fell into the Enemies Hands. – The first object that struck my attention on joining this Army was to circumscribe if possible the Enemies' Foraging Parties, for this purpose formed a Partisan Legion of 60 Horse and 400 Infantry under the command of Lt. Col. Webb, who marched three Nights ago with Instructions to take a secure Post near Gloucester Court House keeping strong Patroles in his Front and Flanks, till I could support Him with more Men which at that time was out of my (poss?) for want of Ammunition. I last Night moved Colonel Page's Regiment consisting of 400 Men with orders to throw himself within supporting distance & shall this Morning march the remainder of the Troops consisting of two small Regiments to a Position Six Miles below this till I gain more perfect Knowledge of the Country. – My greatest apprehensions are the Enemies throwing up a body by Water which may Land in our Rear, but every precaution & care shall be taken to gain Intelligence of their movements & shall conduct mine accordingly.

I have this Morning rec'd Intelligence from Col. Webb that the Enemy two Nights past turned out of the Garrison at Gloster 150 Negroes, all with the Small pox on them; -- The Col's parties were Yesterday were within Four Miles of their Lines.

I have the honor to be with perfect

Esteem & attachment,
Yr. excellencies Most Obd't.
G Weedon

Weedon wrote this letter to Washington five days after he took command of American forces in Gloucester County.

George Weedon Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, MS 2014.6. Also in the Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

James River 20th Septem^r 1781

Dear Sir,

The Legion of the Duke de Lauzun is orderd to join the Troops under your Command in Gloucester County to aid in restraining the Enemy & prevent their collection of Provisions & Stores from the Country. This Service, if you are the superior Officer, you will endeavor to effect by every means in your Power, with out precipitating your Troops into great Danger.

You will be very punctual in your Correspondence with me & communicate every Circumstance that may be of Importance.

I am &c
GW

That same he also wrote this letter to Weedon:

James River 20th Sept^r 1781

Dear Sir

The Duke de Lauzun Comand^r of the Legion of his own Name, will have the Honor to deliver you this—He is an officer of Rank & long standing in the Service of his most Christian Majesty—a Brigadier General in the Army now under Comand of the Count de Rochambeau.

You will be pleased to shew him all that Respect & Attention, that his Rank & Services justly demand.

I am Dear Sir Your most Hble Servt

Go: Washington

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Weedon to Lauzun on September 20, 1781

Gloucester Camp

Sir -

The repeated complaints made by the Inhabitants of Depredations committed by ~~the French troops~~ on their property by the French troops induces me my Dear Sir to request your Interposition in stoping a measure which adds Distress, to the Distressed, and may be the means of Discontent among the Citizens who we no Doubt should protect & Defend. I am sure these things have never reached your Ears, but believe me, the Sufferings of the peacable, and well disposed Country men are great, and alarming. And I do not see how it is to be prevented, but by a total stop being put to the Troops rambling out of Camp. This may be done by a General Order. You will be so good as to Excuse the Liberty I take in writing you on the Subject and requesting your communication to the General.

I am with all Esteem and attachment

Y^r most Ob^t Ser^t

G Weedon BG

Weedon Papers on microfilm M1034.1 at CWF

Weedon Papers from Microfilm at CWF Rockefeller, MS 2014.6

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

23 September 1781

Dear Sir:

Your Letter of the 18th instt came to hand while I was absent on a Visit to the Count de Grasse at Cape Henry, from whence I am just returned.

I am very sensible of your Attention, and am sorry for the Embarrassments you meet with. I hope they will soon be removed.

The Legion of the Duke Lauzun is ordered to join the Troops now under your Command, and you may soon Expect to see them.

I wish you to be exceedingly watchfull upon the Motions of the Enemy on your Side, and to prevent, as much as possible, without risking too much, the Enemys gaining Provisions or Supplies from the Country, and you will be so good as to give me the earliest Information of any important Circumstance that may take place.

The Duke de Lauzun is a Gentleman of Rank and long Service in the Army of France, a Brigadier at the present Time in the Army under Command of the Count de Rochambeau. You will please to shew him all Respect and Attention that his Character demands.

I am &c.

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date): <https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Ware Church – 23 September 1781

Dear Sir,

I had the Honor of addressing your Excellency the 20th since which time nothing material has taken place in this Quarter. Having received Intelligence on the night of the 21st that the Enemy intended a grand Forage, yesterday moved the (the?) Militia Legion at 2 o'clock in the Morning with orders to take a position near Abington Church covering all the Roads leading from Gloster Town and at five marched with three small battalions to support them; Our Patroles of Horse were below the Mile Stone; we remained till near 12 o'clock. Whether the Enemy got intelligence of our being out, or whether my information was not so perfect will not undertake to say. They however eluded us by coming half a Mile up the road from Town, & turning down on the Right Hand, headed Sary's Creek about two Miles from Town & made a small Forage in little Guinea, a Circumstance not known to us till after our Return. The Garrison at Gloster are I understand exceeding sickly. They act very cautious when they come out. Generally a day previous to their moving they give out among the Inhabitants their design of foraging a different part of the County to what they really go to. My weak situation has obliged me to lay before further from them than I could have wished. This Militia Service is perplexing. One third of the men that I found in this Quarter when I took the Command have since been discharged & no reinforcements joined. I shall however attempt another Forage tomorrow (again?) Our appearing in the lower County frequently has had the good effect of keeping the Enemy from coming far abroad. An Officer from the Duke de Lauzun's Cavalry has just arrived. They will join tomorrow by 12 o'clock. [i.e., on 24 September] I have heard nothing of his infantry tho' have an Aide in search of them, who has (directions?) to have them amply supplied should they land in this County. They moment they join intend moving to a more plentiful country about five or six miles below this

I have the honor... (etc)

G Weedon

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6; John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA; also in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Ware Church Sept 25 1781

Dear Sir,

I have the honor of your Excellency's letter of the 23rd - Count D'Arotte at the head of Lauzun's Cavalry, joined me yesterday after (11?) O'clock ; [i.e., 24 September] Mr. Hunter, my volunteer Aide de Camp, will have the honor of delivering you this. I had sent him in search of the Infantry of the Duc's Corps. He returned yesterday without being able to gain any intelligence of 'em, - I take the liberty of introducing Mr. Hunter to your Excellency and of referring him to you for every particular respecting our (slow?) operations on this side, I shall move my camp this morning and take a position six miles below this at a place called Dixon's Mill.

I have the honor to be with
Perfect esteem & respect
Yr Excellency's Most Obd't

G Weedon

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Lauzun's infantry arrived in Williamsburg on September 23 and encamped there. That explains why "Mr. Hunter", sent out by Weedon on the 23rd, returned to Ware Church on the 24th without having found the infantry.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Ware Church 26 Sept 1781

Dear Sir,

I had the Honor of addressing your Excellency yesterday acquainting you of my intentions of moving the Troops (six?) miles lower down. - The cavalry of the Duke's Legion having joined the day before Count D'Arat ?) with Colonel Sheldon & others of my Officers, who were better acquainted with the situation of the country than we were / reconnoitered the Ground thoroughly previously to our moving the Troops.- This I thought advisable as the Country from here to Gloster forms rather a Neck or Tongue of Land accessible in almost every part by Water intersected by Roads leading to every Point. After looking at the intended positions with (some?) attention the Gentlemen were unanimously of opinion we could not take it till our Army was stronger & knowing the Duke's Infantry were coming, advised me to hold my present Ground till the whole was up and until we had a knowledge of your Excellency's movements. - I am sorry I gave your Excellency reason to believe we had advanced which certainly would have been the Case but for the above causes which did not so (force?) weigh with me at first.- We shall in a day or two however be able to advance. The Duke de Lauzun having last Night [i.e., 25 September] arrived in Camp and informed his Infantry will be up tomorrow. [i.e., 27 September] I shall pay the most pointed attention to this distinguished Character & shall embrace every opportunity of improving his advice so far as related to the Service on this Side. - The enemy have never attempted a forage farther than three or four (day?) miles from their Lines since we took this post & we shall dispute with them shortly for our share even at that distance. I have the honor to be with much respect and Regard

Yr. Excellency's Most Obed't.

G Weedon

PS I am this day honored with the Duke de Lauzun's Opinion on the position & am happy it was not occupied previous to his arrival. Have enclosed your Excellency an examination of some Deserters that arrived this night.

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, also in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

Head Quarters Williamsburg Sepr 27th 1781

Dear Sir

I have received your favors of the 25th and 26th together with the examination of the Deserters.

I am now making application to the Count de Grasse for some of the Mariners of the Fleet; should they be landed to assist in our Operations (as I expect they will be) they will then be employed on the Gloster side—in that case an Officer senior to the Duke de Lauzun or yourself will be appointed to the Command, and I have no doubt, you will put yourself under his Orders with great chearfullness.

I am Dear Sir Your Most Obedt Servt

Go: Washington

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

BG George Weedon to Governor Thomas Nelson, Camp Ware Church, 27 September 1781

Dear Sir,

I am honored with your Excellency's Letter 24th Inst., and Camp Ware now have the pleasure of transmitting you the Inspector's return of all church the Militia on this side, as also this morning's return of the Brigade.— By the latter your Excellency will be informed of our Operating Force amounting to 1134. I observe with you, the propriety of not promoting Officers above the Rank they hold in the Line: when I made application for Major Campbell I understood he had been promised the appointment, but suppose my information was wrong.

Col: Innis, agreeable to your wish, is now at the head of the advanced Brigade, consisting of 3 Battalions of Infantry, one of Grenadiers, & Webb's Corps of Horse, consisting of 50. The rest of the Line forms two small Regiments comm'd by Collo's Page & Griffin: we are this day reinforced by the Duke de Lauzun's Infantry, which adds countenance to our little Army on this side.

I had it in contemplation to take post between Dixon's & Burwell's Mills, but on reconnoitering the position, with the Duke do Lauzun & others of his Officers, it was thought hazardous, with our present force. We have however been able to prevent Simcoe from coming far abroad, by appearing frequently in the lower Country.

Deserters come to us every day: they all agree in their accounts of a scarcity of Forage in Gloster. Respecting the impressing Business, I was innocently involved in that disagreeable duty, by your Warrant to Col: Innis, who pressed it on me as Commanding Officer: he wrote the instructions himself & concluded they were your ideas—I had 'not officers to send out & was obliged to detach Sergeants commands, directing them to act in conjunction with the Commissioners of the Counties, that the Col: informed you wished them to go to.

I am with perfect Esteem & respect

Your Excellency's most ob't Serv't."

Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Manuscripts: from April 1, 1781, to December 31, 1781, Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond William P. Palmer., ed., Volume 2 (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), pp. 497/498.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Ware Church 29 Sept 1781

Dear Sir

I am honor'd with your excellency's favor 27th and I am happy to find this (pass) is to be succored with a more respectable body of troops than our present force, for my own part with the greatest cheerfulness take the orders of any senior officer your excellency may please to send here, and I am sure the Duke de Lauzun will also pay the most perfect respect to your wish.

I yesterday made a forage at Abington Church from oats and barley belonging to Colonel Warner Lewis, by that gentleman's desire. The covering party consisted of three Militia battalions of Infantry: were advanced as low down as Seawell's. They were supported by 100 horse from the Duke de Lauzun's Legion with 30 militia dragoons.

While the Waggons were loading the Duke & self reconnoitered the country below and were within a mile of Gloster: the enemy lay quite still and have not been out since the 24th Inst. We had a view of one side of their Works, saw no one on them, and Deserters say they have not worked any for some days – the last forage they made, our parties had a sight of each other. They fired a few field pieces at us, but returned with a small Quantity of Corn that they had cut down in a field near town, not chusing to venture a single Yard after Mr. Simcoe reconnoitered us with his Glass who swore to his people “our Rifle Men were as thick as the stalks in the Corn Field”.- If your excellency has not already pointed out a place for the Marines to debark, I would recommend Mr. Frank Willis's on Ware River. He lives not more than a mile from Mobjac Bay, good navigation and 3 mile from the left of our encampment & 10 from the fleet laying in York River.—

Should your excellency design to push on a regular approach against Gloster, I think it my duty to inform you, we have not an intrenching tool of any sort nor do I believe it possible to get any in this country. For my own part, I do not think it necessary for am well assured when your approaches commence the Post at Gloster will either be evacuated or a rapid push made by all the British Horse to penetrate thro' this county, turn your left, &

throw themselves into N Carolina. This would be hazardous but what will they not attempt in their present situation.

I am made exceedingly happy in the security and support of the Duke de Lauzun and his Corps, a perfect harmony subsists & shall make it my study to improve it.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of esteem and attachment,
Your excellency's Most Obed't Serv't.
G. Weedon

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

Camp before York, September 30, 1781.

Dear Sir:

I have just received your Favor of Yesterday. Last Night the Enemy evacuated their exterior Works, and left us in possession's of Pigeon Quarter and some other Works [The draft has "full possession."] which they had occupied, contracting their Defence near the Town. This Circumstance has created a Jealousy in some Minds similar to what you mention that Ld Cornwallis, may throw himself with his Troops upon the Glosester Side, and endeavour, by a rapid movement, to attempt an Escape. I can hardly persuade myself that this will be his Policy; he ought to be watched however on every point. You will therefore pay the utmost Attention to all their Movements which can fall under your Eye; approachg as near as you can with Safety and prudence, so as not to hazard too much. In Case any Intention of an Escape should be discovered, you will give me the most instantaneous Information, send immediate Notice to the Inhabitants to remove from this probable Rout, all the Cattle and Horses that can be of any Use. And at the same Time, give every Impediment to their March that you possibly can, that I may have Time to throw my Army in their Front.

I am this Day informed that some Troops are crossing the River to Glosesster; whether this is to replace a Corps of Germans which are said to have come from that side Yesterday or for some other purpose I cannot say; three Boats with Men, I saw cross myself.

I am &c.

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<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

To Col. Webb, undated, but filed before 3 October 1781

Weedon orders him to move his troops down to Ware Church but to deploy a troop

“on York River Road to cover your right flank. ... You will take your first position near the Mills in the Neighborhood of the Church till you gain a thorough Knowledge of the Country, after which you will change your Ground as circumstances may point so as to render the most faithful Service to our distressed Citizens. I would recommend it to you that a constant look out at, or in the Neighborhood of Abington Church where the roads Fork (?), from whence the Videts may Patrole as low down as Mr. Terrells. Every kind of Depredation you will make no Doubt for our side prevent, and I have not a thought but by your Execution and Diligence you will be able to Afford such Protection to the Inhabitants as will greatly alleviate their present Exposed Situation.

I am D^r S^r Y^r Ob^d Ser^t

G Weedon BG

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

The day before the Battle of the Hook, Weedon sent three letters to General Washington: one in the morning, one at 3 PM and one at 7:30 PM.

In the first, he mentions a foraging expedition right up to the British lines at Gloucester Point, and mentions posting a company of cavalry at an observation post at Perrin's (Little England), his plans to move his force to Abingdon Church the following day, and his lack of artillery.

Camp Ware Church Octobr 2nd 1781

Dear Sir,

I have the honor of your Excellencies Dispatch 30th ulto. before York. I should have addressed you yesterday, but was on a forrageing Expedition from four in the morning till very late in the afternoon.

The Conduct of the enemy yesterday convinces me their design in continuing at Gloster is nearly to keep a door open. I moved the Legion of Lauzun and Col. Innes's Brig'd Consisting of 3 Battalions and Webb's Horse as a covering party to our wagons. We formed within $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile of Town, drove, or rather scared in their pickets, reconnoitered within 600 yards of their Works, and continued upwards of two hours on the ground. Not a man dare venture out the whole time. We left small parties of Horse to observe their motions and gain Intelligence if possible, they continued so close that could gain nothing from the Patroles. Three Deserters came out on Sunday. They agree in their accounts which Inclose. I have stationed a Coy (company) of Horsemen from Perrin's to Camp. The House stands at the mouth of Sary's Creek, and commands a full view of Gloster, York, and all their shipping. The accn't on Sunday was from a man stationed at that place. The Boats made mention of I fancy were refugees and merchants getting out of York. Every piece of Intelligence shall be immediately communicated.

What gives me reason to believe, that they continue their Garrison at Gloster for certain purposes, is their not risqing a man out of their lines, since our (frastirs?) meet the 24th

Inst. Lord Cornwallis could surely find Business for 800 men more in his lines, were they not continued detached for important purposes & as they do not get an Ounce of Forrage or provisions from the country, what purposes can they be for, but to cover a Crossing from York. I am now happily relieved from any fears of anything independent of the main Army penetrating through this County. As Gen'l de Choisie with his Troops arrived yesterday, & was joined by (400?) men from (Landonne?) at about the same time, shall now advise an instant advance as low down as Abingdon Church which is the nearest Position we can take for want of water. I would beg leave to suggest to your Excellency the propensity of sending some Artillery into this Quarter; we have not a single Field piece to our Troops except two small cannon belonging to the Duke, not more than two pounders.

I have the honor to be
With real respect and attachment,
Yr Excellency's most obd't Serv't,
GWeedon

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA; also in the Washington papers in the Library of Congress.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Weedon (1734-1793)

The day before the Battle of the Hook, Weedon sent three letters to General Washington; one in the morning, one at 3 PM and one at 7:30 PM.

Gloster Courthouse 3 PM Octr. 2nd 1781

Dear Gen'l

The inclosed was intended for your perusal but Gen'l de Choisie wishing to write stoped the Express till he viewed the intended Position in the vicinity of Abington Church, from whence we have only this Moment Returned. The Troops will move down in the Morning. Our strength will be about 2200 Infantry and the Duke's Cavalry, with the militia Horse under Colo. Webb amounting to about (30?). This will be sufficient, I hope to anything short of Cornwallis's main body. We have nothing from the lines today of an interesting Nature. The Lookouts at Perrin's report they discover many more horses thrown down the banks on the York side than were there yesterday. 3 Boat loads of men passed from Gloster to York since morning, and Simcoe's Horse are now kept near the Point. And on the Beach. I wrote your Excellency this morning that the Enemy had not been out since the 24th. But after our return last night, they stole out at dark with some Waggons and loaded them with the green Corn Stalks & all together / from the first Cornfield. Our Patroles of Horse fell in with them about 10 O'clock exchanged a few shot on which they rushed in within their lines.

I have the honor to be
With great respect & esteem
Yr. Excellency's Most Obd't
Servt
Gweedon

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Ware Church October 2nd 1781

Dr. Sir,

One of my lieutenants has this moment returned from Hobday's; (note: at Perrin's/Little England across Sarah's Creek from Gloucester Town) the Enemy this morning sunk a Brig and Schooner loaded with Cannon and Carriages at the salt marshes just below Town. No other Intelligence that can be depended on. He says he saw an Eastern Shore Man that crossed the Bay last Night who said a British Fleet was off the Cape. This I scarcely believe.

I am with much Esteem
& Reg'd
Your Excellency's Most Obedt S
Gweedon

Half after Seven P.M. }

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Ware Church 3. Oct^r 1781

My dear Gen^l

I had the honor to communicate to your Excellency last Night our intention of advancing this Morning & taking a position in the Neighborhood of Abington Church; for the want of Waggons only the first division could be forwarded to day, the rest of the Army move in the Morning. I had Intelligence last Night at 11 oClock of the Enemies being out, & communicated my information to the Duke & Gen^l de Choisie requesting my advance Corps might be supported with Horses – The Duke moved very early & by the Gallant conduct of that distinguished Officer soon supported & in cooperation with Mercer's Grenadiers drove in and totally routed the Enemy.

I have the Honour to inclose your Excellency the General's Letter & have to congratulate your Excellency on the success of this our first allied effort. – To make our Cooperation as deffensive as possible had formed a Light Corps of 2. Battalions of Infantry – one of Grenadiers under the Command of my old Officer Col. Mercer with Webb's Horse; the Whole forming a Brigade under the immediate direction of Col. Innis; Those, I with the polite approbation of the Duke; annexed to his Legion. The rest of the Militia compose the left Wing of Gen^l de Choisie's Army & encamped in Line, are under my Command. – I have done every thing in my power to facilitate our Service & hope we now shall be able to pay such a Mention to this department as meets your Excellency's approbation. – the Enemy have made a practice of passing in their Boats from Gloster 20 Miles in our Rear & plundering the Inhabitants. I have this afternoon detached a Battalion to protect & cover the Countrey & if possible strike them; I hope the designs of the Expectation will be fully answered. – Nothing of Importance from my lookouts today.

I have the Honor to be with respect
& attachment
Your Excellencies

Most Ob^t Serv^t

G Weedon

On the cover is this address:

Public Service

His Excellency

Gen^l Washington
commanding the Allied Army
Camp before
G Weedon BG York

Right underneath is this note:

3 horse Men killed – 11 Wounded Dukes
some Horses killed – Cap^t Dillen Slight W^d

If the ms is turned side-wards 180° on can read these notes:

Camp Ware Church 3^d (one word and three numbers illeg. on copy)
from
Brig^d General Weedon
inclosing one from Gen^l Choiccy
___ing Tarleton on the Gloster Side

I forgot to mention to your Excellency
that Tarlton with his Corps was out, and that
he got dismounted.

GW.

Camp Mass. Feb. 3 1862

from
Brig^{ad} General Wadsworth
inclosing one from Gen. Schoey

by Capt. T. S. ... on the ...
(Ltr)

Adapt to maintain to your Excellency that
South with his Corps was cut, and that
he got dismounted.

Yrs.

3 Mass Men killed - 11 Wounded
some names killed - Capt. ...

Wadsworth

Commanding the ...
Camp ...

J. S. ...

Br. ...

Wadsworth



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Weedon enclosed the following letter by Choisy:

Obre 3th after noon at 2 o Clock

Sir,

I have the hounor to inform you that by our arrival at Saoul's Tavern we have met with the ennemi who was in number about 500 men Cavalry and Infantry, that the Cavalry of the Duc of Lauzun has attaqued them, pierced throug and that we have had a great advantage on them. We can esteem they have 30 Men killed or wounded. The 200 men grenadier Americans who were the only Infantry advanced enough to have part in the affair and who have behaved excedingly well have killed one officer who was at the head of the Infantry of the ennemi. T'is a general report that Tarleton has been wounded. The ennemi have retired to Gloucester and we are quickly in our Camp where I expect you will join tomorrow as we have al. agreed

I have the hounor to be your
Most humble servant,
Choisy

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<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

The Library of Congress erroneously identifies him as “duc de Choisy”, but both the *État Militaire* as well as Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 113/14, identify him only as “de Choisy”.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

Head Quarters, October 3, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Your three Letters of Yesterday are received and I feel myself obliged by your Care and Attention.

Some Cannon are already ordered for your Side of the River.

As Genl Choisey is an Officer immediately under the command of the Count Rochambeau, my Orders in future will pass to him thro' the Count.

I shall be obliged to you notwithstanding to keep a constant Correspondence with me, and to advise me of every Occurrence worthy the Communication.

With much Regard etc

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date): <https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Clermont-Crèvecœur wrote on 4 October 1781: "In reporting the skirmish, M. de Choisy requested that the General assign him several pieces of artillery, but since we were short of men for the siege, the general took a long time to make up his mind. Upon his second request the General detached two of my comrades with two squads and four 4-pounders."

Perron recorded that "on the 5th there arrived for us 4 field pieces with 2 artillery officers and 32 gunners sent by M. de Rochambeau."

See also the entries for Clermont-Crèvecœur and Perron in Appendix 4.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

From General Washington to Brigadier General Weedon

Headquarters before York 4th Octr 1781

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged by the communication of the intelligence which you have this day given me. The information is very pleasing – and the advantage obtained over the enemy – as it gives a noble instance of that bravery & ardor of the allied troops, which has long wished for an opportunity to display itself – so it may, in its consequences, prove very interesting in the course of our operations.

I wish you will be so good as to consult Genl Choisey & determine if there may not a shorter route for your Expresses be found below the Town, under cover of the French ships, than is at present used. I fancy as the ships now lye, the distance may be much shortened by passing the way I mention. As the necessity of frequent and expeditious communications will probably increase - and may be of the utmost importance – it is a matter of great consequence to find out the shortest rout for our Expresses.

I am &c.

GW

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<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Post in Timber Neck Creek October 8th half after 11 o'clock AM

Sir,

Agreeable to your Excellency's direction consulted Genl Choisy on a communication with your Camp. We shall establish two, one by the way of the Fleet which he thinks the most secure, and one from this post, where I write you on my horse – In my Opinion, there is no kind of risque from hence as we have a (fine?) view of the River and can discern any thing Hostile for some distance. The boat will pass from my position with Dispatches from this Camp, over to the Seat of Colo. Williams Digges four or five miles above York. If your Excellency will direct a (swift?) rowing (Patuburger)(Periauger) or Boat to be kept nearly at that place under a small guard and 2 Lt. Dragoons any Intelligence from the two Camps may be communicated in two hours. Nothing of importance since my last. We have had various accounts of my Friend Green's success in the South. I would thank your Excellency, if you have any official intelligence respecting it, to advise me.

Pray excuse this (sevant?) wrote on an old Ch__ in the pines.

I have the honor to be
With great respect and esteem yr Excellency's
most obdt servt
GWeedon

PS If no Vessel can be provided on the other side – three smokes made to the left or above Digges' House will be a Signal for our Boat to go over. GWeedon

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

The present Situation of the Enemy Subjects them to Certain Captivity unless they force a Passage thro Glouster County and penetrate by rapid Marches either to the North or South. I am desired by his Excellency Gen^l Washington to take every previous Precaution, and tho an Attempt of that sort is little to be expected yet Reason Dictates to us to be guarded at all points.

I have therefore to request of you to hold a body of Ax men constantly in readiness, as also a body of Armed men, that in case Lord Cornwallis should throw his Army on this Side york River and force a passage thro the Defenses of this Camp, he may meet with Oposition at every defile in your County by your throwing down Trees, braking up Roads & Bridges, and opposing him wherever you can taking care to drain of all your Stores of every kind upon the first knowledge you have of his advance

I am Sr with perfect
Respect & Esteem

I am D^r S^r Y^r Ob^d Ser^t
G Weedon BG

This circular announcement is dated October 12, 1781

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014.6. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

Camp Seawell's Octobr 13th 1781

Dr Sir,

I am honored with your excellencie's dispatch of yesterday and assure my utmost endeavors to effect what you recommend. I saw the utility of bringing down the River the Privateer Cornwallis and all the vessels from Cumberland and Frazers Ferry some time since, and eight days ago wrote Governor Nelson on the subject, supposing he might by his authority had it instantly adopted. I have this morning sent an Express to Sr. John Payton requesting his utmost exertions among the Kingston watermen; and have also commanded of the Officers of the Militia all their seamen that will turn out Volunteers. There would have been little difficulty in this Business had the Gloster Militia continued with me, but the whole has gone home to a man. Indeed I wish your Excellency may not suppose us much stronger than we realy are in this Camp.

I can assure you our whole Force does not exceed two thousand effective men.

I have wrote to all the County Lieuts. above this to use every means in their power to prevent an escape should the enemy throw themselves on this side York River and force a passage through the defenses of this Camp. My directions to them were, to select a body of (Chuses?) axmen who are to be constantly held in readiness, as also a body of armed men, and upon their first knowledge of the Enemie's advance, they are to brake up the roads and bridges, cut down trees, and defend every pass as long as in their power. In short to do everything that will retard their march. However if we are fortunate enough to get some of the French Fleet above York, there will be little danger of this measure, should Lord Cornwallis be ever so much disposed to attempt it.

I have the honor to be with real respect and attachment, yr Excellency's most Obdt Servt

G Weedon

George Weedon Papers, MS 2014; John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, also in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Captain Samuel Killett Bradford (pre-1761-1793)

Weedon's aide-de-camp to Washington

Gloucester Camp 17 October 9 PM

Dear Sir,

General Weedon being unwell, had retired at sunset about 3 miles from camp till morning. I therefore took the liberty of opening Col Turnbull's letter of this date. The intelligence of to day from deserters are that the enemy crossed over (by the ace(?) that he collected in Town) near 1000 men last night & had delivered out cloathing to their troops, but made no mention of Lord Cornwallis being over in person. The reports from our Hussars stationed at Perrin's House for Intelligence are, that the enemy have been crossing & recrossing the whole day, but it appeared that more went to York than crossed to this side & between 4 & 5 this evening 7 large boats loaded supposed to carry 50 men in each crossed from this side to York.

I sent your letter to Genl de Choisie. Every precaution on this side will be taken & he desired me to inform you should any circumstances of moment come to his knowledge. I am with every Sentiment of Respect and Esteem

Your Excellency's most Obedient and very humble Servant,

Sam H Bradford
A D Camp

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On 16 April 1827 his widow Jane Vermonet (1758-post1843) filed a pension application, see <http://revwarapps.org/w4608.pdf>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

Head Quarters, October 19, 1781.

Dear Sir:

I am extremely apprehensive that if great care is not taken, the Arms and Accoutrements which the British are to lay down this day at Gloucester will be embezzled or exchanged. I shall therefore expect that the strictest Guard may be placed over them from a Corps on which you can depend, the Officer commanding it to be answerable for the number surrendered, untill a Commissary of Stores shall take regular possession of them. In the mean time, let them be put in as secure a place as possible.

I am &c

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<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

Head Quarters 20th Octo 1781

Sir

The Arms Accoutrements &c which were surrendered Yesterday, & which Gen^l D'Choisy informed me are in your Possession, are to be delivered to a Continental Officer charged by Gen^l Knox with their Reception – Other Articles of public Stores will be secured by persons sent from several Departments and I request that you will be so good as to give the every Assistance in your power in the Execution of the Business.

With great Regards & Esteem

I am

Dear Sir

Yours

GW

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Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

George Weedon to Governor Thomas Nelson, 20 October 1781

Camp Sewell's

"D'r Sir,

I am honored with yours of last night, and have given directions respecting the negroes and Refugees, and would request to know what are to be done with them after they are seperated, as there will be no guards here. I also would be glad your Excellency would give some General directions respecting the sick and wounded that will be left here belonging to the British; of whom not less than 1500 will remain— Colo: West's Regiment from Fairfax will take charge of the prisoners that march as far as Fredericksburg, when he is to deliver them over to Genl: Lawson: I have ordered him to store his arms at that place, and would be glad to know how you would have the other arms disposed off. Are they to go to the Different Counties, or are they to be left here in the hands of the Conductor?

I have the honor to be with high esteem
Yr: Excellencies most ob. Serv't.

P. S. I am very certain many of the negroes are secreted on board the vessels—I observed yesterday several waiting on the shore to be set on Board, and immediately sent Sentinels all along the Beach which report that many come down to get off. G. W."

William P. Palmer et. al., eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784.* vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), pp. 560/61.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

From General Washington to Brigadier General Weedon

Head Quarters before York 12 Octo. 1781.

Dear Sir

A small armed french Brig, with some other Vessels, being up the York River, near Westpoint under Direction of Monsr De Camus, which might be made usefull in our Operations, in Case the french Ships should pass above York—Monsr De Camus has applied to me to obtain, if possible, a Number of Men from the Army to assist him on Board the Brig—I have therefore to des[ire], that you will endeavour to obtain a Number of the Militia from your Side, to enter as Volunteers for this Service—which is to continue only during the Time of the Siege, for the Purpose of Securing the Navigation of the River above the Town, protectg their Boats, & keeping open the Communication between our two Camps—and not to be extended below York.

I wish also a Number of Oarsmen to be selected to be put into the Boats which may be in Metappony & Pamunkey Rivers, which are to be collected near West Point—and which, in the Course of Events, may prove of great Importance—One hundred & fifty Men may answer both Purposes.

If the Men can be obtained, you will be pleased to inform Monsr De Camus by Letter at West point and consult Measures with him, to effect the purposes abovementioned—and send an intelligent Officer to have the Boats in the two Rivers collected at the Place most proper for their Security: And in Case the french Ships from below should pass [the] Town of York, you will have the Men imediately employed in the Service proposed, in such Manner, as may be agreed between you & Mr De Camus. With much Regard & Esteem I am Dear Sir Your most Obedt Servant

Go: Washington

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Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

Governor Thomas Nelson (1738-1789)

Governor Nelson to General Weedon

October 21st Camp before York

Sir,

Your Favour of this morning, I have received. The Refugees you have taken may be sent over here & also the negroes, whose masters live south of York River: and you will be pleased to direct some Person to give Passes to such as belong to the north side that they may immediately return to their owners. What we shall finally do with the sick & wounded Prisoners, I have not yet determined. For the present I shall order them to be guarded by the militia of the County. All the Arms, except the Guard Troops are to be delivered to the Conductor of Military Stores-What you observe respecting Negroes secreting themselves on board the Vessels, I had been before informed of & had directed all the Vessels to be searched.

Since writing the above I have thought it proper that the Refugees be paroled, except such as are notorious offenders. You will therefore oblige the least atrocious offenders to appear before the Governor & Council at Richmond on the 20th Nov:—the others you will send here.”

William P. Palmer et al., eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784*. vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), p. 561.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

Brigadier General George Weedon (1734-1793)

George Weedon to George Washington

Camp Sewells Octobr 21st 1781

Dear Sir

Genl Choisy last Night informed me the Horses that were taken belonging to Tarleton's Legion was to be Delivered into my care, & so would be glad your Excellency would inform me whether they are to be sent to the North or South; Many of them are already claimed by the people from whom they were taken by the British Army, be so obliging as to inform whether the former Owners are to be Indulged with their property again, or whether they are to be considered as belonging to the public. a few days before the Surrender, we took a Boat with a Brass Field piece (four pounder) in her Bow. If your Excellency thinks proper I will have her sent to Fredericksburg where she will be subject to your further Orders; there are also two stand of Colours belonging to the 80th Regiment which I would wish your directions respecting. I shall send off all the prisoners that are able to march to day there will however be left in Gloucester 1900 or 2000 Sick and wounded.

I have the honor to be with
Respect & Esteem
Yr Excellencies most obt Ser.

G. Weedon

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

APPENDIX II

UNITED STATES MILITARY, PRIMARY ACCOUNTS

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Pennsylvania Continental Line

Lieutenant William Ball Blackall (1761-1812)

4th [...]

Yesterday evening [Tarlton] with His Con[~~blot~~]ry and some Infantry [attempted to] surprise the [duke de La Luzern] who lay at a[~~blot~~] distance from [Gloster with the french Huz zars and the militia Granadiers] [~~illegible~~] The [duke] charged [~~illegible~~] and [obliged] him to retire immediately himself being wounded and the [officer] who commanded the infantry ^{was} killed and near [fifty privates] killed and wounded — Our [loss] was [three huzzars killed and three] officers and [11 huzzars] of the [Dukes, Legion] wounded all slight His excellency Genl Washington [thanked the duke] and his Legion in the days orders for their [gallant] [behaviour on this] occasion — Several cannon were [fired] by the Enemy [this night and one man] killed.

William Ball Blackall Diary - September 3, 1781 to January 3, 1782.

M200514, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Quoted from

<https://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/view/index.cfm?doc=Manuscripts%5CM200514.xml&highlight=>

The original ms is available here:

<https://research.history.org/CWDLImages/Manuscripts/images/low/M200514012.jpg>

Blackall William Ball was born in Dublin, Ireland, but soon moved with his parents to the backcountry of Pennsylvania. At the age of fifteen, he was commissioned as an Ensign in the 12th Pennsylvania Regiment in 1776. Seeing action at the Battles of Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown in 1777, he was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant and transferred to the 3rd Pennsylvania by the end of 1778. In the Summer of 1781, Lieutenant Ball found himself progressing southward with the amalgamated Pennsylvania Continental Line from New Jersey, arriving at “the college of Williamsburg” on September 4th, and on to Yorktown in support of the allied siege. Ball returned to Pennsylvania in March 1782; he

married Margaret Lesley, aged fifteen, of Scenectady, New York, in 1791. They had six daughters before Ball died in 1812 in Philadelphia.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment

Colonel Richard Butler (1743-1791)

p. 107:

Oct. 3d.—The enemy ceased firing at sun-rise; four men of the picket belonging to Capt. Ray's company were killed by a cannon shot of the enemy in the night. About 10 o'clock began to fire single shot. The ruffian Tarleton, with a body of troops, went to Gloster yesterday; after killing all his poor horses and mounting men on the officers' horses, (who Lord Cornwallis ordered to part with them) pushed out to forage, but fell in with the Duke de Lauzun and his legion, who treated them very roughly, and obliged them to retire to their lurking places with the loss of above fifty killed, wounded and taken. Tarleton himself was rode down by his own men, whose hurry caused them to be very impolite to their commander.

The loss of the Duke was few, not more than six men killed and wounded, with 3 officers wounded. Tarleton had one Captain killed, and several officers wounded. Two of the Reg't Deux Ponts deserted to the enemy, also one Jersey and one Maryland soldier! The Pennsylvania troops for fatigue who finished the redoubts.

25th.—The Count de Rochambeau visited Gloster. The stores still collecting by the Commissioners, and the British and country people stealing. The merchants and suttlers of the British army are this day met with the Quarter Masters, to devise some plan to dispose of the property to the officers of the army.

“General Richard Butler’s Journal of the Siege of Yorktown” *Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries* vol. 8 (1864), pp. 102-112.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: 2nd Partisan Corps (Lee's Legion)

Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee (1756-1818)

When the allies moved from Williamsburgh, general Choise (of the army of count Rochambeau) attended by the infantry of the duke de Lauzun's legion, which had disembarked on the 23d, was detached across York river to take command of the corps in front of Gloucester Point, with orders to stop effectually the supplies still partially collected from the country by the enemy.

General Choise reached on the next day the camp of Weedon, and took the command of the combined troops.

The duke de Lauzun, with his cavalry, had reinforced general Weedon some days before. Joined now by his infantry, and strengthened by a select battalion under lieutenant colonel Mercer, this corps composed (under the orders of the duke) the van of Choise, who prepared forthwith to establish himself close to Gloucester. He was again reinforced by one thousand of the French marines; which, added to the legion of Lauzun (about seven hundred, horse and foot.) and to the militia of Weedon, gave a total of three thousand five hundred effectives. On the evening of the 2d of October, the post of Gloucester was strengthened by lieutenant colonel Tarleton, with his legion and mounted infantry. Lieutenant colonel Dundas moved with the dawn on the morning of the 3d, at the head of a great portion of his garrison, to make a grand forage. The wagons and bat horses were loaded three miles from Gloucester before ten o'clock, when the infantry covering them commenced their return. On the same morning, and at an early hour, the corps of Choise was put in motion, for the execution of his plan of close investiture. Count Dillon, with a squadron of Lauzun's dragoons and Mercer's infantry, took the York river road ; while general Choise, with the main body of his infantry, seconded by Brigadier Weedon, and preceded by the duke de Lauzun with the remainder of his cavalry, moved on the Severn road. These two roads unite in a long lane, nearly four miles from Gloucester, with inclosed fields on each side. Passing through the lane, you arrive at an open field on your right and a copse of wood on your left, lining the road for half a mile, where it terminated at a small redoubt facing the road.

Choise, in his advance, was informed that the enemy's cavalry were in front; and being desirous of striking them, he pressed forward with his horse, ordering Dillon and

lieutenant colonel Mercer to hasten their junction with him. The rapid push of the cavalry left the main body of our infantry far in the rear; Mercer's corps only was in supporting distance.

Dillon, with his cavalry, met the general, with the duke de Lauzun, at the mouth of the lane. The united body of dragoons advanced down the lane, through which the British cavalry had just passed, proceeding leisurely towards camp, to give convenient time for the foraging party's return to Gloucester, when lieutenant Cameron, commanding the rear guard, communicated the appearance of the French dragoons. This was soon confirmed by the approach of our van; upon which the main body of the enemy's horse halted and formed in the wood. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton advanced with a part of his horse upon us, and was instantly charged by the French cavalry, when one of the enemy's horses was wounded by a spear,* and plunging overthrew Tarleton's horse.

* A part of the duke de Lauzun's regiment (called hulans) were armed with spears.

The main body of the British horse pressed forward to support their commandant, but could not force the French dragoons. Falling back they were pursued by our cavalry, and took shelter under cover of their infantry, arrayed in the wood on one side, and along a post and rail fence on the other side of the road.

This line of infantry opened their fire, and Choise in his turn receded, but slowly, and in good order. The infantry pressing forward under cover of the wood, and incessantly delivering their fire, galled us considerably; when the French general discovering the corps of Mercer just emerging out of the lane, threw himself by a rapid evolution into its rear, and faced about to renew the conflict.

Tarleton having rallied his cavalry, hastened up to the infantry, still advancing in the woods, and resting his right flank upon its left, came forward in point of time just as Mercer entered through the lane into the field. Mercer instantly deployed, stretching his left into the woods, and opened his fire upon the horse opposite to his right, and upon the infantry in front of his left.

No regular corps could have maintained its ground more firmly than this battalion of our infantry. It brought the enemy to pause, which was soon followed by his retreat. When Tarleton drew off, the corps of Mercer had expended nearly all its cartridges. Choise established himself on the contested ground, and commenced a rigid blockade of the post of Gloucester, which continued to the end of the siege.

Lieutenant Moir, of the infantry, was killed within a few paces of our line ; besides whom the enemy lost eleven rank and file, as stated by lieutenant colonel Tarleton, who puts down our loss at two officers and fourteen privates.

Choise's infantry not having yet got up, he did not think proper to renew the attack without them, inasmuch as the enemy's whole force might be readily brought to sustain the retreating corps.

General Washington, in his orders of the 4th, speaks in handsome terms of the behaviour of this portion of the allied troops, and returns his thanks to the cavalry of the duke de Lauzun, and to the grenadiers of Mercer, which constituted the whole of our force engaged. Lieutenant colonel Tarleton is extremely mistaken when he supposed that the main body of the investing corps was up. The infantry of Lauzun were the first which approached; they joined in thirty or forty minutes after the enemy retreated, followed by the marines and the militia under Weedon.

[...]

The post of Gloucester, falling with that of York, was delivered up on the same day by Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, who had succeeded to the command on the transfer of Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas to the more important duties assigned to him in the defence of York. Previous to the surrender, Tarleton waited upon General Choisé, and communicated to that officer his apprehensions for his personal safety if put at the disposal of the American militia. This conference was sought for the purpose of inducing an arrangement which should shield him from the vengeance of the inhabitants. General Choisé did not hesitate a moment in gratifying the wishes of Tarleton. The Legion of Lauzun and the corps of Mercer were selected by the general to receive the submitting enemy, while the residue of the allied detachment was held back in camp. As soon as the ceremony of surrender was performed, Lieutenant-Colonel Hugo, of the Legion of Mercer [sic; should read: Lauzun], with his militia and grenadiers, took possession of the redoubts, and protected the hostile garrison from those outrages so seriously, though unwarrantably, anticipated by the British commandant. It would have been very satisfactory to give the reasons which induced this communication from Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, but Choisé did not go into the inquiry, and they remained unascertained.

Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (Peter Force: Washington, DC, 1827), pp. 357/59; the description of the surrender at Gloucester on pp. 371/72.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Mercer's Grenadiers

Lieutenant-Colonel John Francis Mercer (1759-1821)

"Early in September [1781] Gen'l. Weedon, being about to take the command of the troops destined to act against Gloucester, applied to me to accompany him, promising me a command of select militia.

"I consented and Genl. Weedon took post at Dixon's mill about the middle of September, and, soon after, Genl. Choisy joined us with the legion of the Duke de Lauzun and 1000 marines, having now command of 1600 French regular troops and about 2000 American militia." ... "Agreeably to Genl. Weedon's order I had selected from the militia such old soldiers as I could find, who, having retired from the army after the expiration of their terms of service, were now performing their tours of duty with the militia as other citizens. To these I added the most likely young men that volunteered their services, and such young gentlemen as officers as appeared most promising; personally I was acquainted with none of them. Of such material I collected a corps consisting of 200 rank and file, and a proportionate number of officers. Without much relation to size, as a distinction that appeared best calculated to create an esprit de corps, they were termed the Grenadier regiment. After arming and disciplining them in the best manner time and circumstances would permit, they were attached to the legion of Lauzun, the infantry of which did not exceed 350 men fit for duty.

"Until this time I had acted without any commission, but the Court of my native county of Stafford, probably being apprized of the circumstances, recommended me to the Executive, who forwarded me a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel of the militia of that county, but which was not necessary to confer an authority that was never disputed."

Here follows an account of the action before Gloucester of October 2, 1781, the only action in which Mercer's troops were engaged before the surrender of Cornwallis.

He says: "Early in the morning of the 2nd of October, I was ordered with my corps to join Lieut.-Col. Count Robert Dillon, who, with 150 of the Dragoons of Lauzun, was directed to gain the road that led to Gloucester by York River and to move on towards that post, whilst Gen. Choisy and the Duc de Lauzun, at the head of 150 Dragoons, proceeded down the Severn Road in the same direction, followed at a considerable interval by the French and

American infantry, the whole intended to take up a position as near as practicable to the town of Gloucester."

Gen. Choisy overtook the foraging legions of Tarleton and Simcoe, and, as he had no infantry with him, "he requested me to hasten my march by dismounting and setting an example to the corps by running;" which Col. Mercer did, and he soon joined the French Dragoons, who found it necessary to fall back before the British horse. "This they did slowly, with order and firmness, under the fire of the enemy until they found that my corps was just emerging from the lane, when they fell in behind them and faced about to receive the charge of the British horse now formed again and advancing with their infantry in the wood." " My little corps of new troops, which did not exceed 160 rank and file fit for duty, were at first somewhat startled to find the French horse retreating so rapidly by them in the open field, exposed to at least 460 horse of the enemy and a body of infantry in the wood ; and their situation was evidently rendered more critical by having a very high fence in their rear, and the lane they advanced through blocked up by the French horse. However, they were immediately ordered to deploy, so as to push their left flank into the wood, which they did with great celerity and good order, and commenced firing, one-half on the cavalry on the right, and the other half on the infantry advancing rapidly through this wood. The horse of the enemy had approached within 250 yards, and the infantry were not at more than 150 yards distance when the firing began. No regular troops could behave with more zeal and alacrity than this corps of militia. Their spirits had been raised by running them up, and being hurried into action without time to reflect on their danger, they discovered as much gallantry and order as any regular corps that I ever saw in action. Fortunately Tarleton did not like the reception prepared for him, and at a critical moment sounded a retreat, when not 100 cartridges remained unexpended in the regiment." ... "From the fire the corps kept up, Col. Tarleton no doubt concluded them much more numerous than they were, but nothing could excuse his not proving the fact, with his great superiority.

"That night I took possession of the advanced redoubt on the main road with 150 French and 150 Americans, and the French and American troops encamped in the fields on each side of the lane." He resumes: "The siege continued a tiresome, uninteresting blockade on the Gloucester side, without military incidents, except that men were repeatedly and uselessly sacrificed by the French General in idle reconnoitring. The day before the surrender, and when the capitulation had been agreed on at York, Col. Tarleton came out and dined with Gen. Choisy. . . ." Orders were given "that no infantry except that of the legion of Lauzun and my corps should be present at the surrender. We marched for that purpose two miles in front of the camp, and after the arms were piled on the outside of the breastworks, Col. Hugo of the legion and myself took possession of a redoubt, and thus ended the campaign in Virginia of 1781. A few days after Genl. Washington in General

Orders noticed this action of the 2nd, and returned his thanks to the legion of Lauzun and the Grenadiers of Mercer for their conduct."

James Mercer Garnett, "John Francis Mercer, Governor of Maryland, 1801 to 1803." *Maryland Historical Magazine* vol. 2 No. 3 (September 1907), pp. 191- 213; the quote on pp. 199 – 202.

The complete letter that includes the " ... " sections omitted in the account in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* was published as "Lieut. Col. John F. Mercer to Col. Simms" in: Gaillard Hunt, *Fragments of Revolutionary History: Being Hitherto Unpublished writings of the men of the American Revolution, collected and edited, under authority of the District of Columbia Society, Sons of the Revolution* (Brooklyn, 1892), pp. 29 - 62, the quote on pp. 56- 62. The letter is undated but references to President Madison date it to between 1809 and 1817.

SIEGE OF YORK & GLOUCESTER.

The combin'd American and French army under Gen'l Washington & Count Rochambeau having taken their position before York town, & the Count de Grasse having taken his station at the mouth of the river with his fleet, the army of Lord Cornwallis became completely invested on the south side of the river. On the north side, the British held the small town of Gloucester, defended by the legions of Simcoe & Tarleton, cavalry & infantry, a detachment of mounted British light infantry, & the 80th or Edinburgh volunteers, a very strong reg't command by Col. Dundass, the whole consisting of about 2200 effective troops, but to restrain the operation of this body of which a great proportion were cavalry & who forag'd the country in ev'ry direction, no effective American force had been collected as late as the middle of Sept. A few scattering militia & mounted volunteers under the comand of Col. John Taylor of Caroline & who rarely ventured beyond Gloucester Court House, left the lower part of that country very much at the discretion of the British. Early in Sept. Gen'l Weedon being about to take the command of the troops destined to act against Gloucester, applied to me to accompany him, promising me a command of select militia; I consented & Gen'l Weedon reliev'd Col. Taylor, who return'd home after a fatiguing & hazardous tour of duty; Gen'l Weedon being soon reinforc'd by several militia detachments from the Upper counties, took post at Dixons mill about the middle of Sept. & soon after Brigadier Gen'l Choisy, promoted during the seige to the rank of Maj. Gen'l, join'd us with the legion of the Duke de Lauzun, & on the 25th he was farther reinforc'd by about 1000 marines from the French fleet. Gen'l Choisy having now the command of 1600 French regular troops & about 2000 American militia, deem'd himself strong enough to commence operations against the enemy.

Agreeably to Gen'l Weedon's order, I had selected from the militia such old soldiers as I cou'd find, who having retir'd from the army after the expiration of their term of service, were now performing their tours of duty with the militia as other citizens; to these I added the most likely young men that volunteer'd their services & such young gentlemen as officers as appear'd most promising; personally I was acquainted with none of them. Of such materials I collected a corps consisting of 200 rank & file & a proportionate number of officers; without much relation to size, as a distinction that appear'd best calculated to create an esprit du corps, they were termed the Grenadier reg't. After arming & disciplining them in the best manner time & circumstances wou'd permit, they were attach'd to the legion of Lauzun, the infantry of which did not exceed 350 men, fit for duty. *Until this time I had acted without any commission, but the court of my native county of Stafford, probably being apprised of the circumstances, recommended me to the Executive, who forwarded me a commission as Lieut. Col. of the militia of that county, but which was not necessary to confer an authority that was never disputed.*

ACTION BEFORE GLOUCESTER.

Early on the morning of the 2nd of Oct. I was order'd with my corps to join Lieut. Col. Count Robert Dillon who with 150 of the Dragoons of Lauzun was directed to gain the road that led to Gloucester by York river & to move on towards that Post: whilst Gen. Choisy & the Duc de Lauzun at the head of 150 Dragoons proceeded down the Severn road in the same direction, follow'd at a considerable interval by the French & American infantry—the whole intended to take up a position as near as practicable to the town of Gloucester. The interval in which the Dragoons mov'd in advance of the French infantry was soon greatly increas'd, when it was found that the legions of Tarleton & Simcoe were out foraging, & by the anxiety of the French Gen'l & officers to fall in with them. At 10 o'clock some scattering fire was heard in front & and an order came to Count Dillon to advance with his horse [MS. torn] that the legions of Tarleton & Simcoe being over taken by Gen'l Choisy had halted & that as the Gen'l had no infantry with him, he requested me to hasten my march, by dismounting & setting an example to the corps by running; we were not much behind the horse & when we arriv'd within about 3 or four miles of Gloucester, emerging from the wood I found the two roads uniting in a lane in front, of near a mile in extent, a fence on each side enclosing a large open field, on the right & left. On the right were two houses, the first of which we approach'd became afterwards the quarters of Gen'l Weedon, this was contiguous to the lane; the second, at some distance from the lane, became the quarters of Gen'l Choisy. This lane led into an extensive open old field, where the fences dividing to right & left at right angles, seperated the fields on each side from the old field in front. On the left, at the mouth of the lane commenced a wood which running to the left of the main road for more than a mile, terminated in a small advanc'd redoubt, commanding the main road; to the right of this redoubt facing Gloucester appear'd a post & rail fence which

running to the right, at right angles with the road, enclos'd the old field in the rear. In this old field the British horse appear'd to be form'd in line, advanc'd of the redoubt. The dragoons under Dillon passing the lane join'd those under Gen'l Choisy & the Duke at the mouth, —& immediately charg'd the right of Tarleton's line, which broke & gave way, but at the same time the French being receiv'd by musquetry from the post & rail fence in the rear of the British horse, & from the wood in their right, found it necessary to fall back—which they did slowly with order & firmness under the fire of the enemy until they found that my corps was just emerging from the mouth of the lane, when the fire of the musquetry being considerably advanc'd in the wood on their right flank, they made a rapid movement & fell behind my corps into the lane, where they fac'd about & their officers ranged themselves in front to receive the charge of the British horse, now form'd again & advancing in a line with their infantry in the wood.

My little corps of raw troops which did not exceed 160 Rank & file fit for duty, were at first some what startled to find the French horse retreating so rapidly by them in the open field expos'd to at least 460 horse of the enemy & a body of Infantry in the wood & their situation was evidently render'd more critical by having a very high fence in their rear & the lane they advanc'd thro' block'd up by the French horse. However they were immediately order'd to deploy so as to push their left flank into the wood, which they did with great celerity & good order, & commenced firing, one half on the cavalry on the right, & the other half on the infantry advancing rapidly thro' this wood. The horse of the enemy had approach'd within 250 yards & the infantry were not at more than 150 yards distance, when the firing began. No regular troops cou'd behave with more zeal & alacrity than this corps of Militia; their spirits had been rais'd by running them up, and being hurried into action without time to reflect on their danger, they discovered as much gallantry & order as any regular corps that I ever saw in action. Fortunately Tarleton did not like the reception prepared for him & at a critical moment sounded a retreat, when not 100 cartridges remain'd unexpended in the regiment; the British troop left Lieut. Moir dead on the field, within 10 paces of our line, & there ended this action, which Col. Tarleton justly calls a trifling affair, but when he says he only notices it as having been so much misrepresented, I can only say that he has not been more fortunate in his relation than those (whoever they were) of whom he complains. Thus when he says he found the whole French & American Infantry advanc'd to the edge of the wood (if I recollect right, for I quote from memory) it is a shameful misrepresentation; there was not one French or American foot soldier within 2 or perhaps three miles, except this corps of 160 militia : the infantry of the legion of Lauzun first arriv'd, with their field pieces, but they were not on the ground till 30 minutes after the firing ceased. From the fire this corps kept up, Col. Tarleton no doubt concluded them much more numerous than they were—but nothing cou'd excuse his not proving the fact, with his great superiority. That night I took possession of the advanc'd redoubt on the main road, with 150 French & 150 Americans; & the French & American troops encamp'd in the

fields on each side of the lane. The siege continued a tiresome, uninteresting blockade on the Gloucester side, without military incidents, except that men were repeatedly & uselessly sacrificed by the French Gen'l in idle reconnoitring; the day before the surrender & when the capitulation had been agreed on at York, Col. Tarleton came out and dined with Gen'l Choisy; his object seemed to be to represent that his life might be endangered if he surrendered to the militia, & [MS. torn] was so accommodating as to order that no infantry except that of the legion of Lauzun & my corps shou'd be present at the surrender. We march'd for that purpose 2 miles in front of the camp, & after the arms were piled on the outside of the breastworks, Col. Hugo of the legion & myself took possession of a redoubt & thus ended the campaign in Virginia of 1781. A few days after Gen'l Washington in Gen'l Orders noticed this action of the 2d & returned his thanks to the legion of Lauzun & the Grenadiers of Mercer for their conduct; these terms did not satisfy some of my friends on the Gloucester side, particularly Col. Innes who was next in command to Gen'l Weedon & who found however on enquiry that the gen'l orders in that report were but a transcript of the report of General Choisy.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Col. Henry Jackson's 16th Massachusetts Regiment

Dr. James Thacher (1754-1844)

3d and 4th. - [...]

The British are in possession of a place called Gloucester, on the north side of the river, nearly opposite Yorktown; their force consists of one British regiment, and Colonel Tarleton's legion of horse and infantry. In opposition to this force the French legion, under the command of the Duke de Luzerne, and a detachment of French infantry and militia, are posted in that vicinity. Tarleton is a bold and impetuous leader, and has spread terror through the Carolinas and Virginia for some time past. In making a sally from Gloucester yesterday, they were attacked by the French and defeated with the loss of the commanding officer of their infantry and about fifty men killed and wounded, among the latter is Tarleton himself. The Duke lost three men killed and two officers and eleven men wounded.

James Thacher, *Military Journal of the American Revolution from the Commencement to the disbanding of the American Army ...* (Hartford, 1862), p. 280/281.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Virginia Militia

Colonel James Innes (1754-1798)

Colonel James Innes to Governor Thomas Nelson

Camp Ware Church, 24 Sept. 1781


“Dear Sir,

General Weedon is putting into immediate Execution the powers you were pleased to vest me with, to procure supplies of provisions— and I have no doubt but that the Army on the other side will soon feel the beneficial Effects of his Efforts. I am sorry to inform you that yr: Expectations of the strength of General Weedon’s Army far exceed what it really is—The General will, as soon as possible put me in possession of the honorable Command you have thought proper to recommend me to, but the troops in this quarter are so few as not to be competent to the formation of even one tolerably strong Brigade—nor is there a prospect of a speedy augmentation, unless it may be thought expedient to throw over two or three well organized and officered Battalions from the South Side of York River—The Northern Neck Counties are extremely deficient in their quotas, and those few men they have sent forward are quite raw & undisciplined, and diminishing every Day by Desertion. I have done myself the honor to make this Representation of the State of affairs in Gloster, and have not a doubt, but that you will adopt proper measures to give us a speedy Reinforcement; without which we expend rations to no purpose. I have the honor to be, most respectfully

Yr: Excellency’s mo: ob Servt.

Palmer, William P. et, al., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from April 1, 1781, to December 31, 1781*. vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), p. 486.

Sunday this day and Engagement Between the 253
 Brites and our Men Witch held about half an hour
 Both Cannon & Small arms Very Close our men drove
 them in their works and I believe Bagnet them Very
 much By what I could see with my glase Constant a
 firing from Every Quarter the Shipping firing When
 they see our men turning afton their Carts is all
 most under ^{the hill} their men is coming to Gloucester as fast
 as they can over in the flat Bottom Boats to Gloucester
 some as they want to steal amarch they are going
 their acuting. Their horses ^{or} the at York
 Well Witches to the ^{the} States
 they have sunk several of their Shipping



165-13

Intelligence report to Washington from Gloucester possibly reporting the encounter described in Weedon's letter of 29 September 1781 to Washington between Weedon and Tarleton (?)

"Sunday this day", was 30 September 1781. See the letter by Weedon to Washington of 2 October 1781 in which he writes: "I have stationed a Coy of Horsemen from Perrin's to Camp. The House stands at the mouth of Sary's Creek, and commands a full view of Gloster, York, and all their shipping. **The accn't on Sunday was from a man stationed at that place. The Boats made mention of I fancy were refugees and merchants getting out of York.**"

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date): <https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Captain Philip Taliaferro (1735-1790)

Philip Taliaferro to George Weedon

by Express, 3 Oct [1781]

“Sir, A party of the Enemy are now at Mrs. Whitings, and have sent out to collect the cattle and sheep adjacent. there being no one to oppose them, have thought proper to send this information to you & am with respect,

Your most ob’t Serv’t.”

Palmer, William P. et, al., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from April 1, 1781, to December 31, 1781*. vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), p. 523.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Brigadier General Claude Gabriel de Choisy (1723-post 1799)

Obre 3th after noon at 2 o Clock

Sir,

I have the hounor to inform you that by our arrival at Saoul's Tavern we have met with the ennemi who was in number about 500 men Cavalry and Infantry, that the Cavalry of the Duc of Lauzun has attaqued them, pierced throug and that we have had a great advantage on them. We can esteem they have 30 Men killed or wounded. The 200 men grenadier Americans who were the only Infantry advanced enough to have part in the affair and who have behaved excedingly well have killed one officer who was at the head of the Infantry of the ennemi. T'is a general report that Tarleton has been wounded. The ennemi have retired to Gloucester and we are quickly in our Camp where I expect you will join tomorrow as we have al. agreed

I have the hounor to be your
Most humble servant,
Choisy

The note is included in a letter by BG George Weedon to George Washington dated October 3, 1781.

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

The Library of Congress erroneously identifies him as “duc de Choisy”, but both the *État Militaire* as well as Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 113/14, identify him only as “de Choisy”.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

General Orders October 4, 1781:

The General Congratulates the Army upon the brilliant success of the Allied Troops near Gloucester. He requests the Duke de Lauzern to accept his particular thanks for the Judicious disposition and the decisive Vigour with which he charged the Enemy, and to communicate his warmest acknowledgements to the Gallant Officers and men by whom he was so admirably seconded. He feels peculiar satisfaction at the inconsiderable loss on our part, that no ill effects are to be apprehended from the Honorable Wounds which have been received in this affair, and that at so small an Expençe, the enemy amounting to six hundred Horse and foot were compleatly repulsed and Reconducted to their very lines.

The Corps of the Allied Army were the Duke de Louzerns Legion and the Militia Grenadiers of Mercer.

The following is the list of our killed and Wounded, and as far as can be gathered of the Enemies. The Duke de Louzerns Legion had three Hussars killed, Captains Billy Dillon and Dutester with eleven Hussars Wounded (the Officers very slightly), three Horses killed and four wounded.

The Enemys loss in killed and Wounded exceeds Fifty including the Commanding Officer of the Infantry killed, and Colonel Tarlton badly wounded.

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date): <https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

The surrender instructions Washington sent to Choisy from

Head Quarters 19th October 1781

I have the honor with many congratulations to inform you, that One OClock this afternoon is appointed for the delivery of two of the Enemys Redoubts on the Gloucester Side, one to a detachment of french the other to a detachment of American Troops. The Garrison is to march out at three OClock with shouldered Arms, Drums beating a british or German March, the Cavalry with their Swords drawn, and the Colours of the whole cased; to a place which you will be so good as to appoint, in front of the posts, where they will ground their Arms and afterwards return to their encampment.

You will be so good as to communicate this to Genl. Weedon and to make the necessary arrangements, and desire him to take every precaution to prevent the loss or embezzlement of the Arms, &c

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

On 19 October Washington wrote to Choisy from "Camp before York

Sir,

Late this Evening I was honored with your Favr of this date – and without delay & in much haste I inclose you a copy of such articles of the Capitulation as are immediately, & essentially necessary for your Government –

With much esteem and
respect I am Sir
Y^r most obt Ser.
GW

To Brig^d Gen^l Choisy

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Brigadier General Claude Gabriel de Choisy (1723-post 1799)

20th Octob: 1781

Sir

Your excellency's Orders have been put in execution as much as has been in my power, the Colonel Tarleton has delivered all arms and ammunitions &.. in ~~great~~ good Stande, and all this has been committed to the care of the general Weedon. I expect new orders of your excellency.-

I have the honor to be
With the greatest respect

Your Excellencys

Most humble and obedient
Servant

Choisy

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

The Library of Congress erroneously identifies him as "duc de Choisy", but both the *État Militaire* as well as Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 113/14, identify him only as "de Choisy".

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

Head Quarters 20th Octo 1781

Sir

I have received the letter which you did me the Honor to write this morning & am much indebted to you for the Arrangements which you were so good to make relative to the Surrendering Troops –

I have ordered a Continental Officer to go & take charge of the Arms &c and the persons of the several Departments will receive the Effects that Regard them.

I have the Honor to be

&c

GW

To BG Choisy

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Brigadier General Claude Gabriel de Choisy (1723-post 1799)

Gloucester 22th octob 1781

Sir

The letter your Excellency have honor'd me, I have received this moment by the Colonel temple and I have not hears as yet from the quarter master general whom I expect with great impatience Since the few husaren who wait upon the horses are scarce able to do it.

the Colonel Temple did not chuse to pick the six horses out among Tarleton's horses, he is gone forward to run after the officers who are already in march the Cap^t Toussaint sent by the general Rochambeau for the same object ist now chusing them and this or other shall be delivered to the man charged by your excellency to carry them to York.

I have the honor to be with
great Respect
your Excellency's

Most humble and obedie
Servant

Choisy

Colonel Temple was Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Temple of Colonel Stephen Moylan's 4th Legionary Corps (formerly the Fourth Regiment of Dragoons).

Captain Toussaint was Laurent Toussaint of the hussars of the First Legion of the *volontaires etrangères de la marine* who had come on the fleet of the *comte* de Grasse to Yorktown.

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date): <https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

The Library of Congress erroneously identifies him as "duc de Choisy", but both the *État Militaire* as well as Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 113/14, identify him only as "de Choisy".

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Continental Army

General George Washington (1725-1799)

22d Octob 1781

Sir

The Quarter Master General is authorised by me, to take charge of all the horses Captured at Gloucester, as part of the public property which falls under this department. I request that you will be pleased to give positive orders to prevent the exchange or release of any of them; and in case any horses have been inadvertently removed by either means, that you will be so good as to direct how they may be most easily recovered. I ask your pardon for this trouble, and am with great esteem and regard

Sir

GW

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

APPENDIX III

UNITED STATES AND HUSSAR PENSION CLAIMS

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Fairfax County Militia

Private Edward Abbey (1750-?)

I was at a place called as near as I can recollect Tapham [probably Tappan NY] when General [Benedict] Arnold deserted West point [25 Sep 1780] & Major Andre was taken [23 Sep; hanged at Tappan on 25 Sep]. We then returned to Lancaster Pennsylvania where I was discharged; my term of service having expired; I was discharged without receiving pay for the last thirteen months of my time which I have not yet received or any part thereof. I afterwards went in the militia to the seige of Lord Cornwallace & was on the Gloucester side of the river when Col Tarlton delivered up the fort

Abbey, Edward

1829 Pension Application S 34621. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private Francis Adams (1752-1837)

I Francis Adams of the County of Mercer and state of Kentucky do hereby state on oath that I enlisted in the continental line of the army of the revolution in June of the year 1780 as a Private soldier and was attached to the Regt of the duke DeLutzen under the command of Genl LaFayette and aided in the capture of Lord Cornwallis. That I enlisted for and during the war and continued as a faithfull soldier to the end of the war having taken the oath of allegiance to the U. States That I came to America with count Rochambeau in June 1780 and was placed under the command of Genl La Fayette in Virginia previous to the siege of York and capture of Lord Cornwallis, and at the close of the war I was a private in the s'd Regt

On 13 August 1832 he added to his application:

I Francis Adams state that I am now 81 years of age and a resident Citizen of the united states in the revolutionary war and in July 1780 at the White Plains I enlisted as a soldier during the revolutionary war and was appointed Trumpetter in Capt Erlangs company and in May 1781 I marched from the white plains to Philadelphia, Alexandria & was there attached to Col Washingtons horse and then marched to Little York where I aided in Capturing Lord Cornwallis and after he was taken we marched to Charlotte court house where we were stationed and after the war closed I was Discharged in Fauquier county Virginia where I resided until the year 1791 when I removed to Kentucky and settled in Mercer County.

Adams, Francis

1830 Pension Application W 8313. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Adams' obfuscating of his service record was successful. Veterans who had served with the French forces were not eligible for a pension, but his widow was awarded \$120 per year "for 2 years service s a trumpeter in Capt. Eslong's Co., Col. Washington's Regt."

“Capt. Eslong” is Captain Henry Esclent, commanding officer of the First Squadron of Hussars. Born in Liège in the Austrian Netherlands, modern-day Belgium, in 1733, he began his military career as a dragoon in the Légion Royale in 1751, became a lieutenant in June 1762, and transferred to the Royal Dragoons in 1776. After 27 years of service he became a captain in the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* in September 1778 but transferred to Lauzun's Legion in March 1780. Promoted to Major on 1 March 1784, he died in 1786.

Though the squadron had two trumpets, no musicians are identified in the contrôle of Esclent's 1st Escadron of Hussars, neither is there a hussar by the name of Francis Adams.

The pension application is virtually identical with the application by George Philips S31908.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Robert Anderson (1761 - ?)

At the siege of York he was attached to a Regiment of Grenadiers commanded by Colonel James Mercer as well he now recollects. A few days before the surrender of Cornwallis, he was transferred to the Gloucester side of the River, his immediate company in the Grenadiers if he is correct was under Captain Thomas Hungerfort. As to the investment of Yorktown & the surrender of Cornwallis to General Washington, applicant situation as a soldier did not afford him the opportunity of knowing much of the plans & operations of the American Generals & the commander in chief so as to give a very accurate account of the siege, he was on the Gloucester side of the River where he thinks the whole brigade was commanded by General De Choise a French General & even in this he is not entirely clear from his own knowledge, being here situated the private soldier knew but little of the transactions in the Main Army on the South side of the River.

Robert Anderson

1832 Pension Application W 28. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private William Armstead (1758-1836)

In 1781 he was called to go to Williamsburg under Capt. John Billups by order of Col. Boswell, when the British came up the James River. They marched to Gloucester C.H. and heard that the British has retreated so returned home. He served a month. He was called out with all the Gloucester Militia to go to Gloucester Towne under the same officers and marched to Hubbard's Old field, then to Seawell's Old field and then to Gloucester Towne and was in a severe engagement and served three months in 1782. In 1782 I was called out under Capt. Peter Barnet to go to point comfort on the account of some British Vessels laying of in the bay by an order of Coln. Boswell on that tower of duty I served six weeks in the same year called out in like order at the same place under the same officers and served a tower of duty one month all those above towers of Duty I served as a private when the British were up James River and marched to Gloscester Court House in hereing that the British had retreated we stopped there and returned back again I served on that tower of duty one month in the same year I was called out when all the Gloschester malitia were called out to go to Glocester town under the same officers and marched to Hubbard's Old field and there we was stationed a little while and then marched to Seawell's Old field and then marched down to Glosester town where we had a very severe engagement on that tower of duty I served three months

Armsted, William

1834 Pension Application S 12001. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Goochland County Militia

Private Alexander Aston (1765-?)

On the 11 June of the same year [1781] Cornwallis passed his father's house in Goochland, & they were all soon called out again. He then again entered the service early in July under Colonels Taylor & Innis. They marched to Richmond from thence to New Castle on Pamunkey River. From there about 700 men were taken as a detachment under Taylor & Innis, & he was among the number. They crossed York River & went into Middlesex & Gloucester Counties, & were there engaged in clearing the country mostly by night for some time to keep the enemy in check & secure the citizens from their marauding & foraging parties. They were then under the command of Genl Weden. They continued in this duty till the expiration of their engagement of three months. They were then regularly discharged & returned home.

Aston, Alexander

1841 Pension Application S 2927. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private John Barnes (1749-?)

he the said John Barnes came to the United States in the month of June 1780 as a private of Hussars in the French army under Count Rochambeau, and was received by Gen'l. Washington at Newport, Rhode Island, and then and there joined the American Army under his command, that he continued to serve in the American Army as a Hussar of the French Auxiliaries until after the capture of Cornwallis where he was wounded that after this event the American Army returned to the North and at Wilmington in Delaware he this declarant received his discharge from the French Service and retired altogether from the army until after the peace of 1783, since when he has served in various corps of the army 24 years. That the period of service in the revolutionary war about two years of continued & uninterrupted Service. That he is in reduced circumstances and stands in need of assistance from his country for support, and that he hath no other evidence now in his power of his said services.

No soldier by that name has been identified among the hussars in Lauzun's Legion.

Barnes, John

1818 Pension Application S 44313. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private Benjamin Beasley/Beasly (1762-1841)

That he entered the service of the United States a year or two before the capture of Cornwallis, being then a resident of the County of King & Queen in the State of Virginia, under Capt. John Pollard of the same county in regiment commanded by Col Lynes [perhaps William Lyne] of the same county. He was drafted into the service and marched to Williamsburg in Virginia, was in a Skirmish with the British in the County of Gloster near Little York. He served three months on this tour. He was again drafted some time after and marched under Capt. James Fogg & Col Coleman both of King and Queen County of Virginia where he still resided to Hampton in Virginia & was in a skirmish with the British at that place. He served three months more on this tour. He was again drafted a short time before the capture of Cornwallis and marched under Capt. Pollard again from the County of King & Queen where he still resided. He was at Little York during the whole siege of the place saw Genl. Washington when he arrived and took command and heard one particular order given by the General when the surrender took place, that the Americans should behave with moderation and not manifest any triumph.

Beasley (Beasly), Benjamin, filed by his widow Rachel Beasley
1832 Pension Application W 3757. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land
Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records
Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Corporal Charles Bettisworth (Bettsworth) (1761-?)

about the first of August in the year 1781 he was drafted in the Virginia Militia to go against Cornwallis' army he states that on the day of the draught they were ordered to march to & hold their rendezvous at Lovells ordinary in King George County which they did and their Company placed under the command of Captain Robert Yates his Lieut was named Alexander. he was there appointed by his Captain a Corporal they were marched for Gloucester Court house Crossed the Rappahanock River at Leedstown & through Essex and Middlesex Counties at Gloucester they joined the army his Colonel was [William] Campbell by whom he was appointed fogleman [soldier posted as a model for others during drill] to the regiment his brigade was Commanded by Gen'l. Weedens. They were marched down the Country and lay at a mill for some time the name of which he has forgotten from there they were marched against the British at the Siege of York. Gen'l. Weedens Brigade was stationed at Gloucester town and there the applicant continued during the siege performing the duties of a soldier & corporal He states that he does not think there were any regular troops stationed at the encampment on the Gloucester side but French and he did not learn the names of their officers. he states that there was a company of Militia Grenadiers formed who were commanded by Colo. Mercer of Virginia. He states that during the siege he had in common with that brave army many trials and hardships to endure they were poorly supplied with provisions, were very sickly & almost continually on Picket Guard and constant watching. He states that during the siege the British made a sortie & with about 300 horse and a regiment of infantry approached the American lines Weedens Brigade was put in motion to meet them & marched forward with two small field pieces to oppose them but while marching they were passed by about 40 French Dragoons some mounted Militia and Mercers Corps of Grenadiers who dashed forward in advance of the army encountered them and put them to flight killing their colonel &c & taking 2 of the Queens Rangers prisoner before Weedens brigade got near enough to take part in the engagement. He states that his company with himself was part of a corps sent in the night to surprise and take the British Fort on the Gloucester side the Corps was commanded by some French officers and the corps having the darkness & silence marched within gunshot of the fort were discovered to the British by the accidental firing a some militia soldiers gun the fort opened their guns on them and they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat much to their regret but after the surrender & they had an opportunity of examining the manner of its fortification they were glad that it terminated as it did for their reception would have

been bloody and greatly destructive if not fatal He states that he remained faithfully and actively engaged in the service until the British surrendered assisted sometime in Guarding them there and on the road to Gloucester Courthouse but being sick was discharged by the officer of the Guards Verbally near Gloucester Courthouse Verbally but if he then knew the name of the officer he has since forgotten it as the proceedings of the army were carried with much irregularity in the midst of the general rejoicing he states that this was about the last of October and that on this campaign he served fully 3 months and was a Corporal & fogleman during the time as stated above.

Bettsworth, Charles

1832 Pension Application S 32117. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Thomas Blacknall (1760-?)

This affiant returned home & continued there until Cornwallis marched into Virginia [8 May 1781]. He then turned out as a volunteer in Gloucester County in a company of Grenadiers, whilst Cornwallis was at York Town. He was under the immediate command of Colonel [Hugh] Mercer, & during the siege of York a part of his time he was stationed on the opposite side of the [York] River to prevent the escape of the enemy in that direction. During this tour he served six months – He knows of no person alive who can testify to any part of his services.

Blacknall, Thomas

1832 Pension Application S 46023. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Mecklenburg County Militia

Private Thomas Brandom (1746-1834)

In the month of August in the year 1781. (day of the month not recollected) the said Thomas Brandom was again detailed to march into the service under the command of Colo. Lewis Burwell, Colo. Samuel Dedman, Capt Elijah Graves, Capt Achillias Jeffries and Capt Thompson Fowlkes, he marched to Hog Island on James River in the State of Virginia, and there crossed the said River, and from thence marched to Williamsburg in the state aforesaid, and from thence he marched to Gloucester county in the state aforesaid, and was stationed in Gloucester county aforesaid under the command of General Wedern when Corn Wallace surrendered at york town, he received a discharge from the service the last of October in the same year, after having served a tour of more than two months, his discharge has been long since lost.

Brandom, Thomas

1833 Pension Application W 4643. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

The 1830 federal census of Mecklenburg County records Thomas Brandom as head of a household of "Free Colored Persons."

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King William County Militia

Private Enoch Breedon (1759-1841)

That he was born in Maryland in the month of January 1759 and is now in his 74th year. That his Father removed himself and his family to Virginia when this affiant was about seven years of age. That he enlisted in Charles City County, when the revolutionary war commenced. That his father having entered the Continental army at the beginning of the War, (from which he never returned,) this affiant and his mother, removed to King William County, where two of his brothers resided. That he entered the Virginia Militia, in King William County in the summer of 1776 [...] They crossed York river at White house ferry, in the month of August as well as this affiant recollects, where they joined General Weedon's army. They were then marched down to Ware Church in Gloucester County where they were joined by the French Horse under Duke Lauzan — Those troopers all wore large mustachios on their upper lip, and very large whiskers. — lower down they were joined by a large body of French Infantry – At Seawells near Gloucester town, the Duke Lauzens horse, who were in advance, had a skirmish with the enemys horse, and beat them back to their entrenchments — This affiants regiment was not in the engagement, but was encamped on the battle ground immediately after, where it remained with the army blocking the british who were in Gloucester town untill their surrender.

Breeden Enoch

1832 Pension Application S 1747. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private George Brooks (17??-1791)

[On 13 Mar 1837] We Isaac Smith [S11427] and William Morgan [S7246] do upon Oath testify & declare [...] In 1781 he was again called into service under command of Capt. Barnes, when all the Militia of Gloucester County was and marched to Gloucester Ct. House: thence to Hubbards old field, thence to Ware Church: thence to Sewels old field, where he remained some time thence to Gloucester Town where a battle was fought in all of which he served about three months, that he was engaged in several skirmishes while on duty at New Point & that at all of the places specified we served with him.

William Morgan and Richard Hurst (S9593) on 21 Sep 1836, and George Callis (W14444) on 7 May 1837 confirm this statement.

Brooks, George

1836 Pension Application W18665. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Robert Brooks (?-?)

In the July following (viz 1781) the precise day I don't recollect, in consequence of a draft, I entered the service again, in Capt Stephen Mabreys company, in Col. Lewellin Burrell's Regiment, attached to Gen'l. Weeden's Brigade; shortly after we got into service, our Regiment stood a draft at Gloucester C House, Virg, as I understood it for the purpose of filling up, and completeing a Regiment of Regulars – or Grenadiers; I was drafted or picked out for that purpose, and the Regiment now complete was commanded by Col. Mercer. Still in Mabrys company he being the oldest captain, We then marched to Gloucester Town, in which Col. Tarlton and his command were forted, immediately opposite to York Town in which Cornwallis had defenced himself, We lay here under the command of General Washington until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis which according to my recollection was on the 18 day October 1781 – and so it was generally counted by the soldiers although it has been represented in history to be one day later; The British fleet or vessels was blocked up in York river, by the French fleet who stretched themselves across the river below; after the capitulation I was sent in Capt Mabrys Company to guard the prisoners; The British were sent in the back country to Winchester as I understood, and I went to Richmond Vir, to carry some Tory prisoners, at which place Mabrys Company was discharged about the first of November 1781– I was in actual service this tour three and half months....”

Brooks, Robert

1833 Pension Application S 10422. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private Lewis Bruch (1756-1826)

that he came to the United States with the French Troops in the year 1780 – to the best of her recollection, – that the said Ludwig, or Lewis Bruch was a Soldier in the French Army, under the Command of General De Loussan, that the Regiment to which he belong'd was commanded by Coll. Delong, and that the Company to which he belong'd, was commanded by Capt'n. Miscosky, – that when the French Troops departed for Europe from Wilmington State of Delaware the said Lewis Bruch remained in the U. S. that she is certain that he continued in the French Service, until the troops returned to Europe

Bruch, Lewis (filed by his widow Catherine)

1838 Pension Application R 1440. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

“Capt'n. Miscosky” was Jean Quirin Mieszkosky, *capitaine commandant* of the Second Squadron of Hussars. Born in Karaczewa in Posnan/Posen (Poland) in March 1744, he joined a Polish regiment in 1761, from where he transferred to the Conflans Regiment of Hussars in 1766. A captain in the volontaires étrangers de la Marine in November 1778, he served in Lauzun's Legion until his promotion to Major in the Colonel-Général Regiment of Hussar on 12 July 1789. Promoted to Maréchal de Camp or Brigadier General on 20 September 1792, he was suspended on 30 September 1793, retired on 7 May 1795, and died in February 1819.

The *contrôle* of Lauzun's Legion identifies Louis Brouk as a hussar from Saarbrücken, age 23, who enlisted in the Second Escadron of Hussars on 2 July 1779 and deserted on 30 April 1783.



Be it known, That on the day of the date hereof, before me, JOHN GOODMAN,

Notary Public for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, residing in the Northern Liberties, in the County of Philadelphia, by lawful authority duly commissioned and affirmed, and by law authorized to administer Oaths and Affirmations, Personally appeared Maria Meyer the wife

of and relict of John Meyer late of the County of Philadelphia
doe & relict of John Meyer late of the County of Philadelphia
doe: aged twenty nine years - resident in the Northth Liberties
County aforesaid, who being duly sworn according to Law, it is de-
posed & say, that she well knew Ludwig Bruch in his life time
that he came to the United States with the French Troops in the
year 1793 - to the best of her recollection, - that the ^{wife} Ludwig or
Lewis Bruch was a Soldier in the French Army, - under the Com-
mand of General De Loupian; that the Regiment to which
he belong'd was commanded by Genl: De Long, - and that the
Company to which he belong'd, was commanded by Capt. Mies,
cook, - that when the French Troops departed for Europe from
Wilmington - State of Delaware, the said Lewis Bruch re-
mained in the U. S. that she is certain that he continued
in the French Service, until the ^{troops} returned to Europe, that she
will know Catharine the widow & relict of the said Lewis
Bruch, that she knew her for two years, before her intermarri-
age with Lewis Bruch, that her maiden name was Catharine
Hartman, - that Lewis Bruch had been in the Employ of
deponents husband, who also was a Blacksmith by trade, that
the said Lewis Bruch having commenced Business for him-
self was about the same time married as aforesaid, and that
he lived with his wife during the remainder of his life &
at his death left several children behind - Deponent further
saith, that she was not present at his intermarriage, but
was at his funeral & further saith not.

I certify that Maria Meyer is a credible Witness.
J. Goodman

Maria Meyer
Mark

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my Hand and
affixed my Notarial Seal, at Philadelphia aforesaid,
the tenth - day of September 1838.

J. Goodman N.P.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Mecklenburg County Militia

Private William Burnitt (?-?)

he was drafted under Colo Burrel [sic: Lewis Burwell], Major Street was marched to Gloster courthouse where he was put under Capt Jeffries & Major Cary who commanded the infantry was encamped on the Gloster side, remained there during the whole siege of York Colo Tarlton was encamped on the same side of the river. The larger part of the British and american army were encamped on the York side Cornwallace surrendered at york – Washington and Lafayette comanded the American & french forces, The french Grenadiers encamped on the Gloster side. [...] A french officer was with me at york town who was called the french Duke but I do not recollect his name. Major Card commanded the infantry to which I belonged at York. Genl Washington & Layfayette were also preasent at York I do not recollect any continental or malitia regiments by any particular name, except Major Carys Infantry and the French grenadiers

Burnitt, William

1832 Pension Application S 1645. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Culpepper County Militia

Private James Bush (1759-?)

We marched up the [Pamunkey] River about forty miles to Ruffin's ferry [near Sweet Hall] where we crossed a the river – and then we turned down the river, going through different counties and were marched to the Town of Gloucester. On this march we went through King William & King & Queen & King George Counties, through the Draggon Swamp and Chickahominy swamp into Essex County where we stayed a few days – and then we marched within nine miles of Gloucester and were there stationed – and were there joined by the French troops – and thence we marched to Sewen's fields near Gloucester within a half mile of said Town and there we found the British and were engaged in a skirmish in Sewen's field with the British, at the lower end of the field next to the Town – Gen'l. Fayette was there in the command. I remember that Col [Alexander] Dick was also an officer –and then the siege of York commenced [28 Sep 1781] and I continued in said service during said siege until the surrender of Cornwallis [19 Oct] and after the siege was over we were marched back to Gloucester Court house, having the charge of the British Prisiners, and there I received a written discharge from Capt George Waugh which I since lost.

Bush, James

1833 Pension Application S 1176. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Mecklenburg County Militia

Private Joseph Butler (1758-1843)

In the month of August in the year 1781 he was again drafted as a private and detailed to march to the lower part of Virginia under the command of Col Lewis Burwell & Capt Thompson Fowlkes. he marched to Hog Island on James River and there crossed the said River and marched to Williamsburg in Virginia, and from thence he marched into Gloucester County in Virginia and was then stationed under the command of General Weder at the time that Corn Wallace surrendered at York Town he received a discharge from the service in Gloucester and returned home the last of October in the same year.

Butler, Joseph

1833 Pension Application W 3384. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private George Callis (1762-1841)

He was under Captain Philip Tabb, George Bullups Ensign and Colo. James Baytop. He cannot recollect the exact time when he entered the service he was not on the muster list when Lord Dunmore came to Gwyn's Island [Gwynn Island, Dec 1775] but he was called out soon after, he out there off and on until the seige of York he left the service after this seige about October 1781 he was in a little skirmish at one Culleys plantation lying on Horn harbour where he was keeping guard. a family was moving and the British [illegible word] pursued a little vessel and fired upon them his party saved the vessel [...]

For one month I served under Capt John Billups at Gwynn's Island Cricket Hill near Gwynn's Island we were ordered out by Colo Peyton – For twenty one days I served in Lilley's neck on guard under the same officer called by like order – by order of Colo Peyton Commandant of Gloucester county, twenty five men were to be drafted to stand guard on Pepper Creek, I was one of them and served there one month – by like order I was drafted to go to little York and served there two months under Capt John Billups I volunteered under Capt Philip Tabb to go to Richmond, we went to Williamsburg, James Town and other places around there, when the British came down James River, I served on that tour three months, Capt Tabb was a Capt of our regiment and the number of men was made up by order of the Colo. we joined the main army at Williamsburg, when the British came to little York the whole militia of Gloucester County was called out. I was in John Billup's company and went out with the company. I think it was about June 1781, I served on that tour three months – during the periods mentioned herein I was in actual service as a private militia-man all the time and was not engaged in any civil occupation.

The Affidavits of Richard Hurst and William Digges state that “they think that George Callis is as old as he has said in his declaration that he is – he was with these affiants on duty at Williamsburg, James Town, Hubbard's Old field, Ware Church [near Gloucester] Seawelle's Old field and Gloucester Town. These affiants have heard the declaration made by George Callis this day and believe that he served fully as long as the periods mentioned therein.”

George Callis

1832 Pension Application W14444. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private William Callis (1765-?)

I entered the service in 1780 by an order of Sir John Payton Col'n. to Holder Hudgens Capt. [sic: Capt. Houlder Hudgins] to enroll me I was called out to Cricket hill and served a tower of duty for three months in 1781 I was called out in like order at the same place under the same officers and served a tower of duty for two months in the same year, called out when all the Gloscester malitia was called out to go to Gloscester town I marched to Gloscester Court house and from there to Hubards Old field then marched to Sowell's Old field and then down to Gloscester Town where we had a very severe engagement on that tower of duty I served three months [...] the reason I was called out to go to Gloucester-town C Wallis was at Yorktown with his fleet and we marched down to drive them off when we had a very severe engagement we left some men at the guard House at Cricket Hill to guard that place

Callis, William

1834 Pension Application S 16683. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Captain Gibson Cluverius (1740-1789/91?)

The affidavit of Thomas Hogg [pension application S5566], of the county aforesaid, in the state aforesaid, taken this 1st day of November 1850, before me Joel Hayes, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county aforesaid: The said Thomas Hogg, being duly sworn, deposes and saith, that he was Ninety years old the 22nd day of January last: That he knew personally and well Captain Gibson Cluverius, of the said County of Gloucester, both during the Revolutionary War and after [...]

That during the year of the Seige of York, the company of the said Cluverius was ordered from Williamsburg to the neighbourhood of Gloucester Town, in this county, where it was stationed and in actual service for six months more: That during the three last mentioned tours, to wit, at Williamsburg, Gloucester Town and at the mouth of York River, the said Gibson Cluverius was in actual command of his company: That while we were stationed near Gloucester Town, a slight skirmish took place between some companies of Light Horse, in which two British & one horse were killed

Cluverius, Gibson (his widow Susan Loury)

1850 Pension Application W 8061. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Essex County Militia

Private Thomas Coghill (?-?)

thence we marched to Hubbard's old field in Gloucester County va, thence to Gloucester Court House & thence to Sowel's Tavern in the same County. Here we met the enemy and had a skirmish with them and Cornett Jones was taken prisoner, and Lee Roy Dangerfield was appointed in his place. About two miles from Sowel's Tavern we had another skirmish with the enemy and forced him to retire into Gloucestown on York river. Myself, Lewis Evans & Richard Kay, were taken prisoners in this engagement, & were carried by the enemy to York Town, where they detained us one night & then put us in the prison ship, in which we were kept till the surrender of Corn Wallis in October 1781 [see Hughes 1832]

Coghill, Thomas

1833 Pension Application S 15785. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Lunenburg County Militia

Ensign Henry Cook (1759-?)

Then marched to Yorktown and after remaining on the York side for some time crossed the Little York River and was stationed on the Gloucester side under the command of General Weeden and remained there until the surrender of Cornwallis. After he had surrendered two companies were detached to take all the property belonging to the Americans which the British had taken from them, in one of which companies he served and took upward of six hundred Negroes from the British and put them under guard in the fort on the Gloucester side.

Cook, Henry

1832 Pension Application S 3181. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private John Cox (1764- ?)

That he entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as herein stated that he entered the Service in the Virginia Malitia on the first of September seventeen hundred & Eighty one that he entered the service under the comand of Captain William Gatewood and that shortly after he entered the service he was taken into a granidier Company commanded by Col. Mercer he further states that the troops that he served in was commanded by General Weeden, and that he lived at the time he entered the service in Essex County Virginia and that he was drafted to serve two months in the Virginia Malitia and that he marched threw King Queen Counties and into Middlesex County from thence to Glocester and that he served a bout two months

Cox, John

1832 Pension Application R 2405. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private Armistead Culley (1758-?)

in 1781 I was call out when all the gloucester Militia was called out to go to gloscester town on account of Conwallis having possion of yorktown and marched to ware church and then to the court house and then to Tuerls ould field where we was stationed for some time and then marched down to gloscester town where we had a very severe battle

Culley, Armistead

1836 Pension Application S 8270. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private William Digges (1760-1841)

when lord Corn Wallice came to little York on the 3rd day of July 1781 [1 August 1781] I was called out with the Gloucester militia in Captain Robert Gayle's company to Hubbard's Old field, from thence we marched to Seawells's old field and continued at G. Town which is close by, during the seige of York, when we got on the enemy's line we were put under General Weedon. I served on this tour three months as a private militia man. I do not recollect the number of the regiment to which I was attached but it was the regiment of militia for the county of Gloucester commanded by Colo Sir John Peyton

Digges, William

1832 Pension Application S 8327. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private John Dobson (1761-?)

That he entered the service of the United states under the Command of Captain John Camp of the Virginia Militia in the County of Gloucester and state of Virginia at the age of Sixteen years and served under him, Capt'n Gipson Cluverius & others, from time to time, from the year 1777, until after the Surrender of Corn Wallis at Yorktown He served at one time Continuously in WmsBurg and at the magazine a few miles from that place at least Six or Eight months, and was the greater part of that time engaged in moulding of bullets. At the time of the Surrender of Corn Wallis which occurred the 19th of October 1781 the Company to which he was attached was stationed at Perrin's on the eastern side of Sarah's Creek, not far from Gloucester town watching the movements of the British forces at that place That he served in all at least three years, and was never in any regular action, but in two smart skermishes, one at Perrin's and another a few miles above Gloucester town, (near Sewellen's) Belonging to the state militia he was at all times liable to be called out

Dobson, John

1832 Pension Application S 8348. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Loudon County Militia

Private Walter Elgin (1756-?)

At Gloucester our Regiment was attach'd to the French Troops but I cannot recollect the names of any french officers. Our Company rec'd its orders thro' Col. West. — I continued to do duty as commanded, and one night march'd with a body of troops to storm Gloucester — we lay on our arms all night — the place was found too strongly fortified to attempt it & the enterprize was abandoned. After the surrender of Lord Cornwallis I march'd with several other Companies to Nolands ferry in Loudoun Co'y to aid in guarding a body of prisoners, which we delivered at that place to some Maryland Troops & were discharged & returned home on the last of November 1781 – making 4 mos. service. —

Elgin, Walter

1832 Pension Application S 9548. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia

Private Matthew Farrar (1760-?)

That in the month of September in the same year he was again drafted from the same county – marched on the 15th of the month in the company of Militia from that county under Capt White, into the lower Country –crossed the Pamunky at New Castle - marched thence towards york and joined the army at Glouster town – the Enemy were in York and Gloucester town and those in the later place frequently made predatory excursions – one night he was marched down towards the enemie’s line with a regiment, the officers name not recollected – they were fired on, ordered to retreat, then halt, then retreat again several times till at length they were ordered to form – they did so – heard a few rounds fire by the French on the right not attacked, and retired. the night was very dark – heard a most rapid firing of small arms on the York side and supposes it was the attack on the redouts – heard constant cannonading [beginning on 9 Oct 1781] and saw shells on the right – remained till the capitulation served one and a half months as private and was discharged – dont recollect the Colo. or Major – does not recollect any regular troops or officers. Saw the French and many Militias.

Farrar, Matthew

1833 Pension Application R 3448. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Lancaster County Militia

Sergeant Robert Forrester (1759-?)

The next service I was in was at the siege of Wallace at little York upon York River tho I was on the Gloster side but it was all in sight we had some fight before we got them pend up I went as a Vollenteare and joind Capt. Sisen's compaeney a brave Old man who commanded a Compaeney thier from our County - Countys we march'd through to Williamsburg and York was Lankester on the East side of the Rapahanok and on the south and west side was Essex Middlesix and Gloster

Forester/Forrister, Robert

1832 Pension Application S 1517. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Richmond County Militia

Private William Forrester (1764-?)

The regiment was commanded by Gen'l Ennis [probably Col. James Innes]; Under the Command of Gen'l Ennis the declarant marched with a part of the troops down to Adington Church where it was said the enemy had been the day before. The immediate place encampment not exactly remembered but the declarant underwent much exposure to very inclement weather (heavy rain) during the night while on guard: – remained encamped there a few days in expectation of the approach of the enemy. We continued in readiness to meet them. After this Colonel Campbell took Command of the troops & marched us down to a place called Sewells near Gloucester town where a reference to the Certificate of R. Forester [Robert Forester S1517] from Tennessee will prove the fact of an engagement with the enemy and other facts

On 26 Feb 1836, “Robert Forister of McMinn County, Tennessee, do certify, that I am personally acquainted with William Forester, of Richmond County in the state of Virginia ... Said William Forester was in the army also, and I think as a volunteer at the taking of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, where I was in company with him. He was in the Army during the greater part of the seige, and I think, perhaps, the whole time. I recollect distinctly of being in company with him in one or two skirmishes with the British troops; – one in particular at the end of a lane at a place called Sorrels where we met a portion of the British troops, and after firing four or five rounds drove them from the field. I do not recollect whether at that time he was in my Captain's company or not, but I remember he was in the same division, & fought by my side in skirmishing with the enemy, and I know he acted bravely.

[17 March 1836] I William Forester of the County of Richmond and state of Virginia do hereby certify that after three months service in the revolutionary war Proven by Tobias Purcel of s'd. county that the militia of s'd. County who had not been called out was Ordered down to Gloucester County ware Church near the Court House the enemy then at York and Gloucester Town I followed on joined the troops at s'd. ware Church under the Command of General Ennis where the body of our troops were stationed after some time the General mooved down with part of the troops to Addington Church nearer the enemy I was one of that number as were held there in readiness expecting the enemy every moment it was said they were there the day before we formed inside the Wall of the Church as a breast work we were not attacted there wheather the General returned to the troops left at the

Church I am not able to say the part of troops there at that place was committed to the command of Coronel Cambel who after some time mooved lowed down to Sowels near the town where the enemy was I was there in in the ranks expecting the enemy out every moment the picket guard fired on us such was the Gallantry of Coronel Cammel I ever loved him since tho even now in the grave you have a correct statement of services rendered my beloved country

On this 13th day of June 1836 personally appeared in open court before the county court of Northumberland now sitting, William Forester [...] The declarant followed as a volunteer and re-entered and enlisted at Ware Church the command of either Richard Beale or Thomas Gilky [?] who both commanded companies from Richmd County. The regiment was commanded by Genl Ennis. Under the command of Genl Ennis the declarant marched with a part of the troops down to Addington Church where upon laid the enemy had been the day before the _____ places of encampment but exactly remembered that the declarant underwent much exposure to very inclement weather (heavy rain) during the night while on guard. Remained encamped there a few days in expectation of the approach of the enemy. We continued in readiness to meet them. After this Colonel Campbell took command of the troops & marched us down to a place called Sorrell's near Gloucester town where a reference to the certificate of K Forester from Tennessee will prove the fact of an engagement with the enemy and other facts &c. After this I was discharged this being near the ___ of the war & in the same month of the surrender at York Town.

On this 20th day of February 1836 before me Abraham Slover, a justice of the peace in & for the county & state aforesaid personally came Robert Forester [...] I recollect distinctly of being in company with him in one or two skirmishes with the British troops, one in particular at the end of a lane at a place called Sorrel's where we met a portion of the British troops and after firing four or five rounds drove them from the field. I do not recollect whether at that time he was in my Captain's company or not but I remember he was in the same division & fought by my side in skirmishing with the enemy and I know he acted bravely.

I William Forester of the County of Richmond and state of Virginia do hereby certify that after three months service in the revolutionary war proven by Tobias Parcel of sd county that militia of sd county who had not been called out was ordered down to Gloucester County ware Church was the Court House. The enemy then at York and Gloucester Town. I followed on. Joined the troops at sd ware Church under the command of General Ennis where the body of out troops were stationed. After some time the general moved down with part of the troops to Addington Church nearer the enemy. I was one of that number. We were held in readiness expecting the enemy every instant. It was said they were there the day before we formed inside the wall of the church as a breast work. We were not

attacked there where after the general returned to the troops left at the church/ I am not able to say the part of troops there at that place was committed to the command of General Campbell who after some time moved guard down to Sorrell's near the town where the enemy was. I was there in the ranks expecting the enemy out every moment. The picket guard fired on us.

Forester, William

1836 Pension Application S 10156. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private John Fulmer (1763-1824)

In September following [1781] the French army passing through, He the said John Fulmer joined them, under Captain Miskufski, Colonel Dillon and General De Lousen, and served until the close of the war.

Fulmer, John/Johannes Volmer (his widow Mary Fulmer)

1838 Pension Application R 3845. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

“Captain Miskufski” was Jean Quirin Mieszkosky, *capitaine commandant* of the Second Squadron of Hussars. Born in Karaczewa in Posnan/Posen (Poland) in March 1744, he joined a Polish regiment in 1761, from where he transferred to the Conflans Regiment of Hussars in 1766. A captain in the volontaires étrangers de la Marine in November 1778, he served in Lauzun's Legion until his promotion to Major in the Colonel-Général Regiment of Hussar on 12 July 1789. Promoted to Maréchal de Camp or Brigadier General on 20 September 1792, he was suspended on 30 September 1793, retired on 7 May 1795, and died in February 1819.

“Colonel Dillon” was Robert Guillaume Dillon, *colonel-en-second* and Lauzun's third in command. Born in Bordeaux in 1754, Dillon had been a captain in the Lorraine Regiment of 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 commanding officer in November 1781 once Lauzun had sailed for France with news of the surrender at Yorktown and *colonel commandant* René Marie vicomte d'Arrot had departed for the West Indies. Colonel of the Lauzun Regiment of Hussars in July 1784, he was forced to retire after a riding accident in October 1787. He died in Paris in 1837.

The *contrôle* of Lauzun's Legion states that Jean Folmer, age 17, was recruited in Philadelphia on 5 November 1780 and arrived in camp in Lebanon, CT, on 15 January 1781. He was discharged in Wilmington, DE, on 1 May 1783. The French were not permitted to recruit American-born soldiers, and Folmer is the only American-born soldier known to have served in Rochambeau's army. He died, 61 years old, 1824.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Middlesex County Militia

Private George Gardner (1759-1848)

the 3rd Tour was rendered in the county of Gloucester, the greater part of the time near Gloucester point. I was in the engagement at Gloucester point. I was discharged after the surrender of Wallace at Yourk Town but dont recollect of receiving any written discharge.

Gardner, George

1834 Pension Application S 2228. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private John H. Genther (?-?)

State of Pennsylvania

County of Northampton

Be it known, that on this fifteenth day of November A. D. 1832, before me, the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace in and for the County and State aforesaid, personally appeared, Mary Genther, a resident of Easton in said County, and made oath according to law that she is the widow of John H Genther, who was a Soldier in the war of the Revolution, and who has heretofore made application for the benefit of the Pension Act of [blank] that she is directly interested as a claimant in said pension and makes this affidavit to be filed with such additional evidence or arguments as my Agent may use in prosecuting said claim.

BRIEF in the case of Jno H Genther of Easton County of North Hampton [sic] in the State of Pennsylvania (Act 7th June, 1832.)

1. Was the declaration made before a Court or a Judge? Court

3. How old is he? 74

4. State his service, as directed in the form annexed.

Period. Duration of Service. Rank. Names of General and field Officers

Years, Months, Days. under whom he served.

In 1778 3 [years] Private Capt Miscotekey Count Dillon Duke de Lawson

5. In what battles was he engaged? Yorktown

6. Where did he reside when he entered the service? Paris. France

Genther John H. (his widow Mary Genther)

1832 Pension Application R 3973. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

“Capt Miscotekey” was Jean Quirin Mieszkosky, *capitaine commandant* of the Second Squadron of Hussars. Born in Karaczewa in Posnan/Posen (Poland) in March 1744, he joined a Polish regiment in 1761, from where he transferred to the Conflans Regiment of Hussars in 1766. A captain in the volontaires étrangers de la Marine in November 1778, he

served in Lauzun's Legion until his promotion to Major in the Colonel-Général Regiment of Hussar on 12 July 1789. Promoted to Maréchal de Camp or Brigadier General on 20 September 1792, he was suspended on 30 September 1793, retired on 7 May 1795, and died in February 1819.

"Count Dillon" was probably Robert Guillaume Dillon, *colonel-en-second* and Lauzun's third in command. Born in Bordeaux in 1754, Dillon had been a captain in the Lorraine Regiment of 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 commanding officer in November 1781 once Lauzun had sailed for France with news of the surrender at Yorktown and *colonel commandant* René Marie vicomte d'Arrot had departed for the West Indies. Colonel of the Lauzun Regiment of Hussars in July 1784, he was forced to retire after a riding accident in October 1787. He died in Paris in 1837.

On Dillon see the entry under Appendix 4: Hook Primary Sources French Military

In the pension application of Mary Meyers of New York, widow of John Meyers (R 7543), is a note dated Philadelphia 7 June 1837, stating that the pension office was sent a deposition by John H. Genther who was a soldier with John Meyers. The deposition is not in Meyers's file. A letter in Meyers's file states that Meyers was thought to have deserted from Pulaski's Legion after a skirmish at Charleston SC on 11 May 1779, but he reenlisted under "Col or Gen'l. Deluson, in the Company commanded by Captain Miskefsky." These would appear to be the Duc de Lauzun and the Capt Miscotekey mentioned in Genther's file. This letter adds that "Jno. Genther, Easton Pa. is said to be living, well known to the family and says he served with John Meyers during the war."

No hussar by the name of "John H. Genther" has been identified in the contrôle of Lauzun's Legion; the closest possible, but questionable, match in the Second Escadron of Hussars is Jean Kinee from Brandenburg, age 24, a Hessian POW who enlisted in Philadelphia on 14 November 1780. He arrived in camp in Lebanon, CT, on 16 January 1781, and deserted again on 19 June 1781.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia

Private George Gibson 1765-?)

We lay at Sowers's old fields about four miles from Gloucester some days before the battle at York & defeat of Cornwallis on the north side of the River he was on guard the day preceding the night on which the battle was fought at York & Gloucester he among the ballance of the guard was ordered to meet at head quarters at the old field when he arrived there the main army had left there and gone to Gloucester we were then ordered to march to Gloucester we went in a trot we were stoped on the way to draw Cartridges whilst there the firing commenced then we started and went about one half mile & halted in the night and enquiry was made whether any man among us could Speak the French Language it was ascertained that no one among us who could speak that language & on account of the danger of not being distinguished we were commanded to lie down on our arms We remained there until the battle was over whilst there we could hear the bullets over us.

Gibson, George

1832 Pension Application W 8852. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hanover County Militia

Sergeant Fortunatus Green (1754-?)

we crossed over to West Point, thence to a place called Anderson's Store in King & Queen County where we joined Col. Ennis Regiment thence to Gloucester Court House, thence into Middlesix thence back to a place called the Boiling Spring in King & Queen County, thence to Gloucester Town, where we were alarmed by Tarlton's Light Horse, thence to a place called Whitings old field where we were stationed & discharged. He served in this tour three months as second Sergeant.

Green, Fortunatus

1833 Pension Application S 15155. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private John Hagey/Hagar (1748?-1841)

he is a Frenchman by birth, that he came over with LaFayette as a volunteer to assist the Americans in the recovery of their freedom, that his Captain's name was Escaline that he commenced his services as soon as he landed in the United States, that he landed at New Port in the State of Rhode Island [see endnote], that his general under LaFayette was the Duc De Lausanne, that his colonel was Polorotski a Pole. that he served in the French Light-horse during the whole war under the aforesaid officers. that he marched & counter-marched previous to the battle of the White Plains through the State of New York in a hard service that he was at the battle of the White Plains, that he recollects there were many persons wounded & killed in that battle & that LaFayette himself was among the wounded. That he was at the siege of York when the Lord Cornwallis delivered up his sword to General Washington that he marched there by forced marches to coop up Cornwallis & prevent him from receiving reinforcements. That after the taking of York he was marched back to Philadelphia & that he received his discharge at Newcastle in New Jersey.

Hagey/Hagar, John

1832 Pension Application R 4428. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Veterans who had served in one of Rochambeau's units were not eligible for a pension and the application was denied to his widow for the last time on 8 May 1860.

Hagey is possibly identical with Jean Equy, age 30 when he enlisted on 7 October 1778. He deserted from the First Escadron of Hussars on 1 March 1782 in Charlotte Courthouse.

The First Squadron of Hussars stood under the command of Henry Esclent. Born in Liège in the Austrian Netherlands, modern-day Belgium, in 1733, he began his military career as a dragoon in the Légion Royale in 1751, became a lieutenant in June 1762, and transferred to the Royal Dragoons in 1776. After 27 years of service he became a captain in the volontaires étrangers de la marine in September 1778 but transferred to Lauzun's Legion in March 1780. Promoted to Major on 1 March 1784, he died in 1786.

"Polorotski" is Major John L. Pollerescky.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private Henry Hayes (1762-post 1855)

at Lunenburg Court-house in Lunenburg County Virginia where he was drafted into the service under Captain Night, of the Virginia Militia on or about the first of September, 1781. That during this term of his service he was at the siege of Yorktown and Gloucester point on Little York River, That Major Street, and Governor Nelson, accompanied the Virginia Militia on this occasion, – and he continued in actual service in said war for the term of 14 days and upwards, and was honorably discharged, by Captain Night, together with his whole Company, after having marched with about 30 Tories who had been taken at the surrender of Cornwallis, and put in charge of his company with instructions that said Tories should be left in Richmond Jail. That said service was performed and his discharge took place in Richmond Virginia on or about the first of December 1781, – not in writing, but by merely stating to his company that they were at Liberty to return home [...]

That his said Company was then marched to a place called Newsome's Spring, Virginia – where he was stationed to await the coming of other recruits, – and when they arrived were all marched to Gloucester Point on Little York River, where a portion of Cornwallis's Army was then stationed, – the remaining portion occupying Little York town on the opposite side of the River. – That he and his aforesaid company together with many others were kept stationed here, and continued to invest this place from sometime in September until near the middle of October. – And thus cooperated with General Washington and the French forces who hemmed in Cornwallis on the Yorktown side, while we pressed him on the Gloucester side, until he was forced to surrender. That he was there present at this surrender of Cornwallis, and his Army on which occasion many of the Tories who fought under him, were said to have escaped on the water, under cover of darkness, the night preceding the surrender, but about 30 he well knows and remembers were taken and put in charge of his Company, commanded as aforesaid by Captain Night, together with two other companies, one of which was commanded by Captain Graves. With these Tories under guard he marched in the ranks of his company to Richmond Virginia Where they were securely locked in Jail, by order of Captain Night, to await their trial for bearing arms against their Country. That his term of service having now expired, he was honorably discharged at Richmond Virginia on or about the first of December in the year of our Lord

1781. He thinks the Tories above alluded to work kept in Richmond Jail until peace was made, when they were set at liberty, – but is not certain of this. [...]

That when he arrived at Gloucester point, he and his said company were put in a Regiment of infantry and served as such, and hence he was paid as a soldier of Infantry. That when about to start from Little York with the Tories, as aforesaid, three Companies were detailed for their guard by the way, but, after starting so much difficulty was experienced to obtain proper subsistence for so great a number of men, in traveling from a country already greatly impoverished, – that after consultation, it was agreed, that two of the Company should be disbanded, especially as Captain Night declared that his company alone was sufficient for the purpose intended. That these two companies were disbanded, two days march from Richmond, after which Captain Night distributed the Tories among the men, one to two as long as number held out, after which each soldier took a Tory, – and thus they were guarded and marched on to Richmond, where his discharge took place not as he thinks by any written instrument but by being told by Captain Night, that he was at liberty to return home.

Hayes/Hays, Henry

1853 Pension Application S 30455. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private Thomas Hogg (?-post-1851)

At the time of the siege of York the Company to which he was attached was stationed on the Eastern side of Sarah's Creek at Perrin's a short distance from Gloucester town watching the movements of the British forces at that place. That he served in all at least two years, but was never in a regular action, though he was in a Smart Skirmish with the light-horse a little above Gloucester town near Lewellen's. His services were chiefly in Gloucester, but was twice sent to York and Williamsburg.

On this 8th day of February 1833 personally appeared before John T Scott, JP, a Justice of the Peace for the County of Gloucester and State of Virginia Thomas Hogg who has sworn to the foregoing declaration and doth on his oath make this additional Statement in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress June 7th 1832.

That his first Services were under Captain Gipson Cluverius in Gloucester County near the mouth of York River, at which place he served three months. The next services were at Gloucester Town, at which place he served under Captain Samuel Iddings [Samuel Eddins] of the artillery, Captain Cluverius and Captain John Thurston for Nine months. That he served in Williamsburg for Eight Months. He was then brought to York Town, and served at that place and at Seawell's Ordinary in Gloucester County for Two months. That the next place at which he served was parents a short distance below Gloucester Town at which place he served for at least three months, and was in regular service at that place in the Militia, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered in Yorktown, on the 19th of October 1781. Given under my hand and seal the day and year before

Hogg, Thomas

1832 Pension Application S 5566S. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private Benjamin Hope (1755-1834)

at Hubbard's old field about 25 miles above Gloucester Town; – but as our force increased and we became strong enough to contend with our enemy, we advanced upon him, first to Ware Church, then to John Dickson's and thence to Sowell's old field which was within about two miles of Gloucester town which was then in the possession of the enemy under Tarlton & Simcoe – This position we continued to retain & occupy until cessation of Hostilities subsequent upon the capture and surrender of Cornwallis on the 19th of October 1781

Hope, Benjamin

1832 Pension Application W 1612. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hanover County Militia

Private John Hope (1760-?)

that the troops rendezvoused at Hanover Court House, that William Anderson was Captain, James Lawrence Lieutenant & William Tinsley in some, that he marched by Hanover town & Fraser's ferry to Ware Church in Gloucester where he joined the Army commanded by Marquis de Lafayette, that he marched thence to Sowell's old field where they made fortifications, that while at that place, there was a skirmish between the Grenadiers and a party of British, that he remained at this place till the capitulation of the enemy, that after the troops marched out of Gloucester town, he took off Colonel Tarleton's saddle, that there was some French troops in the same encampment with him

Hope, John

1832 Pension Application S 18033. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private Anthony Hudgins (1759-?)

At the time Lord Cornwallis came to York he was called out with the Gloucester militia, they were drawn into line near Whiting's Mill in the edge of King & Queen county and encamped in Hubbard's old fields just on the Gloucester side where they went to Ware Church and thence to Seawell's old field where again they made a standing encampment. Richard Billups, Peter Bennett and Robert Gayle's companies were ordered to gather up all canoes in which a man might cross York River and carry them to the mouth of that river, he was among them. The morning after they got there there was a cessation of arms and they remained there two days and then were discharged. He did not get acquainted with any of the continental regiments, companies or officers. He had no evidence to show when he was called out or when he was discharged as he never received a written discharge. He can prove his service by William Digges and Isaac Smith. He was born in Kingston Parish, Gloucester County in the year 1759, he has no record of his age, he thinks he was out upwards four years in all. [...] He left the service two or three days after Cornwallis surrendered at York. He was in no engagement worth speaking of--he was in a small engagement on Cherry Island with a small boat loaded with Alum salt.

Hudgins/Hudgen, Anthony

1832 Pension Application S10883. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Loudoun County Militia

Private Charles Hugeley (1761-?)

He further states that in the month of August 1781 he again entered the service of the United States as a drafted militia man & private soldier upon a tour of 3 months in the company of Captain Josiah Moffutt [Josiah Moffett] – that he again rendezvoused with his company at the Red House in Loudoun County Virginia – And was attached to the Regiment commanded by Colonel James Coleman – that he again came under the command of General Weedon – that he was marched from his said place of Rendezvous to Williamsburg – that he was also at Richmond and Fredericksburg and was finally marched and joined the Main Army towards York and was marched with that part of it under the command of General Weedon to Gloucester and there remained during the siege of York assisting in the progress of it and witnessed the surrender of the British Army under Cornwallis – He further states that soon after the British Army capitulated he was marched together with the Regiment to which he belonged to Noland's ferry on the Potomac River having in charge and guarding a number of prisoners who had been taken and that he was there kept stationed guarding the said Prisoners till the expiration of his tour of duty and was then discharged and returned home.

Hugeley, Charles

1833 Pension Application S 31157. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private John Hugget (?-1798)

We William Diggs aged 76 and William Morgan aged 75 Years do upon Oath testify [...]

In 1781 – he was called out (when all the Militia of Gloucester County was) under Captain Richard Billups and marched to Gloucester Court house, thence to Hubbard's Old Field, thence to Ware Church, thence to Sewell's Old Field where he was stationed some time, after which he was marched to Gloucester Town where a Battle was fought. In all of which he served three months. He was engaged in several skirmishes while on duty at New Point and the mouth of East River. He was born in Gloucester County Kingston Parish where he resided during his life.

I George Callis do upon Oath testify and declare [...]

In 1780 he served two months at New Point and one other tour one month at the mouth of East River. All the above tours were served under command of Captain Richard Billups. In 1781 he was called out with the rest of the Militia of Gloucester County under command of the aforesaid Captain, was marched to Gloucester Court House, thence to Hubbard's Old field; thence to Ware Church, thence to Sewels, thence to Gloucester Town where a battle was fought, in all of which he served about three months. He was engaged in several skirmishes while on duty at the mouth of East River & New point, and that I came in the possession of the above knowledge of facts having served with him

We William Morgan and Isaac Smith do upon Oath testify and declare [...]

In 1781 he was called out with the rest of the Militia of Gloucester County under the command of Captain Richard Billups, was marched to Gloucester Court house thence to Hubbard's old field; thence to Ware Church thence to Sewels old field: thence to Gloucester Town where a battle was fought – in all of which he served about three months. He was engaged in several skirmishes while on duty at the mouth of East River and New Point & that we came in the possession of the knowledge of his services from having served with him at most of the places above specified

Hugget, John (his widow Mildred Hugget)

1836 Pension Application W 19794. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Gabriel Hughes (1762-1836)

he was in an engagement at the time Tarlton's horse cut the French horse to pieces near Gloucester at Whitney quarter – there was a squad of four companies commanded Captain Hudgins, Captain Buckner, Captain Triplett and Bullet under Major Wicks joined to Colonel Mercer's Grenadiers, he was under Captain Hudgins, went to the assistance of the French horse, as soon as the French horse saw Mercer came to their assistance they rallied and went at it again – several of the horseman got wounded in that first engagement – he saw the physicians sewing up the throat of one man but poor fellow he died. He resided in Kingston Parish Gloucester County when he was called into the service and has resided there ever since – he was called out with the militia of Gloucester County – he was one of one hundred and twenty-five men sent from Gloucester at the time Arnold went up James River, they marched through part of King & Queen County crossed at the brick house, marched about 10 or 12 down the River and anchored little below them that night – he went several times over to miles in New Kent Arnold was then coming down the River and they were ordered to Williamsburg and from Williamsburg they went to Burwell's ferry and saw all the Fleet passed Williamsburg and York – when Cornwallis came to York, the Gloucester militia were drawn into line of Battle near Whitings Mill in the edge of King & Queen they then encamped in Hubbard's old field just over the Mill on the Gloucester side – here they had a standing encampment, he left the main body there and went down on the enemy's lines, they were getting their breakfast one morning at Thornton's place about three miles below G. Ct. House [Gloucester Court House], where they had been staying about three days and Tarleton's horse made attack upon them and took three men prisoners. [see Coghill 1833]

Hughes, Gabriel (his widow Mary Hughes)

1832 Pension Application W 19836. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Lieutenant John P. Hungerford (1761-?)

I went with a detachment of Militia from Westmoreland, to the siege of York – Colonel Layne and Major Nelson of the Militia of the County marched with us – soon after getting to camp on the Gloucester side, Colonel John Taylor of Caroline was in command – We were joined by Generals Choise and Weedon, the Duke Lauzun [several indecipherable words] a btn of Grenadiers with several regiments of French and American with Colonels Enniss, Page, Campbell and Bayliss – Colonel John F Mercer, who came on with General Weedon, and who had been in the Continental service, it was thought proper to give a command and to effect this object, a company from each Regiment was selected, which gave him the Command of between 3 and 400 men which were distinguished by the Grenadier Regiment, or Battalion. In selecting the Company from the regiments I was then in, General Weedon asked me the rank I bore, I told him a Lieutenant – he then observed to me, that if I could raise a Company of Volunteers, I should command, which I soon accomplish, and the Regiment being formed, we marched the same evening on the lines Colonel Mercer & Major Throgmorton were the field Officers – nothing very important occurred but marching and countermarching till the third of October, when it was ascertained the evening before, that a very considerable foraging party were out supported by Tarleton's dragoons and a Regiment of infantry. Mercer's Regiment with Lauzun's dragoons under Count Dillen, led the van and were soon engaged with Tarleton's Troops, but after a smart Conflict and having acted gallantly, he gave way – Mercer's Regiment & Lauzun's dragoons received Considerable credit, by the approbation of General Washington – Gloucester Town, from that time, was closely invested till the surrender, which was on the 19 of October: the Legion of Lauzun and Corps of Mercer received the 13 Troops that were in Gloucester Town.

After the ceremony of the surrender was over, they returned to Gloucester Town & Colonel Mercer called to me to follow him, with a detachment of about 70 men, and after taking possession of the works on the right bank and giving no instructions, he left the command to myself where I remained till the next evening, when I was relieved*at the same time a detachment of Lauzun's Grenadiers marched in and took possession of the fortifications on the left, as soon as we were finally discharged re-returned to our respective homes.

*General Lee in his Historical account of that day has made a considerable mistake (he says) "That Lieutenant Colonel Hugo of the Legion of Mercer with the Grenadiers & Militia took possession of Gloucester point" There was no such Officer in the Regiment nor do I believe in the Army. He says nothing about Lauzun's Grenadiers which I know took possession of the left bank.

Hungerford, John P.

1832 Pension Application S 5586. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Caroline County Militia

Private William Hurt (1759-1834)

He was again called out in 1781, and marched under Captain George Tyler, to Gloucester Town and remained in service there until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at the Siege of York, and saw Sinko and Tarlton surrender. In this Tour he served three months.

Hurt, Benjamin (his widow Mary S. Hurt)

1833 Pension Application W27878. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Irvine Hyde (1762-1839)

Affiant next after and about the year 1781 was called out as a militia soldier together with about 300 others for the term of six months to go to the siege of Little York said Army rendezvoused at H. Delaney's Tavern Elijah Graves was our Captain James Warrant our Lieutenant and Lewis Burrell our Colonel [...]. On the arrival of this Army [at Gloucester Court House] there was selected out of it for special service one hundred fifty Grenadiers of which affiant was chosen one and fifty well built men for light infantry. Affiant was put under one Stephen Mabury as Captain Commander of said Grenadiers and marched down near to the picket guard of the British and there remained on duty every day for about 3 or 4 months until he was discharged having nearly completed the six months for which he was called out to duty and for which whole time he was liable to serve if ordered by his officers. Affiant remained under the command of said Maberry until an order was issued to attempt one night to scale the walls of Gloucester in the attempt of which affiant's Captain Maberry was the foremost with affiant and the rest of the Grenadiers except one company of Grenadiers of the regular troops which went before being first fire upon by the Sentinel then by the cannon of the Fort Just as the whole Army had reached the place assigned to it French troops and all being about 10,000 strong and when affiant had reached so near the wall that night that he put his hand on it the Army was ordered to retire every moment we expect [expected] the word to be given to scale the walls which no doubt would have been bloody work at least it was so thought by all, affiant's Captain Maberry having undergone so much fear during the firing of the cannon, and the guard and during that awful moment of suspense when we expected every moment the command to mount the walls that next morning he resigned his commission and returned home. Affiant was put under a regular officer after this and served under him until the siege was raised and Lord Cornwallis surrendered [October 19, 1781] &c, affiant cannot now recollect the name of this last officer under whom he served. Affiant remembers to have seen Colonel Talton on the day of the surrender riding a fine imported Stallion called Black and all Black, Affiant knew this horse well for he had once belonged to one Sir Peyton Skipwith of Virginia. After the British had surrendered and stacked their arms affiant was ordered with others to collect the arms that had been left laying about after this they were ordered to headquarters to their respective companies there obtained their certificates, affiant has lost his and were verbally discharged. [...]

On the second day of their being at Williamsburg, they received orders from Headquarters to return back in part and go up the River and cross above the Fork in order that they might be out of Danger of the enemy. Accordingly declarant marched with the Regiment to which he belonged, crossed York River above the Fork and went down on the Gloucester Side to Head Quarters. On the arrival of these troops, there was selected out of them for Special Service one hundred men fifty Grenadiers and fifty to act as Light Infantry. Declarant being a stout active young man was chosen among the Grenadiers and with the others was put under the command of Captain Stephen Maberry, was marched down near to the picket Guard of the British Army and remained there on duty until Cornwallis surrendered. Affiant remained under the said Mayberry until an order was issued to attempt to scale the wall or bulwark on the Gloucester Side. The troops were put in motion, and the company to which Declarant belonged was foremost except one company of Grenadiers belonging to the Regular Army. This last named company was before and was first fired on by the Sent and then by the Cannon of the British Fort. Just as the whole Army had reached the place designated for the attack, French Troops and all being about 10,000 men, and when affiant had reached near the wall that he put his hand on it, the Army was ordered to retired. We expected every moment the word to be given to scale the wall or bulwark. The above Captain Mayberry having undergone so much fear during the firing of the Cannon that he next morning resigned his Commission and went home. The declarant was then put under a regular Officer, but from old age and consequent loss of memory & from the fact of Declarant having been under his command only a few days he cannot recollect his name. He served under him until the siege was raised, and Cornwallis surrendered to General Washington. Affiant recollects to have seen Colonel Tarleton on the day of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. He was riding a fine imported Stallion called Black and all Black. This horse had once been the property of Sir Peyton Skipwith who lived in Mecklenburg County Virginia and Declarant knew the Horse well. After the British had surrendered, Declarant was ordered with others to collect the arms that were lying scattered about; after this day (the Troops) were ordered to Head quarters to join their respective Companies. A great number of prisoners were taken at the surrender of Little York, and a number were put in charge of the Troops to which Declarant belonged. Declarant with others guarded these prisoners about 150 miles in the direction of New Jersey, when they were given up to other militia who lived further north.

Hyde, Irvine (his widow Mary Hyde)

1832 Pension Application R 5464. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private Caleb Jenkins (1760-?)

At the time of the surrender the Company to which he was attached was on the Eastern side of Sarah's Creek, a short distance from Gloucester town, watching the movements of the British forces at that place.

[...]

He was then brought back to Perrin's below Gloucester Town in Gloucester County where he served between two and three months and was in regular service at that place when Lord Cornwallis surrendered on the 19th of October 1781.

Jenkins, Caleb

1833 Pension Application S 8757. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hanover County Militia

Private John Johnson (1762-post 1855)

Thence to Petersburg where they were joined by more troops and at the last place they received orders to march without delay to Gloucester Point opposite Little York where Wallace's Army had assembled and were in possession of Gloucester town. Here he also met with the regular troops of the United States. That evening before the surrender of Wallace the troops with which this applicant was more immediately connected were paraded and ordered to march into town to take it by storm – as they were marching for that purpose they were fired upon and returned the fire – when the enemy fled in the town and in a short time, he were ordered to return to the encampment & on the next day the British troops surrendered & in a short time this applicant was discharged having served to the best of his recollection in this tour two months and twenty days making his whole service eight months and twenty days

Johnson, John

1835 Pension Application S 32345. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Orange County Militia

Private James Jones (1759-1841)

that he was not engaged in any battles though there were engagements while he was at York in which a part of the Army were engaged – Colonel Mercer of the Grenadiers and a part of the French Cavalry were in the fight and passed by where he was stationed. He recollects the names of Major Cary and also of Major Campbell of the light infantry, General Weedon also was there and two French Generals whose names he does not recollect

Jones, James

1832 Pension Application R 5693. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Caroline County Militia

Private Nicholas Jones (1762-?)

He was drafted and entered into the service the last of July or first of August in Capt Anthony New's company of Virginia Militia, in Colonel Benjamin Temple's Regiment in the brigade commanded by General Joseph Weeden; this tour he served three months. Weedens brigade collected together at Todds ware house in King and Queen County Virginia. From there we marched down to Gloucester, where he remained until the surrender of Cornwallis in October 1781. The brigade in which he was, was stationed during the siege of Cornwallis across York river at what was called Gloucester. part of the French was on the same side with Weeden, they were commanded by a General by the name of Choise as well as he recollects. Washington was commander in Chief, but was on the other side of the river from where he was. After the surrender of Cornwallis, his company came up guarding the prisoners, and when he had reached the neighborhood of Fredericksburgh he was dismissed his time having expired.

Jones, Nicholas

1832 Pension Application S 16169. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hanover County Militia

Private Turner Lane (1761-?)

The Regiment in which this applicant had taken rank was not marched down to headquarters, but was with two other regiments detached from the main body, crossed York River at West Point, were marched down to the North side of that River there to form a barrier against the plundering scouts of Tarleton, who were in habit of pillaging the country in the vicinity of Gloucester. The Regiment to which this applicant belonged was commanded by Colonel John Taylor of Caroline County, who was also Col. Comdt. of the detachment; Major Claiborne acted as Brigade Major, and Captain Isaiah Hayden commanded this applicant. The duty here was active, being like that of a flying; almost constantly marching from place to place and that most generally in the night, and but seldom lying two days together at the same place. During this tour several occurrences are recollected, out of which this applicant will state one only which to him seems the most notorious and interesting. – On a certain day, this detachment was put in motion and marched immediately down towards Gloucester town, as if a dissent upon the town was intended: – it was at length halted near a small Creek, said to be not far from town, and within the British line; here the line was formed, as if for battle. A Fatigue was then sent across the creek, where, as it seemed, the British had collected a large number of Beeves and Muttons, and had them in pasture; – these were turned out, drove across the creek, and driven up the road into the country, and rescued from the British. – A retreat was then taken up, and continued that night until cock-crowing at which time, having crossed a Creek at Ware Church, the detachment was halted, ordered to lie down in their ranks, with their arms and accoutrements remaining on them. – They slept of little. – But early the next morning, the British having pursued them on their retreat, came on, and defeated their RearGuard; one horseman however, escape them, who came dashing into camp, with the loss of his cap, and his sword brandishing over his head, and crying aloud, Parade, Parade, the British are on you!! The line of battle was quickly formed, stood to arms all that day certainly expecting a charge from the British; – but they came not. About sun setting, we distinctly heard them beat a retreat, and we in like manner, retreated further up the country.

Lane, Turner

1832 Pension Application S 1916. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private William Leckie (1764-1842)

We marched from thence to Gloucester County and joined General Weeden's Brigade. Volunteers were called for to repel a foraging party under the command of Colonel Tarlton. I volunteered under the command of Colonel Mercer, and was attached to Captain Hungerford's Company. We joined General De Choisey who commanded the French troops on the Gloucester side. On the day subsequent to our March, we overtook the British in Sewel's land. We had a hot engagement – we killed some and took others prisoners

Leckie, William

1833 Pension Application W 25. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Caroline County Militia

Private Benjamin Long (1763-?)

In the fall of the same year he was drafted again, and marched under Captain Blackburne & Lt. Thomas Parker, and was put under the command of Colonel Mathews, at Williamsburg – we crossed York River at West Point & went to Gloucester Town, where we remained upwards of two months, & marched thence to Whiting's old Fields – Here he states he was attached to a light infantry rifle company commanded by Major Weeks in which he continued about four weeks, 2nd when he was relieved again, having served about four months on this second tour – On this tour he states that he was in a smart skirmish near Gloucester Town in which several of our men were killed

Long, Benjamin

1833 Pension Application S 8846. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Loudon County Militia

Private William Longley (1761-1841)

Declarant & his comrades were stationed at Richmond as he thinks, about six weeks, when they were marched from there and joined the army under Gen'l Lafayette at Yorktown on the Gloucester side of the river. About this time or shortly after, the siege was formed, as the army under Washington shortly after arrived. Declarant was at this time constantly employed in working on the entrenchment and other works, that was going on. During this siege declarant was in several skirmishes with part of the enemy. On one occasion after night 500 of the Virginia troops, declarant one of them, with 500 of the French under the command of Lafayette were marched to make a track through the enemy's line on the Gloucester side, another detachment having made an attack on the other side. Declarant recollects getting so near the enemy works, that he put his hand upon them and looking up saw the tar barrels placed on the breastworks to be lighted in the event of an attack. The firing having ceased on the York side, we were countermarched the enemy having discovered us, and opened their guns upon us as they thought, but their balls went far above our heads. Declarant was one of the troops forming the hollow square into which the prisoners were marched when Cornwallis surrendered. The prisoners taken on the Gloucester side were marched to Winchester in Virginia, Declarant being one of their guards. These prisoners were guarded at Winchester three months, as declarant thinks when they were marched to Frederickstown in Maryland, where declarant was discharged in February as well as he recollects, 1782.

Longley, William

1833 Pension Application R 6435. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Northumberland County Militia

Captain Samuel P. Menzies (?-1833)

That early in the year 1781 he was taken from the coasting service and appointed Captain by the County Lieutenant of Northumberland to command a company of drafted men to join other Troops to be marched with the greatest possible haste to intercept the retreat of Tarlton from Charlottesville to Richmond to the former of which places Tarlton was endeavoring to get for the purpose of breaking up the Virginia Legislature then in session – which object being effected our orders to march in prevention of this act was countermanded – that after he had returned home he resumed the command of Lieutenant in Captain King's Company a company of drafted men who was ordered to march to the siege of York and that they halted about the distance of fifteen miles from Gloucester Town where they joined other Troops under the command of Colonel James Innis and that after the assembling of all the Troops destined for that service (the siege of York) the command devolved on General Weedon [George Weedon] – that after halting some little time the Americans advanced to Sorrells farm a short distance from the British Garrison where they made their encampment, and here at the mouth of Sorrell's lane some skirmishing took place between a foraging party of the enemy and the Americans in which affair the enemy were repulsed [...] he marched and joined the Army near Gloucester Town and remained on duty Commissioned as above stated until the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown [October 19, 1781] – that there were four regiments of militia on the Gloucester side commanded by Colonels Baytop, Campbell, Griffin & Mercer – that Mercer commanded the Regiment of Grenadiers taken out of the line– that there [were] several Companies of Horse under the command of Colonel Webb – that the Marines that were landed from Count De Grasse's fleet were on the same side of the York River that for regiments commanded by General Weedon were and commanded by General Leuzun and a Regiment (more or less) of French Hussars under the Com'd of Col. Armon.

Menzies, Samuel P.

1832 Pension Application W 25713. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private John Meyer (?-?)

Phila'a May 16 1837

J. S. Edwards Esq

Commissioner of Pensions U.S.

[...]

In yours received by me you state that John Meyers is marked upon the list as a deserter in 1778, from Pulaski's Legion. The affidavit of Susan Crock being the earliest information at hand I have hereby inclosed the event that followed the Battle near Charleston under Genl Pulaski and Col. Cowith, who were killed, caused the dismemberment of the Army – but John Meyers reenlisted under Col or Gen'l. Deluson, in the Company commanded by Captain Miskefsky, and that he remained in the army under said Commander and others until after the defeat of and Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at York Town [...]

N.B. Jno. Genter of Easton Pa. is said to be living, well known to the family and says he served with John Meyers during the war.

Meyers, John

1833 Pension Application R 7543. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

“Captain Miskefsky” was Jean Quirin Mieszkosky, *capitaine commandant* of the Second Squadron of Hussars. Born in Karaczewa in Posnan/Posen (Poland) in March 1744, he joined a Polish regiment in 1761, from where he transferred to the Conflans Regiment of Hussars in 1766. A captain in the volontaires étrangers de la Marine in November 1778, he served in Lauzun's Legion until his promotion to Major in the Colonel-Général Regiment of Hussar on 12 July 1789. Promoted to Maréchal de Camp or Brigadier General on 20 September 1792, he was suspended on 30 September 1793, retired on 7 May 1795, and died in February 1819.

This is possibly Jean Mayer, age 27, who enlisted in Philadelphia on 2 November 1780 and arrived in Lebanon, CT, on 16 January 1781. He was discharged on 1 May 1783 after he paid 400 livres to buy off the time remaining in his enlistment. He had served in the Second Escadron of Hussars. He may also be identical with Johannes Mayer from the Hessian Regiment Erbprinz who is listed as a deserter in November 1778.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private Threesivolus Miner/Minor (1759-?)

was placed with the light infantry under Colo Campbell with orders to proceed with the greatest dispatch to Gloucester Town to prevent the British from plundering the Country, which was anticipated; then in a short time joined the army under General Wedon and marched to place called Sowell's ordinary in a few miles of Gloucester Town where the British were then fortifying themselves, at this place he remained until the Surrender at York Town when this declarant went as one of the guards under Colo. Campbell to the British fortifications near Gloucester Town and brought the prisoners up to the head quarters at Sowell's ordinary where he then remained until [several words illegible] relieved by another guard. He was discharged as in the other instances in a week or two after Cornwallis's Surrender. he served this tour not less than five months because his services were needed after the expiration of the tour of three months which was the usual length of tours at that time, the balance of the 5 months viz. 2 months was served by him as a volunteer or because he was requested to remain. This declarant was also called on and acted as a guard to carry the prisoners from Todds up to Fredericksburg which required two weeks, in which he was employed and was compelled during the performance of this duty to pay his own expenses for which he never received one cent.

Miner/Minor Threesivolus

1834 Pension Application S 16968. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King William County Militia

Private William Miner/Minor (1752-?)

In the year 1781 as he believes, at least it was in the same year that Cornwallis surrendered at York Town during the summer of that year but the month or day he cannot now remember for the reasons before stated, this declarant was again drafted as a militia man from the same County where he then resided and marched thence under the command of Captain James Wade and other officers, whose names he has now forgotten except Thomas New who was an orderly Sergeant they marched from the County aforesaid to King & Queen through Gloucester County and joined the army or a part of it under Colonel John Taylor, from there they marched into Middlesex County through various parts of the adjacent County and after a time joined the army under General Wedon. He remembers also Colo William Campbell who held some command, the number of the regiment to which he was attached he does not remember if he ever knew but Colo. John Page of Gloucester was Colonel of the regiment and James Baytop either the Lieutenant Colonel or Major of the same. Cornwallis was then in York Town [after 1 Aug]. The troops this declarant was with were kept almost constantly moving from one point of the County to the other and seldom remained long in one place, they regulated their movements by those of the enemy and generally went where there was considered to be the most danger. He remembers they remained a while at Hubbards old field, Ware Church and Gloucester Courthouse, it was said at that time that the British were about to make a continued attack some where near that point and hence the great preparation which was made. The enemy in a short time however were completely put down at York Town, and this declarant was finally discharged in a few weeks after the Surrender of Cornwallis without being in any engagement that tour.

Miner/Minor William

1834 Pension Application S 11070. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Westmoreland County Militia

Private John Montgomery (1760-1846)

He the said Montgomery on his oath doth further declare that he again entered into the service of the United States as a Militiaman in September 1781 and served in a regiment commanded by Col. Joseph Lane of Westmoreland County Virginia, he marched as a serjeant in the company of capt. Thomas Edwards the 1st Lieutenant was George Garner, he entered the service as a substitute for David Wardrop, he marched to York Town, and during the siege of that place served in a detachment, commanded by General Weedon, stationed at Gloucester Point for the purpose of guarding the ferry, he recollects no regular American officers who were with them, but there was a body of French troops stationed near, about which this declarant is able to say nothing, he continued in the service for about two months when the Regiment was disbanded by a verbal order

Montgomery, John

1834 Pension Application S 8901. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private James Morgan (?-1830)

The deposition of Wm Morgan taken before a Justice of the peace of Mathews County in the State of Virginia in support of the services of James Morgan late of this County in the War of the Revolution [...]

He was again called out in the same year and under the same officers, when all the Gloucester militia were called out in consequence of Lord Cornwallis having possession of little York – was marched to Gloucester Court House: thence to Seawall's old field, from thence to Gloucester Town, where the great Battle was fought: In that tour of duty he served three months

Morgan, James (his widow Ann Morgan)

1839 Pension Application W 7468. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private George Morris (1763-1854)

soon after this, I part of the Army to which his Regiment was attached was sent over York River into Gloucester a part of the British Army was in Gloucester town, this was before the siege commenced, about this time Colonel John F Mercer called for volunteers out of Weedon's brigade, to form what was called a Regiment of Grenadiers, he joined Colonel Mercer, and was with him in the engagement he had with the British at Sowell's old field near Gloucester town, sometime before this, the time for which he had enlisted had expired, but as the siege of York was about commencing, they refused to discharge us, or we agreed to serve longer, he does not remember which but such was, they served until Cornwallis surrendered at which time or soon after, they were discharged and to the best of his recollection and belief, he served a month and a half or two months longer than he enlisted for – The foregoing is a true account of his services to his country in the war of the Revolution as well as he can now remember [...]

I was not returned back to Dabney's Regiment long before Washington came from the North & took command the Army was then divided Weedon's brigade including the Regiment I served in with a body of French crossed the York River Colonel Dabney did not go with us but the Regiment was placed under the command of Colonel Batup about this Time Colonel John F Mercer read Washington's order to us authorizing him to rise out of Weedon's brigade a Regiment of Grenadiers I and a number of others served out & he Forced [?] out the Balance to make up his number this was before the Siege commenced I was then with Mercer on the lines until the Siege commenced when we returned back to our former Regiment I was Sergeant Major before I joined Mercer when I returned to Batup's Regiment there was a vacancy of an Ensign, Batup appointed me by brevet to fill the vacancy & also to act as adjutant in a short time after the British Army surrendered I was order[ed] as adjutant to March the volunteers (that is what was left of them & I think that was very few) to the magazine for them to deliver their arms this was all the discharge that we got and in fact I never saw a written discharge given to a soldier.

Morris, George

1834 Pension Application W 27804. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private John Morrison (1 May 1765-1849)

With it, I marched, & joined the main Army under General Lafayette, then advancing upon the enemy. We joined it, I believe, between the Pamunkey & Mattaponi Rivers, probably in King William County – though perhaps lower down. Thence we gradually moved down towards, watching the movements & hanging upon the shirts of the enemy, till we reached Gloucester, opposite York Town; & we remained at Gloucester, aiding in the siege of York, till the surrender of Cornwallis in October '81. After that event, I marched among those who guarded the prisoners on their way to Barracks in Frederick County, but went no further than Fredericksburg, where I was discharged. In this tour also, my Captain was George Waugh. Our Major in the first tour was Thomas Barbour of Orange (father of the present Judge P. P. Barbour & Ex-Governor James Barbour); the subalterns were Lieutenant Shackelford & Ensign Stevens. The second Tour, being always in the light infantry & Grenadiers, we were commanded by various officers in succession – a considerable time by Colonel John Mercer of Marlborough in Stafford [...]

In my first tour I was in no battle: in the 2, I was in several skirmishes – one especially occurring upon Lord Cornwallis' attempt to escape from York River through Gloucester when the Corps to which I belong was engaged for a short time, and some were killed in the platoon next to me.

Morrison, John (his widow Polly Morrison)

1834 Pension Application R 7424. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King William County Militia

Private William Neeves (1764-?)

marched from thence to New Kent, Court House, and from thence to the Brick House at the confluence of the Mattaponi and Pamunky rivers. From thence they were detached under the command of Colonel Taylor, and Major Campbell (or Schamwell) and crossed over York river near the dividing line between King and Queen & Gloucester counties. They remained on the east side of York river, (having frequent skirmishes with the British stationed in Gloucester Fort) until relieved by Captain Taliaferros company from King William county.

Neeves, William

1837 Pension Application R 7604. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King William County Militia

Private George W. New (1764-?)

We were marched to Ware Church in Gloucester County he thinks at this place they were joined by some French troops were marched from thence to Sowels on the North side of York River at which place they were joined by the French Army. He remained at this place during the rest of York and capture of Cornwallis after which we marched to West Point in King William.

New, George W.

1835 Pension Application S 30613. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private James Norton (1763 – post 1856)

the detachment in which he was in rendezvoused here till Gen Chois a frenchman took the command of his Company. this [illegible word] before the Surrender. Gen Washington army from Delware came and [illegible word]. he states the Siege commenced, and remained in the army during the whole Siege. The only circumstances in particular he now remembers of was that during the Siege of York and Glocester on one morning about four OClock the british broke out and tooke a little battery where the french troops were posted and spiked the cannon and the battery [16 Oct] they were repulsed at length with some loss on both sides but the American side suffered most this was after as he now remembers the fight of Pigeon Hill which also took place during the seige. He states that he was not stationed on the york side where the most of the Virginia troops were until the day preceeding the surrender. he state that he was on the Bank of York river on the night the british from the York side medetated an escape [16 Oct], but was prevented by the swifness of the water, he was present drawn up in lines when the british gave up, having crossed over to the other side

Norton, James

1832? Pension Application S 38266. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Richard Nuckolls (1762-?)

In the year 1781, He was again called out from the same County State, for a tour [of] 3 months under the Command of Captain John White Lieutenant Samuel Pettis from this we were marched to the Siege of Little York, where we arrived at Gloster opposite Little York I was put in the Grenadier Company commanded by Colonel Mercer. We there had a fight with the British, near Gloster and we defeated them, and we remained stationed between the two armies until Cornwallis surrendered. At the time of the Surrender he was unwell, and did not march with the Army into the town, but he saw the Army, marching, and the British marched out, General Washington was the Commander in Chief at this place, Soon after this he was discharged at Gloster and I returned home, and never was called on again, after an actual Service in the Army of the United States nineteen months which he served as above Stated, that he never received any written discharge & that each tour he was drafted.

Nuckolls, Richard

1833 Pension Application S 4627. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Mercer's Grenadiers

Private John Oliver (1757-?)

In the year 1781 he was again drafted in the militia from the County & was attached to the Company commanded by Captain John Fitzhugh. He was marched to the County of Gloucester, whilst here General Weedon made a requisition for volunteers & he volunteered in a Company commanded Captain Syson [?] or Cisen in which service he remained – commanded by Colonel Mercer from Freds burg. He was in an engagement at a place called Sowel's where we lost a few men & killed 15 of the enemy

Oliver, John

1833 Pension Application S 5859. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private John Pace (1764-1839)

about the 1st May 1781 he served a tour of duty in the militia from King & Queen County Virginia – went a substitute for his Brother Benjamin Pace – his Father had then just died & his Brother being the oldest remained at home to take care of the Family – he was in a Company commanded by Captain Eddings [probably Samuel Eddins], went to Gloucester town – was there stationed till his tour was out or he was discharged – Immediately upon his return home he was himself drafted & forthwith started upon the second tour – was in Captain Christopher Harwood's Company – was in a skirmish with Colonel Tarlton near Gloucester Town – does not recollect at what time he started the second tour – continued with the Army & performed his duty till a few days before the surrender of Cornwallis, when his health became so bad that he was unable to do duty, he then obtained a parole & went home & remained very sick for 8 or 9 weeks, from the effects of which he has never recovered

Pace, John

1832 Pension Application W 3586. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private William Pattie (1761-?)

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled –

Your petitioner William Pattie who is a resident citizen of the County of Fauquier in the State of Virginia, and now in his 74th year [...] Your petitioner at August Caroline Court in the said State of Virginia in the year 1781 enlisted under Captain Thomas Minor for during the war, in the State Legion commanded by Colonel John Taylor and soon after, under said enlistment, marched under Captain Bumberry to Hubbard's old fields in Gloucester County – from thence to Ware Church near the Court House of said County, and there remained until joined by the French troops at Dixon's old fields – thence under William Campbell who commanded our Regiment. General Weedon commander in chief of the militia and our detachment – marched to Sowel's, where the French and [indecipherable word] troops drove Tarleton to Gloucester Town. Your petitioner continued in this service till his discharge in consequence of a rising on his knee –

Pattie, William

1833 Pension Application S 10252. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private Richard Payne (1763-1841)

That during this Service and after arriving at Gloucester, and being stationed at and near Gloucester Court House and at a Church (Weir's) General Weedon called for volunteers for a Grenadier Company and promoted Lieutenant Hungerford to a Captaincy to command it. That he volunteered in said company and continued with it in Gloucester until after the siege of York. That he was in an engagement at Lowell's lane with a detachment of Cornwallis's Army under Tarleton and some Infantry out foraging. That they attacked the enemy, and Tarleton kept it up until their foraging wagons got out of reach, when the enemy drew in, leaving one officer on the field That he continued on the Gloucester side, till the surrender of Cornwallis and remembers that Tarleton came in from that side when he surrendered. That after the surrender, he with the company were marched down to receive the prisoners and did receive them with a number of horses and arms, which were afterwards given up as declarant thinks by stipulation to our French allies. That the prisoners were subsequently given in charge of the Mountain troops and marched to Winchester for safekeeping.

Payne, Richard

1836 Pension Application S 8929. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King William County Militia

Private Charles Pegg (1764-?)

They were next ordered to Gloucester to prevent the British from crossing over the River from York Town to that place. There they had two skirmishes with the Enemy in opposing their attempts to cross, in both of which this affiant was present. At this last mentioned place his said Regiment, with some others, was stationed until the taking of Lord Cornwall, and this was affiant was present and assisting in that glorious event. That after Cornwallis was captured and sometime about the last of October 1781 he returned home with the rest of the militia

Pegg/Pigg, Charles

1832 Pension Application S 17633. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private Josiah Pew/Pugh (1762-1848)

he entered about 1778 and left the service in 1781 – he was in no engagement, he resided in Kingston Parish Gloucester County when he was called as a militia man of that County, and has resided there ever since he was discharged – he would be called upon to go to Gloucester Court House and be kept there for a week or two at a time when the enemy would be expected – he would be called down to York and remained there two or three weeks at a time and then be relieved; in March of the year [1781] that Lord Cornwallis came to York he was called out and remained out until after the capture with the exception of a month or two while he was sick. He did not serve with any of the Continental troops.

The Affidavits of William Diggs and Joseph Smith both of lawful age, made in Mathews County to accompany the declaration of Josiah Pugh made on the 15th day of August 1832 to which he has now added an amended declaration – These Affiants being first duly sworn deposed and say that they were acquainted with Josiah Pugh before he entered into the service, that they served with him in the Revolutionary War, that he belonged to Captain Josiah Foster's Company composing part of the Regiment of militia for Gloucester County commanded by Colonel Sir John Peyton, that he was with them on duty at Williamsburg, James Town, Hubbard's old field, Ware Church, Leuwallens old field, and Gloucester Town – he entered the service in 1778 and was discharged with the rest of the Gloucester troops in October 1781, he might have served a little on guard at Point Comfort afterwards of that these cannot speak these affiants have heard the declaration made by Josiah Pugh this day and they believe he served fully as much as the periods therein mentioned and that during those periods he was not employed in any civil occupation, that he was on duty by order of the Colo of the Regiment and further these affiants say not.

Pew/Pugh, Josiah

1832 Pension Application W 5586. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private George Nicholas Philips (1757-1834)

in July 1780, I Enlisted as a soldier in the revolutionary war during the war and was attached to the company of Capt Eslang and in May 1781 I was marched from the White Plains to Philadelphia & Alexandria and attached to Col Washingtons Regiment of Horse and then marched to Little York where I aided in capturing Lord Cornwallis, and after he was taken we marched to Charlotte court house where we were stationed until the war ended and where I resided and in Amherst county after the war closed until the year 1812 when I moved to Kentucky and settled in Mercer county and next year volunteered in Col Robert Johnsons Regiment and marched to Canada. I farther state that I served as a faithful soldier until the war of the Revolution ended and I have long since lost my discharges having served out my time.

Philips, George

1832 Pension Application S 31908. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Phillips was granted a pension of \$100 per year on assumption that he served in Col. Washington's Light Dragoons. In 1832, Francis Adams, 81 years old, provided affidavit stating that he and Phillips

entered the Army of the Revolution together in July 1780 and were attached to the same company and served in Col Washingtons Light Dragoons being attached to the same in Capt. Erlangs company and aided in capturing Lord Cornwallis and continued in service until the war Ended The s'd Philips was a faithful soldier as I knew him well the whole time. In May 1781 we marched from the White Plains to Philadelphia, Baltimore & Alexandria and then to Little York where we captured Cornwallis and then after his capture to Charlotte court house where we were stationed until the war ended and I was discharged.

The pension application is almost identical with the application by Francis Adams W 8313.

“Capt Eslang” or “Erlang” was Captain Henry Esclent who commanded the First Escadron of Hussars. Born in Liège in the Austrian Netherlands, modern-day Belgium, in 1733, Esclent began his military career as a dragoon in the Légion Royale in 1751, became a lieutenant in June 1762, and transferred to the Royal Dragoons in 1776. After 27 years of service he became a captain in the volontaires étrangers de la marine in September 1778 but transferred to Lauzun's Legion in March 1780. Promoted to Major on 1 March 1784, he died in 1786.

The *contrôle* of Esclent's 1st Escadron of Hussars does not identify a hussar by the name of George Philips.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia

Private Jesse Robertson (1758-1846)

In 1781 about June he volunteered and went as a substitute for a man whose name he does not recollect & served a tour of one month in the militia. he went from the County of Louisa, Virginia. He does not recollect the name of his Capt – but recollects that Gen'l. Stevens was the Commander. upon reflection he thinks the man, for whom he went a substitute, was by name of Thos. Payne. on this tour we were marched down below Richmond about the Mobbin Hills. After this tour was out he continued in the army as a volunteer in the militia till after the surrender of Cornwallis. that he was at the Siege of York & his recollection is that Charles Yancey was his Capt at York. He well recollects that when Cornwallis surrendered he was one of the men ordered to take charge of the Horses belonging to Tatton's Troop or squadron of Horse. That after the surrender of Cornwallis he was discharged at York.

Robertson, Jesse

1832 Pension Application W 2249. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hanover County Militia

Private John Saunders (1760-?)

crossed at West Point to Gloucester and continued to serve in those places till discharged, sometimes retreating from the enemy and Gloucester town across Danger Swamp into Essex and then returning to Hulbard's and sometimes to Sowell's old field, and at the latter place made a small redoubt – first Major Campbell commanded his Regiment then Colonel Taylor and afterwards General Weden sometimes called General Gourde

Saunders, John

1832 Pension Application S 6048. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Private William Shackelford (1759-?)

after his return home he remained only two weeks when he was again ordered out under Capt Jameson. attached to the regiment under Colo Anthony Thorn and marched to Glouster. Thorn having left them they were commanded by one Colo Messer & was in the brigade commanded by Genl Weaton. the regiment was called Colo Messer's Grenadiers. He was in the action at Powell's Old field. he was stationed on the Gloucester side until Cornwallis surrendered when he was discharged. He states he was dismissed without receiving any writing. he states that he was during this tour in service three months.

Shakelford, William

1833 Pension Application S 7499. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Sergeant Isaac Smith (1760-?)

He was once stationed at Gloucester Town for twelve months, in the 7th regement, at the time of the seige he was in the cavalry under Capt Dudley Carey, Colo Webb was commandant of the cavalry. He was in a small engagement at that time. [...] He can prove his service by William Digges [W8327] and Josiah Pew [W5586].

[...] I do not recollect the number of the regiments, it was the regiment of militia for Gloucester County. The regiment to which we were at Gloucester Town was called the 7 Regiment. I was a sergeant all the time

These Affiants being first duly sworn, depose and say that they were acquainted with Isaac Smith before he went into service, during his service and ever since – he entered the service in William Smith company belonging to the Gloucester Militia commanded by Colo Sir John Peyton – that he was part of his service in Capt Dudley Carey’s company of Cavalry – he entered the service in 1777 and was discharged in the fall 1781 – he was on duty with these affiants at Williamsburg, Burwell’s ferry, Hubbard’s Old field, Ware Church, Seawelle’s Old field, and Gloucester Town – These affiants have heard the declaration made by Isaac Smith this day and believe that he was in actual service fully as long as the periods mentioned therein, and that he was not employed in any civil employment during those periods – that he was on duty all the time by order of the Colo of the regiment – and further they say not. [signed] William Digges [signed] Josiah Pew

Smith, Isaac

1832 Pension Application S 11427. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private Nathaniel Smith (1763-1841)

the fall he was sixteen years old [30 June 1779] he was drafted into the militia of Virginia [...] that as soon as he returned he substituted himself for Saunders Burnet a private, in the company of militia from the same county under Captain Anderson, – marched into the lower country through the counties of King Wm King & Queen and Gloucester – at Lowells old field was in an engagement with a party of the enemy whom they drove back and then encamped on the ground – was stationed at Lowell’s old field during the rest of the tour and was discharged having served two months – Colo Ennis was the commander of the regiment and Gen’l. Weden commanded – recollects the French horse and some French infantry – and when the British surrendered the horses were delivered to his company

Smith, Nathaniel

1832 Pension Application W 5175. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Westmoreland County Militia/John Webb's Regt of Horse

Private Samuel Smith (1763-?)

Applicant further states, that in August 1781 in the County of Westmoreland aforesaid he enlisted and joined the Company of horsemen principally raised in Northumberland County (Va) commanded by Capt. John McAdams, applicant furnishing his own horse and equipage, in said Company of horse applicant served two months making in aggregate service as a private in the service of the United States in the Revolutionary War nine months for which he claims compensation under the provisions of the Act aforesaid. Applicant states that McAdams' company aforesaid belonged to Colo. Webbs [probably John Webb's] regt. of horse and served on the Gloster side of York River, ranging up and down the river above and below the town of Little York during the seige of Cornwallis in that town, applicant was in the engagement with the British commanded by Colo. Tarlton [sic: Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton] when he attempted to retreat from Little York to join the main army of the British in the north Applicant recollects that General Weeden, and Colos. Innis and Nelson were in command on the Gloster side of York River whilst he performed service as aforesaid.

Smith, Samuel

1833 Pension Application S 31378. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hanover County Militia

Private Robert Snead/Sneed (1762-1841)

he substituted himself for his brother John Snead, who was drafted in the troops intended to relieve those in which he had served; that he marched in a company commanded by William Norville , Isaac Hayden Lieutenant and John Christian Ensign, as a private; that he marched by West point to head quarters at Hubbard's old field; that while in service there he was frequently detached to observe the enemy, and frequently was prepared for Battle, but never was in one; that he was discharged at Gloucester Court House, that this tour was of three months; that he does not recollect any continentals in this tour; that Colo Taylor and Major Campbell were the officers; that he got home on friday night and on sunday morning left his home for the purpose of substituting himself for his brother-in-law Elijah Pridee[sic: Priddy], who was sick in the hospital, and that he took his place with the consent of the officers, near Williamsburg; that he marched under Capt. John Thompson with Lieutenant E. Thompson by the half way house to York; that he reached York as soon as the entrenchments were began, and that he remained there until the capitulation; and that he guarded the prisoners to Noland's Ferry in Loudon where he was discharged.

Snead/Sneed, Robert

1832 Pension Application R 9891. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Fauquier County Militia

Private Edward Suttle (1764-?)

and Hanover thence crossing ten or twelve miles above Yorktown then to a brush [?
could be Creek] Church Gloucester County from thence marched down on the British lines
and got defeated returned again at Gloucester town &c

Suttle, Edward

1832 Pension Application S 4907. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land
Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records
Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Chesterfield County Militia

Private Josiah Taylor (1762-?)

Sometime in the month of July following he was called to take his own turn in the service (immediately after the return of Cornwallis' Army down the River from the point of fork) he thinks (as well as his memory serves him) that he was mustered into service at Chesterfield Court house under a certain Captain _ Hill was marched on to New Castle where they drew their arms & accoutrements, from there he was marched to West point where they crossed York River & from thence to the Gloucester County opposite little York where Cornwallis and his Army was stationed, where the said Taylor remained until sometime in September at which time he was discharged near a church about 6 miles above Gloucester town.

Taylor, Josiah

1832 Pension Application S 6203. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Gloucester County Militia

Private James Thomas (1763-1838)

He was with the Gloucester militia when they formed a line [? above?] near Whiting's Mill and encamped in Hubbard's Old Field, he marched with them into Middlesex and came back to the encampment, thence they marched down to Weir Church and thence to Seawell's old fields where they [made?] another standing encampment, the French Troops foot and light horse under Des cartes [d'Esclent?] or some officer whose name they pronounced Dashaw [de Choisy], were stationed there.

Thomas, James

1832 Pension Application S 11548. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Mecklenburg County Militia

Private Cudbud Tisdale (1750-?)

On the 5th of September 1781, he was again drafted for three months. The Captain was Thompson Fulks [?]. From Mecklenburg County he marched under command of Colonel Lewis Burrell [Lewis Burwell] to Williamsburg Virginia and thence to a kind of fortification or breastwork called Sowell's Ornary, about five miles east of Yorktown, the siege of which was then commenced. At Ornary, we were placed under command of General Weedon, connected with the Legion of Lauzun and both under the command of General De Choisé. The whole number of Militia placed here under General Weedon, this declarant does not remember, but it amounted, as, he believes, to one thousand or more. The body was thus placed under General De Choisé to watch and restrain Colonel Tarlton who was fortified at Gloucester point opposite Yorktown, while Washington was pressing the siege against Cornwallis. At Sowell's Ornary this declarant remained under General Weedon till after Cornwallis surrendered. And till the first of November following, when the whole brigade of militia commanded by General Weedon was discharged, four days before the declarant's term of service was ended. On this occasion he received no written discharge, nor does he believe that any of the brigade with which he was connected did. He distinctly recollects that Weedon drew up the troops, informed them that since the capture of Cornwallis, Washington had no further use for them, and with a wave of the hand, which he will never forget, told the troops to go home.

Tisdale, Cudbud

1833 Pension Application S 16554. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Caroline County Militia

Private George Tribble (1757-1842)

He returned home and was shortly after drafted in the Virginia Militia under Captain William Taliaferro and marched down to Williamsburg and James Town. He served seven different tours at different times in the Virginia Militia during which period he was stationed at Port Royal Va. joined by Lafayettes army in Culpeper County Va and thence marched to Charlottesville and York Town That at the time of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown he belonged to a detachment then reconoitering the adjacent county of Gloucester to prevent the depredations of the enemy on the waters of the York and Rappahannoc. He was in but one engagement which was in the said County of Gloucester with a skirmishing party where four prisoners were taken by his party.

Tribble, George

1832 Pension Application W 27863. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia

Private Martin Walton (1761-?)

7th. He next substituted as a militia man in the place of William Beadles the Regiment commanded by Colonel John Taylor of Caroline County and Major Campbell Company officers not recollected he was marched down through the Counties of Hanover & Henrico and the City of Richmond thence to the Morbin Hills stationed there some time from thence to the Medow bridges [Meadow Bridges?] thence to New Castle in Hanover County thence down Pamunkey River to the South West Point there crossed York River thence to Hubbard old fields in King and Queen County and was stationed principally at that place near Corbans Mills at which place the Army was frequently alarmed and retreated over the Mill and formed into a line of battle and at several different times we lay on our arms all night in the order of battle while at that station he well recollects having been sent in a detachment which marched all night to a place called the White Church on York River for the purpose of capturing the boats of the British sent out as a foraging expedition but the boats did not appear as anticipated and the detachment after remaining at said Church one day and night returned to head quarters the British Army was at this time in Little York and Gloster Town at another time the Regiment commanded by Colonels Taylor & Baitop [indecipherable word interlined] in Taylor's Regiment were detailed and sent near Gloucester town to defeat Colonel Tarlton and the British force under his command the two regiments marched all night with the exception of one hour to get to a position where Tarleton it was said frequently came to exercise his horse or troops under his command the two regiments lay in ambush from soon after daybreak until 9 o'clock in the morning in the meantime some of our horsemen were sent for the purpose of decoying Colonel Tarleton into the ambuscade but the attempt proved abortive and the two regiments returned after performing various other marches his term of service of three months then being expired he was discharged having served three months.

8th. Immediately after the last mentioned term of service in the year 1781 he was drafted as a militia man and continued in the Army stationed in Gloucester County near Gloucester town on the North side of York River near a Church the name of which he cannot recollect but which they were fortifying for the purpose of making it a magazine he remained in that position until after the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis he then marched down to the town of Gloucester to guard a fort of British refugees and Negroes until they were removed he thence returned to said Church and was discharged he will was

commanded in the last mentioned campaign by Captain John White the other officers not recollected, he cannot recollect positively but to the best of his recollection he believes it to be one month. He further states that he lived in Louisa Virginia County and State of Virginia during the whole of the revolutionary war and the Militia in said County were divided into 10 divisions and that he belonged to the 9th Division and that he invariably performed his tour of duty according to his turn in that division and that he served as a private taking my tours together 19 months and 10 days and was not employed during said time in any civil pursuit.

Walton, Martin

1833 Pension Application S 3473. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia

Private Newell Walton (1763-1841)

I was in the Pursuit down to the siege, crossed the River to Gloucester side after being there a short time, myself among seventy-five active chosen men was detached from the Army put under Officers who were residents of Gloucester County who well knew the situation of the place to watch & scout on the enemy's lines, we were on a continual scout, never ate or slept twice on the same place, often alarmed by the foraging parties of the enemy, but never came to an engagement, finding always that they were too strong for our little Corps, after being harassed for some time I was taken violently sick & were conveyed to the Hospital where I lay sick until the term or Tour expired which was a few days before the surrender of Cornwallis.

Walton, Newell

1832 Pension Application S 22037. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: King and Queen County Militia

Private William Wedderburn (1764-?)

To the Honorable the Senate & House of Delegates of Virginia, in General Assembly met: The petition of William Wedderburn, of Alexandria D.C. (a native of Virginia) respectfully shows: That he was drafted from King & Queen County [...] After your petitioner had been at his father's [Alexander Wedderburn's] some 8 or 10 days, Lord Cornwallis came with his fleet & army up York river, & took and fortified York & Gloucester. Your petitioner was then warned to join Capt. Richard Anderson's company, which he did the same day. After being under his command about two weeks, he was dismissed, as he had just served out his turn in Gloucester. Soon after this a hospital was established near the residence of your petitioner's father, who was appointed Assistant Surgeon thereof under Dr. Anthony Gardner, its Surgeon. To this hospital your petitioner repaired, & assisted in preparing & distributing the medicines to be administered to the sick, of whom the house was generally as full as it could hold. He remained in this service several weeks

[2nd request 1836] early in August Lord Cornwallis, with all his Fleet and army came up York River and took possession of York and Gloucester Town there was then a general call for every man who bear armes, and I was summoned to join Capt Richard Andersons company which, I did on the same day, and did the duty of a soldier after our Army came from the upper Country, and the Regalers from the North & South they having a sufficient fourse I was discharged as I had lately served my tower in Gloucester Town as stated above soon after being dismissed – There was a Hospital fixed up at Carys old Brick House, Dr Anthony Gardner appointed surgion & my Father Alexander Wedderburn surgions mate, afterwards your petitioner Joind the Hospital It was filled up at Caryes old brick House after our army got near the Enemyes I was near Sewells, then. the above was not continued

Wedderburn, William

1835 Pension Application VAS 1769. Library of Virginia Legislative Petitions Digital Collection/Alexandria City

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: John Mercer's Grenadiers

Sergeant John White (1758-1834)

entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as herein stated. He was under Captain John Willis, Colonel Peyton, Major Boswell and Major Throgmorton (*Throckmorton*) were the field officers, He was just old enough to be put on the muster list at the commencement of the war, and stood to nearly all of it, He left the service immediately after the siege of York at which time he was under Colonel Mercer and his Captain Hungerford of the Grenadiers, Thomas Booth was Lieutenant: and Daniel New, Ensign. He was in many little skirmishes as along on the coast with barges and tenders, he was in an engagement with the enemy at Seawell's in which he fired thirteen rounds and his officers thought that he killed one of the British officers, this was about the time of the siege of York. He resided in Kingston Parrish Gloucester County when he was into the service and has lived there ever since his discharge, He stood many drafts during the war but was never drafted, he entered the service as a militia man and was in it off and on during the whole war. The standing encampment just before the siege was up Hubbard's Old Fields, (*near present day Adner*) thence they marched down to Weir (*Ware*) Church and thence to Seawell's Old Fields that were about five hundred men at Weir (*Ware*) Church the company to which he belonged marched on ahead, got into an engagement with the enemy and drove them back into Gloucester Town (*Gloucester Point*) before the others came up. He never served with any of the Continental troops they were on the York side, the French troops were on the Gloucester-side both Foot and light Horse (*Lauzun's Legion*). He was acquainted with none of the regular officers. He has no documentary evidence to how when he entered or was discharged, he received no written discharge. He can prove his service by Simeon Green and James Thomas.

He was born in Kingston Parish, Gloucester County in March 1756 he has a record of his age which he exhibited here in court – he was in actual service upwards of 3 years, and was a Sergeant nearly all the war –"

White, John

1832 Pension Application W 6476. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia

Private William White (1756-?)

our orders was to provide Napsacks Cloths Shoes and hats and not Apear Shaby

4th Campaign of 2 months at the siege of Little York under Capt. John White But White left his post. then I was attached to Capt. Stubbs my time out and Col. Battiff and Maj. Battiff were our field Officers, we serv'd on the Gloucester side of the river and our regmt rec'd the Surrender of the British light horse, and Delivered their horses to the french duke near Gloucester town and in all those different towers I serv'd a Private Soldier.

[1833] 4th Campaign of 2 months at the siege of Little York under Capt. John White But White left his post. then I was attached to Capt. Stubbs my time out and Col. Battiff and Maj. Battiff were our field Officers, we serv'd on the Gloucester side of the river and our regmt rec'd the Surrender of the British light horse, and Delivered their horses to the french duke near Gloucester town and in all those different towers I serv'd a Private Soldier.

White, William

1832 Pension Application S 1601. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Prince William County Militia

Private Charles Wickcliffe (1766-?)

The 2nd tour, the following year, he served in the militia from Fauquier – in a troop of volunteer Light horse under Captain William Triplett – attached to a Regiment of Militia in Gloucester, whither we marched – we were, while in Gloucester, routed by Colonel Tarleton light horse & many of our horses taken & afterwards we were discharged – this tour was a short time over three months & we always stood ready when called on to march again – we bore our own expenses & received nothing but our rations – as compensation –

Wickcliffe, Charles

1833 Pension Application S 1271. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Wickcliffe first served in the summer of 1780 in the Prince William County militia

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Essex County Militia

Private Thomas Williams (1764-?)

In the latter part of the summer of the same year, he was again called out and entered the service in the County of Essex in Captain William Gatewood's company of militia, the subalterns being Thomas Chaney and William Jeffries; marched through King & Queen County into the County of Gloucester, and was put under command [of] Colonel Innes & Colonel Griffin about three miles from Gloucester Town, was then stationed near that Town opposite Yorktown on York River, during the whole time of the siege of York; remained at that place, with about 500 troops, guarding the prisoners and reconnoitering the movements of the British Army and British scouting detachments, and was discharged at Gloucester Town a few days after the surrender of Cornwallis' Army, having served a little less than three months, not less he thinks, and two months & a half.

That he served with him sundry Continental troops, but does not recollect the numbers of the Regiments or the names of the officers except those already mentioned, was never engaged in any battle except a skirmish with a detachment of British troops near Gloucester. He never received any written discharge & has no documentary evidence of his service, but the part of his services is known to several living witnesses.

Williams, Thomas

1833 Pension Application S 11836. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Private Joseph Winegardner (1756-1833)

That in the month of July A.D. 1780 he entered the service of the United States as a private in Captain Eskalon's Company of Colonel Pulaski's Regiment in Duke De Lausun's Legion or Division of Volunteers under the command of Count De Rochambeau at Newport Rhode Island. On the arrival of the French Armament as aforesaid at the time last aforesaid at Newport Rhode Island, the Regiment, Legion or Brigade to which deponent belonged as aforesaid, being provided with horses, arms &c by General Washington was marched to North Hampton, Massachusetts where they were quartered during the winter following. In the spring of the year following deponent was marched with said troops under the officers aforesaid to the "White Plains", as called near New York, at and near which said Legion or Brigade of Cavalry were encamped until the autumn of the year A.D. 1781 when they were ordered by General Washington to Virginia where they were engaged in a Skirmish with a detachment of British Cavalry near Yorktown a few days previous to the surrender of General Cornwallis in which skirmish deponent was severely wounded in his bridle arm by a pistol shot from the enemy. Deponent was with said troop under Duke De Lauzun and the officers aforesaid at Yorktown, when Cornwallis surrendered his force to General Washington, after which they were marched to Hampton where they were quartered until the winter of said year last mentioned. From Hampton deponent was marched with said troops under the officers aforesaid to Charlottesville, where they remained until the spring of the year A.D. 1782, when said troops were discharged, and Duke De Lauzun embarked for France. Deponent was engaged as a private in the Regiment and Legion of Light horse troops or Cavalry as aforesaid under the officers aforesaid for more than two years. Deponent received a written discharge, signed by Duke De Lauzun on his return to France which he has since lost.

Winegardner (Wingerow), Joseph

1833 Pension Application R 11706. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

The contrôle identifies François Vigneron, age 22 when he enlists on 19 January 1779, from Alsace, as serving in Captain Henry Esclent's First Escadron of Hussars. He deserted on 10

June 1782, the same day that the Legion departed from its winter quarters at Charlotte Court House for Amelia Court House.

Born in Liège in the Austrian Netherlands, modern-day Belgium, in 1733, Esclent began his military career as a dragoon in the Légion Royale in 1751, became a lieutenant in June 1762, and transferred to the Royal Dragoons in 1776. After 27 years of service he became a captain in the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* in September 1778 but transferred to Lauzun's Legion in March 1780. Promoted to Major on 1 March 1784, he died in 1786.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Fluvanna County Militia

Private Benjamin Woody (?-1836)

marched from Fluvanna Courthouse, and marched straight on the Gloucester County opposite York, in an old field, passed by King William Courthouse, and remained there and thereabouts three months, when, after the capture of Cornwallis he was discharged. He was in a skirmish whilst stationed opposite York, in driving in the British light horse, who were out on a plundering party on the Gloucester side – in this skirmish six of our men were killed, and fifteen of the British soldiers

Woody, Benjamin

1834 Pension Application W 6577. M804 Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, Record Group 15. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

APPENDIX IV

UNITED STATES, CIVILIAN ACCOUNTS

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

Dr. Robert Honyman (1747-1824)

Page 406, 23 June 1781

Reinforcements of militia come in every day. This morning I met a troop of Volunteer Horse (about 30) from Gloucester County under one Capt: Dixon going to camp. Most of our Horse are Volunteers, in small bodies, & chiefly Gentlemen; most of them exceedingly well mounted, but some of them badly armed, & all under very little discipline, & hard to govern. I suppose we may have 300 horse by this time. It is generally thought that our army at this time does consist of at least 7000 effective men; & many think there are more. We have 16 pieces of fine brass cannon along with the army.

Page 414, 1 September 1781

The Enemy's principal force at Gloucester town, where they threw up some intrenchments, & a part of their troops in York town. About 10 or 12 days [ago] they surprised a piquet of an advanced Party in Gloucester & carried off 3 or 4 men.

Page 415, 5 September 1781

Great numbers of Militia from many different counties are called into service; those between York river & Rappahannock to rendezvous at Gloucester Court house; those between York & James river to join the main army.

Page 417, 24 September 1781

It seems the Enemy still keep possession of Gloucester Town, & their cavalry make excursions into the adjacent Country; a number of militia are assembled there under Gen. Weedon to restrain their incursions. [...] And a few days ago some of the Enemy's horse came up to the half-way house; but our horse pursued them down towards York. And not many days ago their horse were scouring Gloucester County, & the militia much afraid of them.

Page 422, October 1781

The enemy seems to have a number of troops in Gloucester, & their encampment appears large.

On Tuesday the 9th (I think) the French Legion under the Duc de Lauzan defeated Tarleton's Legion in Gloucester, & killed % took a good many men.

Richard K. MacMaster and Robert Honyman, "News of the Yorktown Campaign: The Journal of Dr. Robert Honyman, April 17-November 25, 1781." *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 79, No. 4 (October 1971), pp. 387-426.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

St. George Tucker (1752-1827)

We are Told that Tarlton made an Excursion yesterday with two hundred Horse into Gloster; it is also said a Firing was heard on that side & that Tarlton was repulsed but we have not yet heard any particulars of the affair- the number of dead horses seen yesterday by some Gentlemen amounted to near four hundred - A few shot fired during the Course of the Day - This Evening it was mentioned in Gen. Orders that the Duke de Lozun's Legion with Mercers Corps of Grenadier Militia (about 150) repuls'd Tarlton yesterday & drove him back to the Enemy's Lines - Our loss was three Hussars Kill'd, eleven and an officer wounded - the Enemy lost fifty Men in kill'd and wounded - The Officer commanding the Infantry was kill'd, & Tarlton himself badly wounded*- It is said his own men rode over him in the precipitancy of their Retreat - About three Days ago about nineteen hundred French Troops were landed from the Fleet in Gloster - Our Force there amounts to near four thousand men at present *I am told*. 2300. only.

Note in margin: *Tarlton is not wounded.

Edward M. Riley, ed., "St. George Tucker's Journal of the Siege of Yorktown, 1781" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1948, pp. 375-395, p. 383.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

John Dixon (?-1788)

On 2 March 1781, John Dixon wrote to Governor Thomas Jefferson regarding the raising of a troop of Gloucester cavalry. ("Dixon's Horse")

I take the liberty to inform your excellency, that the exposed situation of Glo'ster County from the extensive water courses, & the frequent depredations of the Enemy in small plundering parties, determined me, with the approbation of the County Lieutenant, to raise a Troop of Horse, consisting of thirty-two exclusive of Officers; which I have compleated, with Men of Property & repute; Those who cannot Mount & equip themselves, I have undertaken to furnish at my expense; we wish to be allowed only forage & rations when in actuall service. Wages we would not accept, and the sanction of the Executive to obtain temporary Commissions for the Officers, that if the chance of War should throw them into the Enemy's hands, they may have the advantages other officers are entitled to. The articles of enlistment I will transmit to your Excellency if wanted.

I have the honour to be ...

Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* vol. 5: February 1781 to May 1781 (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1952), p. 41.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

John Dixon (?-1788)

On May 1, 1781, John Dixon wrote to Governor Thomas Jefferson again regarding the raising of a troop of Gloucester cavalry.

I received your favor of the 12th. Ulto. Requesting cavalry to be raized to join Majr. Genl. Baron Steuben, and was anxious to have comply'd therewith, but the Executive appearing to discourage my plan of raising and equipping a Troop of Horse, it has effectually prevented the Gentlemen from being equip'd in any manner to answer the purpose for which they were call'd. a few indeed have acted from necessity as light Horsemen, and have been for some weeks on duty endeavouring to put a stop to the daily ravages committed by the Enemy since the Arms have been taken from our Militia. I am with great respect your Excellency's Most Obt. Servt.,

J. Dixon

Julian P. Boyd, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* vol. 5: February 1781 to May 1781 (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1952), p. 583.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

Governor Thomas Nelson (1738-1789)

Governor Thomas Nelson to Delegates in Congress from Virginia, 5 October 1781.

The Day before yesterday, on the Gloucester side, the Duke de Lauzun attacked with his cavalry a corps of militia Grenadiers, Tarleton at the Head of six hundred men, consisting of the Horse of his Legion & a Body of Infantry — Tarleton was dismounted & wounded; a major who commanded the Infantry killed, near fifty men killed & wounded, and the whole Party defeated. The Loss on our side, was about 12 killed & wounded. The Duke, his officers & the whole of the men under his command behaved with so much gallantry on this occasion, that the Commander in Chief thought proper to give them his Thanks in the Order of yesterday.

William P. Palmer et al., eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784*. vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), p. 527.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

Governor Thomas Nelson (1738-1789)

Governor Nelson to Sir John Peyton per Robert Anderson, Sec'y, 05 October 1781

Camp before York

Sir,

There is an immediate necessity for two swift Pettiaugurs for the Purpose of opening a short communication between the Camps. The Governor begs that you will have them procured and sent to Smith's Landing on back Creek.

I am &c

To Sir John Peyton, 05 October 1781.

William P. Palmer et al., eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784.* vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), p. 527.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

Governor Thomas Nelson (1738-1789)

Governor Thomas Nelson to Lieutenant Governor David Jameson, 08 October 1781.

In Gloucester, the Duke de Lauzun, with the Horse of his Legion & some Militia Grenadiers, repulsed Tarleton at the Head of 600 men—Tarleton was dismounted & wounded, the commanding officer of his Infantry killed, and at least 80 of his men killed & wounded. The Duke's Loss in killed & wounded was about twelve.

William P. Palmer et al., eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784*. vol. 2. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1881), p. 533.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

William Reynolds (?-?)

William Reynolds to Governor Benjamin Harrison from Yorktown on 23 January 1782

Sir -

The day before our Court Day I recc'd a Commission for a sheriff for this County. I had previous to the rec't of the Commission directed the Clerk to write to the magistrates to desire their attendance, four of which with the gentleman who was to qualifie as sheriff did attend. It was their opinion that we could not set, to do business in any other House but the Court house, which at present is used by the French as an Hospital, the variety of disorders therein, and the disagreeable smell of the House deter'd the Gentlemen from going in. I thought it proper to acquaint yr: Excellency, as perhaps by an application from you the House may be given up—the necessity for a Sheriff and Court in this County was perhaps never greater than at present, the situation of the inhabitants of this Town is peculearly hard. If the French army are to stay any time, we hope Barracks will be built to the chimneys of the former.

There is I suppose upwards of a hundred negroes in this Town & York, they are really a great nuisance—I wish something could be done with them, it would be useless for me to have them taken up, as we have no prison to confine them in, nor no guard to escort them elsewhere.

I am with great respect

yr: Excellency's mo: obt. Servant—

William P. Palmer et al., eds. *Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts from January 1, 1782, to December 31, 1784*. vol. 3. (Richmond: James E. Goode, 1883), p. 44.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Louisa County Militia ?

Lieutenant Samuel Terrell (?- ?)

Samuel Terrell to (Major) Garrett Minor, Louisa County, 30 September 1781

Ware Church Camp Sept 30th 1781

[...] We are informed that yesterday General Washington certainly moved down on the Enemy's lines; and within Eighteen Hundred yards of York Town [goes on to argue that surrender will be unavoidable unless a large British fleet will arrive] I have the pleasure to inform you our situation is very healthy and as agreeable as the hardships & fatigues of a soldier can render it though I have been been (sic) lucky enough enjoy a lieutenancy – I am happy informing of our Army's being in the highest spirits hoping in a little time to rid our Country of the merciless Tyrants.

Garret Minor Papers. MS PH 27, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia; (copies of Garrett Minor Papers, Library of Congress)

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Civilian

John Dixon (?-1788)

Mes^{sr} Wadsworth & Carter

Gentlemen

I have taken the liberty to send my Acct agreed the French Army as above requesting the fav^r of you to get the needful done for me that Mr Cary who now went on with the French may be to obtain the balance for me in landing your assistance in his business you will confer a very singular obligation on

Gent^l

Gloster March 23d 1782

Yr Most Obt Servt

John Dixon

Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers Box 40, Folder 13.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut

APPENDIX V

UNITED STATES, CIVILIAN SERVICE AND DAMAGE CLAIMS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY – HOUSE OF DELEGATES
 REPORTS OF LOSSES SUSTAINED FROM THE BRITISH
 BOX 1, 1782-1783 A – N
 ACCESSION 40909 (MISC. REEL 5822)
 STATE RECORDS COLLECTION, THE LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

The cover page of the original reads:

Copy of the Losses and injuries Sustained by the Enemy in Gloster during the last Invasion to be Sent to Richmond

and underneath in a different hand: *Gloster Losses*

The top/first line of the table is partly cut off on the microfilm but I can make out

... this Common Wealth the 7th Day of September 1782 Present Francis Tomkins, Peter Barnley Whiting, Thomas Smith, Thomas Smith Jun^r, Philip Tabband, John Whiting Gen^t.

Sufferers names	Negroes what sort & ages	Horses, Cattle & Sheep hogs	Houses, Tobacco, Grain, Spirits & other property
Henry Forrest	Negro Man a valuable Smith 20 years old proved by Jn Lewis		
Thomas Whiting dec ^d his Estate	James ... 20 y ^s old Harry 22 Peter ... 20 ... Barnaby a shoemaker ... 25 Jack ... 14 ... Jack ... 16 Bob ... 17 Laurence a weaver 19 y ^s old Jerry ... 28 Ben 20 Peter 20 Amos .. 22 . Pompey 50 Bob 29 Betty ... 40 Sukey 23 Hannah 4 Agatha 1, Grace 36 ...	1 Horse 12 years old 1 ditto 15 years old Proved by Elizabeth Whiting & Jn ^o Seawell	

The Estate of John Thruston Gen ^t deced	1 negro man Phill 50 years old went to the enemy ret ^d & died in a few days	1 horse 3 years old taken & not returned Proved by Jn ^o Vaughan	a Dwelling House 30 by 20 feet pulld down & destroyed a Large & almost new Store house Burnt a Dairy and Smoak House pulled down a large Garden destroyed a parcel of new posts pails & rails & plank destroyed, a Cornfield about 45 barrels with the rails &c destroyed dwelling House Kitchen & Store house damaged
Johanna Dunlap	1 negro man George 30 years old a good Gardener, one negro Child two years old a negro Child two months old	20 Hogs. 8. Sheep Proved by M ^{rs} Dunlap	3 Houses 12 by 16 feet sawed logs two of which were planked above and below, 35 Barrels Indian corn, 80 Dunghill fowl 38 Turkeys 3 narrow Axes 4 rum Hh ^{ds} a deal of wearing apparel 4000 bundles Corn blades
John Seawell	Negro Jacob 40 years old went to The enemy returned and died within (illeg.) after his return. Toby 25 y ^s old Abraham 20. Dick 55. Peter 20	2 Draft oxen Proved by J. Seawell himself	100 Bushels Indian Corn, 300 Bushels Barley in the Straw 60 Bushels Oats, 300 fowl of different kinds 1 Horse cart
		29 hogs 6 Cattle Proved by J. Vaughan himself	1 Dwelling house 36 by 26 feet burnt down, 1 Smoak house burnt 1 Billings (?) house & Stable burnt 1 dwelling house 28 by 16 feet pull'd down ½ acre of paling destroyed, 1 kitchen 16 by 12 feet destroy'd 1 Cornfield 16000 hills with new fencing destroyed 1 ½ Lots with paling destroyed 2 Corn houses pulled down 5000 ^{lb} lignum vita ab ^t 5 £ worth 1 Bed 5 bedshades, 3 Tables, 7 Chairs 150 fowl of Different kindes

Benjamin Cluverius	Negro Sam 50 years old Michael 26, Anibal 20, Peter 23 Aaron 25, Dick 20, Aggy 15	30 Sheep Proved by Benjamin Cluverius himself	8 Hh ^d Tobacco, 30 Barrels Corn, 200 Bushels Oats 100 fowl of different kinds
Gibson Cluverius		12 sheep	Proved by Benjamin Cluverius
John Cluverius	1 negro man Mereo (?) 45 yr ^s old 1 Boy 6 or 7 years old	Proved by Benjamin Cluverius	
Elizabeth Tool			1 dwelling house 24 by 16 feet proved by J. Vaughn
William Briggs	Proved by J. Vaughn	2 Cattle	1 kitchen 20 by 16 feet 1 Shop 16 by 12 feet 500 ^{lb} Lignum vitae
Elizabeth Seawell and John Seawell	One negro man Will 26 yr ^s old	Proved by Jn ^o Seawell	Elizabeth Seawells own losses 100 fowl different kinds
William Busbys Estate	1 negro Girl Rachel 4 yr ^s old Proved by Edw ^d Busby	10 head Cattle, 20 hogs 1 horse 9 years old	10,000 Corn hills & fencing round it destroyed
Edward Busby	Proved by Edw ^d Busby himself	11 Cattle 7 hogs	15,000 Corn hills and fencing 'round it 1 Kitchen 12 by 8 feet ½ Lot garden destroyed
Bannister Mowr Est ^d	Proved by J. Vaughn		A dwelling house 28 feet square pull'd down a kitchen 20 by 16 feet a Stable Garden & some outhouses in Gloster Town
Zachariah Shackelford	Proved by himself	3 Cattle 10 Sheep 1 hog 100 ^{lb} w[eight]	200 Bundles Fodder, 12 Turkeys
Mildred Scott	a negro man Ned 22 years old Wilson a Lad 17. Jenny a woman 40 Frank a girl 4. Dick a boy 2 Robin a boy 3	Proved by John Scott	These negroes M ^{rs} Scot has only her Life in
John Scott	1 negro Lad Squire 17 yr ^s old	Proved by himself	
Thomas Todds Estate	1 negro man Anthony 21 yr ^s old James 25, Order 15	Proved by Phil Tabb Gen ^t	
George Booth	1 negro man Charles 21 yr ^s old	Proved by J. Scott	

Matthew Anderson	a negro man York 40 y ^{rs} old Peter 30	Proved by J Tomkies Gen ^t	
Judith & Massey Cleaver	Negro woman Philis 55 y ^{rs} old Rachel 25. Nanny 10. 2 male ones 5 or 6 years old	Proved by Johanna Dunlap	

END OF PAGE 1

Sufferers names	Negroes what sort & ages	Horses, Cattle & Sheep hogs	Houses, Tobacco, Grain, Spirits & other property
James Bentley	negro man James 30 y ^{rs} old a good Sawyer Bob a Lad 17 Winny woman 30 a good Cook	Proved by Tho ^s Hughes	
John Minter	Negro man James 35 y ^{rs} old a Carpenter & very likely	16 Sheep Proved by Thom ^s Smith Gen ^t	
Archibald Brownley		13 Sheep proved by	Thom ^s Smith Gen ^t
Thomas Smith Gen ^t	Dick a Carpenter 25 y ^{rs} old James Ditto 30 Tobey a Carpenter & Cooper 35 Dick 18 Peter 18 Esson 16 Jenny 35 James a Shoemaker 35 Abby 15 Sue a house Servant 30 Daniel D ^o 18 Abram d ^o 18 Robin 20 Rose 14 Ben 50 Will body Servant 15 Joe 30	Proved by Thomas Smith jun ^r Gen ^t	1 new Canoe 24 feet long 30 inches wide
Francis Tomkies Gen ^t	1 negro woman Lucy a house Servant 30 Kate d ^o 20 both likely	Proved by Thomas	Hughes and Jn ^o Trockmorton
John Hughes Junr	1 negro man Jerry a good Sawyer & rough Carpenter 28 y ^{rs} old	Proved by Thomas	Hughes and Jn ^o Trockmorton

William Merchant	1 negro man Ralph 26 y ^{rs} old	Proved by James	Carter and Jn ^o Elliot
James Carter	1 negro man Samuen (?) 21 y ^{rs} old	Proved by James	Carter and Jn ^o Elliot
John Elliot	1 negro man George 28 y ^{rs} old a good	Sawyer and served 2	y ^{rs} at the Blacksmiths Trade proved by J Elliot & Ja ^s Carter
Peter B. Whiting Gent ^t		Proved by J. Vaughn	1 dwelling house in Gloucester Town 74 by 24 feet in bad repair part brick part wood
William Vaughn	1 negro man Dellaware 15 y ^{rs} old	4 head Cattle	22 Bushels Corn proved by himself
John Hobday	1 negro man Lewis 45 y ^{rs} old A negro woman ... 60 ...	Proved by W ^m Vaughan	A Seine valued £ 10. 100 fowl different kinds Carpenters Tools the value of £ 7.10.
Nathaniel Wallington	Swants (?) by himself	3 Cattle 3 hogs	80 Bushels Oats 10 Barrels Corn
George Hunley by the Enemy Cruisers	A negro woman Jane 40 y ^{rs} old Lewis 20 Alice a girl 12	Proved by G Billings	
Thomas Coleman Estate	1 negro man Sam 20 years old	Proved by Jo Coleman	
William Teagles	1 negro woman Alice 60 y ^{rs} old 1 boy Gloucester 14 y ^{rs} old	5 Sheep 5 Brood Sows 9 Barrows 12 Shoots 7 Pigs 2 Cows and 2 Calves Proved by himself	20 Bushels wheat, 30 Bushels Oats Framing & plank for a house 20 by 28 feet 1000 rails a field of Corn about 52 ½ Barrels 2 Barrels old Corn & small houses (?) 4 large window frames & 3 small d ^o with Sashes 35 pieces of glass 8 by 10 a Garden destroyed & houses in a Lot damaged 6 m nails of different sorts
Ambrose Alender	Proved by W ^m Teagle	1 Sow & 6 Shots 9 m ^o d ^{to} 1 Calf 9 m ^o old	272 Barrels Corn
John Borum by the enemys Cruisers	1 negro man Peter 18 y ^{rs} old a sawyer	3 Sheep Proved by himself	1 Rum Case and Bottles, 1 Sword. 2 pewter Deep Dishes 1 Baron 2 plates & several other trifles

Edmund Burum Sen ^r by the enemys Cruisors	1 negro man Harry 21 y ^{rs} old a Sawyer	12 Sheep	Proved by john Borum
Thomas Mason by the enemys Cruisors		Proved by J Borum	a Vessel damaged by setting her on fire £ 20 1 Ax 1 ddze (?) 1 Augor 16/6
John Elliot	Sam a negro man 27 y ^{rs} old a good home carpenter & Cooper Joseph 24 years old	Hobday	
Brooker Hobday	A negro man Ben 28 years old a good pilot, Simon 24 years old	Proved by himself	
Sir John Peyton	1 negro man Anthony 21 yrs old a good weaver	Proved by Brooker Hobday	
James Jenkins by the enemys Cruisors		16 Sheep 2 fallend hogs about 300 [sic].	50 lb Bacon Proved by himself

Copy C. Pryor DCC

Besides this table there are three more items of interest in this file, collected under the heading

Copy Losses & Injuries by the Enemy --- 1783 for [sic]

An Account of John Fox his Losses sustained by the enemy during the War in their Several Invasions

Marquis about 24 yrs of age a Carpenter

Gabriel about 30 yrs old an excellent weaver

York about 40 yrs old

Abram about 35 yrs old

Robin about 45 or 46 a good Black smith this fellow was left at Wmsburg by the British with the Small Pox and died in a few days with it.

Moses about 21 years old came up after the Surrender and was taken sick suppose the Goal Fever and died in a little time.

Gloucester /. John Fox this day made Oath before me, that the above is an account of the Loss he Sustained by the Enemy during the War in their Several Invasions Certifyd this 13th Day of September 1782

Francis Tomkins

An account of Charles Tomkins Estate losses Sustained by the Enemy during the War in their Several Invasions

Negroes

Ben about 46 years of Age a good hoe Negro

Phebe about 25 years of age a good House Servant

her children Nelley abot 9 years old

George about 3 years old

=

Jenney about 28 years old a good House Servant who returned & died in a few days

Mary her Child about 4 years old

=

London a lad 14 years of age

3 head of Cattle & 4 Hoggs Missing Suppos^d to be taken

103 Dunghill Fowls of different Kinds

A Gun and the (rest illeg in a crease on the page) the

Enemy

Gloucester to wit

Mary Tomkins this Day made Oath before me that the above is an Acct of the Negroes Lost belonging to her husbands Estate and the other things where from her by ye Enemy during the War in their Several Invasions. Given under my hand this 16th Day of Sept 1782.

Francis Tomkins

Court held for Gloucester County the 3rd day of July 1783
the following accounts for property lost by the Enemy were allowed – Viz –

[th]eir names	Negroes what sort ages &c	Horses & other property
James Willis jun ^r	Daniel a negro man 30 years old Joe a Ditto 30 years old Moll a negro Woman 30 years old and 4 Children ages from 11 downwards	
..y Stevens's Estate ... hands of Isaac Holiday	Fill a man about 25 years old Jenny A woman about 18 Will a Boy about 8 Pagey a Girl about 6 Gabriel a boy about 3 a Child about 6 days old died at York	
,, rkner	a negro man about 30 years old	
..zabeth Cooke	a negro man 28 years old	
John Buckner jun ^r	a negro man Dick about 26 yrs old	
Mordechai Cooke	a negro man about 30 yrs old	
Anthony Davis	a negro man 29 years old very valuable	
Ann Huggins Estate		2 Horses & 20 Berrels Indian Corn Copy C Pryor DCC

An act to ascertain the losses and injuries sustained from the depredations of the enemy within this commonwealth was passed by the General Assembly in May 1782 (chap. 10). The act required counties to hold special courts or to appoint members of the court to collect information and proof of the various losses and injuries sustained during the Revolutionary War. The proceedings or reports and the supporting documentation were to be submitted to the governor and council, to be laid before the next general assembly.

Impressed Property General Claims Approved, 1777-1794.
Auditor of Public Accounts 1777 - 1794
Record Group 48, APA 238, Folder 7: Gloucester County 1781
Library of Virginia

During the Revolution the Virginia General Assembly authorized the procurement of supplies from its citizens for the use of the militia, state, and Continental troops. The Legislature, sitting in sessions between 1780 May 4 and 1780 July 14, passed "An act for procuring a supply of provisions and other necessaries for the use of the Army" [Hening 10:233-237]. This act, extended in other sessions, authorized the governor to appoint commissioners within each county to impress such supplies and services as were thought necessary to the war effort.

The commissioners issued receipts, or certificates, to individuals for the requisitioned items so that owners could seek reimbursement from the state government. The certificates and any other available documentation were presented to the county court during special sessions held between 1781 and 1783. Certificates were examined and authenticated by the courts, and the amount of compensation was determined. Information pertaining to claims that were approved was recorded by the court clerk in court booklets which were sent to the public service claims commissioners' office in Richmond. The local provision law commissioners and deputy commissaries also kept lists of foodstuffs, animals and other provisions that were collected in each county.

Two public service claims commissioners were appointed by the governor in 1783 to authorize reimbursement for materials and services provided. Individuals or their agents went to the commissioner's office in Richmond where payment on their claims was approved based on information contained in the certificates and court booklets. These transactions were recorded in the commissioners' books. The individual or his agent was then issued a warrant by the Auditor of Public Accounts which he in turn took to the state treasurer's office for payment.

Quoted from:

https://lva.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma990004997430205756&context=L&vid=01LVA_INST:01LVA&lang=en&search_scope=MyInstitution&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,APA%20238&offset=0

Expenses for French forces in Gloucester were settled by Jeremiah Wadsworth, whose papers are in the Connecticut Historical Society in Hartford, CT, but see also the "Articles of Agreement, French and English" of 16 April 1782, in this appendix.

Page 1:

Pecuniaries extracted from Tho^s Harwoods return 1781 Gloster

144 days carting	£ 50 " 8 - "
251 " hire horse & boy	41 " 16 " 8
9 Casks	2 " 5 " -
29 Gallons Vinegar	<u>1 - " - "</u>
	95 " 9 " 8
Add 13 Turkeys	<u>1 " 19 -</u>
	97 " 8 " 8

On Cover: Gloster pecuniary papers belonging to Thos Harwood's CPL return marked AN6 in provision bundle

Page 2:

1781	Octobr	Augt	July
Sept			
Carting &c @ 7/	76 days hire of horse	days Cartg &c	days carting &c
5 days	22 " cartg	5	4
4 " & 4 days hire of a hand		3	22
2 " cartg		11	1
4 " "		7 day horse hire	<u>1</u>
2 "		11 days cartg	28
4 "		10 days cartg	
8 "		20 Gall vinegar	
3 "		7 casks	
4 "		1 carg (?)	
1 "		1 day Cartg	
		1 bag	
		2 casks	

March

3 days cartg

154 days horse hire

Apl	May	June
3 days hire boy & horse	2 days Cartg	3 days Cartg
2 " Carting		
6 " "		
9 " hire boy & horse @ 3/4		
4 " Cartg		
2 " hire boy & horse		
1 " Cartg		

Page 3:

On cover: Gloster Pecuniary vouchers rendered to various Characters which have not been found

May 13th 1781. Receivd the use of Colo. Page's Cart Team & driver one day Carrying provisions to the gard at Gloucester Town.

W^m Harwood

August 16, 1781

Receivd of Mr. John Wiatt A good Cart Team and Driver for the use of the Army.

William Hall, B.T.M.

The above was in Service Eight days. Wm Hall B.T.M.

Page 4:

August 18th 1781

I Hearby certify that I impes^d Dr Rob^t Spratts cart team 4 oxen & driver for the use of the troops under the command of Colo Innis I had the above for ten Days and the cart Greatly Damaged by the Wheels being broke down

Jam^s Guthrie FM

Cart Hire un(?) allowed

Damage to be

moved (?) & ascertained

GM

Sept. 30 1781 this is to Certifye that I had Mr Benjamin Marables Cart team And Driver two days for the use of the army commanded by General Weedon

John Campbell
afd (?)

to Mr Tho^s Haarwood

1781 Had M^r Henrey Pointors Carte Two days to carrey oats up to Mr Hubbards old Field
for the army

Wm Kemp
Mord. Cooke F.M

Page 5:

Oct^r 6 1781

Had Mr Thomas bates Carte and man Five days and his stears 10 days for Use of the army

Wm Kemp
Mord. Cooke F.M

~~Bove sarvit ware don~~

The above Service were done

J. Peyron CLG (?)

Aug^t 23^d 1781

This is to Certify that I had M^r Figgs (?) Cart team & Driver one day to Cart Corn for the use
of army Commanded by Coll^o Innis

John Campbell
Asst to Tho^s Haarwood
DC

Rec^d Aug^t 1 1781 of M^r Presley Thornton two days hire of his Cart four Stears & driver for
the use of the Army

Jn^o New

Page 6:

Head Quarters August 23rd 1781

This Certifys that Alexander Wedderburn has furnish^d seven meals of Victuals and ten
pounds and half of bacon for the Gen^l Guard.

Sam^l Adams Lieu^t
Officer of the Guard

I do certify that Henry Night furnished a Cart with four oxen and a negro four days for the
use of the Troops under my command

John Webb L^t Col^o Command^g
Legonary partizan Choire
Gloucester Court house 29th Sep^t 1781

Sep^r 10th 1781 This is to Certify that I had John Stubbe's Man & Cart Eight days for the
Publick use

Tho^s Debnam F.M.

Page 7: reverse of certificates on page 6

Saml Adams Certificate to Wedderburn
Certificate

Certificate
Mr. Night's Rec^t

To John Fox Esq^r

I am S^r y^r Very Hb^l Servant
John Stubbs
4th Apr^l 82

Page 8:

1781 Augt 10th

To Thomas Booth

The Commonwealth of Virginia To the Hire of my Cart, 6 Oxen & Man to carry four Iron
Kettles to the Camp in King & Queen 2 Days

[blank, no amount entered]

August 16 1781

Receivd of W. James Laughlin About 4 Good Oxen and a Likely Young Negroe fellow for A
driver for the Use of the Arme^y Eight days

William Hall, F.M.

Augt 21st 1781 had Mt Thoms Booths Cart Stears & Driver Six days for the use of the Army
under the Commd of Colo Inness

Mord. Cooke F.M.

Page 9:

The Commonwealth of Virginia to Thomas Booth Accompt 1781

I do hereby certify that the within Accompt is just

Anthony Smith

By order of J Peyton C.L.G

Mr. Laughlin

To Mr. John Cooke

Page 10:

Gloucester County March 13th 1781

The United States D^r to Joshua Gayle for the Schooner Tryall Burden 20 Tun Empressed in public Service by Col^o Peyton of s^d County from the above date to the first day of April 1781

	£	s	d
18 Days at 30 / Specie p ^r Day	27	“ 0	“ 0

Joshua Gayle

Page 11:

I certify that the within services were done
J. Peyton CLG

Deliver^d by Ja^s Jones for Others Apr 5. 1781
Rec^d & Certif^t to Tho^s Haarwood Ja^s Jones

PUBLIC SERVICE CLAIMS CERTIFICATES 1780-1783
GLOUCESTER COUNTY
REEL 13
LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

There was only one claim in this archival group that could be specifically tied to French forces (and none to the British), which is to be expected since these are claims for services rendered the United States. Even the single claim certificate tied to French forces is not a service claim but a claim for damages done.

It is identified with a number "45" on the top right-hand corner.

Henry Pointer, John Stubbs & John Spence being first Sworn did proceed to value the damages Sustain'd by John Fox Esq^r at Bottetourt Town in Gloucester County Ware Parish by the French Troops station'd their as followeth

To 205 Posts & Rails Fencing @ 5/p Pair	£ 51.5
To paleing from a Garden	5.
To Damages done 3 Stables	18.11
To Damage to a Publick House	(illeg.)
To D ^o out Houses	12.10
To 1850 Common Fence Rails @ 40/ p (ill.)	<u>3.11</u>
	<u>£ 53.8 (?)</u>
	£ 56.8 (?)

Sworn to before me
@ May 29th 1782. John Whiting

Revolutionary War Public Service Claims Commissioners Books
Book 3: Public Service Claims
Claims filed by citizens of Gloucester County on pp. 35-57

Revolutionary War Public Service Claims, Commissioners Books, Reels 5, Film # JR 3283
Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia.

During its session begun in May 1780 the General Assembly passed an act authorizing the governor to impress supplies needed by the American army. The governor appointed commissioners of the provision law in each locality to carry out the terms of the act. The commissioner, when he impressed property, gave the owner a certificate describing what was taken. Between 1781 and 1783 county courts held special sessions at which certificates were compiled and sent to Richmond for settlement. Two commissioners appointed to settle the claims recorded those for which they authorized payment, and warrants were issued by the auditor of public accounts.

In 1783 two commissioners were appointed by the governor to settle claims for reimbursement for property impressed during the war. Using the certificates and copies of local court records sent to them, the commissioners authorized payments and recorded the information for the auditor of public accounts, who then issued warrants to the claimants.

Note on the currency used in these claims. British currency is based on these divisions:
1 Pound Sterling (silver) = 20 Shillings = 240 Pennies = 480 Halfpennies = 960 Farthings

There was no £ 1 coin; the largest silver coin minted in the eighteenth century was the Crown at 5 shillings, usually written as 5/. The Half-Crown at 2 shillings 6 pence was written as 2/6 (d). A penny was abbreviated with a d, indicating its root in the *denarius*.

Shilling (Silver)	=	12 Pennies	=	24 Halfpennies	=	48 Farthings
Groat (Silver)	=	4 Pennies	=	8 Halfpennies	=	16 Farthings
Penny (Copper)	=	2 Halfpennies	=	4 Farthings		
Ha'penny (Copper)	=	2 Farthings				
Farthing (Brass)						

The most valuable coin minted was the gold Guinea, first minted on 6 February 1663 (1662 Old Style). Originally valued at 20 shillings, its value rose with the rise in the value of gold and it was traded at a fixed 21 shillings after 1717. The minting of 2 and 5 Guinea

coins stopped in 1753, and last gold 1 Guinea coins were struck in 1799, though in 1813, a final run of 80,000 guineas were minted to pay the Duke of Wellington's army in Spain.

The chief trade coin and the most commonly circulating coin in the American colonies was the Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight. A little less than a troy ounce of British sterling silver (.925 fine silver, valued at 62 d or $5\frac{1}{2}$), a Spanish dollar was worth 54 d or $4\frac{2}{3}$. As the demand for silver far exceeded the supply, silver coins traded at a premium; the premium above the 54 d level was termed the "crying up" of coinage. In order to limit this "crying up," Queen Anne issued a proclamation in 1704, passed into law by parliament in 1707, which specified that a full weight Spanish dollar would pass in the colonies at 72 d or $6\frac{1}{3}$, a third above the sterling rate. Since $5\frac{1}{2}$ were called a Crown in Britain, the Piece of Eight was known as a Spanish Crown; similarly, a French silver *écu* of 6 livres valued like a Piece of Eight was called a French Crown.

During the War of Independence New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas adhered to this "Proclamation Rate"; currency issued at this rate was called "Proclamation Money", "Lawful Money", or "Current Money." Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland set the exchange rate for a Spanish dollar at 90 d or $7\frac{2}{3}$, 66.66% over sterling; it was referred to as "Common Money" or "Pennsylvania Money". New York created its own rate of 96 d or $8\frac{1}{3}$ to the Spanish dollar, a 78% increase over sterling.

The page number is written at the top of each page in the original. The final tally is recorded to the right of each entry behind a curly bracket - } - embracing all lines. The entries are in alphabetical order.

Page 1 of Book 3 reads [in a later hand]:

Spine
G to M
Commis^{rs}
Book 6 September
to 7 Oct 1783

Greenbriar p. 1-19
[&c to]
Gloucester p. 35-57
[&c to]
Louisa p. 336-377

The transcript starts in the middle of page 35 following the last entry for Greenville.

United States

1 Warrant to John Atherton for Bacon furn^d

the C.P.L. [Continental Partisan Legion] as p Cer^t all^d by the Court } £ -- - 19 3 ¾
of Gloucester

1 ["Warrant" is only written in the first entry] William Armistead for Beef furn^d ditto as do
all^d by ditto £ 10 - 6 - 3

1 Matthew Anderson for Salt &c furn^d ditto
as p do all^d by ditto £ 1 - 14 - --

Militia

1 Matthew Anderson for Beef &c furn^d the Militia
in 1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ 14 - 3 - 10 ½
£ 28 " 12 " 11¼

*September 7th 1783**Militia*

4 Warrants to William Armistead for a horse & beef furn ^d the Militia in 1781 as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester 1 of £ 20 – 2 of £ 10 – £ 39.7.6	£ 79 - 7 - 6
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] William Anderson Sen ^r for Bacon furn ^d the Militia in May 1781 as p do ditto	£ -- 12 - 1¼
1 Geo Armistead for Mutton &c furn ^d in May 1779 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 4 - 13 - 3
1 Peter Bernard for Bacon &c furn ^d do as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 10 - 3 - 6
2 John Buckner for Cart hire, horse hire &c furn ^d ditto in Aug ^t & Sept ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 2.9. ~ £ 3.9.	£ 7 - 18 - --
4 Lewis Burwell for Corn &c furn ^d the Militia in Sept ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto 1 of £ 20 ~ 2 of £ 10 ~ £ 6.17	£ 46 - 17 - --
1 Edm ^d Bonum S ^r for Beef &c furn ^d ditto in 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 6 - 1¼
1 Edm ^d Bonum S ^r for Beef &c furn ^d ditto in 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 7 - 15 - --
1 Edmund Bonum Sen ^r for Bacon furn ^d do in May 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 4 - 1½
1 Joseph Billups for Cyder furn ^d ditto in Sept ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 1 - 9 - --
1 Capt ⁿ John Billups for Bacon &c furn ^d ditto in June 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 3 - 1 - --</u> £ 166 " 8 " 9

September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to Joseph Billups for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 13 - 15 - --
11 [Warrant; see p. 2] to Robert Billups for a horse Beef &c furn ^d the Continent as p do all ^d by ditto £ 15 ~ £ 20 ~ £ 14.0.3. ~ £ 5.11.	£ 54 - 11 - 3
1 Robert Brown for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 2 - 6
1 Geo Brown for Beef &c furn ^d ditto in do as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 4 - 13 - 3
1 John Buckner for Beef furn ^d the Cond prov. Law as p do all ^d by do	£ 5 - 6 - 3
5 Sam ^l Buckner for ditto furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by do 2 of £ 10 ~ 2 of £ 5 & 1 of £ 7.3.9.	£ 37 - 3 - 9
3 Lewis Booker for do &c furn ^d do a horse furn ^d the Cont ^t as p ditto all ^d by ditto £ 12 £ 6.11 £ 2.5.9.	£ 20 - 16 - 9
1 Edmd Borum S ^r for Bacon furn ^d the C. P.L. as p do all ^d by ditto	£ -- - 11 - 5 ¼
1 Edmd Bonum S ^r for do furn ^d do as p do all ^d by do	£ -- - 9 - 6 ¾
1 John Billups (Hightds) (sic) for do furn ^d do as p d all ^d by do	£ -- - 11 - 3
1 Richard Billups for Beef &c furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 2 - 19 - 6</u> £ 144 " -- " 6

*September 7th 1783**United States*

2 Warrants to Capt ⁿ Jno Billups for Beef Brandy &c furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester £ 18.17. & £ 8.8.9.	£ 27 - 5 - 9
2 [Warrants; see p. 2] James Clarke for Beef furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do all ^d by do 1 of £ 6.17.6 & one of £ 5	£ 11 - 17 - 6
3 Charles Curtis for Brandy furn ^d the C.P.L. & a horse furn ^d the Continent as p ditto all ^d by ditto ----- £ 20 ~ & 2 of £ 10 Each	£ 40 - - - - -
1 Charles Cattis brandy fur ^d C.P.L. p Cer ^t .	£ 8 - 6 - -
1 William Colawn for Beef furn ^d the Militia Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 10 - 15 - -
5 John Camp for Bacon, Beef &c furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do. all ^d by ditto 2 of £ 5 Each £ 12.10. £ 2.3.6. £ 3.0.9.	£ 27 - 14 - 5
1 Henry Curry for Bacon furn ^d do as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 4 - 11 - 10½
1 Mordecai Cook for Beef furn ^d do as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 14 - 1 - 3
1 John Cook for Beef & Bacon furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 13 - 5 - 15
4 James Collier for Beef & Bacon furn ^d the C. P.L. p an cert furn ^d for the Siege of York as p do all ^d by do £ 15 £ 4.12.5½ £ 4.7. p cert	£ 24 - 5 - 5½

Militia

1 Warrant to John Campbell for his services Collecting provisions for the Militia in May 1781 as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Cou ^t of Gloucester	<u>£ 12 - 2 - 6</u> £ 194 " 15 " 11
--	--

September 7th 1783*Militia*

2 Warrants to Eliz th Cook for Beef furn ^d ditto in Sept ^r 1781 as p Cert all ^d by the Court of Gloucester £ 11.3. ~ £ 15.11.6.	£ 25 - 2 - 9
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Jasper Clayton's Est ^e for Beef furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 17 - 10 - --
3 Mordecai Cook for Cyder &c furnis'd in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 20 £ 10 £ 12.1.3.	£ 42 - 1 - 3
5 John Cook for Corn Beef &c furn ^d as p do all ^d by do 2 £ 10 ~ £ 8 ... £ 14.0.9. £ 6.11.3.	£ 48 - 12 - --
5 James Collier for Corn furn ^d in Septemb ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto 3 of £ 20 ~ 1 £ 10 & 1 £ 10.13.	£ 80 - 13 - --
2 Robert Cary for Beef furn ^d in Sept ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by do £ 9 & £ 8.10.	£ 17 - 10 - --
4 Joseph Chapman for Bacon Beef Lambs &c furn ^d in Mon ^s Aug & Sep 1781 as p do all ^d by do £ 6.16. - £ 2.9.1½ - £ 7 & £ 6.1.	£ 22 - 16 - 1½
1 John Camp for Beef furn ^d in do as p do all ^d do	£ 5 - 18 - 9
2 James Clarke for do in do as p do do £ 8 & £ 8.11.3.	£ 16 - 11 - 3
1 Rob ^t B. Dudley for Cart hire &c furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 1 - 15 - --
1 Thomas Douglas for Beef furn ^d in Sept ^t 81 as p do all ^d by do	£ 2 - 16 - 3
1 Gorer (?) Dunbar for do &c furn ^d in June 1781	£ 6 - 0 - 10½
1 Mary Diggs for Bacon furn ^d in May 1781	£ -- - 6 - 11½
1 Joanna Dunlap for do & Mutton furn ^d Sep ^t 1781	<u>£ 5 - 4 - 3</u> £ 292 " 18 " 4½

*September 7th 1783**Militia*

1 Warrant to James Dixon's Est ^e for beef furn ^d in Sept ^r 1781 as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 2 - 17 - --
2 [Warrants; see p. 2] Will ^m Duvall Sen ^r for Beef &c furn ^d in Aug & Sept ^r 81 - 1 of £ 5 - & 1 of 14/	£ 5 - 14 - --
1 Francis Duvall for do do in Sept ^r 81	£ 3 - 2 - 6
1 Edw ^d Davis for do do in ditto	£ 8 - 2 - 3
1 Humphrey Davis for Pork furn ^d do	£ -- - 8 - 2
3 James Davis for ditto Beef, Bacon &c furn ^d In March & Sept ^r 1781. £ 9 - £ 8.4.9. & 14/3.	£ 17 - 18 - 12
2 David Dickerson for Beef &c furn ^d in Aug ^t & Sept ^r 1781. £ 4.2.3. & £ 18.15.	£ 12 - 17 - 3
1 Thomas Debnam for do furn ^d Mai 1781	£ 3 - 2 - 6

United States

1 Warrant to Joanna Dunlap for Bacon furn ^d the C.P.L. as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Cou ^t of Gloucester	£ -- - 16 - 6
1 Geo. Dame for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 1 - 17 - 6
3 Beverly Daniel for Beef furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do - all ^d by do 2 of £ 10 Each & 1 of £ 5	£ 25 - - - - -
1 Francis Duvall for ditto furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 4 - 7 - 6
3 William Douglass for horse hire furn ^d Cont ^t Beef furn ^d C.P.L. & Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by do £ 8.2.8. - £ 8.8.9 £ 17.10.	<u>£ 34 - 1 - 3</u> £ 120 " 5 " 5

*September 7th 1783**United States*

6 Warrants to John Dixon for Beef & Bacon
furn^d the C.P.L. & a horse furn^d the Cont^t.
as p Cert. all^d by the Court of Gloucester
1 £ 40 ~ 3 £ 20 ~ £ 43.15. ~ £ 6.3.9.

£ 149 - 18 - 9

1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Anne Dawson for Beef furn^d the Militia
in Oct^r 1781 as p do. all^d by do

£ 3 - 7 - 6

1 Sam^l Davis for Beef &c furnished the C.P.L.
as p do all^d by ditto

£ 6 - 8 - --

2 William Dunbar for Beef furn^d the C.P.L.
and Cart hire furn^d the Militia Dec^r 1781 as
p do all^d by ditto £ 1.8.8 & £ 9.7.6

£ 10 - 15 - 6

1 Tho^s Davis for Bacon furn^d the C.P.L.
as p do all^d by ditto

£ - - - 12 - - -

1 Mary Dunstan for Beef furn^d the Militia
in Oct^r 1781 as p do all^d by do

£ 4 - 1 - 3

1 William Diggs for Bacon furn^d the C.P.L.
As p do all^d by do

£ 8 - 9 - - - $\frac{3}{4}$

1 Thomas Douglas for Beef furn^d ditto
as p ditto all^d by ditto

£ 5 - - - - -

1 Reuben Davis for Beef furn^d the Militia
in Oct^r 1781 as p do all^d do

£ 3 - 2 - 6

1 James Delahaunty's Est^e for Salt furn^d
do in do as p do all^d by ditto

£ 1 - 9 - - -

1 Lewis Enos for Beef &c furn^d the Militia in
Oct^r 1781 as p do all^d by ditto

£ 6 - 3 - 9

1 John Enos for ditto furn^d in ditto
as p ditto all^d p ditto

£ 3 - 10 - - -£ 194 " 17 " - - " $\frac{3}{4}$

September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to John Elliot for Beef &c furn ^d in 1781 as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 32 - 7 - 6
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] John Fox for Corn &c furn ^d ditto in ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 23 - 6 - 4 ½
1 Matthew Fletcher for Beef &c furn ^d in ditto as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 15 - - - - -
1 John Figg for ditto furn ^d in Septemb ^r 1781	£ 6 - 5 - -
1 William Figg for ditto in July do	£ - - - 9 - 3
1 Sam ^l Ferguson for Salt furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781	£ 12 - - - - -

Army

1 Warrant to John Fox for Forrages furn ^d the State as p Cer ^t all ^d by ditto	£ - - - 1 - 6 ¾
---	-----------------

United States

1 Warrant to Joh Figg for Bacon furn ^d the C. P.L. as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of ditto	£ 3 - - - - -
1 James Freeman for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 12 - 6
1 James M. Fontaine for Bacon furn ^d the C. P.L. as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of ditto	£ 3 - - - - -
1 James Frennan for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3-12-6
1 James M. Fontaine for Bacon furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 4 - 13 - 4 ½
1 Geo Forest for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 8 - 8 - 9
3 John Fox for Beef &c & Sundries furn ^d the Cont ^t as p do all ^d by ditto 2 x £ 50 & £ 4.7.9 ¾.	£ <u>104 - 7 - 9 ¾</u> £ 216 " 14 " 9 ½

September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to John Gresset for Bacon &c furn ^d the C.P.L as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ -- - 19 - --
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Mary Goen (Goin?) for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 2 - 6
1 Sam ^l Guthrie for Bacon furn ^d the C.P.L. as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 4 - 6 - 3
1 Rich ^d Guttery for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 8 - 0
1 Philip Grymes's Est ^e for Beef furn ^d the Cont ^l Army as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 22 - 3 - 9

Southern Expedition

1 Warrant to Geo Green for diets (?) furn ^d the Militia Order ^d to the South ^d as p do all ^d by do	£ -- - 8 - 3
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Prisoners War

1 Warrant to David Glaßs for Beef furn ^d as p do by ditto	£ 4 - 1 - 3
1 Geo Green for Sundries furn ^d the Guard of the P. War ditto ditto	£ -- - 16 - --

Militia

1 Warrant to Geo Green for Sundries furn ^d in Nov ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 44 - 1 - --
1 Joseph Gayle for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 8 - 9
1 Sam ^l Guthrey for Corn furn ^d in Sept ^r 1781	<u>£ 2 - 0 - 0</u> £ 88 " 15 " 6

September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to Mary Gregory for Beef &c furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p Cert. all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 15 - 8 - 9
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] David Glaßs for do furn ^d in July 1781 do	£ 4 - 1 - 3
1 Philip Gryme's Est ^e for do furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 do	£ 25 - - - - -
1 Eliz th Garland for do furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 do	£ 8 - 10 - - -
1 Christopher Garland for do furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 do	£ 3 - 8 - 9
1 John Hughes for Beef &c furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 do	£ 12 - 2 - 6
1 James Hubbard for Bacon &c furn ^d in May 1781 do	£ 8 - 11 - 9
1 John Houslett for Beef furn ^d in in Aug ^t 1781 do	£ 16 - - - - -
1 William Hall for do furn ^d in Feb ^y 1781 do	£ 5 - - - - -
1 William Harwood for Cartage &c furn ^d the Garrison at Gloucester Town Ap ^l 1781 do	£ 4 - 2 - 6
1 James Harper for Bacon furn ^d in May 1781 do	£ - 18 - 2 ¼
1 John Hudgins Sen ^r for ditto ... in ... ditto ... do	£ 2 - 14 - 9
1 Lewis Hudgins for do furn ^d in ... ditto ... do	£ - - - 6 - 4 ½
1 John Hayes for Cartage &c furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 do	£ - - - 18 - - -
1 Henry Hunley for a horse furn ^d in ... ditto ... do	£ 5 - 5 - - -
1 William Hall for Beef furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 do	£ 14 - 7 - 6
1 Thomas Harwood for Cartage &c furn ^d in Mar 1781	£ 6 - - - - -
1 Henry Hall for beef furn ^d in Septemb ^r 1781 do	£ 2 - 16 - 3
1 Richd Hurst for Bacon furn ^d in May 1781 do	£ 2 - 5 - 9
1 Mary Hunter for beef furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 do	£ 8 - 2 - 6
1 Houlder Hudgins for ditto &c furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781	£ 11 - 16 - 7 ½

Prisoners War

1 James Hubbard for forage &c furn ^d the Ph?? (rest illg.)	<u>£ - - - 14 - 9</u>
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September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to James Henry for a Spaid furn ^d for the Siege of York as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ --- 5 ---
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Henry Hall for beef &c furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 11 - 6
1 Rich ^d Hurst for Bacon furn ^d the C.P.L. as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 1 - --- - 7 ½
1 William Harwood for do furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by do	£ - 19 - 1 ½
1 Hannah Howlett for beef furnish'd the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 10 - 12 - 6
1 Thomas Hays for do furn ^d in ditto in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 10 - 10 - ---
1 John Howlett for Beef &c furn ^d he C.P.L. as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 9 - 8 - 9
1 William Hall Sen ^r for do furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 8 - 15 - ---
1 John Husk for bacon &c furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 6 - 6
1 Ellican Haywood for beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 10 - ---
1 Henry Hunley for beef &c furn ^d ditto in do as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 6 - 10 - ---
1 William Hudgins for Bacon &c furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do all ^d by ditto	£ --- 13 - ¾
1 John Hudgins Sen ^r for Bacon furn ^d ditto in p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ --- 18 - 9</u> £ 58 " -- " 9 ¾

September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to Albin Hudgin for beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p Cert ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 6 - 11 - 3
5 Warrants to Edw ^d Hughes for freight of Sund ^r for the Cont ^t as p do all ^d by ditto 2 of £ 50 2 of £ 20 ~ Each & 1 of 1.17.6.	£ 151 - 17 - 6
4 [Warrants; see p. 2] James Hubbard for a horse furn ^d the Cont ^t beef &c &c & Sundries furn ^d the C.P.L. & Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 £ 30 - £ 20 - £ 7.14. & £ 18.15.	£ 76 - 9 - --
1 John Hudgin for Beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 7 - 10 - --
1 Ann Hall for ditto furn ^d ... ditto in do as p do all ^d by do	£ 2 - 10 - --
3 Mary Jones for Beef &c &c furn ^d ditto in do as p do all ^d by ditto 2 £ 20 & £ 2.14.9.	£ 42 - 14 - 9

Militia

1 Warrant to Mary Jones for Sundries furn ^d the Militia in March 1781 as p Cert ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 21 - 11 - 4
1 William Jones for ferry ^e &c furn ^d in May 1782 ditto	£ -- - 15 - 7 ½
1 Frans Jarvis for brandy furn ^d in Sept 1781 - ditto	£ -- - 8 - --
1 Eliz th Kemp for beef furn ^d in Aug ^t & Sep ^t 1781 - ditto	£ 9 - 2 - 6
1 Henry Knight for brandy &c furn ^d Sep ^t 1781 - ditto	£ 7 - 8 - --
1 Andrees Kerr for horse hire &c furn ^d in ditto - ditto	£ 2 - - - - -
Erra [tum] 1 John Kenningham Sen ^r for Corn & fodder [→ no charge listed; see next page]	£ 328 " 17 " 1 ½

September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to John Kenningham Sen ^r for Corn & fodder furn ^d the Troops under the Command of B.G. Weedon as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ -- - 15 - 10 ³ / ₄
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] John Kenningham for beef furn ^d ditto as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 6 - 5 - --
1 John Kenningham S ^r for beef furn ^d C.P.L. as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 6 - 5 - --
1 Peter Kemp for ... " ... ditto furn ^d ditto as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 18 - 3
1 Eliz th Kemp for fodder furn ^d a Team in Cont ^l Service as p do all ^d by ditto	£ -- - 1 - --
2 The Est ^e of Will Lilley for brandy & beef furn ^d the Troops Commanded by B.G. Weedon as do 1 of £12 & 1 of £ 11.5.	£ 23 - 5 - --
1 Robert Lemmon for beef furn ^d the troops Com- manded by ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 16 - 3
1 Rich ^d Lemmon for ditto furn ^d ditto as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 3 - 3
2 James Laughlin for beef furn ^d the C.P.L. Mutton &c furn ^d the troops Commanded by B.G. Weedon as p do all ^d by do £ 8.16. £ 6.17.6.	£ 15 - 13 - 6
1 Thomas Lewis for Beef furn ^d the Troops Com ^d by B.G. Weedon as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 2 - 5 - --
1 John Lemmon for ditto furn ^d ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 3 - 2 - 6</u>

Militia

1 Warrant to Christopher Lewis for Pork furn ^d in 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ -- - 8 - --</u> £ 65 " 18 " 8 ³ / ₄
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September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to Geo Lewis for beef & bacon furn ^d in Septem ^r 1781 as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 8 - 8 - 3 ³ / ₄
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] James Lemmon for ditto furn ^d ditto in ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 6 - 17 - 8
1 Thomas Lewis for Mutton furn ^d ditto in June 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ - - - 15 - - -
5 Ezekiel Lain for bacon, Pork, Mutton, beef & Oats furn ^d in April, Augt & Sep ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto 1 of £ 12 ... 1 of £ 6 ... 1 of £ 8.8.1 ¹ / ₂ 1 of £ 7.10. & £ 3.17.6.	£ 37 - 15 - 7 ¹ / ₂
2 William Lilly for brandy furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 5 - £ 7	£ 12 - - - - -
1 James Laughlin for beef furn ^d in Sept 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 6 - 17 - 6
2 Geo Medlicop for his & horses services driving beef for the Militia in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 8 .19. & 1 of £ 5	£ 13 - 19 - - -
1 William Menter for Pork furn ^d as p do ditto	£ - - - 14 - 3
1 Mary Minor for Lambs & Bacon furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 1 - 7 - 10 ¹ / ₂
1 Thomas Minor for beef furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 do	£ 4 - 1 - 3
1 John Minor for Corn furn ^d Sep ^t 1781 - ditto	£ - - - 3 - - -
1 Joseph Miller for beef, Lambs, Cyder, &c furn ^d in Septem ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 5 - 11 - 8</u> £ 98 " 11 " 7 ³ / ₄

September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to James Mullins for bacon
furn^d in June 1781 as p Cer^t all^d by
the Court of Gloucester £ --- 11 - 7 ½

United States

1 Warrant to James Mullins for beef
furn^d the Troops Commanded by B. Gen^l
Weedon as p do all^d by ditto £ 3 - 15 - ---

1 [Warrant; see p. 2] James Morgan for ditto furn^d ditto as p do £ 3 - 2 - 6

1 Margaret Meacham for ditto furn^d ditto
as p do all^d by ditto £ 4 - 13 - 9

1 William Morris for Beef &c furn^d Cont^l Troops
as p do all^d by ditto £ 4 - 4 - ---

1 Thomas Minor for Bacon, Beef &c furn^d
the C.P.L. as p do all^d by ditto £ 9 - 12 - ---

1 Geo Nuttall for beef furn^d the Cont^l Army
as p do all^d by ditto £ 11 - 5 - ---

Militia

2 Warrants to Geo Nuttall for beef &c
furn^d in Sept 1781 as p do all^d by ditto
2 of £ 6.6. Each £ 12 - 12 - ---

1 Thomas Nuttall for ditto furn^d in Aug^t 1781
as p do all^d by ditto £ 1 - 17 - 6

1 William Norton for ditto furn^d in Sep^t 1781
as p do all^d by ditto £ 3 - 2 - 6

1 Christopher Pryor for ditto furn^d in ditto
as p do all^d by ditto £ 10 - - - - -
£ 69 " 14 " 1½

September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to Rich ^d Proctor for beef furn ^d in Sept 1781 as p Cer ^t all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 4 - 7 - 6
1 Rev ^d Thomas Price for beef furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 147 - 10 -
5 [Warrants; see p. 2] Sir John Peyton for ditto furn ^d in Aug ^t & Septem ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto 1 of £ 50 - 1 £ 30 - 2 £ 20 & 1 of £1.12.6.	£ 101 - 12 - 6
1 William Pollard for three Axes furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ --- 18 ---
1 Henry Pointer for beef &c furn ^d in ditto as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 8 - 19 ---
1 Benjamin Phillpotts for beef furn ^d in Sep ^t 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 6 - 17 - 6

ARMY

2 Warrants to William Pollard for repairing arms &c for the State as p ditto all ^d by do 1 £ 10 & one £ 5.7.	£ 15 - 7 - --
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Prisoners War

1 Warrant to Edmund Powell for beef furn ^d the hospital of British Prisoners of War as p ditto all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 2 - 4 - 6</u> £ 287 " 16 " --
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September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to Hen ^y Pointer for beef furn ^d the Troops Commanded by Cap ^t Edward (?) as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 4 - 7 - 6
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Henry Pointer Sen ^r for bacon furn ^d ditto as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ -- - 18 - --
1 Edmund Powell for Corn furn ^d the Troops commanded by B.G. Weedon as p do all ^d by do	£ -- - 6 - --
1 Susannah Perrin for bacon & beef furn ^d C.P.L. as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 7 - 3 - 9
4 Mary Mason Page for beef furn ^d the Cont ^l Army £ 10 - £ 13.6.3. £ 3.6.3. £ 14.1.6.	£ 40 - 14 - --
1 The Reverend Tho ^s Price for beef furn ^d the Cont ^l Army as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 26 - 16 - 3
2 Sir John Peyton for beef furn ^d the Cont ^l Army £ 12.10. - £ 10 - p do all ^d by ditto	£ 22 - 10 - --
4 Thomas Peyton for a horse furn ^d the Cont ^l Army as p do all ^d by ditto 1 £ 20 - 1 £ 10 - & 2 of £ 5 Each	£ 40 - - - - -
1 Francis Pollard for beef furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 16 - 8 - 11
1 Benjamin Phillpots for beef furn ^d the Cont ^l Army as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 7 - 10 - --
1 Benjamin Griffin Pitts for beef furn ^d C.P.L. as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 4 - 16 - 9</u> £ 161 " 11 " 2

September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to James Rußsey for beef furn^d
the Cont^l Army as p Cert all^d by the
Court of Gloucester £ 4 - 7 - 6

1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Rebecca Rowe for bacon &c furn^d the C.P.L.
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 1 - 17 - --

1 Letitia Ranson for beef furn^d the Militia
in Oct^r 1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ 7 - 3 - 9

2 Zachariah Row for two Oxen taken by
the Enemy when employ'd in Public Service
as p do all^d by ditto £ 10.16.3. £ 7.3.9. £ 18 - - - - -

1 John Robbins for beef furn^d the Cont^l Army
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 9 - 1 - 3

1 Benjamin Robinson for bacon, beef &c furn^d
the C.P.L. as p do all^d by ditto £ 12 - 7 - 3

1 John Roots for beef furn^d the Militia in Oct^r
1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ 3 - 2 - 6

1 George Rudolph for bacon &c furn^d C.P.L.
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 4 - 15 - --

Militia

3 Warrants to John Roots for Waggon &
Horse hire furn^d in March 1781 as p do
all^d by ditto 2 £ 10 Each & 1 £ 5.17. £ 25 - 17 - --

2 Rich^d Ranson for beef furn^d in Septem^r 1781 ditto
all^d by ditto £ 10 - £ 7.10. £ 17 - 10 - --
£ 104 " 1 " 3

September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to Rebecca Row for dieting
Militia horseman in Aug^t 1781 as p Cer^t.
all^d by ditto the Court of Gloucester £ -- - 12 - 9

2 [Warrant; see p. 2] John Robinson for beef furn^d in Sep^t 1781
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 15 - & £ 6 £ 21 - - - - -

1 Richard W Royston for Corn &c furn^d in Aug^t
1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ -- - 18 - -

1 Ben Robinson's Est^e for Corn &c furn^d in
Septem^r 1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ - I 18 - 6

1 Laurence Stubbs for beef furn^d in ditto as ditto £ 6 - 18 - 9

1 Robert Spratt for Cart hire furn^d in Aug^t 1781
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 3 - 10 - -

2 John Stubbs Sen^r for beef &c furn^d in Sept^r 1781
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 5 ... £ 5.6. £ 10 - 6 - -

1 John S. Stubbs for ditto furn^d ditto as do £ 4 - 7 - 6

1 Edward Saunders for ditto furn^d ditto as ditto £ 8 - 2 - 6

1 Susanna Sikes for ditto furn^d as p ditto all^d do £ 3 - 11 - 6

United States

1 Warrant to Thomas Stokes for beef furn^d
the C.P.L. as p do all^d by ditto £ 4 - 13 - 9

1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Laurence Stubbs for ditto furn^d ditto as p do £ 4 - 7 - 6

1 Mary Scott for ditto furn^d ditto as p ditto £ 4 - 7 - 6

1 James Steward for bacon furn^d ditto as p ditto
£ -- - 9 - -
£ 74 " 3 " 3

September 7th 1783

United States

1 Warrant to John Throcmorton Jr for beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester	£ 4 - 13 - 9
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] John Throcmorton Jr for ditto furn ^d the C.P.L. do	£ 6 - 17 - 6
1 Throcmorton for a Horse furn ^d the Cont ^t as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 27 - - - - -
4 Charles Tomkies for beef & bacon furn ^d the C.P.L. & Mutton and beef furn ^d the Militia in Oct ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto £ 7.11.6. ... £ 9.15. £ 11.11.3. £ 13.2.6.	£ 42 - - - - 3
3 Francis Tomkies for a horse furn ^d the Cont ^t as p do all ^d by ditto £ 15 & 2 of £10 Each	£ 35 - - - - -
1 William Thrift for bacon furn ^d the C.P.L. as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 1 - 17 - 10 ½
1 Mary Tomkies for beef furn ^d ditto as p ditto	£ 12 - 15 - - -
5 Sterling Thorton for bacon, beef &c furn ^d the C.P.L. as p do all ^d by do 3 of £ 20 £ 17.11. £ 5.4.3.	£ 82 - 15 - 3

Militia

5 Warrants to Charles Tomkies for Cart & Waggon hire, beef &c &c furn ^d in Feb ^v , Ap ^l Aug ^t & Septem ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto £ 4.10. £ 4.5. £ 13.14.6. £ 1.3.9 & 19/	£ 35 - 12 - 3
1 John Throcmorton for beef furn ^d the in Aug ^t . 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	<u>£ 10 - 6 - 3</u> £ 258 " 18 " 1 ½

September 7th 1783

Militia

3 Warrants to Richard Taliaferro for beef furn ^d in Sept ^r 1781 as p Cer ^t . all ^d by the Court of Gloucester £ 10. 2 of £ 5 Each	£ 20 - - - - -
1 [Warrant; see p. 2] John Tabb for beef furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as ditto	£ 4 - 7 - 6
1 Will ^m Vaughan for bacon &c furn ^d in June ditto as ditto	£ 3 - 15 - -
8 Thomas Whitings Est ^e for Mace, Corn, beef &c &c furn ^d in Jan ^y Ap ^l Aug ^t & Sept ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 40 - £ 20 - £ 14.12.6. - £ 3 - £ 2.7.6. - £ 15.18.9. £ 7.14. & 1 of £ 5.7.9 ³ / ₄ .	£ 109 - - - - 6 ³ / ₄
1 Beverly Whiting for Corn furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto	£ 3 - 7 - -
6 Peter Beverly Whiting for beef, Oats &c furn ^d Aug & Sep 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 30 - 2 of £ 20 - £ 10 - £ 24.7.6. £ 8.15.	£ 113 - 2 - 6
2 John Wyatt for beef &c furn ^d in Sept ^r 1781 as p ditto all ^d by ditto £ 8 ... £ 6.7.3.	£ 14 - 7 - 3
1 James Wyatt for Cyder furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto	£ 5 - - - - -
2 Sarah Wyatt for beef furn ^d in Septem ^r 1781 as p do all ^d by ditto £ 8 - £ 9.3.9.	£ 17 - 3 - 9
1 William Wilson for ditto furn ^d in ditto as p do	£ 5 - 18 - 9
1 John Whiting for ditto furn ^d in Aug ^t 1781 as do do	£ 16 - 5 - -
1 Lewis Wood for ditto & bacon furn ^d in July 1781 as do do	<u>£ 9 - 4 - 2</u> £ 322 " 1 " 6 ³ / ₄

September 7th 1783

Militia

1 Warrant to Thomas West for beef furn^d
the Militia in Sept^r 1781 as p Cer^t all^d by
the Court of Gloucester

£ 7 - 17 - 3

1 [Warrant; see p. 2] Richard Wright for ditto furn^d in do as p do all^d by do £ 3 - 2 - 6

5 Samuel Williams for Oats, beef, horse hire &c
furn^d in Sept^r & Nov^r 1781 as p do all^d by do
3 of £ 10 Each 1 £ 16.8.9. & 1 £ 7.7.9.

£ 53 - 16 - 6

Army

4 Warrants to Thomas Whitings Est^e
for beef &c furn^d the State as p Cer^t all^d
by ditto 2 of £ 10 - £ 3.13.3. & 1 of £ 11.11.7³/₄.

£ 35 - 4 - 10 ³/₄*United States*

7 Warrants to Thomas Whitings Est^e for
beef bacon &c furn^d the C.P.L. ferriages fodder
corn &c furn^d the Cont^t & Cont^l Army
viz. £ 1.4. £ .1.17.9 ³/₄. £ 49.15. £ 8.8. £ 17. 10.
£ 11.17.6. £ 2.18.4.

£ 93 - 10 - 7 ³/₄

3 John Wyatt for beef furn^d the C.P.L. as p do
all^d by ditto 2 of £ 5 Each 1 of £ 5.12.6.

£ 15 - 12 - 6

6 Peter Beverly Whiting for beef &c furn^d the
C.P.L. & a horse furn^d the Cont^t as p do
all^d by ditto 2 of £ 15 - £ 6.8.9. £ 8.5.6. &
2 of £ 12.10. Each

£ 69 - 14 - 3

1 Lewis West for Mutton &c furn^d the C.P.L.
as p do all^d by ditto

£ 1 - 15 - --
£ 2801 " 13 " 6

Sic: the addition should read: £ 281 " 13 " 6 or £ 281 13/ 6d

September 7th 1783

United States

3 Warrants to Elizth Waggonir for Pork beef
&c furn^d the C.P.L. as p Cer^t all^d by the
Court of Gloucester £ 5.2.6. ... 2 of £ 2.3. £ 9 - 8 - 6

4 [Warrants; see p. 2] John Whiting for a horse furn^d the Cont^t
as p do all^d by do £ 20 ~ 2 of £ 10 ~ & 1 of £ 5 £ 45 - - - - -

1 William White for a shovel furn^d the Cont^t
as p ditto ditto £ - - - 2 - 6

1 Thomas West for beef furn^d the Militia
in Oct^r 1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ 2 - 7 - 6

2 Sarah Wyatt for beef & bacon furn^d the C.P.L.
as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 4.1. £ 28.2.6. £ 32 - 3 - 6

2 Francis Wyatt for a horse furn^d the Cont^t
as p do all^d by ditto £ 10 - Each £ 20 - - - - -

Militia

1 Warrant to Robert Yates for beef furn^d
in Sept^r 1781 as p do all^d by ditto £ 2 - - - - -

United States

1 Warrant to Robert Matthes for beef
&c furn^d the Cont^t as p ditto by do £ 16 - 7 - 6

Navy

1 Warrant to Robert Matthes for a
Cable furn^d as p ditto all^d by ditto £ 2 - 5 - 10

United States

16 Warner Lewis Jun^r for Beef &c fur.
C. P. L. as p ditto 5 of £ 10 ~ Ten
of £ 5 & one of £ 5.8.9. £ 105 - 8 - 9
£ 235 " 4 " 1

Now follows Goochland County

Revolutionary War Public Service Claims Commissioners Books
Book 4: Public Service Claims
Claims filed by citizens of Gloucester County on pp. 195-197

Revolutionary War Public Service Claims, Commissioners Books, Reels 5, Film # JR 3283
Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia

Note on the currency used in these claims. British currency is based on these divisions:
1 Pound Sterling (silver) = 20 Shillings = 240 Pennies = 480 Halfpennies = 960 Farthings

There was no £ 1 coin; the largest silver coin minted in the eighteenth century was the Crown at 5 shillings, usually written as 5/. The Half-Crown at 2 shillings 6 pence was written as 2/6 (d). A penny was abbreviated with a d, indicating its root in the *denarius*.

Shilling (Silver)	=	12 Pennies	=	24 Halfpennies	=	48 Farthings
Groat (Silver)	=	4 Pennies	=	8 Halfpennies	=	16 Farthings
Penny (Copper)	=		=	2 Halfpennies	=	4 Farthings
Ha'penny (Copper)	=		=		=	2 Farthings
Farthing (Brass)						

The most valuable coin minted was the gold Guinea, first minted on 6 February 1663 (1662 Old Style). Originally valued at 20 shillings, its value rose with the rise in the value of gold and it was traded at a fixed 21 shillings after 1717. The minting of 2 and 5 Guinea coins stopped in 1753, and last gold 1 Guinea coins were struck in 1799, though in 1813, a final run of 80,000 guineas were minted to pay the Duke of Wellington's army in Spain.

The chief trade coin and the most commonly circulating coin in the American colonies was the Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight. A little less than a troy ounce of British sterling silver (.925 fine silver, valued at 62 d or 5/2), a Spanish dollar was worth 54 d or 4/6. As the demand for silver far exceeded the supply, silver coins traded at a premium; the premium above the 54 d level was termed the "crying up" of coinage. In order to limit this "crying up," to Queen Anne issued a proclamation in 1704, passed into law by parliament in 1707, which specified that a full weight Spanish dollar would pass in the colonies at 72 d or 6/, a third above the sterling rate. Since 5/ were called a Crown in Britain, the Piece of Eight was known as a Spanish Crown; similarly, a French silver *écu* of 6 livres valued like a Piece of Eight was called a French Crown.

During the War of Independence New England, Virginia, and the Carolinas adhered to this "Proclamation Rate"; currency issued at this rate was called "Proclamation Money",

"Lawful Money", or "Current Money." Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland set the exchange rate for a Spanish dollar at 90 d or 7/6, 66.66% over sterling; it was referred to as "Common Money" or "Pennsylvania Money". New York created its own rate of 96 d or 8/ to the Spanish dollar, a 78% increase over sterling.

The page number is written at the top of each page in the original. The final tally is recorded to the right of each entry behind a curly bracket - } - embracing all lines. The entries are in alphabetical order.

Page 1 of Book 4 reads [in a later hand]:

Spine
G to M
Commis^{rs}
Book 9 Oct^r
to 15 Decem^r '83

The transcript for Gloucester County starts at the top of page 285 following the last entry for Amherst County and ends on page 289. The next entries concern Brunswick County.

Page 286 also has the number 196 and page 288 also has the number 197 in the top left-hand corner.

*November 20th 1783**United States**Dr* £ s d

38 Warner Lewis Sen^r for Beef &c &c fur. The
Com^d of P.L. & Continent as p^r Cert.
allowed by the court of Gloucester
nine of £ 50 – five of £ 30 – £ 14.1.7 – thirteen
of £ 20 – ten of £ 10 each

974 “ 1 “ 7

*Army**Dr*

5 Warner Lewis Sen^r for Beef fur the State
four of £ 5 each & £ 2.18

22 “ 18 “ -

*Militia**Dr*

1 Warner Lewis for Straw fur in Oct^r p^r do

2 “ - “ -

*December 16th 1783**UStates**Dr*

3 John Ash Sund^{rs} for the Cont^t p Cer all^d
by the Court of Gloucester £ 15 £ 5.18.6 &
£ 5.12.6

13 “ 6 “ - “

1 Charles Atherton bacon for the Cont^t p Cert

“ - 8 “ 9 ³/₄*Militia**Dr*

1 John Ash Sund^{rs} in 1781 p cer
1 Samuel Buckner for beef p do

“ - 14 “ - “

17 “ 8 “ - “

UStates

1 Lew Burwell Corn fur
1 Christopher Brown bacon fur do p do
1 William Bassett beef fur do p do £ 6.11.3 & £ 4.10
1 Richard Bassett Sen^r do fur do p do
1 Richard Bassett Jun^r do fur do p do
1 Joseph Billups horse hire fur do p do

“ 12 “ -

11 “ 1 “ 3

2 “ 15 “ -

2 “ 10 “ -

25 “ - “ -

1 William Brownby beef &c fur do p do	3 " 10 " -
1 John Billups horse hire fur do p do	5 " 7 " 6
1 Christopher Brown diets &c fur do p do	5 " 4 " 3
1 Jeremiah Burk beef fur do p do	4 " 1 " 3
1 George Blake do fur do p do	4 " 7 " 6
<u>1 Thomas Bayless bacon fur do p do</u>	<u>1 " 4 " 9</u>
	£ 1097 " 16 " 10 ¾

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286

December 16th 1783

UStates

Dr

1 Mary Blacknall beef fur Cont ^t p cer allowed by the Court of Gloucester	5 " - " -
1 John Beveridge beef &c fur Cont ^t p Cer	9 " 19 " 3
1 Thomas Boswell do fur do p Cer	6 " 17 " 6

Militia

1 The Estate of John Billups a Saddle p Cer	4 " - " -
1 George Billups a Saddle p Cer	3 " - " -
1 Robert Billups a Saddle p Cer	3 " - " -
1 James Calles a Saddle p Cer	4 " - " -
1 Ambrose Adams a Saddle p Cer	4 " - " -

UStates

1 Thomas Boothe beef &c fur Cont ^t p Cer	10 " 19 " 3
1 Abraham Boswell beef fur do p do	3 " 13 " -
1 John Browning do fur do p do	3 " 13 " -
1 Henry Burton bacon fur do p do	3 " 18 " -
1 Judith Buckner beef fur do p do	3 " 8 " -
1 Arnold Buck do fur do p do	8 " 8 " -
1 Thomas Baytop do fur do p do	5 " 9 " 6
1 John Blassingham do fur do p do	6 " - " -
1 Henry Burton do &c fur do p do	5 " 6 " 3
1 Thomas Booth do fur do p do	6 " 5 " -
1 James Baytop Corn fur do p do	
1 Sarah Brownley bacon fur do p do	
3 George Boothe Beef &c fur C.P.L. p do two £ 30 & £ 23.4.9 ³ / ₄	83 " 4 " 9 ³ / ₄
1 Mr Cassens Cart hire fur Cont ^t p do	2 " 16 " -
1 William Clements bacon &c fur do p do	10 " 11 " -
1 Richard Cray pork fur do p do	1 " 4 " 6
1 Patty Christian beef fur do p do	3 " 3 " 6

3 John Camp a horse fur Cont ^t p cer two of £ 30 & £ 10	70 " - " -
2 James Claverus beef fur do p do £ 30 & £ 27.15	57 " 15 " -
1 John Cruston a spade fur do p do	6 " 9 " -
1 Martha Claverus bacon fur do p do	1 " 16 " 4 ½
4 Joanna Corker beef fur Cont ^t p do two £ 20 £ 30 & £ 16.5	86 " 5 " -

Militia

	<i>Dr</i>	
1 John Campbell for Corn Sept ^r 1781 p Cer		3 " - " -

UStates

	<i>Dr</i>	
2 Mary Davis beef fur Cont ^t p cer £ 6.5 & £ 3.8		9 " 14 " -
1 Thomas Dudley do fur do p do		2 " 5 " -
<u>1 Thomas Debnam Horse hire fur do p do</u>		<u>10 " - " -</u>
		£ 445 " 8 " 7 ¾

December 16th 1783*U States**Dr*

1 Samuel Davis bacon fur Cont ^t p Cer allowed by the Court of Gloucester	" - " 6 " 4 ½
1 Richard H Davis boat hire fur Cont ^t p cer	38 " 8 " -
1 William Diggs beef fur do p do	2 " - " -
1 Mary Diggs beef fur do p do	4 " 10 " -
1 Joseph Davis do fur do p do	3 " 17 " 3
1 Isaac Davis do fur do p do	6 " 17 " 6
1 Edward Davis do fur do p do	6 " 17 " 6
1 Charles Dean do fur do p do	11 " 5 " -
1 Edward Dobbs do fur do p do	18 " 3
1 John Davis do fur do p do	6 " 5 " -
1 William Dance do fur do p do	10 " 6 " 3
1 John Elliot boat hire fur do p do	15 " - " -
1 William Evans beef fur do p do	3 " 2 " 6
2 Joseph Foster, horse hire &c fur do p do £ 2"5 & £ 4"13"9	6 " 18 " 9
1 Zachariah Gardner beef fur do p do	7 " 15 " -
1 Samuel Guthrie pork fur do p do	5 " 6 " -
1 James Givin beef fur do p do	4 " 4 " 1 ½
1 Hugh Givin do fur do p do	17 " 14 " 4 ½
1 John Givin pork fur do p do	1 " 5 " 3
1 Henry Hughes Iron fur do p do	1 " 12 " 16
1 Richard Hedges beef fur do p do	7 " 1 " 3
1 William Hall Cart hire fur do p do	5 " 5 " -
1 Richard Hedges bacon fur do p do	- " 10 " 6
1 Richard Hobday beef fur do p do	7 " 19 " 9
1 John Hobday do fur do p do	15 " - " -
1 George Hibble do fur do p do	14 " 16 " 3
1 John Howard do fur do p do	25 " 2 " 3
1 John Howlett Cart hire &c fur do p do	20 " 19
8 John Hobday Salt fur Cont ^t p cer 7 of £ 50 & £ 23.18.6	373 " 18 " 6
1 Francis Henderson bacon fur do p do	15 " 9
1 Henry Harris beef fur do p do	7 " 12 " 10 ½
1 John Howard do fur do p do	12 " 3 " 9

Militia

	<i>Dr</i>	
1 John Howard Mutton in July 81 p cer		1 " 10 " -

UStates

	<i>Dr</i>	
2 Thomas Jordan sund ^{rs} fur Cont ^t p cer £ 3.8.9 & £ 2.2.3 ³ / ₄		5 " 11 " 0 ³ / ₄
1 William Jackson beef fur do p do		5 " - " -
1 Matthew James a horse fur do p do		30 " - " -
2 John Jones beef &c for do p do £ 26.19.3 & £ 36.1.3		63 " 10 " 6
1 John King do fur do p do		5 " 7 " 16
<u>1 Joseph King do fur do p do</u>		<u>4 " 1 " 3</u>
		£ 746 " 10 " 6 ³ / ₄

197
288

December 16th 1783

Dr

UStates

1 Henry Knight for Services fur Cont^t p cer
allow^d by the Court of Gloucester " 19 " 6
1 William Kemp Cart hire &c fur Cont^t p cer 1 " 15 " -

Dr

Militia

1 Peter Kemp Services in 81 p cer 2 " - " -

Dr

UStates

Dr

1 Thomas Lawson Services fur the Cont^t p cer 45 " 10 " -
3 William Morris beef &c fur do p do
£ 10 £ 12.3.9 & 18/ 23 " 1 " 9
3 Mary Mason beef &c fur Cont^t p Cer
two £ 30 & £ 28.10 88 " 10

Dr

Militia

2 William Morris sund^{rs} in May & Aug^t 81 p cer
£ 2 & £ 3.15 5 " 15 " -
1 Hubbard Miller Corn in Oct^r 1781 p Cer - " 2 " -

UStates

Dr

12 Jno New assed of Sundry Persons Viz
2 John Page horses fur do p do £ 58. 6.8 & £ 55.11.1 113 " 17 " 9
2 Francis Tomkies do fur do p do £ 44.8.10 ¼ 88 " 17 " 8 ½
1 John Peyton a horse fur do p do 64 " 8 " 10 ¾
1 John Dixon do fur do p do 38 " 9 " 9 ¾

1 Robert Iveson do fur do p do	30 " 11" 1 ½
1 Thacker Washington do fur do p do	41 " 13 " 4
1 Edward Matthias do fur do p do	16 " 13 " 4
1 Robert Cary do fur do p do	33 " 6 " 8
1 James M Fontaine do fur do p do	55 " 11 " 1 ½
1 John Barrin do fur do p do	55 " 11 " 1 ½
1 Thomas Powell fish fur do p do	17 " 0 " 8
2 John Perrin sund ^{rs} fur do p do £ 11.7.6 & £ 45 .-. ¼	56 " 7 " 1 ¼
2 John Peyton do fur do p do 10/ & 10/6	1 " - " 6

Militia

Dr

1 William Powell cart hire &c in Jan ^y 82 p cer	1 " 15 " -
1 Michael Pointer, hire for Oxen &c July, Sep 81 p do	4 " 2 " 3
1 John Perrin beef &c in May & June 81 p do	9 " 2 " 9
1 Fearris W Robins Rum in " " " p do	9 " 2 " 6
1 William Rosspress mutton " " " p do	4 " 14 " 1

UStates

Dr

3 William Robins p Sundries fur Cont ^t p cer	
£ 6.17.6 £ 5.12.1 ½ £ 1.13	14 " 2 " 7 ½
1 William Resby beef fur Cont ^t p cer	15 " 5 " -
<u>1 Rebecca Rowe bacon fur do p do</u>	<u>2 " 16 " -</u>
	£ 842 " 2 " 7

In left-hand margin:

Warrants Forwarded to M. Anderson Esq^r by Thomas Booth March 15th 1784

December 16th 1783*Dr**UStates*

3 William Robbins Senr Sundries furn Contt allowed

By the Court of Gloucester £ 8.2.6 £ 15 & £ 1.2.6

24 " 5 " -

1 John Roots Mutton fur do p cer

4 " 10 " -

*Army**Dr*

2 Joseph Randolph Corn fur p cer £30 cer

60 " - " -

*UStates**Dr*

1 Robert Sadler beef fur Contt p cer

8 " 15 " -

1 Robert Sudson bacon fur do p do

- " 12 " 9

1 Isaac Singleton beef fur do p do

6 " 17 " 6

1 John Seawell do fur do p do

2 " 7 " 9

*Militia**Dr*1 William Thrift Services in Oct^r 82 p cer

32 " 10 " -

*Navy**Dr*

Charles Tomkies Sundries

16 " 9 " -

*UStates**Dr*1 Priesby Thornton hire of Oxen &c fur Cont^t p cer

2 " 14 " -

1 Sterling Thornton Bacon &c fur do p do

18 " 13 " -

6 Francis Thornton sund^{rs} fur do p do

£ 2.5.4 ½ £ 7.9.9 £ 6.14.6 £ 34 £ 0.2.6 £ 13.2.3

65 " 14 " 4 ½

3 Sarah Thruston beef & bacon fur Cont^t p cer

£ .10.6 £ 2.17.9 £ 3.7.6

8 " 15 " 9

1 Mukes Thornton for Mutton fur Cont ^t p Cer	3 " - " -
1 Easter Thornton beef &c fur do p do	6 " 6 " 6
1 Sarah Thruston beef fur do p do	6 " 16 " 3 ½
1 James Truce a Horse fur do p do	40 " - " -
2 Warner Throckmorton Sund ^{rs} fur do p do	
£ 27.6.3 & £ 36.15.6	64 " 1 " 9
1 Mordecai Throckmorton beef fur Contt p cer	20 " 6 " 3
4 Charles Tomkies Sundries fur do p do	
2 of £ 30 £ 28.18 £ 12.14.4	101 " 12 " 4
1 Robert Thruston Corn fur Contt p do	- " 10 " -
1 Abraham Vanbibber Services Rend ^r do p do	12 " - " -
3 Francis Willis sund ^{rs} fur do p do £ 33.8 £ 45 & £ 1	79 " - " -
2 Lewis Walden do fur do p do £ 3.15 & 7/10 ½	4 " 2 " 10 ½
1 William White bacon fur do p do	- " 12 " 9
1 Thomas Wright horse hire fur do p do	16 " 11 " 0
1 Nathan Hatlington beef fur do p do	7 " 3 " 9
2 P. B. Whiting Sund ^{rs} fur do p do £ 15 & 6/	15 " 6 " -
1 Richard Wright Services fur do p do	10 " - " -
1 Sarah Wyatt beef fur do p do	12 " 16 " -

Militia

	<i>Dr</i>
1 James White for beef p cer	2 " 16 " 3
<u>1 John Wyatt for Sund^{rs} p Cer</u>	<u>1 " 3 " -</u>
	£ 656 " 17 " 4 ¾

Now follow entries for Amherst County.

A websearch will identify some of the names as belonging to citizens living in Matthews County to the east of modern-day Gloucester County, but Matthews County was originally delineated circa 1651 as Kingston Parish within Gloucester County. In 1791, the Virginia General Assembly designated it as a separate county and named it for the Revolutionary War officer General Thomas Mathews of Norfolk.

King and Queen County to the north of Gloucester County Matthews was established in 1691 from New Kent County.

PUBLIC SERVICE CLAIMS OF GLOUCESTER COUNTY
COURT BOOKLET & LISTS
REEL 2
LIBRARY OF VIRGINIA

The claims contained in this ms cover not just September/October 1781 but the whole war. The date when these claims were examined is indicated at the top of the list. the folder consists of individual lists which contain dozens of claims for services rendered the American cause, mostly by supplying foodstuffs for man and beast and wagon services. The final decision and submission to Richmond does not give an exact date when these services were provided but the lists that form the basis for the claims (and the decision of the court to either approve or deny the claim) do. In all accounts/lists there are huge gaps for mid-September to late October 1781 when French forces were in Gloucester, which is to be expected since Jeremiah Wadsworth addressed and settled claims the citizens of Gloucester had against French forces. Those claims were not settled by the Commonwealth of Virginia but usually on the spot by Wadsworth or one of his agents. As in all mss relating to this project only damage and service claims filed after the departure of Lauzun's Legion and/or of French forces from Virginia appear on these lists.

The title-page of the ms reads:

A Return of public
Claims from Gloucester
County

1782

Exam^d

The claims settled in the session of the Gloucester County Court for March 1783 contain this entry:

To George Green for Damages done him by the French Army £ 78.10.0

There are other entries on this list that might relate to the sieges of Yorktown and Gloucester such as "To John Fox for ferrying Over at Cappahosick a wagon & 4 Horses" and accounts for bacon, hay and mutton, but without a day or even a month to date the service it is impossible to tie them to September/October 1781.

The court proceedings also provide by claimant, and then organized by date, a day-by-date an accounting of services rendered, and foodstuffs supplied. The list shows that John Fox' services did not occur in the fall of 1781.

In the list, which as mentioned before covers the whole war and not just September and October 1781, are a very few entries that relate to our project.

1781 Oct. 23 To Henry Knight for 3 days service of himself and horse in collecting tools for the Army at Gloster-Town

There is a service claim for wagon service filed by James Henry for 53 days service up to 25 October 1781 and one spade "impress'd" and lost. Claims for foodstuffs such as that of Warner Throckmorton for 900 lbs grass beef on 9 October 1781 and another 160 lbs on 14 October point to American forces, i.e. militia, having been the recipient. For good measure he also threw in 2 axes and 2 hoes impressed on 27 September and lost. John Eauson also claimed on 23 October "1 Spade impress'd and not return'd".

Impressment of tools such as axes, spades and hoes appear frequently and point to a severe lack on entrenching tools on the part of (most likely) American forces in Gloucester – any tools, equipment or foodstuff supplied French forces is usually identified as such since that gave Commonwealth authorities the tools to request re-imburement from French authorities.

For 9 October 1781 Edward Hughes charged the Commonwealth "freight of 571 Bushels Oats and Corn to W.house for the Army £ 14.5.6" and "2 days service of Cart & team & for shipping the Oats £ 1.4".

Other than a few more entries showing foodstuffs for man and beast provided by folks in Gloucester County during the sieges of Yorktown and Gloucester this is it.

Année
de Rochambeau
siège d'York
Campagne 1781

Procès verbal
of the Damages
Committed by the french
Army during the time it
has been encamped
before York and
Gloucester in the Province
of Virginia

The year one thousand seven
hundred and eighty two the sixteenth day
of this instant the Comissary of War
in the Service of the french army in
america; charged in the month of
January last by Monsieur le Comte de
Rochambeau Lieutenant general des armées
de Roy and Commanding in chief of the said
army and Monsieur de Carli Intendant
to examine the Damages that could have
been committed by the french army on the
plantations of the inhabitants of the
Counties of Gloucester upon the West bank
of York river and of those of the Counties
of York, Warwick, James City, and
Elizabeth city upon the right bank of
the said river, during the last days
of the month of September, the month
of October and the first nineteen
days of the month of November
of the last year that the said
army has been encamped before

Procès verbal des
Dommages commis par
l'Armée française pendant
qu'elle a été campée
devant York et Gloucester
dans la Province de Virginie

L'AN mil sept cent quatre vingt
deux, le sixième jour du present
mois d'Avril Nous Commissaire
de Guerre employé à l'Armée
française en Amérique, chargé dans
le Courant du Mois de Janvier
dernier par Monsieur le Comte de
Rochambeau Lieutenant general
des Armées de Roy et Commandant
en chef de la dite Armée et
Monsieur de Carli Intendant
d'examiner des Dommages qui
auraient été commis par l'Armée
française sur les plantations des
habitans de la Côte de Gloucester
sur la rive gauche de la Rivière
d'York et de celle d'York,
Warwick, James City et Elizabeth
city sur la rive droite de la
dite Rivière pendant les derniers
jours du mois de septembre, le
mois d'Octobre et des dix neuf

The towns of York and Gloucester, according to the account that should be made to us of them by Mr. Diggs Colonel in the service of the United States and charged likewise by the States of Virginia of Virginia to receive all the claims of the said in habitants in consequence of the certificates given to them by the Mayors of their respective Counties affirming the legitimacy of their claims against the French Army which certificated having been laid before us and after our having examined them with the said Colonel Diggs, unanimously with him to determine peremptorily the quantity and sort of Damages that we should think proper to admit, and the prices to which it would appear right to us to value them.

The Commissary of War as above said after having examined by consent with the said Colonel Diggs the claims of every inhabitant, regretted those we did not think ought to receive any indemnity. We wished that we found too much exaggerated we should at last have agreed not to admit but those of inhabitants whose names are here after mentioned and to fix their

premier jour de mois de Novembre de l'année dernière qui la dite ville de York et Gloucester par le rapport qui nous en fut fait par Monsieur Diggs Colonel en Charge de l'Etat un de l'Amérique chargé de son côté par les Etats de Virginie de recevoir le tout des habitants de ces deux Comtés qui leur seroient dus par la suite de la guerre de l'Amérique. Nous avons examiné ces certificats nous ayant été représentés par le dit Colonel Diggs de concert avec les Etats de Virginie sur la quantité et le sort de dommages que nous avions à leur accorder et nous avons décidé de la sorte.

Nous Commissaire de Guerre sur ce point après avoir examiné par consentement avec le dit Colonel Diggs les réclamations de chaque habitant de ces deux Comtés qui nous ont été présentés par le dit Colonel Diggs nous avons trouvé exagérées nous seroient enfin convenus d'admettre celles de quelques habitants de ces deux Comtés et de leur donner une somme de

quantities and prices as it follows
 1757
 quantité et prix de la manière et ainsi qu'il suit
 Savoir

Names of the Inhabitants	Quantity of			Montant			Total in French money	Observations
	of the Fedder in French money	of the Hopk in French money	of the grain in French money	of the Fedder in French money	of the Hopk in French money	of the grain in French money		

Rive gauche de la Riviere de York Comté de Gloucester

Lizabell Wallington	1000	10	50	22 10.	9	90	121	10
John Jarvey	3000	30	5	67 10.	27	9	103	10
Johanna Dunlap	10000	100	675	225	90	2215	1530	
John Jobday	3000			67 10.			67	10
John Dew	400	10	120	9	9	216	234	
Joseph Struel	600		30	13 10.		54	67	10
John Dudley	300		10	6 15.		18	24	15
John Sewell			1460			2628	2628	
John Sewell			605			1089	1089	
Mary Lavin			150			270	270	
Thomas Wiling		15	475		40 10.	855	895	10
Thomas Conally		8	20		7 4.	36	43	10
William Graywood			100			180	180	
William Gray	700	14	10	15 15.	10 16.	18	164	11
Sacharil Shakelford	1500	30		33 15.	37		60	15

Rive droite de la Riviere de York Comté de York

Anne Cosby	5000	30	160	112 10.	27	288	427	10
Benjamin Ledw	5000	37	250	135	33 6.	450	618	6
Baker Terkins	25000	130	969	562 10.	117	1744	2413	14
Benjamin Somell		15	125			225	238	10
Charles Mite	8000	50	400	180	45	720	945	
Dadar Corbia Giffin	9000	45	450	202 10.	40 10.	810	1052	10
Edward Wright	6000	41	205	135	36 18	369	500	18
Lizabell Moore	4000	40	200	90	36	360	486	
Edward Baptial	10000	50	500	225	45	900	1170	
Lizabell Nelson	10750	85	615	241 17.6	76 10.	1107	1423	7.6
Francis Lee	13000	30	182	292 10.	27	327	647	2
Fuller	3000	12	50	67 10.	18 18	90	176	8
Graywood Bunk	4200			94 10.			94	
John Cosby	10000	75	500	135	67 10	900	1192	10
John Dickson			15			27	27	
John Cheesman	4666	60	180	102 12.8	52	324	482	19
John Cannon	2600	18	110	58 10	16	198	272	14
John Nancy	2000		110	45		198	203	
Total	143716.	972	8731	3233 12.2.	874 16.	15715 16.	19224 4.2.	

inhabitants without further certification
receipts from the french army should be
delivered to him Colonel Diggs on his giving to us
those certificates which served to the said
inhabitants as a title to their petitions and that
the should be provisionally signed by him and
afterwards revised by me.

2^o that he should give his receipts for it
amounting to for the sum of thirty six thousand
three hundred and thirty six and seventeen sous
eight deniers french money and such security
as it would please Monsieur de Camille
de Cochambeau and Monsieur de Carle to
require of him

3^o that in consequence of this said sum of
thirty six thousand three hundred and thirty
six and seventeen sous eight deniers french
money no inhabitant for the future should not
have a right to lay any claim against the
french Army on account of Damages comitid
by it from the twenty fourth day of September
last till the twentieth of that of November
following

The Commissary of War after having considered
both for the advantage of the french Army and that
of the inhabitants that no better mode could be devised
than that we had agreed upon with Colonel Diggs
with regard to the payment of the other articles
mentioned in this proces verbal. We thought
it convenient as far as it would be agreeable to
Monsieur de Camille de Cochambeau and to
Monsieur de Carle to determine

1^o that the sum of two thousand seven hundred and
thirty six, seven sous six deniers french money
arising from the whole of the forrage taken from the
inhabitants by Monsieur de Deville's orders should
be paid to any person or persons they may think proper to
appoint with an authority agreeable to the law
of this Country to receive the same

2^o that the same form should be observed with regard
to the payment of the sum of three thousand three
hundred forty three livres, ten sous, french money
arising from the whole of the forrage taken on
receipts from the inhabitants with this difference
to wit that the person appointed shall besides
have the said receipts with authority to receive
the same

at last we agreed with Colonel Diggs that the
said proces verbal with regard to the
claims that remain has been trusted to our
common care should be laid before the eyes of
Monsieur de Camille de Cochambeau and

Colonel Diggs sur la Remise qu'il
nous fera de certificats qui ont servi
de titres aux Demandes desdits Habitants
a qu'il se servira pour le paiement
signe de lui et entretenu par nous

2^o qu'il donnerait son reçu a qui il appartient
de la dite somme de trente six mille trois
cent trente six livres dix sept sous
deux deniers en consequence de
cette condition qu'il y est contenue
de Monsieur de Cochambeau et de Monsieur
de Carle d'écuyer de lui

3^o qu'il n'y aura de habitans de ce pays de
nul trois cent trente six livres dix sept
sous deux deniers, nul habitant d'aucun
endroit de droit de former aucune
reclamation contre l'Armée française
pour raison de dommages comitid par elle
depuis le vingt quatre jour de Septembre
de Septembre dernier jusqu'au dix huitieme
jour de Novembre suivant

Nous Commissaire de guerre apres avoir considere
autant pour l'avantage de l'Armée française que pour
celui des habitans qu'on ne pouvait pas adopter une
meilleure forme que celle dont nous sommes convenus
avec Colonel Diggs pour le paiement des articles
mentionnez dans le present proces verbal
nous aurons cru convenable autant que nous
agréable a Monsieur de Camille de Cochambeau
et a Monsieur de Carle de Decider

1^o que la somme de deux mille sept cent trente
six livres sept sous six deniers provenant de
la forrage pris chez les habitans en consequence
des ordres de M. de Deville, sera payee a telle
personne qui les jugeront a propos de nommer
et de rendre son pouvoir conforme aux loix
de ce pays pour la recevoir

2^o que la même forme sera suivie pour le
paiement de la somme de trois mille trois
cent quatre vingt trois livres dix sous
provenant de la forrage pris chez les habitans
sur des Reçus avec cette difference a sçavoir
que la personne nommée jura en outre
de donner son pouvoir quelle aura pour
recevoir la dite somme

Enfin nous sommes convenus avec le Colonel
Diggs que de present le proces verbal pour lequel
nous avons fait mention de nos soins
serait mis devant
les yeux de Monsieur de Cochambeau et

Monsieur de Carle and only have its whole
Effect and full execution, but when the
Clauses and Conditions contained in it shall have
been approved by them

and We Commissary of War yetd likewise
to their Decision, what We have Determined about
the articles further mentioned in the said proces
verbal which we have made, settled and signed
by consent with Colonel Diggs to Whom We
have delivered a copy of it
a Williams-Bury the Day month and year
above said.

de Monsieur de Carle et unaniment son
entier effet et pleine execution quant aux
approbation de clauses et conditions
qu'il contient

Et Nous Commissaire de guerre
soumissiones par rapport a leur Decision ce que
nous avons determine sur les articles mentionnez
dans ledit proces verbal que
nous avons fait, arrêté et signé
d'accord avec le Colonel Diggs auquel
nous avons donne une copie
a Williams-Bury le jour mois et an que
dessus

Enfin nous sommes convenus avec le Colonel
Diggs que de present le proces verbal pour lequel
nous avons fait mention de nos soins
serait mis devant
les yeux de Monsieur de Cochambeau et

April 11

1782

April 16th

Process verbal of the
Damage committed by the
French Army while
encamped before York
& Gloucester.

X

Explanation for: 16 April 1782 Damage Agreement VA

Calendar of Virginia State Papers and other Manuscripts vol. 3 (Richmond, 1883), p. 132, has this entry:

1782. April 16th Williamsburg

"Proces Verbal," or Articles of Agreement, in French and English, entered into between M. de Villemanzy, on the part of the French Army and Hon: Dudley Digges on the part of the State of Virginia, for the settlement of claims of Citizens of the latter, for damages done by the French Army "during the last days of the month of September, the month of October,* and the first nineteen days of the month of November" 1781—

Genl: Return and List of Claims of the Inhabitants for Damages by the French Army in the neighboring counties, during, and after the the Seige of Yorktown—with names of the Sufferers, and inventories of articles taken, and provisions consumed by the Troops of the same. Prominent among those are the names of Powell, Randolph, Vaughn, Kirby, Cosby, Hubbard, Cannon, Lester, Wright. Lee, Fuller, Moore, Miles, Chapman, Southall, Chisman, Digges, Harwood, Wynne, Seawell, Dudley, Graves, Haywood, Russell, Jones, Burwell, Nelson, Jerdone, Curie, Dunlap, Watlington, Shackelford, Whiting, Lloyd, Griffin & others—

[The "Proces Verbal" is bi-lingual with French in the left-hand column and English in the right-hand column. Damages in Gloucester County – 15 names - are listed on top of page 2]

The record has been digitized. The following is its catalog record:

Local Call Number: GLR03224

Title: Articles of Agreement, French and English.

Creation Date: April 16, 1782

Format: 10 p.

Description: Entered into between de Villemanzy and Dudley Digges for settlement of claims against French army for damages done Sept.-Nov. 1781.

Note(s): Part of a collection of letters and other documents received in the Governor's Office during the period June 29, 1776-Nov. 30, 1784.

Contributors: de Villemanzy, Digges, Dudley, 1718-1790.

Access: If you type the call number GLR03224 into the Library's online catalog https://lva.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/search?vid=01LVA_INST:01LVA&lang=en and click on the magnifying glass, you will see a link to the catalog record. Click on the catalog record link to see a link to the digitized image of the record.

More information about the Governor's Letters Received database is available at: <https://www.lva.virginia.gov/public/guides/opac/govletabout.htm> .

APPENDIX VII

BRITISH AND HESSIAN MILITARY, PRIMARY ACCOUNTS

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Soissonnois Regiment of Infantry

André Amblard (1754 -post 1793)

La nuit du 10, Le major tarleton qui Commandait à Gloucester voulut Enforcer L'investissement et sortit Pour faire un fourage à la tête de 300 ho^{es} de sa Légion mais Il fut vivement repoussé par M^r Le Duc de Lauzun qui avec 200 hussards et Sa Compie de Lanciers Le chargea vigoureusement, Culbusa et mit en fuite Ses Escadrons, Tarleton Luy même fait démonté et Oblige de s'enfuir honteusement à pied.

In margin : Ce major Tarleton devait couper les Oreilles à (tous ?) Les Française

In the night of the 10th, Major Tarleton, who commanded in Gloucester, wanted to force the siege and departed to undertake a forage at the head of 300 men of his legion but he was quickly pushed back by Monsieur le duc de Lauzun who charged him vigorously with 200 hussars and his company of lancers, overthrew and put to flight his escadrons, Tarleton himself was dismounted and obliged to flee shamefully on foot.

In margin: This Major Tarleton wanted to punish all the French.

“devait couper les oreilles” literally translates as “had to cut off the ears”.

André Amblard, *Histoire des campagnes de l'Armée de Rochambaud (sic) en Amérique*, ms Archives Départementales de l'Ardèche, Privas, France.

Amblard enlisted in the Soissonnois Regiment of Infantry in 1773 at the age of 19 and was discharged as a captain in 1793. Excerpts of his *Histoire* were published in four installments by Francis Barbe, “De Lussas vers l’aventure . . . dans l’Histoire de France,” *Revue de la Société des Enfants et Amis de Villeneuve-de-Berg*, new ser., vol. 57 (2001), pp. 183-198, vol. 58 (2002), pp. 239-56, vol. 59 (2003) and vol. 60 (2004).

Passages from this journal can be found verbatim in the journal of unidentified officer of the Soissonnois regiment preserved in the Huntington Library in California. That ms also contains maps of all French campsites on the way to and from Yorktown not found in Amblard. See Robert A. Selig, “A New View of Old Williamsburg. A Huntington Library Manuscript provides another glimpse of the city in 1781.” *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 22 No. 1, (Spring 2000), pp. 30-34.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: 74-gun Ship *Le Zélé*

Anonymous Naval Officer sailing on 74-gun Ship *Le Zélé*

30. [September] The weather very fine, the wind and sea very calm. About noon a small American goulette which dropped anchor alongside the Admiral came with an embarkation order for 1800 men from the ships companies to assist M. de Choisi who was blockading Gloucester which is across the river from York. Many ships were signaled outside and I made out the names of some of them. About 4:00 PM the American goulette left and the Admiral gave the signal for all the ships to disembark the troops which had been ordered. Our frigates which were anchored on the other side came up to escort them.

October 1781.

1. Early in the morning a pinnacle came up from the small river. Also one of our frigates came up, one of those which were at anchor. *Le Serpent* set sail and went in the river where our two ships *Le Triton* and *Le Vaillant* were. The weather cloudy, the wind light and the sea very calm.
2. The weather fine, wind light, sea very calm. About noon all the long boats which had transported the troops to land up the river came back, also one of our frigates, where we were at anchor. During the day firing was heard. A quantity of cannon and ball were landed for use in the siege of Yorktown where the army of General Cornwallis was besieged. In the evening a pinnace came from the small river with a small American goulette which carried despatches for the Admiral and then returned.
3. The weather cloudy, the wind light, the sea very calm. Cannon were again heard firing on land as was so yesterday. Two of our ships came up the river.
4. The weather fairly good but not too hot. The wind from the northwest. The sea fairly calm. A frigate came up from the York River with news of the land battle going in favor of the French troops.

"Diary of a French Naval Officer 1781. Excerpt covering period of Siege of Yorktown from Documents belonging to National Park Service". The cover page states that the typed transcript was "received October 12, 1942" and is identified as "Sordelet Diary pp. 93-165. Translated by A.E. Booth, Vertical File Y40" at Colonial National Historical Park, Yorktown, Virginia. The transcript begins on 1 January 1781 and ends on 30 November 1781. The

author states that “The 10th of March [1781], I embarked on the ship the Zélé of 74 guns”. The author does not identify himself in the transcript and the identification by the NPS is without attribution. No officer named “Sordelet” is listed in Marine B4 259; the État Major of *Le Zélé* on fol. 78. The text reads close to the journal of Pierre Joseph Jeunot (No. 20).

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Anonymous Naval Officer sailing on 74-gun Ship *St. Esprit*

Journal de la Campagne

The “Journal de la Campagne” in Marine B4 184 begins on fol. 145 with the embarkation of the *marquis* de St. Simon’s forces at Cap François on 3 August 1781. It is integrated into a “Journal de la Navigation de l’Armée aux ordres de Mr le Comte de Grasse” in Marine B4 184, Part 1, which begins on fol. 54 with the date 22 March 1781. Fol. 144 reads “1781 M^s de St Simon Affaire de la Chesapeak” but a comparison with the account by St. Simon shows that these are two different authors and writers; the *Journal de la Campagne* quoted her was kept by an officer on the vessel *St. Esprit*.

Marine B4 184, fol 147v:

La division de M de Choisy de 400 hommes et environs 150 hommes d’artillerie arriva le 18 7bre ... le 24 partie de la troupe de M de Lauzun mais elle partit le lendemain et ce porta sur Gloucester.

Le 27 M de Choisy passa du coté de Gloucester et y prie le command sur les troupes d’environ 1500 hommes de milices américaines 500 de celle de M de Lauzun et 800 de garnison des vaisseaux.

The division of M de Choisy of 400 men and around 150 men artillery arrived on 18 September ... on the 24th parts of the troops of M de Lauzun arrived but they left the next day and went to Gloucester

On the 27th M de Choisy crossed to the Gloucester side and took command of the troops of around 1500 men American militia, 500 of those of M de Lauzun and 800 of the ship garrisons.

Marine B4 184, fol 146v

Au camp de Gloscester il ne paroissoit pas être de plus de 400 hommes a en juger par le nombre de ses tentes at Baraques, on voyoi une redoute a chaque de Ses Extrémités, il étoit près de la rivière d’yorck.

It does not appear that more than 400 men are in the camp of Gloucester to judge from the number of tents and barracks, one could see a redoubt at each of its ends, it was close to the York River.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Foix Regiment of Infantry (?)

Anonymous Infantry Officer sailing on 74-gun Ship *Le Magnanime*

Monsieur De Choisie qui avait Été Envoiee le 29 au comte de Grasse pour lui demander le Commandement des garnisons de sa flotte dans la vué de renforcer le Duc de l'auzun qui Était Campé devant Clocester rejoignit ce Commandant le 1er octobre avec huit cent homme.

Le 3 il marcha en avant pour resserrer Clocester Et prit poste a 3 mille de cette place. Son Corps Était composée De la legion de l'auzun et de douze Cents homme de milice americaine sous les ordres du baron de Vreden.

Le Colonel anglais tarleton Chef D'une legion de Son nom, Se trouvait postee aux Environs avec Six cents homme Dont 400 cavaliers, le duc de lauzun lattaqua vigoureusement Et lobliga de rentrer a glocester avec perte de cinquante homme, tarleton fut renverse de Son cheval Et blessé légèrement, notre perte fut peu considerable.

Translation :

Monsieur de Choisy who had been sent on the 29th to the comte de Grasse to ask of him the command of the garrisons of his fleet with a view toward reinforcing the duc de Lauzun who was encamped outside Gloucester, rejoint that officer on the 1st of October with eight hundred men.

On the 3rd he marched forward to tighten [the ring around] Gloucester and took a post 3 miles from that place. His corps was composed of the Legion of Lauzun and twelve hundred men American militia under the orders of Baron von Weedon.

The English Colonel Tarleton, chef of a legion that bore his name, found himself posted in the environs with six hundred men, four hundred of them cavalry, the duc de Lauzun attacked him vigorously and obliged him to return to Gloucester with the loss of fifty men, Tarleton was thrown from his horse and slightly wounded, our loss was negligible.

Journal historique De mes Voyages en Amérique melés D'un Requeil fidelle Des Differente Campagne que jy ai faite Et de Different Evenement arrivée aux antille, pp. 191/2.
MCC-0024, Microfilm 17,677-1P, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

The account of the Yorktown Campaign begins on 15 August 1781 on p. 184 and ends with the surrender of Cornwallis and de Grasse' departure on p. 225. The Library of Congress identifies the manuscript as the journal of an un-identified French naval figure aboard the warship *Robuste*. Internal evidence points to an officer of the Regiment Foix as the author of the journal who sailed on *Le Magnanime*.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

colonel-commandant René Marie vicomte d'Arrot (1749?-1821)

The itinerary of the hussars of Lauzun's Legion from Baltimore to Gloucester Courthouse gives this route:

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

Le 14 7 ^{bre} de Baltimore Snowen Iron Worcks	23 Milles
15 de Snowen Iron Worcks à Georges Town sur le Potowmack passé la Riviere le même jour	21
16 de l'autre Coté de la Riviere à powhick	21
17 de powhick à quatre Milles plus loing que Dumfries aiant passé L'accoquan au guè	25
18 de quatre Milles plus loing que Dumfries à Fridericksbourg aiant passe le Rappahanock Au guè (=ford) a falmouth	22
19 Sejour	
20 de friedericksbourg chez le Colonel Baley trois Milles plus loing que Bowling green	25
21 de chez le Colonel Baley à Toddsbridge	20
22 de Toddsbridge à King and queen Court housse	25
23 de King and queen Court house à Newstawerne	18
24 de Newstawerne à Glocester Court house	12
	=====
	total 211 Milles

This itinerary was established AFTER the arrival of the hussars in Gloucester; initially the hussars were to ride to Williamsburg.

Rochambeau's letter to d'Arrot of September 16 with these instructions is printed in Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*. 5 vols (Paris : Alphonse Picard, 1886-1892), vol. 5 (1892) : Appendice. Correspondance du Comte de Rochambeau depuis le début de son Commandement aux États-Unis jusqu'à la fin de la Campagne de Virginie, pp. 309-590, p. 541.

There was a News Tavern at Gloucester Court House, but the mileage in the itinerary takes the hussars to the Dragon Tavern near Adner on Route 17, about 12 miles north of Gloucester Courthouse.

René Marie *vicomte* d'Arrot, *colonel commandant* of the Legion, was born in February 1749 (or December 1754?). He began his military career in December 1767, as a sub-lieutenant in the *légion de l'Île de France*. With Lauzun he took part in the conquest of Senegal in 1779 and on 1 April 1780, became *colonel commandant* of Lauzun's Legion. After Yorktown he sailed for the Caribbean and became governor of Tobago in 1783. He did not return to Paris until 1802, where he died in 1821.

Lafayette-Leclerc Papers, MS 31.17, Folder 1 No. 16, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment of Infantry

Lieutenant en Premier Agricole Joseph Xavier de Bertrand (1758-1827)

Le 29 j'envoyai Monsieur de Choisy à Monsieur le comte de Grasse lui proposer de lui donner le commandement d'un dachement de ses troupes de garnison, pour aller renforcer le duc de Lauzun dans le comté de Gloucester ; Monsieur le comte de Grasse remit 800 hommes et Monsieur de Choisy, qui rejoignit le duc de Lauzun le 1^{er} octobre.

OCTOBRE

Le 3 du même mois, Monsieur de Choisy marcha en avant pour resserrer Gloucester et prendre une position à 3 milles de cette place. Le corps de Monsieur de Choisy était composé de la légion de Lauzun, de son infanterie tirée des vaisseaux, et de 1 200 hommes de milice aux ordres du brigadier général Weeden. Tarleton se trouva avec 600 hommes sur cette position, dont 400 chevaux et 200 hommes d'infanterie. Le duc de Lauzun l'attaqua si vigoureusement, nonobstant le feu de son infanterie, qu'il le culbuta, blessa Monsieur Tarleton et força le détachement à rentrer dans Gloucester avec perte de 50 hommes. Messieurs Billy Dillon et Dutertre capitaine en second, y ont été blessés, Messieurs Robert Dillon, de Sheldon, Beffroy, et Monthurel s'y sont distingués. Il y a eu 3 hussards tués et 11 de blessés. Monsieur de Choisy a pris une position à 3 milles de la place, et les postes avancés n'en furent qu'à un mille.

Translation :

On the 29th I sent Monsieur de Choisy ... [see the primary sources under "Rochambeau"]

In his account of the siege of Yorktown Bertrand copies a ms from the correspondence of the *comte de Rochambeau*; the original is in Service Historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, Paris, call No. A/3734/folio 140.

Agricole Joseph Xavier de Bertrand, *Journal de marche des opérations de l'armée de Rochambeau* in : Jacques de Trentinian, *La France au Secours de l'Amérique* (Paris : Editions SPM 2016), pp. 233-255, p. 251.

Born in December 1758, Bertrand became a sub-lieutenant in March 1775 and a lieutenant in April 1778. A captain in 1786, he, like many noble officers, resigned in May 1792 following the French declaration of war on Austria on 20 April. He died in 1827

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Navy

Jean Charles François, *comte* Aved de Magnac (1757-1828 ?)
officier auxiliaire on the 74-gun Ship *Le Souverain*

Dans la baye de Chesapeak devant la riviere de york abord du Souverain
Le 21 8^{bre} 1781

[The letter to his father in France begins with a complaint about not having been promoted to *lieutenant de fregatte* before getting to events in Virginia.]

J'interromp ma letter pour vous dire que le general¹ dans ce moment cy ches lequel le general Wasington est arrive et dine, vient de tirer 21 coups de canons en savant a la santé du Roy de France.

Dans ce moment il vient encor d'en tirer 20 autres qui sont surement pour le Congrè et ensuite 3 autres Saluts de 18 et 20 coups de canon chaque pour les généraux des armées.²

--- il faut cependant que je continue ma lettre ---

Comme je vous avois mandé par une lettre Écrite a la Mer au débouquement du canal de Bahame faisans route pour la nouvelle Angleterre pour donner du secours aux ameriquaines qui Etoient dans la plus grande detraisse Le 30 août nous avons mouillé dans

¹ Aved de Magnac refers to the comte de Grasse as "general". Though it is customary to give de Grasse the rank of "Admiral," such a military rank did not exist in pre-revolutionary France. De Grasse's official title was "lieutenant général des armées navales." "Amiral" was strictly speaking a court office, viz. the office of *Amiral de France* held by the *duc* de Penthièvre was one of the high court offices.

² The third general was Rochambeau. The log of the 80-gun *Languedoc* records that "le dernier s'en trouvé à boulet, mais il n'a fait du mal à personne - the last [cannon] was loaded with ball but it did not hurt anybody." Marine B4 248, Archives de la Marine, Vincennes, France; the quote from photostats in *Foreign Copying Project, France*, held by the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

If the accidental cannonball was fired from the *Languedoc* it was most likely an 8lb ball. Since April 1778, the *Languedoc* carried thirty 36lb guns, thirty-four 24lb guns, and twenty-six 8lb guns. Rif Winfield and Stephen S. Roberts, *French Warships in the Age of Sail 1626–1786* (Annapolis, 2017), p. 77. Built in 1761/62, she was broken up in 1799.

Excerpts from fol. 111v to 126v, which include this incident, are in BV Naval Transcripts, New-York Public Library, New York, NY.

la baye de chesapeake ayans dans nos Vaux 3000 et quelques 100 hommes de troupe que nous avons porté a Williambourg ou Etoit Mr Dela faillet avec les troupes ameriquaines. (Cest moy qui ay fait cette corvée et qui commandois la chaloupe pour le débarquement avec un garde dela marine ; dans toutes autres chaloupes il y avoit des Lieutenants de vau pour les commander mais les M.M. craignant la fatigue ne s'en sont pas soucies jay demandé au capitaine de faire cette corvée il me la accordé nous Étions au nombre de 40 a 50 chaloupes) Mr dela faillette étant a la piste du Lord Cornwallis commandant pour lors 6500 homme de troupes Reglées, ayant déjà ravagé une grande partie dela Virginie ; Ses troupes ayant commis vis avis les habitans Les plus grandes horreurs et detruis la plus grande partie des familles ; tout le long dela riviere dejemmes (?) ou nous avons passé pour aller a Williambourg nous n'avons vu que les plus grands desastres et des maisons Brulées ; plus personne dans les maisons et arrivés a Williambourg jay Été témoins des Horreurs qu'ils y avoient commis ; jay vu quantité de cadavres sur la terre et dans des maisons des têtes d'Hommes et d'enfants enfermées dans des ormoires des femmes pendues appres des arbres et le maris vis-à-vis des Enfants cloués après des portes, et un autre trait plus barbare ils ont trouvé une femme prête d'accoucher qu'ils ont ouvert et pris L'enfant qu'ils ont crucifiés a coté de la mer dans la bouche dela quelle ils ont mis un papier sur lequel Etoit Ecrit : tu nenfantera plus de Rebeles. – les chaloupes ont Été 15 jours dehors ; pendant lequel tems nous avons Eu plusieurs alertes nous avons fait le débarquement a 12 Lieues de L'Armée ...

Now comes a paragraph on the Battle of the Capes on 5 September which he did not participate in, and a description of the siege of Yorktown and news of the campaign. The letter ends with a transcription of the articles of capitulation.

Translation:

In the Chesapeake Bay at the mouth of the York River on bord the *Souverain*,
21 October 1781

I interrupt my letter to tell you that this very moment that General Washington arrives and dines has just fired 21 cannon shots to the health of the King of France.

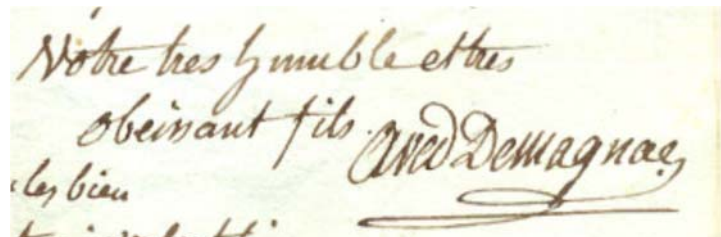
This moment he also fired 20 others which are surely for Congress and followed by three other salutes each of 18 and 20 shots each for the generals of the armies.

I must now continue my letter.

As I have told you in a letter written on the high seas as we exited the Channel of the Bahamas taking route for the new England to give assistance to the Americans who were in the greatest distress we cast anchor on 30 August in the Chesapeake Bay having in our

vessels 3000 and a few hundred troops which we took to Williamsburg where M de la Fayette was with the American troops.

(It was I who undertook that chore and who with a *garde de la marine* commanded the rowboat for the debarkation; in all other rowboats were Lieutenants de Vaisseau to command them, but the Gentlemen [his fellow officers] believing that they should not trouble themselves with I asked of the captain to be allowed to take on this chore and he gave it to me. We were about 40 or 50 rowboats) M de la Fayette being for a while on the trail of Lord Cornwallis commanding officer of around 6500 regular troops, having already ravaged a great part of Virginia, his troops had committed the greatest horrors against the inhabitants and destroyed the greatest number of families, all along the river along which we passed to go to Williamsburg we saw nothing but the greatest destruction and burned houses, nobody in the houses and arriving in Williamsburg I was witness of horrors that they committed; I saw a number of corpses on the ground and in the houses the heads of men and children enclosed in wardrobes, women hanging from trees and the husband nailed below the doors vis-à-vis the children, and another most barbarous feature they found a woman ready to deliver whom they had cut open and crucified the child next to the mother in the mouth of whom they had put a paper on which was written: You will no more give birth to rebels. The rowboats were gone for 15 hours, during which time we had a number of alarms we made the debarkation 12 miles from the army.



Notre tres humble et tres
obeissant fils. J. A. de Magnac,
le bien

Jean Charles François Aved de Magnac was born in 1757 and entered the French navy in 1778 as a *garde de la marine* on the *Diademe*. In January 1779, he transferred to the *Dauphin Royal* and in February 1781 to *Le Souverain*, on which he took part in the 1781 campaign under the *comte de Grasse*. Promoted to *Lieutenant de Fregatte* on 3 August 1781, he became a *Lieutenant de Vaisseau* on 1 January 1792, and shortly thereafter captain of *Le Zélé*. He presumably died in Jamaica in 1828.

I am very grateful to *comte Emmanuel Aved de Magnac* for sharing the letters of his ancestor as well as this biographical information with me.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Chief Commissary Claude Blanchard (1742-1803)

To day [3 October 1781] a body of English troops which occupied Gloucester, opposite York, desired to prevent M. de Lauzun and M. de Choisy, who commanded at this point, from occupying a position where they wished to encamp. M. de Lauzun charged them with the cavalry of his legion and drove them back; it was Tarleton, a partisan, very well known in America, who commanded the English; he was wounded and thrown from his horse and had 50 men killed or wounded. We lost 3 men and 11 wounded, 3 of whom were officers, among whom was M. de Dillon.

Balch, Thomas, ed. *The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution* (Albany, 1876), pp. 145/6.

Blanchard's military career began in 1761 in the Ministry of War; appointed Commissary of War in 1768, he served in Corsica until 1778. In March 1780 Rochambeau appointed him his chief commissary. Chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis (1788), elected commander of the National Guard of Arras (1789), and elected deputy for Pas-de-Calais to the Legislative Assembly (1791), he lost all posts as an "aristocrat" in 1794 but re-entered government service after the Reign of Terror.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Navy

Louis-Antoine *comte* de Bougainville (1729-1811)
chef d'escadre and *Capitaine de Vaisseau* of the 80-gun ship *L'Auguste*

Excerpt from the log of the *Auguste*:

M. de Choisy est venu hier du camp et part ce soir avec 800 hommes tirés des garnisons des vaisseaux pour aller se joindre à la légion de Lauzun et 2.000 miliciens, bloquer Gloucester et fermer au Lord Corn Wallis la communication avec le pays qui est à la gauche de la Rivière d'York.

« A 4 h. 1/2, signal pour embarquer le détachement de M. de Choisy ; à 5 h. 1/2, signal pour le faire partir. Ce détachement n'entre pas dans York River, mais va débarquer dans un cric (sic) au N. de cette rivière où M. le duc de Lauzun et un brigadier américain l'attendent. Ils marcheront de là sur Gloucester.

Translation:

M. de Choisy came here yesterday from camp and left this evening with 800 men drawn from the garrisons of the vessels to go and attach himself to the legion of Lauzun and 2000 militia, to block Gloucester and to shut off to Lord Cornwallis the communication with the country that is on the left of the York River.

At 4:30 the signal to embark the detachment of M de Choisy, at 5:30 signal for it to depart. This detachment will not enter the York River but will debark in a creek to the north of that river where M. the duc de Lauzun and an American brigadier are waiting for it. They will march from there on Gloucester.

René de Kerallain, "Bougainville a l'armée du C^{te} de Grasse : Guerre d'Amérique, 1781-1782" *Journal de la Société des américanistes, New Series* vol. 20 (1928), pp. 1-70, pp. 29/30.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville (1749-1834)

Sous-Lieutenant à la suite and aide-de-camp to the Baron de Vioménil

29 septembre

[...]

Nous n'avons point de nouvelles de M. de Choisy qui est allé avec environ 2800 hommes du cote de la rivière oppose a celui que nous attaquons afin de mettre l'ennemi entre deux.

Nous craignons que l'ennemi ne passe la rivière une belle nuit et ne se jette sur M. de Choisy et se détermine à voyager par terre pour nous donner la peine (fort grande) de l'aller chercher.

No entries for 30 September to 3 October 1781

4 octobre

[...]

Nous apprîmes ce même jour par un courrier envoyé par M. le Due de Lauzun qui commandait 250 hussards près Glocester, qu'environ 300 hommes à cheval, du corps de Tarleton étant venus les attaquer hier matin, il les avait repoussés et leur avait pris, tué ou blessé 50 hommes. Le Colonel lui-même a été blesse et renversé de son cheval.

Translation :

29 September

We have no news from M de Choisy who went with around 2,800 men to the bank of the river opposite of that which we attack with the goal of putting the enemy between two fires.

We believe that the enemy will cross the river on a pretty night and throw himself upon M de Choisy and decides to travel on land to give us the (very big) pain of having to go find him.

No entries for 30 September to 3 October 1781

4 octobre

[...]

We learned the same day by a courier sent by M le duc de Lauzun who commands 250 hussars near Gloucester that around 300 cavalrymen of the corps of Tarleton having come to attack him yesterday morning, he [Lauzun] pushed them back and took from, killed, or wounded 50 men. The colonel himself was wounded and thrown from his horse.

Antoine Charles du Houx, baron de Vioménil (1728-1792), was Rochambeau's second in command. Gravely wounded during the defense of the Tuileries on 10 August 1792, he died on 31 October 1792.

Brissout de Barneville. "Journal de Guerre de Brissout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" *The French-American Review* Vol. 3 No. 4 (October 1950), pp. 217-278, p. 272.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Régiment de Beaujolais-Infantry

Lieutenant Joseph François Louis de Jacomel de Cauvigny (1745-1812)
doing duty as part of the infantry supplement on the 74-gun Ship *Le Citoyen*

Peu après son départ, [i.e. Washington's] on a fait des signaux particuliers qui ont fait partir douze chaloupes chargées de 800 hommes tous des garnisons de vaisseaux lesquels trouveront d'autres troupes pour former un corps de deux mille hommes aux ordres de M. de Choisy. Leur objet est d'aller s'emparer de Gloucester qui dit-on est évacuée. Les chaloupes se sont dirigées vers l'embouchure de la rivière d'York.

Footnote 141 of the original text gives a brief biography of Choisy. Part of it reads :

Selon le due de Lauzun : «M de Choisy est un bon et brave homme, ridiculement violent, constamment en colère, faisant des scènes a tout le monde, et n 'ayant jamais le sens commun. Il commença par envoyer promener le général Wiedon et toute la milice, lui dit qu'ils étaient des poltrons, et, en cinq minutes, il leur fit presque autant de peur que les Anglais, et assurément c 'était beaucoup dire ». [This quote is taken from Lauzun's autobiography ; see the entry for Lauzun.]

Footnote 142 of the original text after "évacuée" reads:

"C'est une fausse rumeur dont nous en connaissons pas l'origine – This is a false rumor that we don't know where it came from ».

The last paragraph on p. 153 reads in part:

Le 4 et le 5, on a établi une correspondance entre l'armée de Rochambeau et la nôtre en comendant a tour de rôle un canot qui va prendre les lettres au *Vaillant* [a 64-gun SOL in de Grasse' fleet launched in 1755] lequel les envoie chercher a terre dans un endroit convenu. [...] Les nouvelles sont que les troupes de Gloucester ont fait une sortie sur les nôtres qui les ont repoussées avec perte de 20 hommes ou pris, ou tués, blessés, ou prisonniers, entre lesquels se trouve un colonel de cavalerie anglaise.¹⁴⁶

Fn 146 on p. 154 reads : C'est le premier combat sérieux du siège. Il date du 3 octobre. Le colonel Carleton, commandant de la cavalerie anglaise avait chargé les troupes françaises

en train de s'installer. Les cavaliers de Lauzun chargèrent à leur tour. Lauzun captura le cheval de Carleton mais pas ce dernier et repoussa les Anglais.

Translation:

Soon after his departure the required signals were given which caused 12 rowboats loaded with 800 men, all from the garrisons of the vessels, to depart. They found other troops to form a corps of two thousand men under the order of M. de Choisi. Their object is to go and take possession of Gloucester which it is said has been evacuated. The rowboats took their course toward the mouth of the York River.

The last paragraph on p. 153 reads in part:

The 4th and 5th, a correspondence between the army of Rochambeau and ours has been established by ordering the continuous back and forth of a canoe which takes letters to the *Vaillant* which sends them to a convenient place on land [...] We have news that the [British] troops in Gloucester made a sortie against ours which they repulsed with the loss of 20 men either taken, or killed, wounded or prisoners, among whom is a colonel of the English cavalry.

Fn 146 on p. 154 reads:

This is the first serious combat of the siege. It dates to 3 October. Colonel Carleton, commanding officer of the English cavalry, had charged the French troops who were about to set themselves up. The horsemen of Lauzun charged in their turn. Lauzun captured the horse of Carleton but not the latter [i.e. Tarleton] and pushed the English back.

Journal de la campagne d'Amérique (1781-1783) de Joseph François Louis de Jacomel de Cauvigny, officier du régiment de Beaujolais-Infanterie embarque sur le vaisseau Le Citoyen. Mémoire de maîtrise présentée par Jean-Pascal Gay sous la direction de M le Recteur Yves Durand. Année universitaire 1995-1996, Session Juin 1996, pp. 152-154.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Brigadier General Claude Gabriel de Choisy (1723-post 1799)

Gen Choisy's dispatch written at Seawell's Tavern immediately after the battle (at 2 PM that day) to Weedon and forwarded by Weedon to Washington:

Obre 3th after noon at 2 o Clock

Sir,

I have the hounor to inform you that by our arrival at Saoul's Tavern we have met with the ennemi who was in number about 500 men Cavalry and Infantry, that the Cavalry of the Duc of Lauzun has attaqued them, pierced throug and that we have had a great advantage on them. We can esteem they have 30 Men killed or wounded. The 200 men grenadier Americans who were the only Infantry advanced enough to have part in the affair and who have behaved excedingly well have killed one officer who was at the head of the Infantry of the ennemi. T'is a general report that Tarleton has been wounded. The ennemi have retired to Gloucester and we are quickly in our Camp where I expect you will join tomorrow as we have al. agreed

I have the hounor to be your
Most humble servant,
Choisy

The note is included in a letter by BG George Weedon to George Washington dated October 3, 1781.

Unless otherwise indicated all correspondence to and from Washington is quoted from the on-line edition of his papers on the website of the Library of Congress (search by date):
<https://www.loc.gov/collections/george-washington-papers/about-this-collection/>

The Library of Congress erroneously identifies him as “duc de Choisy”, but both the *État Militaire* as well as Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 113/14, identify him only as “de Choisy”.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Auxonne Artillery

Lieutenant Jean François Louis Lesquevin de Clermont-Crèvecœur
(1752-post 1824)

4 October. When the troops under M. de Choisy went to seize an outpost at Gloucester, they found it occupied by the enemy. He attacked it and forces the English to retire. The Duc de Lauzun at the head of his Legion charged them several times in succession with the greatest success. He pushed them back to the town, then retired under orders from M. Choisy. What is infinitely to his credit and only enhances his noble conduct and the good example his bravery set his army is that, during his retreat when he saw one of his hussars assailed by three of Tarleton's cavalrymen, the Duc himself rushed to his defense and, fighting alongside his hussar, managed to rescue him. The man was badly wounded and, according to several of my comrades who have spoken with him, cannot sufficiently express his gratitude to his generous benefactor. The Duc has never mentioned this episode; it was the hussar who revealed it.

In reporting the skirmish, M. de Choisy requested that the General assign him several pieces of artillery, but since we were short of men for the siege, the General took a long time to make up his mind. Upon his second request the General detached two of my comrades with two squads and four 4-pounders.

In the combat described above the enemy lost 50 men and left an officer on the field. We had only 3 men killed and 11 wounded. MM. Billy de Dillon and Dutertre, officers of the Legion, were slightly wounded.

Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*. 2 volumes, (Princeton and Providence, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 57/58.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment of Infantry

Captain Ludwig Baron von Closen und Haydenburg (1755 [1754?]-1830)
aide-de-camp to the comte de Rochambeau

When M. de Rochambeau sent M. de Choisy to ask M le Comte de Grasse to give him command of a detachment of his garrison troops, [i.e. Washington's request of 27 September] with which to reinforce the Duc de Lauzun in the County of Gloucester, the Comte de Grasse agreed very readily and ordered 800 men to be landed the next day, with whom M. de Choisy joined the Duc de Lauzun on October 1.

[3] on the 3rd, M. de Choisy marched ahead to surround Gloucester, and to capture a position that Tarleton was occupying 3 miles from that place with 400 horses and 200 infantry men. M. de Choisy's corps was composed of the Lauzun legion, the infantry from the ships, and 100 American militia. Our hussars, with the lancers preceding, attacked Tarleton so vigorously that notwithstanding the fire of his infantry, they overwhelmed him and forced his detachment to seek the protection of the Gloucester batteries, with the loss of 35 men. M. Billy Dillon and Du Tertre, officers of our legion, as well as 11 hussars were slightly wounded there; three were killed. M. de Choisy thus seized the desired position and placed his advanced posts a mile nearer Gloucester.

Acomb, Evelyn, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), p. 142.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Saintonge Regiment of Infantry

Marie-François Joseph Maxime *baron* Cromot du Bourg (1756-1836)
aide-de-camp to the comte de Rochambeau

October 4 – Nothing more occurred than the days previous. M. de Rochambeau received a letter from M. Choisey in which he sent word that the evening before, on taking a position on the side which he occupied, he had found the enemy to the number of six hundred, attacked and driven them, and that the commanding officer of the English infantry had been killed, Mr. Tarleton badly wounded at the head of his cavalry, and that the enemy had lost fifty men in the little skirmish, while our loss was only three hussars killed and eleven wounded; Messrs. Billy Dillon and du Tertre, both officers of the hussars, slightly wounded, and the Duke de Lauzun had charged repeatedly at the head of his hussars with advantage, and that he had driven the enemy at a rapid rate into Gloucester.

Side note. – The Duke de Lauzun, after charging several times at the head of his Legion, was ordered by M. de Choisey to fall back and obeyed. As he was returning with his troops he saw one of the of his Legion at some distance engaged with two of Tarleton's dragoons. Without a word to any one, he lowered his guard and went to his assistance. I only knew this incident on the 20th November from M. de Rochambeau; the modesty of M. de Lauzun had prevented his mentioning it, but I should feel that I was very wrong should I omit to write down in the Journal everything that relates to the Duke de Lauzun, who, in those minor actions, set the best possible example to the army.

Cromot du Bourg, Marie-François baron, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4 (March 1880), pp. 205-214, (April 1880), pp. 293-308, (May 1880), pp. 376-385, (June 1880), pp. 441-452, the quote on p. 446.

Note: Cromot du Bourg had departed from Yorktown in the afternoon of 1 October 1781 for Hampton to take a letter to de Grasse; due to adverse wind and tide he reached the *Ville de Paris* a full 24 hours later at 2 p.m. on 2 October. He was back in Hampton at 7 a.m. on 3 October and handed Rochambeau de Grasse' responses at 10:00 a.m.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment of Infantry

Colonel-en Second Guillaume Philippe vicomte de Forbach des Deux-Ponts
(1754-1807)

On 1 October Deux-Ponts wrote :

I went as far as the York River, and I saw all the English vessels, the position of Gloucester, and the French ships which blocked the river.

The entry for 3 October reads in part:

Rather sharp firing was heard in the morning from the other side of the river, after which Tarleton's cavalry was seen returning in a hurry and in disorder. We think that it has made a sortie from the lines of Gloucester to attack the legion of Lauzun, and we hope that it has been driven back.

On the 4th of October, the news of the engagement between the legion of Lauzun and Tarleton's cavalry is confirmed; the legion of Lauzun has repulsed Tarleton. The Duke de Lauzun has charged several times; he was supported by M. de Choisy, who had just arrived with eight hundred marines.

William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America*. Samuel Abbot Green, ed., (Boston, 1868), pp. 137/38.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

colonel-en-second Robert Guillaume Dillon (1754-1837)

La nouvelle du retour de Mr. de Grasse dans la baie nous fit remettre à la voile, en trois jours nous arrivâmes a l'ouverture des rivières de York et de James. Nous passames a trois lieues de l'escadre du Roy, et entrâmes sur le champ dans la rivière de James. En la remontant, nous rencontrâmes les Generaux Washington et Rochambeau qui la descendaient dans une corvette qui venait d'être prise sur les Anglais. Ces Mrs. allaient à bord de Mr. de Grasse pour y conférer sur les opérations. Nous continuames notre route jusqu'au lendemain matin que nous débarquâmes sur la rive droite de la rivière a 4 milles de Williamsburg. La troupe ne put être débarquée que vers le soir mais Mr. de Lauzun, le Vicomte de Noailles et moi, nous rendîmes sur le champ a Williamsburg pour y voir La Fayette. Nous dinâmes avec lui, et retournâmes sur le champ au lieu de débarquement. Les grenadiers et chasseurs furent tous débarqués a sept heures, nous passames la nuit au bivouac et le lendemain nous fumes faire une seconde visite a la Fayette. [...]

Ce soir là, les grenadiers et chasseurs vinrent camper en avant de Williamsburg, la Legion marcha avec eux, mais resta dans la ville, devant marcher le lendemain de bonne heure pour aller gagner Gloucester-court=house, ou nous devons trouver nos hussards qui y étaient depuis le 23 M de Lauzun et moi nous rendimes le même jour à Gloucester notre infanterie ne put y arriver avant trois jours nous apprimes peu de jour après que l'armée entière était arrivée et débarquée auprès de Williamsburg le 26. les deux armées Marchaient vers York ou le Lord Cornwallis travaillait toujours à ses retranchements, mais n'essaya nullement à retarder la marche de l'armée combinée, qui le 29 Septembre marcha sur la ville l'investiture fut faite sur le Champ, on commença à travailler la nuit du [blanc] les ennemies tirèrent pendant trois jours et trois nuits sans qu'on leur répondit un coup de canon nos Batteries ne furent démasquées que le [blanc] à trois heures après midi ; tandis que l'armée française americaine travaillaient avec ardeur au siege D'yorck, un detachment de 800 hommes tirés des garnisons des Vaisseaux de la Flotte, la legion de Lauzun et deux mille hommes de milice commandés par le général Widen, mais les tous aux ordres de M de Choisy, Brigadier des armées du roy, attaquaient la garnison de Gloucester composée d'environ 1800 hommes. La ville de Gloucester est située sur la rive gauche de la rivière D'york, et positivement en face D'york.

Le Colonel qui y commandait avait fortifié cette place, et l'avait mise parfaitement a l'abry d'un coup de main, mais non pas d'une attaque reguliere: cette place était essentielle, en ce que ses batteries formaient avec celles D'yorck un feu croisé sur la riviere qui aurait infiniment gêné les vaisseaux du Roy qui auraient eu ordre de forcer la passe et de remontre la riviere, pour canonner la ville; l'on assure que si deux de nos vaisseaux avaient pu [blank] devant yorck la ville aurait capitulé après douze heures de cannonade.

Pendant cinq ou Six jours que nous restames Gloucester-court-house attendre que M de Choisy nous ait joint avec ses 800 hommes, M de Lauzun et moi fimmes plusieurs reconaissance a Gloucester-town, et nous eu rencontrâmes jamais que quelques petites postes qui se repliais aussi tôt que nous paraissions ce ne fut que le 3 8^{bre} que M de Choisy nous ayant

➔ end of ms, the last page presumable with Dillon's account of the Battle of the Hook is missing

Translation:

The news that M de Grasse had returned to the bay made us set sail again [from Annapolis on 15 September] and in three days we arrived at the entrance of the York and James rivers. We passed within three lieu [=9 miles] of the King's fleet and entered the area of the James river. Sailing up the river we encountered the Generals Washington and Rochambeau who came down it in a corvette which had been captured from the English. These gentlemen went on board of M de Grasse to confer with him about the operations. [18 September] We continued our route until the next morning when we debarked on the right bank of the river four miles from Williamsburg. The troops could only debark toward evening but M de Lauzun, the vicomte de Noailles and I betook ourselves to Williamsburg on land to see Lafayette there. We dined with him and returned on land to the place of debarkation. The grenadiers and chasseurs were all debarked a seven o'clock, we passed the night in bivouac and the next day [20 September] we made a second visit at Lafayette.

That evening the grenadiers and chasseurs went to camp before Williamsburg, the Legion marched with them but remained in the village before marching the next day early [21 September] to reach Gloucester Courthouse where we were to find our hussars who had been there since the 23rd. M de Lauzun and I betook ourselves the same day to Gloucester; our infantry could not arrive there until three days later; we learned a few days later that the whole army had arrived and debarked close to Williamsburg on the 26th, the two armies marched on York where Lord Cornwallis was working on his entrenchments but tried nothing to delay the march of the combined armies which on 29 September marched on the town; the investiture was made on land, one began to work the night of

[blank] the enemies fired for three days without one being able to respond with a single cannon shot our batteries were not unmasked until [blank] at three o'clock in the afternoon, while the French and American army worked with ardor on the siege of York a detachment of 800 men drawn from the garrisons of the vessels of the fleet, Lauzun's Legion and two thousand militiamen commanded by General Widen, but all under the orders of M de Choisy, Brigadier of the armies of the king, attacked the garrison of Gloucester which consisted of about 1,800 men. The village of Gloucester is located on the right bank of the York River and exactly opposite York.

The colonel who commanded there [at Gloucester Point] had fortified that place and made perfectly safe against a surprise attack, but not against a regular attack: that place was critical in that its batteries, together with those of York, formed a cross-fire over the river which would have discomfited to no end the vessels of the [French] king which could have received orders to force a pass through and to sail up the river to cannonade the village; one assured us that if two or three of our vessels would have [blank] before York the village would have surrendered after a dozen hours of cannon fire.

During the five or six days that we lay at Gloucester Courthouse waiting for M de Choisy to join us with his 800 men, M de Lauzun and I undertook a number of reconnaissances toward Gloucestertown, and we never encountered anything but a few small posts which pulled back as soon as we appeared, it was not until the 3rd of October that M de Choisy, having ... us

Journal of Robert Guillaume Dillon, 1778-1779. MSS L2015G152 M
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC

Born in Bordeaux in 1754, Dillon had been a captain in the Lorraine Regiment of 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 in November 1781 once Lauzun had sailed for France with news of the surrender at Yorktown, and its Colonel-Commandant René Marie *vicomte* d'Arrot had departed for the Caribbean. 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.

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.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Médoc Regiment of Infantry

Captain Mathieu Dumas (1753-1837)

Aide-de-camp to the comte de Rochambeau

The last lines of the entry for 3 October read:

Mr de Choisy a débarqué avec 800 hommes, tirées des garnisons de vaisseaux. Il a rejoint Mr le duc de Lauzun, et il s'approche de Gloucester pour y prendre une position entre les deux creecks à un mille des ouvrages des ennemis et leur fermer ainsi cette porte de derrière.

On a vu passer au-delà de la rivière la légion de Tarleton toute entière. Tous les nègres ont été mis dehors de la place. La plupart sont mourants ou infectés de maladies contagieuses.

Le 4 idem

[...] On a entendu ce matin un feu de mousqueterie très fort et on a remarqué beaucoup de mouvements de troupes à Gloucester. Je suis toujours fort occupé du débarquement de l'artillerie.

Le 5 idem

Le général a reçu des lettres de M^r Choisy qui l'informe que s'étant porté en avant de sa position pour aller prendre celle entre les deux creecks, le lord Cornwallis a fait faire une sortie par le colonel Tarleton. Mr de Choisy a tourné les troupes anglaises et après un feu très vive sur la cavalerie de Mr Tarleton Mr le Duc de Lauzun les a chargés lui-même à la tête de sa compagnie de lanciers la cavalerie de colonel Tarleton. Le colonel lui-même a été entraîné par les fuyards. Il est tombé de cheval et toute sa troupe lui est passé dessus, Mr le Duc de Lauzun a pris son cheval.

Note : Dumas' chronology is inaccurate. Perron wrote: "We embark on the 30th, at 3 in the afternoon [...] The next day, 1 October, we [...] arrived [...] around 11 in the morning."

Tarleton crossed the York River in the evening of 2 October 1781, rather than on 3 October.

The events Dumas recorded for 4 October – musket fire and troop movements in Gloucester – occurred on 3 October.

Translation :

3 October :

M. de Choisy has debarked with 800 men, drawn from the garrisons of the ships. He has rejoined M le duc de Lauzun and moves on Gloucester to take a position there between the two creeks at one mile from the works of the enemies and to close to them this way this door in their back.

One could see pass onto the other side of the river the whole legion of Tarleton. All the Blacks have been thrown out of the place. Most of them are dying or infected with contagious diseases.

The 4th of the same month

[...] One heard this morning very strong musket fire and saw much movement of troops at Gloucester. I am still occupied with the debarkation of the artillery.

The 5th of the same month

The general received letters from M. de Choisy which inform him that as he was moving forward from his position to take that between the two creeks, Lord Cornwallis had Colonel Tarleton make a sortie. M. de Choisy turned the English troops and after a very lively fire at the cavalry of M Tarleton, M le duc de Lauzun charge them himself at the head of his company of lancers the cavalry of Colonel Tarleton. The colonel himself was pulled along by those who fled. He fell from the horse and his whole troop passed over him. M. le duc de Lauzun took his horse.

La Marche sur Yorktown. Le Journal de Mathieu Dumas (16 Juin – 6 Octobre 1781) Bertrand van Rymbeke and Iris de Rode, eds., (Editions Jean-Jaques Wullaume, 2018), p. 193.

Dumas belonged to the inner-most circle of Rochambeau's staff, and his journal contains most valuable details about the workings of Rochambeau's staff, the organization of the march to Yorktown, and cooperation with the Continental Army, which are found nowhere else. The edition also reproduces the original manuscript on the left-hand, even-numbered pages of the book.

Dumas' *Memoirs of his Own Time* 2 vols., (London, 1839), vol. 1, pp. 64/5 reads:

“On the 30th we had sent M. de Choisy to M. de Grasse to ask of him a detachment of the crews of his ships to reinforce M. de Lauzun in the county of Gloucester. M. de Grasse gave him 800 men. On the 3d of October M. de Choisy went forward to invest Gloucester and take up a nearer position. Tarleton was on the spot with 400 cavalry and 200 infantry to forage. The Legion of Lauzun, supported by a corps of American militia, attacked this detachment so impetuously that it broke it and obliged it to return into the place, with some loss. M. de Choisy, after this action, pushed his advanced posts within a mile of Gloucester.”

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Agenois Regiment of Infantry

Lieutenant-Colonel Jean Baptiste Duplex de Cadignan (1738 - 1824)

Les hussards du duc de Lauzun, étant arrivés de l'autre côté de Gloucester, Mr. De Choisy eut ordre d'y conduire les trois cent hommes d'infanterie de cette légion et d'en prendre le commandement. Il devait être renforcé par huit cents hommes tirés des détachements des régiments qui étaient en garnison à bord des vaisseaux, et se réunis à deux mille hommes des milices américaines.

Les trois mille quatre cents hommes, portés dans les environs de Gloucester avaient pour objet de resserrer les cinq cents hommes de cavalerie légère que Lord Cornwallis y avait fait passer à cause de la commodité des fourrages, et pour inquiéter le général anglais dans sa retraite, dans le cas où il voudrait la faire de ce côté, comme l'avaient dit les déserteurs.

Mr. de Choisy avait ordre, dans ce dernier cas, de harceler l'arrière-garde des anglais tant qu'il pourrait, pour retarder leur marche et donner tout le temps à l'armée combinée de joindre lord Cornwallis si ce dernier venait à prendre le parti de combattre.

Translation:

The hussars of the duc de Lauzun having arrived on the other side of Gloucester, M de Choisy had orders to conduct the three hundred men infantry of that legion there and to take over command there. He was to be re-enforced by eight hundred men drawn from the detachments of the regiments who were as garrisons on board the vessels, and to join them to the two thousand men American militia.

The three thousand four hundred men taken to the vicinity of Gloucester had as their object to confine the five hundred men light cavalry which Lord Cornwallis had transferred there for the convenience of forage, and to be a threat to the English general in his retreat, in case he wanted to make it on that side as the deserters have said.

M de Choisy had orders, in the latter case, to harass the rear-guard of the English as much as he could to retard their march and to give as much time as possible to the

combined army to make contact with Lord Cornwallis if the latter made the decision to fight.

Journal des differentes campagnes que j'ay fait soit par terre ou par mer, depuis que je suis entré au service : ainsi que des principaux evenemens qui se sont passés dans les differents climats que j'ay parcouru 2 vols, the quote from vol. 2, unpaginated.

MSS L2018F24f [Bound] Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Lieutenant-colonel Claude Etienne Hugau (1741-1820)

On 11 November 1781, Hugau compiled a list of 20 charges that had been raised against Major Pollerescky by officers of the Legion. Some accusations cover incidents that occurred during the siege of Gloucester and confirm claims for compensation raised by citizens of Gloucester.

5) d'avoir fait enlever une belle table d'une maison à Gloucester Court-house pour son compte, l'avoir fait encaisser, et avoir laissé à M. le Duc dans la persuasion que c'étoit d'autre gens qui l'avoit volé.

De même que des livres dont on avoit dépareillée une bibliothèque et que l'on disoit être chez luy.

In margin : Cela m'a assuré à Gloucester Courte House en présence de M. le Comte Dillon dans sa maison et il y avoit encor un ou deux officiers présents

...

20) qu'enfin l'on disoit aussi qu'il s'étoit approprié huit des plus beaux chevaux de la garnison de Gloucester, et qu'il les avoit vendu.

In margin : M. le chevalier de Trenan a dit les avoir vus dans le bois et un hussard lui ayant proposé d'en acheter. Cet hussard a été envoyé à bord d'un bâtiment à Yorck pour ses méfaits. Il se nomme Courvoisier.

Translation :

5) having had a beautiful table stolen from a house at Gloucester Courthouse for himself, having it packed and left M le duc in the belief that it had been some other folks who stole it.

Similarly with the books which had been removed from a library and of which it was said they were with him.

In margin: I was assured of this in Gloucester Courthouse in the presence of M comte Dillon in his house and there were one or two more officers present.

...

20) and finally it is also said that he appropriated for himself eight of the prettiest horses of the garrison of Gloucester and that he sold them.

In margin: M le chevalier de Trenan said that he saw them in the woods and that a hussar suggested to him to buy one. This hussar was sent on board a vessel in York for his misdeeds. His name is Courvoisier.

In footnote 33 Massoni identifies “Ternan” as chevalier Jean de Ternant, a French volunteer who had joined the Continental Army in 1778, taken prisoner in Charleston in May 1780, exchanged in January 1782, minister plenipotentiary of France to the United States in 1791. Ternant was still an unexchanged prisoner of war with Cornwallis even after the surrender when this conversation occurred.

In footnote 34 Massoni identifies the hussar as François Corvasier who was sent back to France and chased from the legion for having stolen from a fellow soldier.

Claude Etienne Hugau of Paris entered the Bretagne Regiment of Infantry as a 20-year-old common soldier in March 1761 but was already its *porte-étendard* in June 1765. Following service in India in the years after 1769, he befriended the duc de Lauzun and was rewarded with the position of *aide-major* of the *volontaires étrangers de la marine* in 1778. In 1780, he became lieutenant-colonel of Lauzun's Legion. Retired from military service in 1789, he embarked on a successful career as a civil servant and died in Evreux in 1820.

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, Maîtrise d'histoire moderne, 1996), pp. 77 and 79.

The *Details interessantes*, a record of events between 30 October 1781 and September 1782, which Hugau kept during Lauzun's absence in France to justify his own conduct once the *duc* returned, provide a fascinating insight into the internal affairs of the Legion.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Navy

Pierre Joseph Jeunot (?? – 1821)

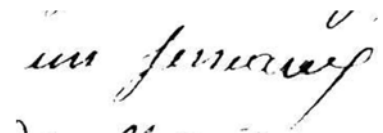
canonnier-servant in the Corps Royal d'Infanterie de la Marine
serving on the 74-gun Ship *Le Zélé*

Le 30 le temps tres Beaux le vent la mer Bien tranquille vers le midi il est venu une petite Goulette Americaine qui a mouille aupres du General il est venu L'ordre de débarquer 800 hommes de La Garnison des vaisseau pour aller seconder M. de Choisi que Blocquait Gloucester vis avis d'york a l'autre Bord de la Riviere dyork lon á signalez plusieurs Batimens déhors inconnus vers les 4 heures du soir la Goulette americaine à parti et le General à fait signal de descendre Les troupes destine tous Les Batimens qui en ont débarqué les ont mené à l'endroit indique nos frégattes qui Etoit En Crosisserre sont mouilles ou nous Étions avant que de venir ou nous sommes.

Mois Octobre 1781

Le premiers jour au matin il est venu un fregatte de la petite Riviere il est venu aussi une de nos frégatte de ceux qui Etois mouille le Serpens sest mis à la voile Et a Été à la Riviere ou Etois nos deux vaisseau le triton la vaillant le temps nuageux le vens doux la mer bien tranquille

Le 2 le temps beaux le vent doux la mer bien tranquille vers le midi toutes les Chaloupes qui avois portez les Troupes a terre sont Révenue il est venu aussi une de nos frégattes depuis ou nous Étions mouillée pendant la journée lon à Entendu tirer une quantitez de Coups de Canon à terre C'étoient nos Gens qui foisois le Siege de la ville dyork ou Etois larmé du General anglaise nomme Cornwallis il est venu sur le soir un [illeg] de La petite Rivierre avec une petite Goulette americaine qui sont venu parler aux General Et puis la Goulette sen Est Retourné.



Le 3 le temps nuageux le vent dots la mer bien tranquille lon a encore Entendu tirer des Coups de canon comme hier à terre il est venu de la Riviere 2 de nos Bâtiments.

Translation:

On the 30th beautiful weather, the wind the ocean calm toward noon a small American *goulette* came and anchored close to the general an order arrived to debark 800 men of the ship garrisons to support M. de Choisy who blocked Gloucester opposite York on the other bank of the York river several unknown vessels were announced at a distance around 4 o'clock in the afternoon the American *goulette* departed and the general gave the signal to lower the assigned troops all the vessels which debarked took them to the indicated place our frigates which had been cruising anchored where we had been before coming to where we are.

During the first hours of the morning [...] the *Serpent* set sail and was at the river where our two vessels the *Triton* and the *Vaillant* were the weather overcast the wind gentle the ocean still. On the 2nd the weather beautiful the wind gentle the ocean still toward noon all the rowboats that had carried the troops to land returned one of our frigates also came since to where we were anchored during the daytime on could hear a number of cannon shots fired on land those were our men who undertook the siege of York [...]

On the 3rd the weather overcast the winds gentle (?) the ocean still like yesterday one could still hear cannon shots fired on land two of our vessels came from the river.

Journal of Pierre Joseph Jeunot, 1776-1821.

mss HM 578, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; the quotes are from pp. 154/155.

The title page of Jeunot's notes, which consist of a series of journals of various journeys, seems to indicate that they begin on 14 March 1781, but the first journal covers a journey beginning on 26 May 1776. The account of the journey that took him to Yorktown begins on page 101 with his embarkation in Brest on *Le Zélé* on 10 March 1781 and ends with his debarkation 29 months later again in Brest on 10 August 1783.

Jeunot enlisted in the Corps Royal d'infanterie de la Marine in 1773. From 1776 to 1783 he served as a fusilier and then a "canonnier-servant" onboard of the vessels *Le Cameleon*, *Le Lion*, *Le Caton*, *La Magicienne*, *L'Alexandre* and *Le Zélé*, taking part in the operations of the French fleet in the West Indies and the Yorktown campaign (1781).

Jeunot mentions artillery fire on both 2 and 3 October but does not indicate whether the artillery pieces had been fired in Yorktown or Gloucester. The firing he heard on 3 October could have been from the Battle of the Hook. See also the account by an "Anonymous Naval Officer sailing on 74-gun Ship *Le Zélé*" (No. 01).

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Régiment de Provence-Picardie Infantry

Lieutenant René Calixte de Labat de Lapeyrière (1756-1849)
doing duty as part of the infantry supplement on the *Ville de Paris*

M de Lauzun fut envoyé avec sa légion de l'autre côté de la rivière pour bloquer Gloucester, à peu près 1 200 hommes de milice le suivirent et M. de Choisy fut envoyé pour demander à M le comte de Grasse 800 hommes des troupes de garnison pour renforcer ce poste qui furent accordées et débarquèrent le 31.

L'armée combinée marcha sur York le 28. Le 29 l'on en fit l'investissement. [...]

Le poste de Gloucester était défendu par 1 200 hommes dont il y avait 500 de cavalerie sous les ordres de M. Tarleton qui voulu s'opposer au campement des troupes de M. de Choisy. Mais M. de Lauzun à la tête de ses hussards qui était bien inférieur en nombre les chargea si vigoureusement qu'il força l'ennemi de rentrer dans ses retranchements après avoir perdu plusieurs cavaliers et plusieurs chevaux.

Translation :

M de Lauzun was sent with his legion to the other side of the river to block Gloucester, close to 1,200 militiamen joined him and M. Choisy was sent to ask of M the comte de Grasse 800 men of the [ship] garrison troops to re-enforce this post who were granted and debarked on the 31st.

The combined army marched on York on the 28th. [...]

The post of Gloucester was defended by 1,200 men 500 of which were cavalry under the command of M. Tarleton who wanted to counter the encampment of the troops of M. de Choisy. But M. de Lauzun at the head of his hussars who were quite inferior in numbers charged them so vigorously that he forced the enemy to retreat into his entrenchments after having lost a number of cavalrymen and a number of horses.

Labat de Lapeyrière's *Campagne de mer : liasse concernant la campagne de M. le Comte de Grasse en 1781 et 1782* begins with the departure of the *comte* de Grasse from Brest on 22 March 1781.

Société en France des Fils de la Révolution Américaine, *La glorieuse campagne du comte de Grasse 1781-1782. Développements historiques à propos du journal d'un témoin oculaire René Calixte de Labat de Lapeyrière (1756-1849) lieutenant au régiment de Provence-Picardie en garnison de vaisseau sur la Ville de Paris et détaché au siège de Gloucester (face à Yorktown)* Publié sous l'égide du Comité consultatif d'histoire de la Société en France des Fils de la Révolution Américaine (SPM : Paris, 2010), p. 25.

The title of this book is misleading because

- a) the officer is not among those mentioned on Perron's list of officers who command the detachments sent to Gloucester
- b) the text, while mentioning Gloucester, does not state that LABAT DE LAPEYRIERE was in fact stationed in Gloucester.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Saintonge Regiment of Infantry

Lieutenant Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte de*
Lauberdière (1759-1837)

Captain à la suite and aide-de-camp to the comte de Rochambeau

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The 4th, M. [Georges Henri Victor] Collot arrived with the column of equipment which we awaited with the greatest impatience to use the horses to transport our artillery.

We received intelligence of the enemy from a dozen Hessian deserters who came to find us.

On the Gloucester side, M. de Choisy wanted to take a position closer to the post than that which he already had. He received intelligence along the route that Colonel Tarleton was having his cavalry forage and that he was supported by the infantry. He prepared to harass the foragers and gave the order to M. de Lauzun who marched there with his hussars. His infantry and General Weeden's militiamen were supposed to follow him.

Tarleton, before being overtaken, had time to arrange his wagons and to prepare for battle with 250 horses. He placed his infantry at the edge of a wood on his wings. M. le Duc de Lauzun's march was a little delayed by his infantry. Seeing that it wasn't arriving, he placed 50 horses on his right and 50 on his left to cover his flanks. He charged the until now invincible Tarleton with a squad so vigorously that a melee ensued for some time. Our hussars finally broke through Tarleton who retreated to his infantry in great haste. M. de Lauzun pursued him but, as soon as he approached, the British infantry made [in margin: October 1781] a very lively fire on him, Mr. de Choisy sent him an order to withdraw. This was the first action where his corps found itself since its creation, independently [verb missing in ms] demonstrations of the bravery of its hussars. It is one [i.e. bravery] which is only due to M. de Lauzun.

After receiving the order to retreat, which was accomplished, he himself being the rear-guard of his corps, he saw one of his hussars still engaged with three British dragoons. He ran to the assistance of his hussar, saber in hand, extricated him and returned him to his troop. M. de Lauzun had three men killed, eight wounded. Tarleton left 15 men on the battlefield, had about 20 wounded and had 10 taken prisoners.

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After this action M. de Choisy, free in his movements, took an excellent position one great mile from Gloucester. He took possession of all the roads and, as it was possible that Cornwallis might want to cross the York River and to force him to flee, he dug himself in. Lord Cornwallis had sunk a large number of vessels all around York to defend the approach on the river side. He still had a fairly large number and many of the boats with which he could attempt a landing at Gloucester and to then escape. To quell even the idea of it, M. de Rochambeau had the greatest desire to see one of M. de Grasse's vessels go above York to command the river and to intercept any crossing. He wrote some dispatches about the subject and sent me to bring them to M. de Grasse aboard the *Ville de Paris*. I left at 9 o'clock the night of the 4th and travelled 25 miles to Hampton. I found the little boat of the *Expériment* in this port. I boarded it to descend the James River and to enter the bay. This damned sea was never favorable to me. Beaten by a wind which was too strong for my frail boat, I ~~remained~~ spent all day of the 5th and part of the night to make 20 miles. After having fought the wind for a long time, I was fortunate enough to reach the *Victoire*, the lead vessel of the navy. I climbed aboard extremely tired by the exertion and seasickness. I found in the kindnesses of Mr. d'Albert Saint Hyppolite, captain of this vessel, something to diminish what I had suffered. The sea became calm and he gave me the means to get aboard the *Ville de Paris* where I arrived at 1 AM on the 6th.

Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur de Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelle Acquisitions Françaises, 17691, Paris, France.

The ms has both handwritten fol. numbers on the top left-hand corner of each page as well as stamped numbers on the top right-hand corner.

Born in October 1759, Lauberdière, a distant relative of Rochambeau, entered the military school in Paris in October 1773. Cadet in the Saintonge Regiment in June 1776, he became a sous-lieutenant on 30 January 1778 and aide-de-camp to Rochambeau on 15 April 1780. Lieutenant-Colonel in 1789 and chevalier of the order of St. Louis in 1790, he went to Ireland in 1793 ostensibly to get married but was captured and incarcerated as a spy from June 1793 to June 1800. Upon his return to France he resumed his military career in the armies of Napoleon and retired as Lieutenant General. He died in 1837.

See also my "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière," *American Heritage*, vol. 48, no. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106, and "Lauberdière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, Comte de Lauberdière," *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, vol. 18, no. 1, (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

colonel-propriétaire Armand Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun (1747-1793)

I asked to march with my infantry [i.e. sail from Head of Elk], persuaded that those troops would fire before the others. General Lincoln followed us also by water at a little distance with light American Infantry. M. de Custine, In a hurry to arrive first, took a swift sloop, and sailed without stopping and without giving me any orders until we reached the James River. On the third day of our voyage, we had very bad weather. The boats were awful, two or three turned over, and we had seven or eight men drowned. The weather compelled us to anchor before Annapolis; as we were about to set sail again. General Washington sent me word by his aide-de-camp to have the troops landed and not to leave before having received new orders.

The English squadron having appeared before (p. 323) Chesapeake Bay, M. de Grasse had gone out to meet it, and had not yet returned. Three days after, one of the King's corvettes came to announce that M. de Grasse had beaten the English squadron, had taken two frigates, and had returned to anchor In the Bay. I Immediately had the troops re-embarked. We had continual contrary winds, and took ten days to reach the mouth of the James River.

I found M. de Custine there, and as I was giving him an account of what had taken place in his absence, General Washington and M. de Rochambeau, who were not far off on a corvette, sent me word to come on board their vessel. General Washington told me that Lord Cornwallis having sent all his cavalry and a rather large corps of troops to Gloucester, opposite York, he feared that he was trying to retreat that way, and that consequently he had sent to watch him a corps of three thousand militiamen under the continental brigadier-general Wiedon, a rather good commander, but hating war which he had always refused to wage, and being specially in mortal fear of gun shots. Having become a brig- (p. 324) adier-general by chance, the respectable officer was my senior in command; General Washington regretted this more than I, for he Intended to give me that command. He told me that he would write to General Wiedon that he could continue to hold the honours of his rank, but that he would forbid him to meddle with anything. I explained to him that we did not understand this manner of serving, that If General Wiedon were under my orders, I should certainly make him obey, but that being under his I should obey

his every order, that I had no objection to serve under him, if he wished it, and that he might count on me to get along very well with him.

I went with my regiment to join the corps of General Wiedon. The manner in which he blockaded Gloucester was queer; he was at more than fifteen miles from the enemy's posts, was dying of fear, and dared not send a patrol a half mile from his camp. He was the best man on earth, and all that he wished was to meddle with nothing. I proposed to him to advance towards Gloucester, and to go the next day and reconnoitre along the English posts; he consented, and we (p. 325) started with fifty hussars. When we were within six or seven miles of the enemy, he told me that he considered it useless and very dangerous to go any further, and that we could learn no more; I pressed him so, that he did not dare refuse to follow. I forced back the enemy's posts, and approached sufficiently to get an exact idea of their position. My general was in despair; he told me he would go no further with me; that he did not wish to get killed.

I rendered an account to M. de Rochambeau of what I had seen; I informed him that the American militia was not to be counted on, and that it was indispensable to send me at least two more battalions of French Infantry. I had neither artillery, supplies, nor powder. I asked for some: he sent me at once some artillery and eight hundred men drawn from the garrisons of the vessels under the orders of M. de Choisy, who, owing to his seniority, commanded General Wiedon and me.

M. de Choisy is a good and brave man, ridiculously violent, constantly in a passion, making scenes with everybody, and always without reason. (p. 326) He began by sending General Wiedon and all the militia packing, told them that they were poltroons, and in five minutes frightened them almost as much as the English and assuredly that was saying a great deal. The very next day he wanted to go and occupy the camp I had reconnoitred. General Wiedon preferred to come a day later and remained behind with about six hundred men of his division. A moment before entering the plain of Gloucester, the dragoons of the state of Virginia came very much frightened to tell us that they had seen English dragoons outside, and that, in fear of some accident, they had come as fast as their legs could carry them, without further investigation. I went forward to try and learn more. I perceived a very pretty woman at the door of a small house, on the main road, I questioned her, she told me that, at the very moment, Colonel Tarleton had left her house; that she did not know if many troops had come out of Gloucester; that Colonel Tarleton was very anxious "to shake hands with the French Duke." I assured her that I came expressly to give him that pleasure. She was very sorry for me, thinking, I believe, by experience, that it was impossible to resist Tarleton; the American troops were of the same opinion.

I had not gone a hundred paces, when I heard my advance guards firing pistols. I advanced at full gallop to look for ground on which I could arrange my troops for battle. On arriving I perceived the English cavalry three times more numerous than mine; I charged it without stopping, and we came together. Tarleton picked me out, came to me with his pistol raised. We were going to fight between our respective troops when his horse was thrown down by one of his dragoons who was being pursued by one of my lancers. I ran on him to take him prisoner, a company of English dragoons threw itself between us and protected his retreat, his horse was left to me. He charged me a second time, without breaking my ranks; I charged him a third time, upset a portion of his cavalry, and pursued him to the intrenchments of Gloucester. He lost one officer, some fifty men, and I made a rather large number of prisoners.

M. de Choisy established his camp at a mile (p. 328) and a half from Gloucester; our patrols continually exchanged shots with those of the English, and we did not sleep a single instant during the siege. As M. le baron de Viomenil was to attack two redoubts of the York works, M. de Choisy received the order to make a false attack on Gloucester; he thought he could make a real one, and carry the intrenchments sword in hand. He consequently had axes distributed to the American militia, to cut the stockades. At the first shot, half of the militia threw away their axes and guns to run faster. Thus abandoned, he withdrew on me with a few companies of French infantry, and lost a dozen men.

Two days after Lord Cornwallis asked to capitulate. M. de Rochambeau intended to have me bear this great news to France, and sent for me. I did not care to go to Europe; I advised him to send M. de Charlus, which would reconcile him with M. de Castries, and would perhaps cause his army to be better treated. I was unable to induce him; he told him that I had had the first engagement, that I must carry the news; that as M. le comte Guillaume des Deux-Ponts had had (p. 329) the second, he should carry the details; comte de Charlus never forgave him nor me. I embarked on the King's frigate la Surveillante, and after a voyage of twenty-two days, I reached Brest, and went to Versailles without loss of time.

Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun, E. Jules Méras, transl. (New York: Sturgis and Walton Company, 1912), pp 322-329. A slightly different version was published in *Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun*, Edmond Pilon, ed., (Paris, 1928).

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: 74-gun Ship *Le Marseillois*

Ship Log kept by *Lieutenant de Vaisseau* Etienne Edouard Louis de Colbert
du Cannet (1759-post 1816)

Marine B4 250, fol. 330

Samedy 29 [September]

A 9 h ½ [...] le General a mis notre n° et nous a donné ordre de preparer 66 hommes et deux officiers de notre Garnison a être débarqués et per Signal les Chaloupes et Cannots suivront celle du Commandant qui aura une Pavillon Blanc au mat, il y à eu plusieurs [illeg] qui ont eu le même ordre le tout Composant un Corps de 800 hommes pour renforcer les troupes qui Bloquoient Glocestér

fol 331

Dimanche 30 [September]

A 3 h ½ le General a fait Signal au Serpent d'apparailer, a 4 h Signal de Preparer les troupes de débarquement, et a 5 h Signal de faire partir les Chaloupes, et la notre à débordé, elle etoit armée

...

Lundy 22 [Octobre]

Le Soir nous avons rembarqué nos malades ...

Mardy 23 [Octobre]

Nous avons Embarqué le detachment du maine ...

Saturday, 29 [September]

At 9:30 [a.m.] the general raised our number and gave us the order to prepare 66 men and two officers of our garrison to be embarked and upon the a signal the rowboats and boats to follow that of the commanding officer who would have a white standard on the mast; there were a number of [ships?] that had the same order altogether adding up to a corps of 800 men to re-enforce the troops which blockaded Gloucester

Sunday 30 [September]

At 3:30 p.m. the general gave the order to the *Serpent* to weigh anchor, at 4 the signal to get the troops ready to disembark, at 5 the signal to send off the rowboats and ours pushed off, it was armed

Monday, 1 October

Monday 22 [October]

In the evening we re-embarked our sick

Tuesday 23 [October]

We re-embarked the detachment from the Maine [Regiment of Infantry]

Lieutenant de vaisseau Colbert de Cannet, Journal de Bord, Le Marseillois

Marine B4 250, Part II; the journal begins on fol. 101, on 5 March 1781.

A log by a different officer has these entries:

Marine B4 250 fol 412

Dimanche 30eme [Septembre] 1781

a 3 h ½ Signal pour faire appareiller le *Serpent* a 4 h celui de faire préparer les troupes du débarquement [...] a 5 h les Chaloupes ont débordé de leurs Vaisx au nombre de dix avec les troupes la notre comprise ayent 66 h[ommes] 2 officiers du detachment du maine un officier et un garde de la marine du Bord

...

Lundi 22 Octobre

nos malades qu'on avoit Debarqué sont revenu a bord

Mardy 23 Oct^e

Il Est arrivé une Goellete ayant parties de notre Détachemante ainsy que de Ceux Du Zelé Et de La Bourgne Etante Du Même regiments

Sunday 30th [September] 1781

At 3 :30 signal for the *Serpent* to weigh anchor at 4 that of getting the troops ready to disembark [...] at 5 the rowboats to the number of ten pushed off from their ships with the troops including ours having 66 men two officers of the detachment of the Maine one officer and one garde de la marine of our ship crew.

The location of the hospital is unknown but may be the home of Col. Wilson Miles Cary near Hampton referred to in the Pension Application (Appendix 3) by William Wedderburn as a hospital:

"There was a Hospital fixed up at Carys old Brick House, Dr Anthony Gardner appinted surgion & my Father Alexander Wedderburn surgions mate, afterwards your petitioner Joind the Hospital It was filled up at Caryes old brick House after our army got near the Enemyes I was near Sewells, then. the above was not continued."

See <http://www.ancestraltrackers.net/va/resources/virginia-carys.pdf> pp. 98/99.

Both *Le Marseillois* and *Le Zélé* have ship garrisons from the Regiment du Maine. Both vessels contribute two officers and 75 enlisted men to the 800-man landing party. Perron writes that on 14 October 1781 two enlisted men of that regiment were killed outside Gloucester, but none of the surviving logs by officers on the vessels mention either that fact in their accounts nor that the detachment returning to their vessel was missing one (or two) men. The Maine Regiment was created in Calais in April 1775 when the Regiment Lyonnais, like almost all French infantry regiments, was split in half; a search for the names of these soldiers in the surviving *contrôle*, the enlistment records of that regiment starting on January 1, 1777, and preserved in 1Yc 552, Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, has been unsuccessful.

Le Marseillois was built in 1762 with funds provided by the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille. In 1781/82 its captain was Henri-César *marquis* de Castellane Majastre. Castellane Majastre's papers covering the campaigns of 1781 and 1782 are in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/c/clementsead/umich-wcl-M-217cas?view=text#c01-2>

Le Marseillois was decommissioned in February 1783 but re-entered service in March 1794 as *Vengeur du Peuple* but sunk on 1 June 1794 during the naval battle known as the *Glorious First of June*.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: 74-gun Ship *Le Zélé*

Ship Log kept by *Captaine de Vaisseau* Charles-René *chevalier* de Gras-Préville
(1732-1793)

Marine B4 259, fol 35

Octobre Le 1r 1781

On a débarqué des Garnisons des Vaux 800 hommes Pour renforcer le Corps d'armée de M^r de Choisy devant Gloucester, le V^{au} Le Zélé a fourni 75 hommes

October the 1st 1781

There have been debarked from the ship garrisons 800 men to re-enforce the army corps of M de Choisy before Gloucester, the vessel Le Zélé furnished 75 men

The log of de Gras-Préville starts on fol. 1 with a date of 24 March 1781.

Marine B4 259, fol 115

Dimanche 30 [September]

Sur les 5hs du soir on a rembarqué dans les chaloupes de l'armée 800 hommes pris sur la garnison de quelques Vaux pour aller renforcer les troupes de Mr de Choizie devant Gloucester on a mis ces troupes à terre à 8 h dans la riviere de way nous avons fourni 75 hommes et 2 off^{ers}.

Sunday 30 [September]

Around 5 o'clock in the evening 800 men taken from the garrisons of the a number of vessels were embarked on rowboats of the (naval) army to go and re-enforce the troops of M de Choisy before Gloucester these troops were put on land at 8 o'clock in the Ware River we provided 75 men and two officers.

These quotes are taken from the log of *Garde de la Marine* de Leseure St. Denis, whose journal for *Le Zélé* from departure from France in March 1781 until the return in 1783 is also in Marine B4 259.

Both *Le Marseillois* and *Le Zélé* have ship garrisons from the Regiment du Maine. Both vessels contribute two officers and 75 enlisted men to the 800-man landing party. Perron writes that on 14 October 1781 two enlisted men of that regiment were killed outside Gloucester, but none of the surviving logs by officers on the vessels mention either that fact in their accounts nor that the detachment returning to their vessel was missing one (or two) men. The Maine Regiment was created in Calais in April 1775 when the Regiment Lyonnais, like almost all French infantry regiments, was split in half; a search for the names of these soldiers in the surviving *contrôle*, the enlistment records of that regiment starting on January 1, 1777, and preserved in 1Yc 552, Service historique de la Défense, Château de Vincennes, has been unsuccessful.

Le Zélé was a gift from the *Régisseur général des finances* to the French navy in 1763. She was de-commissioned and broken up in May 1806.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Navy

Guillaume Jacques Constant de Liberge de Granchain (1744-1805)
Intendant of the Squadron of Jacques-Melchior Saint-Laurent, *comte* de Barras

Au camp devant York le 20 8bre 1781

Madame et tres chère mère

Depuis quinze jours je loge sous une tente et je passe mes journées a cheval et quelque fois dans une tranchée. Je ne regrette cependant pas les fatigues de ce nouveau genre de vie elles sont plus que payées par le spectacle dont je viens d'être témoins – j'ai vu l'armée du Lord Cornwallis mettre bas les armes aux pieds des troupes américaines, et je jouissois de même temps de la douce salutations de penser que j'avois concouru a former le plan qui a amené ce grand événement. Je ne sçai si c'est cette circonstance qui a déterminé Mr Le comte de Grasse a me choisir pour rendre au quartier general pendant le Siege pour y tracter avec Les généraux de terre de toutes les opérations maritimes. Cette commission que d'abord m'avoit jette dans de grands embarras a tourné depuis fort a ma salutation. Elle m'a conduit a être un du commissaires chargés de convenir des articles de la Capitulation, et actuellement je suis occupé a prendre possession du bâtiments et autres effets de marine des ennemis jaquin que cette nogue [?] sera bientôt fini ou plutôt qu'on n'exigera pas que je la finisse tout a fait et que je pourrais bientôt retourner a bord du duc de Bourgogne pour me delasser un peu. Depuis trois ou quatre jours je n'ai pas même le temps de prendre un repas

Camp before York 20 October 1781

Madame and dearest Mother

For 15 days I have been living under a tent and am passing my days on horseback and sometimes in a trench. I do not regret however the fatigues of this new way of life they are more than paid for by the sights that I witnessed – I have seen the army of Lord Cornwallis lay down its arms at the feet of the American forces, and I enjoyed at the same time the sweet thoughts that I participated in forming the plan which brought about this great event. I don't know whether it was circumstance that made M le comte de Grasse to pick

me to go to headquarters during the siege to deal with the generals of the land [armies] about the maritime operations. This commission which at first threw me into great embarrassment turned strongly into my favor. It led me to be one of the negotiators charged with bringing about the articles of surrender, and I am at this point occupied with taking possession of the vessels and other naval effects of the enemies, each of these tasks [?] will be finished or almost so if one does not demand that I finish them completely and that I can soon return on board the duc de Bourgogne to relax a bit. For three or four days I have not even had the time to take a meal.

Archives familiales of Capitaine de Vaisseau Guillaume-Jacques-Constant comte de Liberge de Granchain. Call number 764AP, 8.7. [ID] 3) une quarantaine de lettres adressées par le capitaine de vaisseau de Grandchain à sa mère, Madame de LOUÏE (née Marie Anne Émélie de MAUDUIT DE SÉMERVILLE, 1716-1796), 1762-1780, de Brest, du vaisseau *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, du vaisseau *L'Aigrette*, de Saint-Jean-d'Acre, du camp devant York, etc. ; Archives nationales - Département des Archives privées, Paris, France.

Granchain, probably the least-known of the three negotiators of the Articles of Surrender at Yorktown (Colonel John Laurens and the *vicomte* de Noailles were the other two) entered the French navy as a 12-year-old on 25 January 1757 and took part in the Seven Years' War. *Lieutenant de Vaisseaux* and as *major général* the *Intendant* of Charles-Henri-Louis d'Arsac de Ternay's fleet since March 1780, he kept this position under Jacques-Melchior Saint-Laurent, *comte* de Barras, following the death of de Ternay in December 1780, and represented the French navy/the comte de Grasse at the surrender negotiations of Yorktown. *Capitaine de vaisseau* in 1781 and later admiral, chevalier of the Order of St. Louis and member of the Society of the Cincinnati, he accompanied Lafayette on his journey to the United States in 1784.

On October 2, de Grasse offered to send a few of his officers to reconnoitre the banks of the York River, to assist in identifying locations for the placement of artillery along the river, to address the feasibility of stationing warships above Yorktown and to make recommendations about its defense. Rochambeau and Washington immediately accepted the offer the next day, and de Grasse in a letter of October 5 promised to send two of his officers. When they had not yet arrived on October 6, Rochambeau wrote to de Grasse "I await with great impatience here Granchain and the other officer whom you announced to me."

Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*. 5 vols (Paris : Alphonse Picard, 1886-1892), vol. 5 (1892) : Appendice. Correspondance du Comte de Rochambeau depuis le début de son Commandement aux États-Unis jusqu'à la fin de la Campagne de Virginie, pp. 309-590, pp. 555 et passim.

On October 11, Washington entered into his diary « Two Gentlemen- a Major Granchier & Captn D'Avilier being sent by Admiral de Grasse to reconnoiter the Enemy's Water defenses, & state of the River at and near York, seemed favorable disposed to adopt the measures which had been strongly urged of bringing ships above the Town & made representation accordingly to the Count de Grasse. »

<https://www.loc.gov/resource/mgw1b.812/?sp=32>

The two gentlemen whose names Washington entered into his diary on October 11 phonetically as he heard them were Liberge de Granchain and *Captaine de Vaisseau* Jean Baptiste de La Villéon of the *Ville de Paris*. Later that day La Villéon returned to de Grasse with a letter by Washington informing de Grasse that “I took the liberty of engaging Monsieur de La Villeon to explain to your Excellency the circumstances which deprived me of the pleasure of acknowledging sooner the Letter with which you honored me the 8th inst. This Gentleman and Monsr de Grandchain have had an opportunity of reconnoitering York River and the position of the Enemy's shipping—the result of which they will probably have communicated—I am extremely sensible of your Excellency's goodness in committing the examination of this important object to officers whose talents and experience have entitled them to your particular confidence, and who in every respect are so worthy of esteem”.

<https://founders.archives.gov/?q=grandchain&s=1111311111&sa=&r=2&sr=>

Washington informed de Grasse on October 19, 1781: “Mr de Grandchain assisted yesterday in digesting the Articles of Capitulation; as soon as this business is terminated I propose to do myself the honour of waiting upon Yr Excellency on board. I have the honor etc.

<https://founders.archives.gov/?q=grandchain&s=1111311111&sa=&r=4&sr=>

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Régiment de Monsieur Infantry

Sous-Lieutenant Joachim du Perron, comte de Revel (1756-1814)
doing duty as part of the infantry supplement on the 74-gun Ship
Le Languedoc

Du Perron is 25 years old when he takes part in the siege of Gloucester.

The translation of his diary begins on p. 137 of the printed version and ends on p. 174.

Disembarkation of a Division of Ship Garrisons

On the 29th General Washington sent M. de Choisy to ask the comte de Grasse for a detachment of the ship garrisons to be formed into a corps and to join it to the legion of Lauzun and the American militia who were around Gloucester to strengthen that post and to prevent Lord Cornwallis from escaping that way and to cause trouble for a long time in the woods and swamps that abound in those parts.

M. de Grasse granted him 800 men and took them from the garrison detachments of different vessels. We contributed to that and furnished 75 men; M. de Saint-Quentin and I received the order to disembark with them and to command them. We embark on the 30th, at 3 in the afternoon, in the rowboat of the vessel which was to join (p. 138) that of the general like all the others in order to set off all together and to arrive at the landing site [together]. But as we were anchored far away from the general [i.e. de Grasse] they did not wait for us at all and the night prevented us soon to discern the route that the other rowboats had taken and since we did not know anything about where the landing was supposed to be made, we sailed to wherever the wind would take us, sounding often so that we would not run aground on some sand-bank.

The next day, 1 October, we saw the rowboats a long way off, we re-joined them and entered a narrow creek bordered with a few farmhouses. We arrived at the end of the creek around 11 in the morning; we set foot on the ground and lined up in battle formation so that one could unload our provisions and utensils which had also been embarked on the rowboats.

(See the map of the bay at Point I the place of our debarkation).

ÉTAT DES DÉTACHEMENTS DESCENDUS DE CHAQUE VAISSEAU
Account of the detachments embarked from each vessel

Régiments.	Nombre D'hommes.	Vaisseaux d'où ils sont descendus.	Officiers qui les commandaient.
			MM.
Colonel-général	30	<i>Jason.</i>	de Besson, lieut.
Id.	40	<i>Duc-de-Bourgogne.</i>	de la Motte, lieut.
Picardie	75	<i>Ville-de-Paris.</i>	de Gingney, lieut.
Bresse	40	<i>Neptune.</i>	de Combette, cap.
Brie	75	<i>Hector.</i>	de Lège, lieut.; de Serre, s.-lieut.
Du Maine	75	<i>Zélé.</i>	de Cabrerolle, cap.; de Vidal, s.-lieut.
Id.	75	<i>Marseillais.</i>	de Tessonnet, lieut.; de Nantiat, s.-lieut.
La Sarre	30	<i>Conquérant.</i>	de Laubanie, cap.
Bourbon	30	<i>Eveillé.</i>	de Bocmar, cap.
Monsieur	75	<i>Languedoc.</i>	de Saint-Quentin; cap.; du Perron, s.-lieut.
Angoumois	75	<i>Northumberland.</i>	de Vidart, cap.; La Rou- vière, s.-lieut.
Id.	75	<i>Scipion.</i>	Le Grand, lieut.; de Cha- zelle, s.-lieut.
Rohan-Soubise	<u>30</u>	<i>La Provence</i>	de Gardis, lieut.

Total ... 800 men and 21 officers

Note: these numbers only add up to 725 men; see the explanatory note in "Garrisons on the Vessels in the Fleet of the *comte* de Grasse upon Arrival in Virginia, August 1781".

There were also two other officers: M de Boihu, captain of the Picardie regiment, commanding officer of the garrison on the *Ville de Paris*, and M de Boissard, lieutenant in the same regiment, whom M. de Grasse had detached to M. de Choisy to carry out the functions of major and *aide-major* of his little division.

Our new general, who from simple horseman had become brigadier of the king's armies, commander of the Order of St. Louis, and who had acquired something of a reputation at the defense of the castle of Cracow in Poland [Spring 1772], ordered us to break up into eight pickets of 100 men forming two battalions of 400 men each which would carry out

between them the same kind of service (i.e. function) like a real regiment of two battalions. The most senior captains were to command and maintain order in the whole division.

We proceeded with this new organization by giving the major the dates of our commissions; thereafter the eight pickets were formed in such a way that the eight most senior officers who were to command had under them their own troops as much as that was possible.

There was some discussion about the rank which the pickets were to hold in the battalion. The gentlemen of Colonel-Général and Picardie claimed that their troops should form the first picket by virtue of their seniority; they were told that since we were nothing but a collections of detachments, broken up and without flags, which were to be commanded by the most senior officer, it was natural that each detachment followed the rank of its commanding officer and they gave in to those so plausible reasons.

Seniority of the officers. Composition of the battalion

MM. de Vidart, capit. commandant,	1 ^{er} piquet: Angoumois.	> 100
de Saint-Quentin, capitaine.	2 ^e piquet: Monsieur. 75	
	— Angoumois 25	> 100
de Combette, capitaine.	3 ^e piquet: Bresse 40	
	— Angoumois 30	> 100
	— Rohan-Soubise. 30	
de Cabrerolle, capitaine	4 ^e piquet: Maine.	> 100
de Laubanie, capitaine.	5 ^e piquet: La Sarre. 30	
de Bocmar, capitaine	— Colonel-général. 70	> 100
de Tacherot, lieutenant.	6 ^e piquet: Bourbon 30	
de Lège, lieutenant.	— Picardie. 50	> 100
de Gardie, lieutenant.	— Angoumois. 20	
Le Grand, lieutenant	7 ^e piquet: Maine 50	
de Gingney, lieutenant.	— Angoumois 50	> 100
de Tessonnet, lieutenant.	8 ^e piquet: Brie 75	
de Besson, lieutenant.	— Picardie 25	> 100
de la Motte, lieutenant.		
du Perron, sous-lieutenant.		
de La Rouvière, sous-lieutenant.		
de Belmont, id.		
de Chazelle, id.		
de Serre, id.		
de Vidal, id.		
de Nantiat, id.		

The six last sub-lieutenants were much my juniors in the service.

It should be mentioned that despite the mixture of soldiers of so many units there were never any quarrels between them during the whole time that we encamped together.

We debarked our tents, drinking cans, mess tins &c which the naval detachment of M. de Barras had captured on an English vessel. M. de Grasse had ordered that each detachment should receive supplies for five days; those which the commissary of the *Languedoc* had delivered to us were partly spoiled: that way those barbaric souls try to scam out of his food an unfortunate soldier who risks his life based on the flip of a coin. As far as we were concerned, we had nothing but two shirts and a redingote.

M. de Monteil, having all the faults of small-minded folks, (p. 141) had not deigned to provide us with the least provisions; we had the right to five days' worth, conforming to the order of the general.

First Encampment of the Detachment from the Ships

When our tools and munitions had been disembarked, we readied ourselves to leave the water's edge to camp a league away, within reach of Lauzun's legion and the Americans. Wagons harnessed with four horses came to take the baggage, and we began our march at 4 in the evening. We arrived at 5 o' clock at a little village with four or five houses, at the edge of a wide road; on its right we saw the site where our camp was being laid out.

Our tents, canteens, kettles, &c one gunner's tent and one kettle for every eight men and one gunner's tent and one kettle for every two officers were brought. After the distribution we laid hold of still another gunner's tent, a kettle and some canteens for our servants.

Everyone set to work, and M de Saint Quentin and I were not the last to build our small house; he was good enough to teach me how to set up the tent, to line the base of the walls with earth to dig out an oven, to make a pot hanger, to start a fire and, in a word, get the kettle bubbling.

Our servants were in the woods, looking for a little grass or corn straw for us to sleep on. For we had only two shirts and a redingote.

The weather was good, and everyone was happy; in less than a quarter of an hour our camp was covered with fires and well aligned tents. Our old soldiers took pride and a singular pleasure in showing the young ones what to do, and all seemed quite glad to have left their prison. (p. 142) We were in two lines; behind us to the right and left, we had a

deep ravine; lined with woods and pools of water that turned mills. Before us we had the great road parallel to the alignment of our camp: our camp guards were placed there.

Above the great road at a certain distance; were a ravine and woods where our outposts had been placed. On our right, along the road was a small village named Court-house, which means "maison de justice". The duc de Lauzun was lodged there. His legion, composed of 300 men on foot and 300 horsemen, was camped nearby, and not far away was a body of American militiamen whose strength no one knew, for it varied with each day.

Next day on the second, I arose at the break of day without any "toilette" other than bestirring myself, I made a large fire to try to warm myself and dispel the dampness that sleeping on the ground had soaked into me, and then, since on board ship I had learned several English words and phrases, I went for provisions. I succeeded in discovering the spot where the Americans butchered meat for their militia; I bought some; I found also, in other houses, turkeys, geese and ducks, which I purchased, and I came back to find that m. de Saint Quentin had had soup made, so we ate it with hearty appetites.

The duc de Lauzun invited us all to dine with him. He went with M. de Choisy and a detachment of his hussars to reconnoiter a camp closer to Gloucester, for we were 12 miles or four leagues from it. He came back at about 2 o'clock and we visited him. He fed us very well in the style of hussars and Englishmen; we emptied glasses of grog all round, ate roast beef "(p. 143) potatoes, cabbages &c. several American officers were his guests, among others Colonel Wreden [Weedon], a cordwainer by trade, commander of the corps of militia that I mentioned earlier. At table, I found myself next to an aide-major of Lauzun's legion, whom I knew I had seen at Grenoble when he was inspector of the breeding-studs at the establishment of M. de l'Egalere. We spoke of the Dauphiné and I would be curious to know whether at the moment the men and women of the Dauphiné, who were the subject of our conversation felt their ears burning.

Our soldiers plundered a little, and that could hardly be prevented; several detachments, like ours, had been duped by the clerks of their ships and had only some bacon and spoiled biscuit to live on for five days.

Second Encampment of the division from the ships – Skirmish

General Choisy ordered us to be ready to leave, the next day on the third, to make a new camp three miles or one league distant from Gloucester. As a result, we decamped at 5 in the morning and began to march at 7 o'clock, Lauzun's Legion marched in front of us, with an avant-guard of 50 hussars with whom M de Lauzun himself marched. After three hours

of marching in a rather flat and well cultivated countryside, we passed near a church, where we left a guard; it was planned for this church to serve us as a hospital.

Several minutes afterwards, we came to a rather pretty house on the right of the road, where an aide-de-camp came to tell us to quicken our pace, to go and support Lauzun's Legion, which had come to grips with the enemy. We marched as quickly as possible, and soon encountered several hussars covered with blood, some of them leading prisoners. The first sight of the (p. 144) blood, the pale look of the wounded, the contented look of those who led prisoners, the trembling of those same prisoners, who took little persuasion to run on foot before their guides on horseback, the wounded and dead horses, &c., all this had a singular effect on me. All our soldiers would have liked to fly to get within sight of the enemy.

We passed the spot where we were supposed to camp and at the end of a quarter of an hour we saw the legion of Lauzun in battle formation in a small meadow before a corn field, having in front of them within range of two musket shots a wood and two shacks.

We arranged ourselves in battle order on the same alignment. We learned then that M. de Lauzun, at the head of his avant-garde of 50 hussars had passed by the site of his camp to reconnoiter and position posts, he noticed the enemy, about 150 horses strong in battle order in front of the wood, at point F (see map), and had charged them at once though his force was inferior; and that when he had arrived almost within pistol shot of them, he had received a volley from a detachment of infantry lying in ambush in the wood at point H that killed three hussars and wounded several horses, that he had in spite of the losses driven away the troops in front of him, and had routed them in the woods; after which he had retired in disorder to keep them from being surrounded, and had come back at top speed to his infantry, which, with a company of American grenadiers, had fired on the English infantry in the wood and forced them to march off without their commander who had stood his ground; Colonel Ta[r]l[e]ton, commander of these English detachments, had immediately abandoned the place and retired to Gloucester.

It would be hard to imagine the curiosity with which we contemplated the dead and especially the English officer. [Lieutenant Moir, 23d Regt of Foot - Royal Welsh Fusiliers] When I arrived there, he was already nude; one man had his waistcoat, (p. 145) another his breeches and a third his boots. He had on his red coat buttons stamped with the number 28 and an English device. He seemed a fine figure of man about 30 years old, he had a gunshot wound in his face.

What a profession ours is! No matter how good your health is, you are never sure that you will see the end of the day when you begin it. All the dead had hideous faces. The enemy took their dead and left only that officer.

Stay in the Camp before Gloucester – Pickets - Reconnaissances

MM de Choisy and de Lauzun had the woods canvassed and established pickets there. The principal outpost was 100 men strong and was placed at Point I, on the large road in the middle of the wood. (see map)

They came back subsequently, and we returned with them to the spot where we were to establish our camp.

We camped in two rows of tents, in a small plain about a thousand paces wide (see the map at Point A); to our right and behind us we had a large, rather thick wood of fir trees where there were several roads that led to different homesteads in our countryside. On our left the terrain sloped down and was dotted with woods. In the middle of this small plain passed the great road of Gloucester. Before us was a large cornfield, in the corner of which there was a pretty house that M. de Choisy took for his lodging (Point E); beyond that house was the camp of M de Lauzun who also had in front of him a cornfield, next was the plain where his skirmish had occurred. Behind us, at the edge of the wood (at Point C) was a tavern where we found some provisions. The commander of the American militia was lodged there. (Page 146 is the map)

Page 147: Area of Operations on Gloucester County

A = Camp of Choisy's infantry forces [i.e., the 800 men sent by de Grasse]

F = French camp

a = American camp

B = Camp of Lauzun's Legion with the infantry aligned along the road

C = Sewell's Ordinary, Weedon's Headquarters

D = Abingdon Church, served as a hospital

E = House where Choisy established his headquarters

F = location of Tarleton when charged by Lauzun on 3 October 1781

G = location of Perron and his forces in battle order but at the end of the battle

H = location of British infantry that attacked Lauzun's flank on 3 October 1781

I = French outpost to which all posts on right and left (O) were to fall back to

K = redoubt constructed upon orders of Choisy

L = French post charged with guarding the creek and preventing a British landing

M = British outpost

On the 4th M. de Choisy had bread and (p. 148) meat given to our soldiers and strictly forbade plundering. I mounted guard at the tavern that was behind our camp until 4 o'clock in the evening, when I was relieved by the Americans who came to camp on our left, about 600 strong.

Those troops, who were as bad as one can possibly imagine, were much like our bourgeois troops which guard certain of our towns. Armed with muskets, three-fourth of which were without bayonets, without uniforms, with no distinctive insignia for their officers, without tents, they were a rabble of poor peasants who brought in their packs enough to live on for a couple of days and made huts out of tree branches for themselves. They knew how to peel off to the right and to the left and do a sort of exercise with their muskets. Their numbers varied each day, depending on whether their courage moved them, or they needed to look for something to eat.

On the 5th four field cannons with two artillery officers and 32 cannoneers sent by M. de Rochambeau arrived. They were placed before our bivouac, and there were always enough horses available to move them wherever the need arose. Lauzun's Legion also had two small pieces *à la Rostaing*. M. de Choisy ordered that the whole camp turn out every two hours before dawn and that the troops would not dress back until the reconnaissance had been done and he gave orders for them to do so.

Since I had been relieved the day before, at the end of four hours of guard duty, and since the general seemed to want it understood that that should be regarded only as a fatigue duty, I asked to go back on guard and found myself commanding an outpost of 25 men placed on the right of our camp, a quarter of a league distant from it. (See map at Point L the mark O) There I relieved an officer (p. 149) of the Colonel-Général regiment who told me about the measure that he had taken for the defense of his post and I followed in part the same dispositions. I had to watch to insure, that no launches or dinghys came up the creek and prevent any enemy squads from disembarking to surprise our camp. I patrolled around my little post reconnoitering it; afterwards I put two sentinels together just at the tip of the small peninsula that I was to guard. Nothing could enter the creek from the river without being seen by my two sentinels, one of whom was to come and warn me immediately if he saw a boat.

I put two other sentinels along the length of the wood that skirted my left where I knew there were some posts guarded by Lauzun's legion. Behind me there was a corn field, a house where an American and his family lived and a large pool of water bordered with trees, which serves as a watering place for the horses of Lauzun's legion and the animals of the residents of the area.

After taking all the necessary safety precautions I built a large fire and got some of my men to sleep so that we would be more alert during the night. Just a few minutes later through the corn behind me I saw three men on horseback whom I recognized as M. de Choisy and two aides-e-camp coming to my post; I immediately had the soldiers take up arms and received him in battle array, in accordance with what was due his rank. "Coming into your post is like entering a church," he said to me as he came up to me: "Why didn't you have me challenged." I was disconcerted at first but finally answered him that since I had seen no troops with him I had not thought it necessary to have him challenged, and that since I had never served in a campaign I might be ignorant of some procedures. He responded that in the face of the enemy no one should be allowed to approach without being challenged (p. 150) and ordered me to show him my post and give him an accounting of it. I took him to all my sentinels, and he found their placement good, so he changed nothing.

He left me to continue on his rounds, as you can imagine, I was afterwards very careful to have a warning cried out if a single individual appeared, no matter how far away he was. At nightfall I had half-hourly patrols depart and go to each of the sentinels circling my post. I took great care not to let anyone sleep and I myself kept standing, walking about and listening. I was less afraid of the enemy than of M de Choisy, who might have taken into his head to check my attention to detail during the night. Day finally came to relieve my anxieties and I spent the rest of my guard duty with peace of mind. I had occasion to be very displeased with my troops, my 25 soldiers were almost all of different regiments, I was obliged to speak to several of them to make them go on patrol or sentry duty, and the way in which all these detachments had contracted the spirit of insubordination on the ships was incredible.

On the sixth I learned at the end of my guard duty that the general had gone to reconnoiter to the left of Gloucester that morning with 200 men and some horses. The officers and soldiers claimed to have seen the redoubts, two cannon shots were fired at them, and they came back to camp without anyone having been touched. M de Saint-Quentin, who shared my sleeping quarters, went on guard duty and during his absence I was in charge of the housekeeping. M de Choisy had given us meat and bread on our promissory notes, I am not sure we will be made to pay them. I was in some of the neighboring houses where I found some butter, milk and poultry which I purchased, and with which we began a poultry yard next to our tent. We bought also a kind of drink (p. 151) called *sapinette* [spruce beer] which is made from the bark of a pine of that country.

The local residents have also a liqueur that they sell very dearly, they make it from peaches, of which they have a plentiful supply, most of them bad, like the apples and other fruits.

We got a supply of corn straw and we found some old planks and we each made a sort of bed. We lined the bases of our tents and took precautions against cold and rain. Some other officers had been less maladroit than we and had brought mattresses and covers.

On the seventh we learned that the generals Washington and Rochambeau had opened the trench before York that night (G on the map of York) the Americans extended it to the right and the French to the left.

A corps of American militia came to us and camped at the left of Lauzun's legion. M. de Choisy renewed his structures against plundering and promised that the first one caught would be hung. It was difficult to hold our soldiers back, the woods were full of hogs which were simply entrusted to the care of mother nature, even though they belonged to individuals, there were even cows and sheep. Lauzun's hussars found them and overtook them with singular skill, and our soldiers thought they would do the same.

On the 8th I dined with the general, who had a dozen guests every day and did rather well for himself.

On the 9th a detachment from Lauzun, trying to surprise an enemy post at daybreak, was fired on by a guard from the same corps and three men were wounded because of their mistake.

I went on picket duty and found myself second (p. 152)

Page 153 is the map

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Map of the posts of York and Gloucester taken from
the English in October 1781

- A. City of York
- B. Enemy entrenchments
- C. Ravine, part of which was marsh. It covered a part of the entrenchments. There were several breastworks at the edge to defend it.
- D. Large, strong redoubt above the marsh, with fraises, a palisade and a trench and surrounded by a double abatis of trees.
- E. French troops from the Tourraine regiment, who attacked this redoubt with six howitzers and fur cannon.
- F. Two other detached redoubts which the enemy abandoned at the first approach.
- G. Opening of the trench. The Americans extended the right and the French the left.

- H. Opening of the second parallel, also extended to the right by the Americans and left by the French, which they joined to the second enemy redoubts I and K that had been taken by storm 14 hours earlier.
- L. The ship *Caron* and the frigate *Guadeloupe*.
- m. Enemy transport vessels.
- M. enemy cavalry post.
- N. Small village of Gloucester.
- O. Enemy redoubts with fraise and palisade, joined together by a row of stakes of wood set in the earth. All of it covered by a good abatis of trees, in front of which there were several small redans.
- P. Enemy post which fired on us at the time of the false attack.
- Q. 1st Battalion putting itself in battle order in succession and firing.
- R. Position of the 2nd Battalion also firing.
- S. Column of Lauzun to the right and American columns to the left.

(p. 155) in command to M. de Vidart, a captain in the Angoumois regiment, who commanded a hundred men. His post was on the great road from Gloucester, in the woods (at Point I) In front of him he had under his command a detachment of 1 hussars on horseback; he detached me to take a post to his right and in front of him at the edge of the wood with 30 men (at Point P). I detached in front of me (at Point Q) a sergeant with 12 men and ordered them not to fire during the night close to his post there were four houses and quite close a spring where our soldiers went for water, armed, because the enemy patrols occasionally came there.

The left of the road was occupied by Americans who like us were to retire if the guard of M. de Vidart was attacked.

The enemies had their pickets in the woods opposite us, among them one outpost of cavalry (at Point M), we were separated from them only by a small plain where there were some corn stalks. We saw their fires and from time to time their patrols so that we were really bearding the enemy, as they say. Around 2 in the afternoon came the superior officer of the day who changed my post and that of my sergeant, he placed a detachment from Lauzun into the cornfield near a grove of trees (at Point R). that guard was not to light any fires during the night. He placed me (at Point K) on the great road, with orders to communicate during the night with the post that he had just positioned (at Point R) by means of continual patrols that would pass across the plain and who would not be halted but would give a pre-arranged signal to be recognized.

I also was to send on my left some patrols to the American posts to keep them alert.

Twenty feet in front of me I had ten mounted hussars who were to retire behind me during the night. (p. 156)

With these positions taken I waited for the night which was beautiful and tranquil. My patrols followed each other continuously and encountered nothing. One hour before daybreak [around 6:00 a.m.] I had the soldiers take up arms and held my troops in battle order as much to avoid being surprised as to prevent sleeping, which is much desired at that hour.

Day had barely started to break [around 7:00 a.m.] when I suddenly heard a considerable fusillade to my left at the American posts, immediately I sent two patrols into the woods with my sergeant and corporal under orders not to come back until they had discovered what was happening, and at the same time I sent intelligent soldiers to search the woods to my right with orders to return as soon as they saw anything. A few minutes later I heard lots of people surreptitiously coming into the wood on my left, speaking English. I readied my troops to fire in case they were the enemy, but recognized the Americans posts who were falling back in my direction with a frightened look, saying: "Draguns, draguns I have sin draguns," which meant that they had fired on enemy dragoons. I reassured them and gave them to understand as well as I could that they were to return to their posts; at that moment my two patrols returned and told me that they had found the American posts abandoned but they had seen nothing at all. I sent my patrol of hussars to search the environs of the American posts and had my sergeant and several soldiers take those poor folks back there. They returned there and stayed there quietly.

I sent a report to M. de Vidart and everyone fell back into order. The dragoons that they had seen were surely nothing but some of the pigs that filled the woods and sometimes made a devilish racket there. (p. 157)

Reconnaissance with M. de Choisy

At 8 o'clock in the morning [of 10 October 1781] we learned that about 800 of the enemy had tried to land on the two small islands at the north of the creek on the right and that M. de Lauzun had raced there with his legion and two small cannon and forced them to depart. M. de Choisy feared that it was only a feint, to have us bring troops to that side while [British] troops would come out of Gloucester and venture something. As a result, he came to the post of M. de Vidart accompanied by 50 hussars. Then he came to mine, and after I had given him a report on the night's activities he said to me: "Take 30 men with you and follow the great road as far as the wood that you see before you, search it, and then bear to the right skirting it on this side. I will depart; during that time pass through the middle of the plain and go right to the clearing between the two woods that you see to the right; in

that clearing there is a post of enemy dragoons. I will engage them and have them charge me, if they do charge you will leave the wood and attack them in the flank." I replied to him that I would execute his orders and began to march with my 30 men (one of whom was from the regiment). I made my sergeant with four men precede me, 15 paces ahead.

When I arrived at the edge of the wood, I found a post that the enemy had abandoned only shortly before, where there was still a fire. It was at the left edge of the road and was defended by an abatis. I found a small road to the right which skirted the wood and began to follow it to continue executing the orders that I had been given, I walked with caution and noiselessly, my sergeant and four men always (p. 158) 15 paces ahead, and my entire detachment behind me in two rows.

Suddenly my sergeant noticed a man running through the forest, he took a shot at him without warning me, the four men also fired, and incredible as it seems to me, my whole detachment behind me fired, aiming at the leaves without seeing anything at all. I ran to the head of the line dealing blows with the butt-end of my musket. "At whom are you firing?" I said to them. "Someone was firing", they answered. Hearing the fusillade M. de Choisy approached at a gallop; I ordered the troops to march ahead, doubling the pace, and I reached the corner of the wood while M. de Choisy had stopped (at Point T) there. He had two hussars advance several steps to fire some carbine shots at the English squadron which was in battle order and not moving (at Point M).

The English officer on his side had two dragoons advance who also fired several shots; during this time, I slipped into the brushwork closest to the enemy and was within 40 paces of them. M. de Choisy had two other hussars advance; the English officer did the same. Finally, M. de Choisy, tiring of the game, sent an aide-de-camp to me who shouted to me to oust this post by firing on them, so I let the brush and gave them a volley from rather close range. They turned back immediately but unmasked two canons with grapeshot with which they regaled me. Not a man of mine was touched, all the blows fell on the trees behind me, whose branches were prettily lopped. M. de Choisy had me order a retreat along the same road on which I had come, which I executed. He returned to camp with his hussars and I went to my post where I was relieved a half hour later. The batteries of the first parallel started to fire, several deserters came to us.

On the 11th the cannonade was very violent, there were (p. 159) two vessels in the river on fire, one of which was the *Charon*.

On the 12th we continued to hear considerable cannonading, and we learned that during the night a second parallel had been opened 200 fathom measures [1,200 feet] closer to the enemy works. There was heavy rain that day.

On the 13th several deserters came to u and said that the Hessian troops were very disgruntled, and that the English were obliged to put two sentinels together at all times, so that they could call out to each other.

Every day we had five duty officers, three outposts and two pickets. It was M. de Choisy's pleasure to order that the duty picket would march at 3 in the morning on the next day [i.e. the 14th] commanded by M. de Tessonnet, an officer of the Maine Regiment, who had shown good will toward the general by offering to march voluntarily at any time that the general should need it. M. de Gingney, an officer of the Picardie regiment who had been given command of the troops destined for M. de Tessonnet said to the general that it was his turn to march and that it would be unpleasant for him to see another march in his place. The general replied to him that such was his pleasure and that he wanted no more objections. M. de Gingney flared up and told him that he would march with his troops and that no one could prevent him from doing so because his honor was involved. The general replied to him that he was under arrest and that he would have his feet and hands bound if he said another word. Could anything be more harsh? And to what purpose? That officer may have been wrong in putting too much heat into his remonstrances, but does that authorize a leader to stick to such a revolting intention?

Oh, the poor infantry!

On the 14th I had gone to walk with M. de Saint Quentin in the environs of our camp after dinner when we learned suddenly that all the troops had (p. 160) left the pitched camp and gone off with M. de Choisy to the flank where the outpost of 100 men was. It was 4 o'clock, we ran to the camp to take up our arms and we moved with alacrity to join our troops which we found that at that moment in battle array (at Point K). The Americans, Lauzun's legion and our cannon were all there. M. de Choisy told us that Washington would have two redoubts that were part of the entrenchments of Yorktown attacked as soon as night fell and that as a diversion on our side, we would make a sham attack on Gloucester that night.

In consequence he ordered Lauzun's Legion to form the right column and take the road to the right (which passes by Point M). The Americans with 50 volunteers commanded by M. de Tessonnet at their head were to form the left column and take the left road. Our two battalions, the first commanded by M. de Vidart and the second by M. de Saint Quentin, were to form the center column that would follow the great road.

He next explained his intentions to M. de Vidart and Saint Quentin in the following terms: "You will march in a column in the great road, you will enter the forest that you see

before you. When you have left it put yourselves in battle order, the First Battalion to the right, the second to the left of the great road, taking care to leave it empty between the two battalions, because there are two cannons that can scour it. The enemy redoubts are beyond the woods, you will march forward and start a rolling fire. If you find enough daylight to outflank a redoubt you will be doing well. I am not ordering you to do it, but if you get the opportunity, I leave it to you. Take an intelligent officer in your battalion who, with a detachment, will be able to examine the strength of the enemy and their positions. But do not compromise yourselves (p. 161), we are only marching for a false attack.”

Once these orders were given and understood, we all went to our troops; M. de Saint Quentin was to command the 2d Battalion and I commanded the second picket in his absence.

We began to march, broken up into platoons, when night began to prevent us from distinguishing objects. [sunset begins at 6:30 p.m., civil twilight ends at 6:54 p.m.]

The general followed our column with the artillery. Arriving at Point S we entered the forest without encountering anything, we observed strict silence. It was very gloomy so that you could scarcely see anything four paces before you. M. de Vidart marched at the head with his first picket and had four men and a sergeant four paces ahead of him, I was immediately behind him.

When we reached Point U we stopped, and M. de Vidart sent to ask whether this was the spot where we were to assemble in battle order. An American aide-de-camp came to tell us that there were still some woods before us, at the end of which we would have to get into battle order. We continued to march and found the great road filled with felled trees, to the right and left of which were small passages for a man, which told us that the trees had been put there only to keep cavalry from passing through and disturbing the several infantry posts which we expected to find soon.

We heard then several gunshots to the right of the wood, and through the trees we saw fire, it was the posts of the area around Point M who were driven back by Lauzun’s Legion. Several minutes later we suddenly found ourselves out of the woods and we distinguished before us a level terrain.

We stopped for an instant and M. de Vidart sent (p. 162) word to M. de saint Quentin that he was going to put his troops in battle order on the right; we were to go to the right in Indian file.

Suddenly we found that the terrain which we had thought was clear, was full of tree trunks, branches and whole trees overturned and we advanced only with singular difficulty, falling on each other ten times over and making a great deal of noise with branches cracking under our feet.

When the whole battalion was off of the road we stopped and stood still (See the map of the posts at York and Gloucester. The two dotted lines closest to Gloucester at Point I show the site where we were in battle array)

During this interval the Second Battalion had received orders not to change into battle order on the left, I hardly know why, and an aide-de-camp insisted to M. de Choisy that the First Battalion was not at all in readiness on the right and that he did not know where we were.

M. de Choisy ordered the Second Battalion to go to our flank to establish themselves there in battle order and then to give fire because the enemy posts could not be far away, and some noise would be all that was necessary.

M. de Saint Quentin, surprised by this order, started obediently to put his soldiers into battle array on the right about 30 paces behind us on the same ground that we were occupying and then went personally to M. de Choisy who was ahead on the great road to tell him that it was impossible to fire because he was sure that we were at the most 30 paces in front of him.

During this time we were still standing still, waiting for the order to march forward when we heard the noise made by the Second Battalion which we had thought was in battle array on our left. We suspected that it was the enemy posts which Lauzun's legion (p. 163) had succeeded in finding in the forest who were retreating, so we readied ourselves to fire.

Think what would have happened if a single shot had been fired! We would have slaughtered each other quite nicely.

M. de Choisy finally believed M. de Saint Quentin who assured him positively that the aide had made a mistake and that we were in battle order on the right of the great road, according to his instructions, and the Second Battalion following his last orders was located 30 paces behind us. Thus, the general ordered us all to return to the great road. We carried out this new order, but not without leaving gaiters and coats in the brambles.

M. de Vidart then sought out the general to find out what his intentions were. M. de Choisy gave him a cross, even harsh reception, telling him to march forward until he made contact with the enemy and had fired on them.

M. de Vidart answered him that those orders were sufficient, took the lead of his picket, and marched off.

We had scarcely gone 20 paces forward in the road when a sentinel cried out to us: "hou is thaire".

M. de Vidart immediately had the platoons form and put his picket in battle order on the left. I had my two pickets form and was in the process of getting into battle order to the left of M. de Vidart's picket. The platoons following me did the same. The Second Battalion went in an oblique direction to the right of the road (see Point S), M. de Choisy had ordered it to do so. The sentinel, after shouting at us three times "hou is thaire", fired a shot at us, and at the same time we also received 30 from the post to which we responded by firing at the spot from which tis fire had come, for we could not distinguish men at all.

At the same instant, whether because the general had cried "fire" (p. 164) at the column or because a soldier can't keep himself from firing if he sees firing in front of him, all the platoons behind us, and all of M. de Saint Quentin's battalion discharged and since they fired at the spot from which they had seen gunshots come, we found ourselves between the two rows of firing, and a hail of balls hissed around our ears from behind and before us.

A soldier of my picket took one through his body, several caught them in their clothing and their hats, there were two soldiers of the Maine Regiment killed outright and two wounded. An officer of the Angoumois had one ball and two buckshot in his hat, and there were several broken guns and bayonets.

The officers bounced on their soldiers to keep them from firing and M. de Choisy ordered a retreat.

The enemy post had retired after their volley. We returned by the great road, and we went away carrying our two dead and our wounded.

The enemy fired two cannon shots at us that struck in the forest.

We stopped at our outpost where we buried the two poor soldiers from the Maine Regiment. A square redoubt was being constructed at this spot under the direction of an American engineer, at M. de Choisy's orders. We returned to camp at around midnight.

On our return from this mess each of us pretended that he had seen the redoubts, some even said they had gotten as far as the palisades, and that they had seen the horses attached to the post.

Since I had seen nothing and had been in a position to see even more than the others who, because of their rank, were behind me, I thought about the way in which the sham attack had been conducted, and I promised myself in secret to criticize our (p. 165) general, who I supposed was ignorant of the location of the enemy redoubts.

I reflected that we had not found so much as a cat in the woods and that the works of the English must have been still distant, or else we would surely have found some outposts.

I promised myself to reconnoiter the position where we had been in battle order in the brambles and the spot where we had fired, if the capture of York permitted it.

I remembered that while we were in battle order, I had a dead horse between my legs, and that on the great road 10 paces from where we had fired there was another horse that stank.

When I think now of the quantity of balls that passed me on all sides and the futility of any of our deaths, I could not keep myself from a jeremiad on the fate of the wretched infantry, who, like laborers, sweat blood and water only to be humiliated, mistreated and crushed.

While we were in battle array in the brambles, we had enjoyed a superb spectacle.

There had been an attack on York, and we heard the fusillade which was long, well sustained, and interspersed with many cannon shots. At the same time we saw a hail of bombs and shells in the air which followed one after another with singular rapidity.

The next day, the 15th, we learned that during the fusillade of the day before at York, the French and the Americans had captured by assault the two redoubts I and K (see map of York). We heard too that the enemy could not hold out much longer because these two redoubts could batter their entrenchments on the flank. (p. 166)

Precautions taken against the passage of the enemy to Gloucester

M. de Choisy, fearing that the enemy would all cross to Gloucester and then fall upon his corps, had work on the redoubts for the outpost hastened, and had it surrounded by an

abatis of tree trunks with sharpened branches. He had a similar abatis built several fathom measures in front of our tents, the entire width of our camp. He also has a moat dug and earth raised around the wall that enclosed the church that served us as a hospital; once again he had the corners of this wall mounted with tree trunks. He intended to retreat into this post if he was forced to abandon the field, and the enemy, hemmed in by the two creeks and obliged of necessity to rout us would have experienced great difficulty.

On the 16th, many deserters came to us; we learned that the enemy had made a sortie during the night against one of the batteries of our entrenchments at York, and that they had spiked four cannon, wounded two officers of the Agenoix regiment and taken a captain of the same corps prisoner, along with several soldiers, but we were told at the same time that the cannon, having been poorly spiked, were in condition to fire two hours later, and that they had extended the second parallel as far as the redoubts taken the day before; batteries were being established there that would soon be ready to fire.

I mounted guard at the 25 man post on the creek to the right, where I had already been on guard. The weather was abominable, with much wind and torrential rain. We heard a terrible cannonade at York during the night; there were, so to speak, no breaks between the cannon shots, which made us take strict precautions and redouble our vigilance, but we (p. 167) heard and saw nothing because of the force of the rain and wind; in spite of all our care; it had been impossible to safeguard our arms which had been drenched and were unserviceable.

If the enemy had crossed over to Gloucester that night, as we have since found they tried to do, we would not have held them for more than an instant, we couldn't have fired a single shot, and our posts would certainly have been surprised. We saw daybreak with great pleasure, the rain stopped at intervals and we made a large fire to try to dry and warm ourselves.

During the day of the 17th, we noticed that the cannonade had entirely ceased, and we learned that evening that the enemy had tried to cross over to Gloucester during the previous night, but wind and bad weather had swept away their launches in the river on the shore opposite Gloucester, and that, seeing no recourse, and seeing themselves on the brink of a general assault, they had offered to surrender, and negotiations were going on.

On the 18th, the terms of the surrender were further discussed; we noted that General Burgoyne had signed the surrender at Saratoga four years before on the same day.

On the 19th, the surrender was concluded and signed. Under its terms, officers and soldiers, sailors and all the other seafarers would be prisoners of war, the troops would be

prisoners of the United States, and all the stores, goods and munitions of the two posts of York and Gloucester would be put in the care of General Washington; the vessels in the river as well as their cargoes, would be delivered up to the naval forces of the king of France, and all the sailors would be prisoners of His Majesty. The officers were allowed (p. 168) to keep their swords; as a reprisal the troops filed past with their arms shouldered and their flags furled, for the same demands had been made of the garrison of Charlestown when the English had defeated them.

The troops were to be scattered in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, having with them superior officers from each of the three nations - English, Anspacher and Hessian, and other officers so that there was one officer for each 50 men; all other officers could ask for a passport to go where they pleased.

We were to give one of the captured vessels, the sloop of war *Bonneta*, with its crew, to Lord Cornwallis to transport him to New York with his aide-de-camp. He gave his word to have this vessel given up into the command of M. de Grasse.

There were in these two posts 6,000 regular English and Hessian troops, and 22 flags, 1,500 sailors, 160 cannons of all calibers including 75 bronze pieces and 3 mortars. There were about 50 vessels in the river, among them a ship of 50 cannon that had been burned; approximately 20 of them were sunk including the frigate *Guadeloupe*; we have since managed to raise the frigate and some of the other vessels.

At 3 in the afternoon M. de Choisy went to take possession of Gloucester with 100 of Lauzun's men and 200 men from the American militia. Approximately 1,200 men, on foot as well as on horseback, came out and filed past, as had been agreed, to give up their arms. They were vexed to deliver them to the Americans, for whom they showed great scorn; they called our soldiers and presented them with their guns. After the ceremony, they went back to their entrenchments and M. de Choisy established guards in all their redoubts.

The English officers came to see our officers who were on duty there, showed them every possible courtesy (p. 169) and drank to their health, while they said not a word to any American officer, several of whom did what they could to persuade our gentlemen to accept sabers, fowling pieces, carbines &c., adding that they would rather break them into a thousand pieces than leave them to the Americans.

We wanted very much to see Gloucester but had no permission to do so; we were ordered to be in readiness to depart at the first order to return to our ships.

I believe that M. de Choisy gave us this odd prohibition in order to have the right also to restrict the Americans, who flocked in from the surrounding areas to see their prisoners, especially Colonel Ta[r][e]ton, a young man 25 years old, son of a London merchant, who had made them tremble for quite a while.

He commanded a legion that bore his name, very like M. de Lauzun's, and he was accused of having committed with his troops the greatest horrors of the campaign. His mere name would make an American shiver. However, he had a most gentle and genteel face as well as elegance, a certain air of ease, and French manners.

On the 20th, we had the same orders to be ready to depart, we knew that M. de Choisy was to go and rejoin M.de Rochambeau; we went to pay him a farewell visit.

Description of Gloucester

After leaving his quarters, I suggested to one of our comrades that we make a jaunt over to Gloucester, to see it before we left; he acquiesced and we went with alacrity; we took the great road in order to reconnoiter the scene of our sham attack; when we were out of the furthest wood, we recognized that the spot where we (p. 170) had gotten into battle array with such trouble was on site where the enemy had cut the wood necessary for the abatis that encircled their entrenchments; I looked for my dead horse which I found easily, and I recognized that from this spot one could not see the enemy works; we returned to the road and I soon found the second dead horse, which stank as much as it had at the time of our sham attack. I recognized, several steps away, the spot where we had fired, and I even found the tree trunk where the soldier of my picket who had taken a ball right through his body had been seated; it was still covered with his blood. I found, 20 paces away in the road, the position of the post that had fired on us, in front of which there were two or three tree trunks with branches to secure it against a cavalry charge.

One could still not see the enemy entrenchments at all, because the terrain was rather like a shelving ridge.

After taking several steps, I discovered them and at the same time I saw small redans to the right and left. I examined them all; they were nothing but little earth thrown up at a height that only covered a man to his waist, the ground was worn, and there seemed to have been posts t here and I even thought I saw cannon tracks in one or two. The land between these redans and the entrenchments was covered with holes where fires had been made and tents placed, and I have since that they camped there before our arrival forced them to camp inside their works.

We arrived at the enceinte and they did not want to let us enter at first, since that was forbidden. We asked to speak to the officer in charge, with whom we were acquainted, and he gave in to our solicitations; we promised him not to stay more than a few minutes, and we entered. (p. 170)

We rambled all around the interior and saw that Gloucester consisted of four houses situated on a point of land that jutted out into the river across from York.

On the coast, there was an earthen redoubt mounted with cannon intended to defend the anchorage and protect the vessels anchored nearby. The enceinte was formed by four strong redoubts with a fraise and palisade, encircled by a fosse and as well constructed as was possible in such dry and sandy terrain; they had been obliged to embank their parapets to prevent the earth from sliding down. These four redoubts each had one or two cannons. They were joined together by a row of large wooden posts raised up high and planted so close together that only a gun carrel could be passed between them. In addition, three paces in front of all else, there was a dense abatis of well interlocked trees that followed the contour of the works and stretched on both sides to within a few fathom measures of the water. The troops were camped inside. Fifteen paces in front of each redoubt there was a heap of hay, pitch and other combustible materials that they could have set fire in case of a night attack.

When our curiosity was satisfied, we returned to camp by the road to the right and we were convinced that neither the general nor any individual had much information about the enemy entrenchments before the taking of York. All the reconnaissance that had been made every day had succeeded only in coming within view of the small redans, which had simply been mistaken for redoubts, and the general had been so convinced that at the time of the sham attack, he had said to M. M. de Vidart et Saint Quentin: "If you find time to outflank the redoubts, you will be doing well." However, if he had known the post, he would have known that that was impracticable.

How is it possible that we were not better informed (p. 172) on the subject, when we had so many American officers with us and harbored so many deserters?

I can't keep from laughing when I remember the good faith with which some of us claimed to have seen the palisade and the attached horses at the time of the sham attack.

In any case, our generals were incomparably content, and the expedition was truly as fortunate as it could have been. An army taken, two provinces delivered, a convoy and some warships destroyed. The siege of York had cost about 600 men, French as well as American.

On the 21st, we received orders to be ready to leave at any moment to return to our ships. M. de Choisy crossed to York and we stayed to wait while they saw fit to send for us, finally, as night fell, we were told to be at Gloucester 10 o'clock that evening.

At 9 o'clock we decamped, quite pleased to separate from the American militia who were cocky now that they were no longer in fear of the English and had already had some disputes with our soldiers.

On our arrival in Gloucester we were put in battle order along the river to wait there for the launches and small boats that finally appeared at midnight.

Waiting for them, we walked on the sand to warm ourselves; we found at our feet several dead bodies that stank horribly and we learned that some large tents, that we saw along the shore, concealed 1,500 of the sick; so many of them died that there was no time to bury them, and they simply threw the dead out of the tents as they expired. This was where Lord Cornwallis had established his hospital during the siege. (p. 173)

Sketch of the environs of York and Gloucester

This part of Virginia seemed generally unhealthy; all the inhabitants that we saw around our camp had a shallow, pale look; possibly their food contributes to this, for they eat no bread, and some of them have no knowledge of it at all. They make a sort of cake over hot coals with the Indian corn which they cultivate in great abundance; they eat many milk products and potatoes, which have a good flavor there, these they eat instead of bread.

They cultivate much tobacco, which is their sole trade; they have many animals which give the people a comfortable food-supply.

They have a kind of horse that is small but extremely nimble and requires little care and bears up well under tiring work. All the trees and plants of Europe are found there also, and I have seen none of those from the Antilles, there.

The land seemed unfruitful; only sand and is apparent it is covered with forests of fir trees; from time to time there are oaks, walnut trees, apple trees and peach trees; the land that is neither covered with forests nor cultivated, produces only a kind of grass with a long stem, dry and arid. The many pools of water and the numerous forests there were marks of a state of nature still wild. However, we saw there several beautiful plantations that had been entrusted to the care of a few negroes and seemed to belong to wealthy people, judging by their exteriors and commodious interiors. The inhabitants who had stayed in

their huts (for there were many without master) seemed sad and miserable. The wives and daughters that we saw there (p. 174) generally had beautiful complexions but little color. They ride horseback with more ease than some of our fellow countrymen. It is customary to kiss them on the mouth rather than on the cheek; in general, their manners are more free than those of French women, but they are no less wise.

It seemed to us that in general, married women among the English are more reserved than the maidens.

At one o'clock at night, we were embarked on several small vessels that were to transport us to our ships. Our detachment was put on board the *Loyalist*, one of the corvettes captured from the English.

Sketch of the Ports of York

Next day on the 22nd, since the commanding officer of the corvette had business at York, we took advantage of the chance to see it. We rambled all through the town, inside and out; we inspected the French and American trenches, which were still intact, the guns of the batteries had not even been dismantled so that by asking a few questions, I was almost as knowledgeable about the siege as if I had served in it. The town of York is neither pretty nor large: there is only one street, wide enough but unpaved, which is located at the river's edge on uneven terrain.

There was a large battery on the coast to defend the anchorage. The town was bounded to the right by a ravine with a little water. On the edge of the ravine were mounted several breastworks to prevent crossing of it.

Above the ravine, they had built a large redoubt and made it as strong as they could. (see the map of York at point D).

The Touraine regiment had opened a trench there and the enemies believed that that would be our principal point of attack.

On this side of the ravine, they had built an enclosure of wooden stakes (p. 175) supported by redoubts, much as at Gloucester. The left of town was defended by an extended entrenchment with a fraise, a palisade and a fosse and supported by redoubts placed nearby that were similarly constructed. (see the configuration BB)

The environs of these redoubts were covered with cannon wads, indubitable proof of the heavy fire that they had made there.

200 fathom measures forward, on the left were the two redoubts taken by storm, the small one by the Americans commanded by M. de Lafayette, the larger by the grenadiers of the Gâtinois Regiment, supported by the chasseurs and grenadiers of the Royal Deux-Ponts and 500 infantrymen commanded by M. de Vioménil, who was high praised.

The grenadiers and chasseurs of the Gâtinois Regiment lost 60 men killed or wounded in this attack, which had only lasted five minutes. Once they reached the foot of the redoubt, they jumped into the fosse, and under cover of the shots that passed over their heads, they tore down the fraises and palisades, mounted the parapet and knocked down with their bayonets anyone who dared to resist them.

These redoubts provided a view of the enemy entrenchment and a way to fire on the enemy flank, which forced Cornwallis to capitulate even before the batteries of the second parallel had come into play. The firing from the first parallel had been so well sustained, and so many bombs and shells rained into the entrenchments, that the troops had been obliged to leave their camp which had been established directly behind the parapets. They took refuge in the hollows which prevailed along the shore at the water's edge; some say that if the *Vaillant* and the *Experiment*, which were stationed in the river, had executed the orders given them by M. de Grasse to go and cannonade the city, Cornwallis would have been obliged to give up even sooner. However, the winds (p. 176) and currents, the usual expedient prevented them from doing so, and a newspaperman in the Antilles had the bad taste to joke in his paper that York had surrendered because of the fierce fire of these two vessels. As soon as the town had surrendered, the wind turned favorable, and M. de Mastalli, commanding officer of the two vessels, entered the anchorage. All his comrades reproached him for appropriating the bells of the ships that were in the river. Anyway, many others are allowed to plunder; there were many Negroes taken and sold on our return to our colonies. Entire corps indulged in this indecency and after pocketing the birds [literally the seagulls, meaning the African-Americans] secretly made fun of those who had been more scrupulous. Had we wished, we could easily have done the same, but we were among those who objected and at whom they laughed.

Return of the division from the ships

We returned on board the *Loyaliste* at 3 o'clock in the afternoon and weighed anchor immediately; it was calm, which obliged us to anchor that night in order to keep from foundering on the banks that fill the river. Next day on the 23rd, we weighed anchor at break of day and were again obliged to anchor at the rising of the tide. We were again under sail at 4 o'clock in the evening and we anchored at one o'clock at night, in the middle of the squadron.

On the 24th, the small boats and launches of the ships came to take us and we went back on board the *Languedoc* at 11 in the morning; you can imagine the pleasure it gave us to get our beds back, after living for 24 days sleeping on the ground without undressing. This little taste of land war completely convinced me that it is infinitely more harsh than fighting on the sea. The sailor after his duty, which lasts only 4 hours, goes to sleep peacefully without troubling about his dinner, his tent or servants, and he is sure that he will not be awakened by the general or by an order to (p. 177) depart immediately; if he is anchored, he is certain to find a good dry bed, or a change of clothes; he is never tired by a forced march and ignores heat and the cold. A foot soldier is exposed a hundred times during a campaign, much more than a sailor, and a sailor's purse suffers fewer losses.

The whole squadron was as we had left it. M. de Grasse had sent the frigate *Surveillante* to take to France the news of our fortunate success.

We busied ourselves re-embarking the munitions and troops of M. de Saint Simon, with all possible speed, so that we would be able to weigh anchor and leave an anchorage where we would not have been safe in the blustery season that was drawing near.

Departure of the army from the Chesapeake Bay

On November 4, since everything was completed, and the winds were favorable, we weighed anchor for the Antilles where M. de Grasse planned yet another expedition.

In the bay we left the *Romulus*, and two frigates the *Hermione* and the *Diligente* to protect trade. The generals Washington and Rochambeau were to winter in Williamsburg.

The *Andromaque* was dispatched for France the day before our departure.

Joachim du Perron, comte de Revel, *Journal Particulier d'une Campagne aux Indes Occidentales (1781-1782)* (Paris : Chez Henri Charles-Lavauzelle, 1898), pp. 137-174.

A portrait of du Perron in his regimental uniform, with a naval combat scene (possibly the Battle of the Capes) in the background, painted by Laurent-Bruno Francois Jourdain (1745–1815) in 1786, is owned by the Museum of the American Revolution in Philadelphia. <https://www.amrevmuseum.org/collection/portrait-comte-du-perron>

See also George W. Kyte, "The blockade of Gloucester in 1781 as seen through a Frenchman's eyes." *Studies in modern European History in honor of Franklin Charles Palm* Frederick J. Cox, Bernerd Clarke Weber, Richard Munthe Brace, and John Fraser Ramsey, eds., (New York: Bookman Associates, 1956) pp. 157-174.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Volontaires Étrangères de Lauzun (Lauzun's Legion)

Major Jean Ladislas Pollerescky (1748-1830)

Pollerescky mentions the Battle of the Hook in his application to the United States Congress for a pension. It is included in his Pension Application file.

To the Hon. Senate & House of Representatives in Congress assembled –

The Petition of John L. Poleresky, residing in Dresden in the County of Lincoln, and State of Maine, respectfully sheweth that he is now seventy seven years old was born in France, and came to America in the year 1780, as an Officer, with the five thousand men, who landed at Newport, under the command of Genl. Count Rochambeau, and held the commission of Major in Le duc de Lauzan's regiment, that he served with the French Troops in the War of the American Revolution, until the close in 1783 – and then resigned – that during the War, he was in much active service, was at Kingsbridge where the American army fought the British – and in an attack on Col. Tarltons dragoons, had the command of his Colonel's light horse, had his horse, for which he gave \$ 250 killed under him – at the close of the war he lived about a year in Boston, and then moved to Dresden, where he has lived ever since – in 1788 he was duly naturalized. [...]

There is no generally accepted way of spelling his name.

The Committee on Military Pensions rejected the request because the Pension Law of 1818 only applied to veterans who had served in the American armed forces. Concurrently it however “report[ed] a bill giving the applicant a pension.” The bill was read the first and second time on 5 February 1823 during the 22 December 1822 to 3 March 1823 Session of the 18th Congress and then sent to the committee of the whole house, which rejected the bill. With the support of Henry Dearborn, who filed an affidavit in supported of the request, it was submitted again and again until the 21st Congress on 30 May 1830 voted him an annual pension of \$ 240 to commence 1 January 1828. Polleresky died on 8 June 1830, one week after Congress had voted him a pension, but the pension was then paid to his widow.

NARA Pension Application W. 10915. Enclosed in his pension application is a certificate supposedly signed by Lauzun:

I acknowledge that Comte de Poleresky has resigned voluntarily and of his own free will from his post as Major of the Corps of Foreign Volunteers of my name.
Philadelphia 1 October 1783.

This is patently impossible since Lauzun had already sailed from Wilmington, DE, on 11 March 1783. (See the 1912 edition of his *Memoirs*, p. 365) The date in the certificate, 11 March 1781, is off by two months as well - the Legion sailed out of Philadelphia on 11 May 1783.

Citing an inspection report of 1 November 1782, Massoni reports three horses killed and four wounded in the action of 3 October 1781. Two of the killed horses belonged to officers, i.e. Captain Mieskwosky and *sous-lieutenant* Pierre Sonnette of the Second Escadron of Hussars; the owner of the third horse was probably that of an enlisted man, rather than that of Major Poleresky, since he is not identified. Massoni, *Détails*, pp. 20 and 26.

Pollerescky (1748-1830), was a German-born Slovak whose father had been colonel of a regiment of hussars bearing his name during the Seven Years War. When he asked for leave to sail for Europe on 11 November 1781, Lieutenant Colonel Hugau placed him under arrest, fearing that Pollerescky wanted to return to Europe primarily because "there was nothing left for him to glean (i.e., to steal) in this country."

By late 1784, Pollerescky was living in Boston. With the help of Benjamin Lincoln, whom he had befriended at Yorktown, he purchased a farm in Dresden, Maine, in 1785. When General Henry Dearborn, another friend of his Yorktown days, became Military Governor of the district of Maine in 1790, he appointed Pollerescky Census Commissioner. That was his 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.

Pollerescky's role as portrayed in Joseph Cincík, "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.

There is a plaque commemorating his service in the old Courthouse in Gloucester.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Corps royal de la Marine

Corporal Simon Pouzoulet (1759-1839)

doing duty in the Grenadier Compagnie du Paty on the 74-gun Ship *L'Hector*

Le trente, huit cents hommes de la garnison des vaisseaux furent renforcés monsieur de Choisy, brigadier général, destiné à observer les ennemies dans le poste de Gloucester, et couper leur raitraite sur la Pensylvanie. Le général commandait un corps de deux mille Américains qui, réunis avec la légion du Duc de Lauzain et les huit cents hommes de la garnison des vaisseaux, formèrent une armée de quatre mille cinq cents hommes ; les ordres furent aussitôt donnés d'observer, avec le plus grande vigilance et exactitude, la marche des ennemies, de s'opposer vivement à leur sortie et de les forcer à rentrer dans leurs retranchements en cas qu'ils viendraient à en sortir.

Translation :

On the thirtieth, eight hundred men of the garrison of the vessels had re-enforced M de Choisy, brigadier general, meant to observe the enemies in the post of Gloucester, and to cut off their retreat to Pennsylvania. The general commanded a corps of two thousand Americans who, united with the legion of the duc de Lauzun and the eight hundred men from the garrisons of the vessels, formed an army of four thousand five hundred men, the orders were given to right away observe, with the greatest vigilance and exactitude, the march of the enemies, to vigorously oppose their sorties and to force them to re-enter into their entrenchments in case they came to leave from there.

Simon Pouzoulet (1759-1839) enlisted on 11 July 1778 in the Division de Toulon of the Corps royal de la Marine, and embarked on *L'Hector* in March 1781 in the squadron of the comte de Grasse. Taken prisoner in the Battle of the Saintes on 12 April 1782, Pouzoulet was released only on 3 May 1783. His lengthy and very detailed journal, one of the few existing journals not kept by an officer, covers the time from his embarkation in March 1781 to the arrival in Jamaica in April 1782.

Journal historique de Simon Pouzoulet, Castelnau de Guers, 1759-1839, sur l'expédition aux Amériques avec l'amiral comte de Grasse, 1781-1782. Introduction de Catherine Papini (Nîmes : Lacour, 2000), pp. 88/89. There is a typed transcript in the Warrington Dawson Papers in the rare Books, Manuscripts and Special Collections Library at Duke University.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment of Infantry

Capitaine à la suite Friedrich Reinhard Graf von Rechteren-Limpurg
(1754-1807)

On that day, when the batteries began to fire on Yorktown, he [Tarleton] and his corps faced the Duke of Lauzun, who defeated him with his hussars. One hussar sent a shot very close to his body; as luck would have it the bullet fell into his pistol-holders. Right after this a lancer's thrust missed him. By the shock of his horse, he was thrown to the ground, but saved by his men.

Jane A. Baum, Hans-Peter Baum, Jesko Graf zu Dohna, eds., *The adventures of Friedrich Reinhard count of Rechteren-Limpurg in the Mediterranean and the American War of Independence 1770-1782*. (bi-lingual), Mainfränkische Hefte 115 (Baunach: Spurbuchverlag, 2016), p. 111.

Rechteren was born on 22 September 1751 in Overijssel in the Dutch Republic. Following a short career in the Dutch Navy he joined the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment as a *cadet gentilhomme*, a gentleman cadet serving without pay, in early 1780 for the *expédition particulière* to America under the *comte* de Rochambeau and took part in the siege of Yorktown. He died in June 1842 at the age of 91 years. See Robert A. Selig, "The Adventures of Friedrich Reinhard count of Rechteren-Limpurg in the Mediterranean and the American War of Independence 1770-1782" *German Life* vol. 27 no. 6 (April/May 2021), pp. 26-31.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: French Army Staff

Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, *comte* de Rochambeau (1725-1807)

Le 29 J'envoyai M. de Choisy à M. le Comte de Grasse lui proposer de lui donner le commandement d'un detachement de ses troupes de Garnison, pour aller renforcer le Duc de Lauzun dans le Comté de Gloucester. M. le C^{te} de Grasse remit 800. hommes à M. de Choisy qui rejoignit le Duc de Lauzun le 1^{er} 8^{bre}. Le 3. du même mois M. de Choisy marcha en avant pour Resserer Gloucester et prendre une position à 3. miles de cette place. Le Corps de M. de Choisy étoit Composé de La Legion de Lauzun, de Son infanterie tirée des Vaisseaux et de 12. cents hommes de milices americaine aux ordres du Brigadier Général Weeden. Tarleton Se trouva avec 600. hommes Sur cette position, dont 400. chevaux et 200. hommes d'infanterie ; Le Duc de Lauzun l'attaque Si Vigoreusement nonobstant le feu de Son infanterie qu'il le Culbuta, blessa M. Tarleton et força ce detachement à rentrer dans Gloucester avec perte de 50. hommes. M. Billy Dillon et M. Dutertre Capitane en 2^d y ont été blessés. M^{es} Robert Dillon, de Sheldon, Beffroy et Monthurel s'y Sont distingués. Il y a eu 3. hussards tués et 11. de blessés. M. de Choisy a pris une position à 3. miles de la place et ses postes avancées n'en font qu'a un mile.

On the 29th I sent M de Choisy to M le comte de Grasse suggesting to him to give him [Choisy] the command of a detachment of his [de Grasse'] garrison troops to go and reinforce the duc de Lauzun in the County of Gloucester. M le comte de Grasse released 800 men to M de Choisy who rejoined the duc de Lauzun on 1 October. On the 3rd of the same month M de Choisy marched forward to tighten the ring around Gloucester and to take a postion three miles from that place. The corps of M de Choisy was composed of the Legion of Lauzun, his infantry drawn from the ships and 12 hundred men American militia under the command of Brigadier General Weeden. Tarleton found himself with 600 men in that position, of which 400 were cavalry and 200 men infantry. The duc de Lauzun attacked so vigorously that notwithstanding his [Tarleton's] infantry he dislodged him, wounded M Tarleton and forced that detachment to retreat into Gloucester with the loss of 50 men. M Billy Dillon and M Dutertre, capitaine en second, were wounded there. Messieurs Robert Dillon, de Sheldon, Befroy and Monthurel distinguished themselves there. Three hussars were killed and eleven wounded. M de Choisy took a position three miles from the place and his advanced posts took one only one mile away.

The two wounded officers were Jean-Batiste Nicolas Louis du Tertre (1746-1796), *capitaine en second* of the First Squadron of Hussars and Billy Dillon (1760-1788), a brother of Colonel Robert Dillon, *capitaine en second* of the Second Squadron. The officers recommended for their gallantry were *colonel-en-second* Robert Dillon (1754-1837), Captain Louis Henry du Beffroy (1745 – post 1815) the *aide-major* of the hussars, and Lieutenant Louis d’Hauteclouque de Monthurel (1753-post 1791) of the infantry. The officer « de Sheldon » is most likely *mestre de camp* (i.e. colonel) Dominique Sheldon (1757 or 1760-1802) who was attached to Lauzun's Legion on 5 April 1780 but employed as *maréchal des logis* in Rochambeau's army. He is not listed in any of the Legion's returns but apparently had been detached to Gloucester to organize the supply chain for the legion.

“Journal des operations de Corps français depuis le 15. d’aout 1781” Rochambeau Papers, Library of Congress.

It was published as *Relation, ou Journal des operations de Corps français depuis le 15. d’aout 1781* (Philadelphia, 1781); the quote is also printed in Agricole Joseph Xavier de Bertrand, *Journal de marche des opérations de l’armée de Rochambeau in : Jacques de Trentinian, La France au Secours de l’Amérique* (Paris : Editions SPM 2016), pp. 233-255, p. 251/55.

An abbreviated version was published in *Memoires of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau, Relative to the War of Independence of the United States* (Paris, 1838), pp. 66 and 68. The *Memoires* were originally published in French in 1808.

Translation:

De Lauzun's infantry, on landing, proceeded with their Colonel to join his division of cavalry, which I had sent by Tarre to take up a position on the road to Gloucester, and place it self at the position of Brigadier-General Woueden, who had in command a body of American militia. The whole of the legion had assembled by the 28th, the day of the investing of York.

On the 30th we had dispatched M. de Choisy to M. de Grasse to ask for a detachment of the garrison of the ships, to reinforce M. de Lauzun in the county of Gloucester; M. de Grasse gave him eight hundred men, with which he marched on the 3d of October to invest Gloucester more closely, and take up a position nearer. Tarleton happened to be thereabouts with four hundred horse and two hundred infantry on a foraging expedition. De Lauzun's legion, backed by a corps of American militia, attacked him so vigorously that he was put to flight with his detachment and was obliged to put back with a severe loss. After this skirmish, M. de Choisy carried his advanced posts as far as within a mile of Gloucester.

In a letter to the *comte* de Grasse dated October 6, 1781, Rochambeau wrote from “Camp before York”:

Je ne vous ai pas écrit, mon cher Comte, depuis trois jours, parce que j'ai eu la fièvre et que je n'en suis pas encore tout à fait quitte. Le corps que vous avez donné à Choisy et la légion de Lauzun ont chargé vigoureusement les 400 chevaux de Tarleton et, nonobstant le feu de l'infanterie, l'ont forcé à rentrer dans la place avec perte de 50 hommes et Tarleton blessé.

I have not written to you, my dear comte, for three days because I had the fever and I am still not completely well. The corps which you gave to Choisy and the legion of Lauzun vigorously charged the 400 horses and Tarleton, and notwithstanding the fire by the infantry forced it to retreat into the place [i.e. Gloucester] with the loss of 50 men and Tarleton wounded.

Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Etablissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*. 5 vols (Paris : Alphonse Picard, 1886-1892), vol. 5 (1892) : *Appendice*. *Correspondance du Comte de Rochambeau depuis le début de son Commandement aux États-Unis jusqu'à la fin de la Campagne de Virginie*, pp. 309-590, p. 559.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Saintonge Regiment of Infantry

Lieutenant-Colonel Georges Cyr Antoine de Bellemare
de Saint-Cyr (1749-post 1824)

[Cornwallis] prépara deux sorties à la fois. L'une contre les troupes qui lui étaient opposées du côté de Gloucester, l'autre sur la tranchée. Il tenta la première en plein jour par sa cavalerie. Elle en vint aux mains avec la légion de Lauzun, et exécuta une charge contre la partie de lanciers. Ceux-ci la reçurent très galamment, mais trop faibles pour faire une longue résistance, ils furent obligés de se replier sur leur infanterie ; elle était retranchée derrière les haies ; elle fit une décharge à bout portant, et mit un tel désordre parmi cette cavalerie, qu'elle s'ébranla à son tour. Comme elle s'éloignait, les lanciers la poursuivirent à coup de lance ; se ralliant, elle fit volte-face sur eux, les poussa de nouveau et les contraignit à se réfugier une seconde fois auprès de leur infanterie ; celle-ci la mit alors dans une telle confusion qu'elle fut poursuivie, l'épée dans les reins, jusqu'à Gloucester, d'où elle n'osa plus sortir.

Translation:

[Cornwallis] prepared for two concurrent sorties. One against the troops who opposed him outside Gloucester, the other against the trenches [in Yorktown] He undertook the first in broad daylight with his cavalry. It got into a pitched battle with the Legion of Lauzun and executed a charge against the party of lanciers. Those received them [the British cavalry] very gallantly, but too weak to offer a long resistance they were forced to retreat toward their [American] infantry; it was hidden behind hedges and fired a salvo point blank and caused such a disorder amongst the [English] cavalry that it now moved off. As it moved away the lanciers pursued it with their lances, rallying, it [the British] turned about against them, pushed it back again, and forced it to take refuge a second time next to its [American] infantry, which then threw it into such a confusion that it [the British cavalry] was forcefully pursued, [lit.: the sword in their kidneys] all the way to Gloucester, from where they did not dare to emerge any more.

Mémoires du Chevalier de Bellemare de Saint-Cyr, lieutenant-colonel d'infanterie, chevalier de l'ordre royal et militaire de St. Louis, chevalier de l'ordre royal militaire et hospitalier de St. Lazare et chevalier de l'ordre du Lis. 2 vols., à Versailles. Rédigé par lui-même en 1815.

The quote is taken from a typed transcription of the original made in 1856, p. 65, among the Francis Warrington Dawson Papers, Collection No. 1424, Rare Books, Manuscripts and Special Collections Library, Duke University, Durham, NC.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Régiment de Monsieur Infantry

Claude-Anne de Rouvroy, marquis de Saint-Simon Montbléru (1743-1819)
Colonel and Commanding Officer of the infantry detachment that came to
Yorktown with the fleet of the *comte* de Grasse from the West Indies

L'investissement de Gloucester (a) se fit en même temps par M^r Choisy avec 800 hommes des garnisons des Vaisseaux, quelques pièces de campagne, la Légion de Lauzun, une partie à pied, l'autre à cheval, un corps Américain et des milices du pais ; le tout destiné seulement à bloquer les troupes qui étaient dans cette place, à intercepter toute espèce de secours, et à s'opposer au débarquement du Lord Cornwallis, en cas qu'il cherchât à se sauver d'Yorck avec son armée, comme on avait tout lieu de le présumer. [...]

(a) Petite Ville située à une portée de canon d'Yorck de l'autre coté de la riviere.

Tarletown, colonel Anglais, qui avait passé avec sa cavalerie à Gloucester, fit une sortie le lendemain de l'investissement, sur Mr. le Duc de Lauzun, qui, quoique inférieur en nombre, le chargea si vigoureusement et si à propos que l'Escadron Anglais fut forcé de se retirer dans le plus grand désordre et ne reparut plus pendant le siège.

C'est le seul evenement important qui ait précédé l'attaque ; il à fait infiniment d'honneur à Mr. le Duc de Lauzun, à sa Légion, et nous a été d'un heureux présage.

Translation :

The besieging of Gloucester (a) took place at the same time by M Choisy with 800 men of the garrisons of the vessels, a few pieces of campaign artillery, the Legion of Lauzun, one part on foot, the other on horseback, an American detachment and the country militia, all of it only meant to block the troops which were in that place, to intercept any kind of support, and to oppose the debarkation of Lord Cornwallis in case he sought to save himself from York with his army, as one had every reason to assume ...

(a) Small village a cannon shot from York on the other side of the river

Tarleton, the English colonel, who had passed over to Gloucester with his cavalry, made a sortie the day following the beginning of the siege, against M le duc de Lauzun, who,

though inferior in numbers, charged him so vigorously and so apt that the English escadron was forced to retire in the greatest disorder and did not reappear again during the siege.

It is the single important event which preceded the attack, it contributed greatly to the honor of M le duc de Lauzun, his legion and was a lucky omen for us.

Journal de la campagne des états unis d'Amérique depuis le 5 juillet jusqu'au 12 avril 1782, unpaginated.

The project team is grateful to Patrick de St. Simon for providing a scan of the original journal in his possession.

A slightly different version, mostly modernized spelling, was published by Ludovic de Contenson, « La Capitulation d'Yorktown et le Comte de Grasse » *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* vol. 42 (1928), pp. 378-399, the quote on p. 390.

See also Larrabee Harold A., "A neglected French collaborator in the victory of Yorktown, Claude-Anne marquis de Saint-Simon (1740-1819)". *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*. Tome 24 n°2, 1932. pp. 245-257.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Régiment de Brie Infantry

Sous-lieutenant Paul de Sers d'Aulix (1758-post 1817)

doing duty as part of the infantry supplement on the 74-gun Ship *L'Hector*

Paul de Sers' *Journal de la campagne que j'ai faite sur le vaisseau du Roi « l'Hector » de 74 canons* begins with an entry dated 23 December 1780, when he received orders while stationed in Wissembourg in the Alsace to report to Brest for embarkation on *l'Hector*. Traveling via Phalsbourg and Paris, he arrived in Brest on 10 January 1781 and embarked on 13 January 1781. *L'Hector* departed from Brest on 22 March 1781 as part of the fleet of the *comte de Grasse*. The last entry in the journal dates to 23/24 November 1781.

...

Le 29 à 3 heures du soir, il est appareillé plusieurs frégates poussant dans le SSE ayant les vents au OSO, joli frais, beau temps.

A 8 heures ½ du soir, notre ancre aget a chassé ; nous avons laissé tomber notre ancre de tribord; ensuite élongé une ancre aget pour nous écarter du vaisseau le Duc de Bourgogne et resté ainsi.

Le même jour, nous avons reçu ordre de fournir de notre troupe 66 fusiliers, 5 caporaux, 3 sergents et un tambour, commandés par Mr de Legge, lieutenant en premier et moi, sous lieutenant. La dite troupe était destinée pour descendre à terre et devoir être aux ordres de Mr de Choisy qui commandait une des divisions qui faisaient le siège d'York et qu'on fournirait à chaque homme pour cinq jours de vivres sans boissons.

Le 30 à 3 heures du soir, le général a hissé un pavillon YAC à son grand mat et a tiré un coup de canon, signal de faire embarquer les troupes qui étaient destinées pour descendre à terre.

Aussitôt, nous avons fait embarquer notre troupe dans la chaloupe commandée par Mr de l'Isle, lieutenant de vaisseau.

A 4 heures ½, la dite chaloupe est partie du bord et s'est rendue à celui de la Ville de Paris d'où elle est repartie pour suivre la chaloupe du dit vaisseau, ainsi que plusieurs autres de l'armée.

Nous avons employé toute la nuit à gagner une petite rivière qu'on nomme Trenkmorden nous l'avons remontée pendant toute la matinée et nous sommes débarqués à terre le 1er octobre à 1 heure de l'après midi, à 5 lieux du fort de Gloucester situé sur le bord de la rivière d'York, vis-à-vis la ville qui porte le même nom. Nous avons été aussitôt prendre les ordres de Mr de Choisy qui nous a formé en 8 piquets, à raison de cent hommes par

piquets. Nous avons reçu 25 hommes du régiment de Picardie pour compléter notre détachement. Les 8 piquets ont été partagés ensuite en deux bataillons de 400 hommes chacun ; le premier commandé par Mr de Vidart, capitaine au régiment d'Angoumois, le second par Mr de St Quentin, capitaine au régiment de Monsieur.

A 4 heures du soir, nous sommes partis du lieu où nous étions débarqués et nous sommes venus camper à 4 lieux de Gloucester. On a distribué aux soldats une tente par 10 hommes et une pour 2 officiers, ainsi que des marmites et bidons.

La légion de Mr le duc de Lauzun était campée à une portée de fusil de nous autres.

Le 3 ~~septembre~~ Octobre, à 7 heures du matin, nous avons plié toutes nos tentes et nous sommes partis avec armes et bagages pour aller camper à un lieu de Gloucester.

Comme nous étions à un lieu de notre nouveau camp, nous avons appris par des hussards de Lauzun qui étaient blessés, que Mr le duc de Lauzun, à la tête de soixante hussards, avait attaqué deux cent dragons anglais qui avaient le colonel Tarleton à leur tête et un petit corps d'infanterie anglaise qui fut attaqué ensuite par cent soldats américains. Nous pressâmes tout de suite notre marche pour aller à leur secours, mais nous n'arrivâmes qu'après que Mr le duc de Lauzun les eut forcés à décamper et à lui céder le terrain. Il y a eu dans cette action quatre ou cinq hussards qui ont été tués et une dizaine de blessés.

Nous n'avons pas su combien il y en avait eu tués ou blessés de la part des ennemis. Nous avons trouvé seulement en chemin un officier d'infanterie qui avait été tué et nous avons su que le colonel Tarleton avait eu un cheval tué sous lui.

Nous revînmes tout de suite à notre camp où nous établîmes notre troupe.

Le 14, toutes les troupes prirent les armes et marchèrent, ayant Mr de Choisy à leur tête, du côté du camp des ennemis, dans l'intention d'y faire une fausse attaque. En arrivant, le général nous fit mettre en bataille. Derrière un retranchement du camp des ennemis, un poste de soixante hommes qui était retranché dans une redoute fit feu dessus nous dès qu'il nous aperçut. Nous lui ripostâmes sur le champ ; mais ils se replièrent tout de suite dans leur retranchement.

Mr de Choisy n'ayant voulu leur donner qu'une alerte pour les empêcher de faire passer des troupes de Gloucester à York, nous fit reprendre le chemin de notre camp où nous arrivâmes à 10 heures du soir.

Le 17, nous apprîmes que le général Cornwallis, après avoir fait demander une suspension d'armes, avait demandé à capituler.

Le 18, nous apprîmes que le général Cornwallis s'était rendu après avoir adhéré à tous les articles qui lui furent prescrits.

Le même jour, Mr de Choisy, à la tête de deux cent hommes français et américains, fit évacuer les garnisons de Gloucester où commandait le colonel Tarleton.

Le 21, à 9 heures du soir, toutes les troupes qui étaient venues des vaisseaux partirent pour Gloucester, où elles arrivèrent à 11 heures. La moitié s'embarqua à bord d'une goélette, l'autre moitié dont nous étions, s'embarqua à 7 heures du matin à bord de la corvette la Loyaliste, commandée par Mr de Barras, enseigne de vaisseau.

Le 22, à 1 heure de l'après midi, nous appareillâmes pour aller rejoindre l'armée.

Le 23 au soir, nous mouillâmes au milieu de l'armée. Le même jour, à 10 heures du matin, un canot de l'Hector arriva à bord du Loyaliste. Je m'y embarquais avec une portion de notre détachement et nous arrivâmes à bord de l'Hector à 11 heures.

Le 24 à 1 heure, après midi, le reste de notre détachement arriva à bord.

Le 26, à 7 heures $\frac{1}{2}$, on a lambriqué notre câble de flot que l'on a trouvé cassé environ 10 brasses de l'étalingure. A 11 heures, il est mouillé plusieurs frégates venant d'York, chargées de troupes.

Le 27, plusieurs navires venant de différentes rivières ont mouillé dans cette rade. A 7 heures du soir, le petit canot est arrivé à bord avec la troupe du régiment de Gatinais. Ensuite, la chaloupe du Vaillant, chargée de troupes du même régiment, venant du dit vaisseau, est arrivée à bord. A 10 heures, on a élongé un grelin avec une ancre aget dans le $0^{\circ}/4^{\circ}$. A 2 heures du matin, la chaloupe a essayé de lever l'ancre de bâbord. Elle a été obligée de l'abandonner, ne pouvant la lever. A 6 heures $\frac{3}{4}$, la chaloupe a levé l'ancre. A 7 heures $\frac{1}{2}$, mis au bossoir. A la même heure, un canot est arrivé à bord avec de la troupe.

Le 28, à 4 heures, on a débarqué les effets du régiment d'Agenais et embarqué ceux de Gatinais. A la même heure, on a signalé 34 voiles dehors.

Le 29, à 2 heures du soir, un navire marchand en appareillant, nous a acosté. La balancine de son grand hunier a pris à notre grande vergue et nous a cassé un cercle du bout dehors à bas bord. A 10 heures $\frac{1}{4}$, notre grelin a cassé à 10 brasses environ de l'ancre.

Le 30 à 2 heures, la chaloupe a levé l'ancre aget. A 4 heures réaffourché avec la même ancre.

Le 31, à 7 heures $\frac{1}{2}$ du soir, nous avons chassé sur notre grelin à l'appel de notre grande ancre. A minuit $\frac{1}{2}$, notre grelin a cassé dans un grain.

Novembre

Le 1er novembre, de midi à 6 heures, on a tombé une haussière sur le bout du grelin, ensuite, viré dessus et filé du câble de tribord, pour mouiller l'ancre de bâbord. A 2 heures ½, on a mouillé l'ancre et ensuite, rembarqué sur celui de tribord pour lui donner de De 8 heures à midi, on a levé l'ancre aget et on l'a mise à bord.

Le 2, à 3 heures du soir, nous avons rembarqué notre grande ancre venant du bord de l'Hercule.

Le 3, à 5 heures ½ du soir, nous avons débarqué l'ancre de la calle pour l'envoyer à bord de l'Hercule.

Départ de la baye de Chesapeake

Dimanche 4 novembre 1781.

Les vents étant de la partie, du NO bon frais, très beau temps, à 3 heures ½ du matin, le général a fait signal de désaffourcher. A 6 heures ½ du matin, signal de virer à pic. A 8 heures, autre signal pour faire appareiller l'armée sans tirer et sans autre signal. A 11 heures, nous avons appareillé sous le petit hunier, cinglant au SE 5°2, jusqu'à midi, les vents toujours de la même partie.

.....

The *Journal* is in the private collection - collection privée - of one of the descendants of the de Sers family. I would like to express my gratitude for the permission to use and quote from the transcript of the manuscript that was kindly provided to me.

September 29, 1781

We received order to assemble a detachment of 66 riflemen, 5 corporals, 3 sergeants and one drummer. The detachment would be commanded by Mr. de Legge, First Lieutenant, and by me, Second Lieutenant. The detachment should join Mr. de Choisy, the commander of a division taking part in the siege of York. Each man should be given 5 days of supply. No drinks required..

September 30, 1781

At 6 p.m., the general hoisted the *yac* flag at the main mast and fired one gun shot. This was the signal to leave the ship. Immediately, we ordered the detachment to embark the rowboat commanded by Mr. de l'Isle, Lieutenant. The rowboat left the *Hector* and went to the ship *Ville de Paris* to join its own rowboat. With other rowboats, it took all the night to reach a small river named Trenkmordery.

October 1st, 1781

We went upstream during the whole morning. We debarked October 1st at 1 p.m., at five leagues from the Fort of Gloucester, located on the York River on the opposite side of the town which has the same name. We presented ourselves straight away to Mr. de Choisy. He formed us into 8 groups (*piquets*), 100 men for each group. We received 25 men from the regiment *Picardie* as a complement to our detachment. The 8 groups were split into two battalions of 400 men each. The first one was commanded by Mr. de Vidart, captain at the regiment *Angoumois*. The second one was commanded by Mr. de Saint Quentin, Captain at the *Monsieur's* Regiment.

At 4 p.m., we left the place where we had debarked. We reached our campsite 4 leagues from Gloucester. We were given one tent for ten soldiers, one tent for two officers, cooking pots and cans. The *Duke de Lauzun's* Legion was camping at a rifle range from us.

October 3, 1781

We packed our tents, arms and bags. At 7 a.m., we set off toward Gloucester in order to reach our campsite one league from Gloucester. As we arrived at one league from our new campsite, we learned from wounded hussars that *de Lauzun* and 60 hussars had attacked 200 British commanded by Colonel Tarleton and that another small detachment of British Infantry had been attacked by 100 American soldiers. We sped up the pace to bring assistance but we arrived just after the British had retreated under the pressure from *de Lauzun*. During this action, 4 or 5 hussars were killed and about ten were wounded. We didn't learn how many enemies were killed or wounded but we saw an infantry officer who had been killed. We learned also that the horse of Colonel Tarleton was killed while Tarleton was riding him. We came back immediately to our campsite

October 4, 1781 (or 14th ?)

All the troops, with Mr. de Choisy at the lead, took their arms and set off toward the enemy camp. The intention was to make a faint attack. As we arrived there, the general gave the order to take the battle formation. (... , shootings).

Mr. de Choisy wanted only to alarm the enemy and prevent them from crossing the river from Gloucester to York. So, he gave the order to go back to our campsite. We arrived there at 10 p.m.

October 17, 1781

We learned that General Cornwallis had required a cease fire.

October 18, 1781

We learned that General Cornwallis had surrendered after having accepted the conditions which had been set. The same day, Mr. de Choisy with 200 French and Americans lead the evacuation of Colonel Tarleton and the British troops from the fort of Gloucester.

October 21, 1781

At 9 p.m., all the troops who had come from the ships went to Gloucester. They arrived at 11 p.m. Half of them embarked a schooner (*goelette*).

October 22, 1781

The other part (including us) embarked at 7 a.m. on board *La Loyaliste*, a corvette commanded by Mr. de Barras. We left at 1 p.m. to join the fleet. (de Grasse's fleet).

October 23, 1781

At 11 p.m., we dropped the anchor in the middle of the fleet.

October 24, 1781

At 10 a.m., a small boat from the *Hector* arrived. With a part of my detachment, we embarked and arrived on board the *Hector* at 11 a.m.

Paul de Sers left the Chesapeake Bay on November 3 onboard the *Hector* heading toward the Caribbean Sea.

The incident described in the translation under 4 October should be dated 14 October. The complete translation reads:

All the troops, with Mr. de Choisy at the lead, took their arms and set off toward the enemy camp. The intention was to make a faint attack. As we arrived there, the general gave the order to take the battle formation. Behind an entrenchment of the enemy camp a post of 60 men who were dug in in a redoubt fired at us as soon as it noticed us. We returned the fire, but they quickly withdrew into their entrenchment.

The typed translation was provided by Lt.-Col. Lewis H. Burruss, U.S. Army (ret.), who also alerted the research team to the existence of this unique account.

(114)
 le 3^e septembre nous avons été surpris par l'ennemi
 le 3^e septembre par l'ennemi. Nous sommes allés à
 une lieue de Gloucester comme nous étions à
 une lieue de notre nouveau camp nous
 avons appris par des troupes de l'ennemi
 qui étoient blessés que M^r. le Duc de Lauzun
 à la tête de son régiment de Hussards avait attaqué
 deux cents Anglais qui avoient
 le Colonel Patlestone à leur tête le un
 de nos corps d'infanterie Angloise qui
 fut attaqué ensuite par une soldatesse de mi-
 se laing. Nous pressâmes toute suite notre
 marche pour aller à leur secours. Mais
 nous n'arrivâmes qu'après que M^r. le Duc
 de Lauzun les eut forcés à décamper
 et à lui laisser le terrain il y a eu
 dans cette action quatre ou cinq
 hussards qui ont été tués et une
 dizaine de blessés.
 Nous n'avons pas su combien il y en a eu
 de la part de l'ennemi. Nous avons perdu
 seulement un officier d'infan-
 terie qui avoit été tué le nous avons su
 que le Colonel Patlestone avoit eu un che-
 val tué sous lui.
 Nous n'avons pas de suite à notre
 camp où nous établims nos troupes.
 Le 11 toutes les troupes partirent les armes
 le Marcheseau ayant M^r. de Choiseul
 à leur tête. Du côté du camp des

Sers repeatedly wrote September instead of October, e.g. in his entry for 3 October describing the Battle of the Hook (p. 114 of the original)

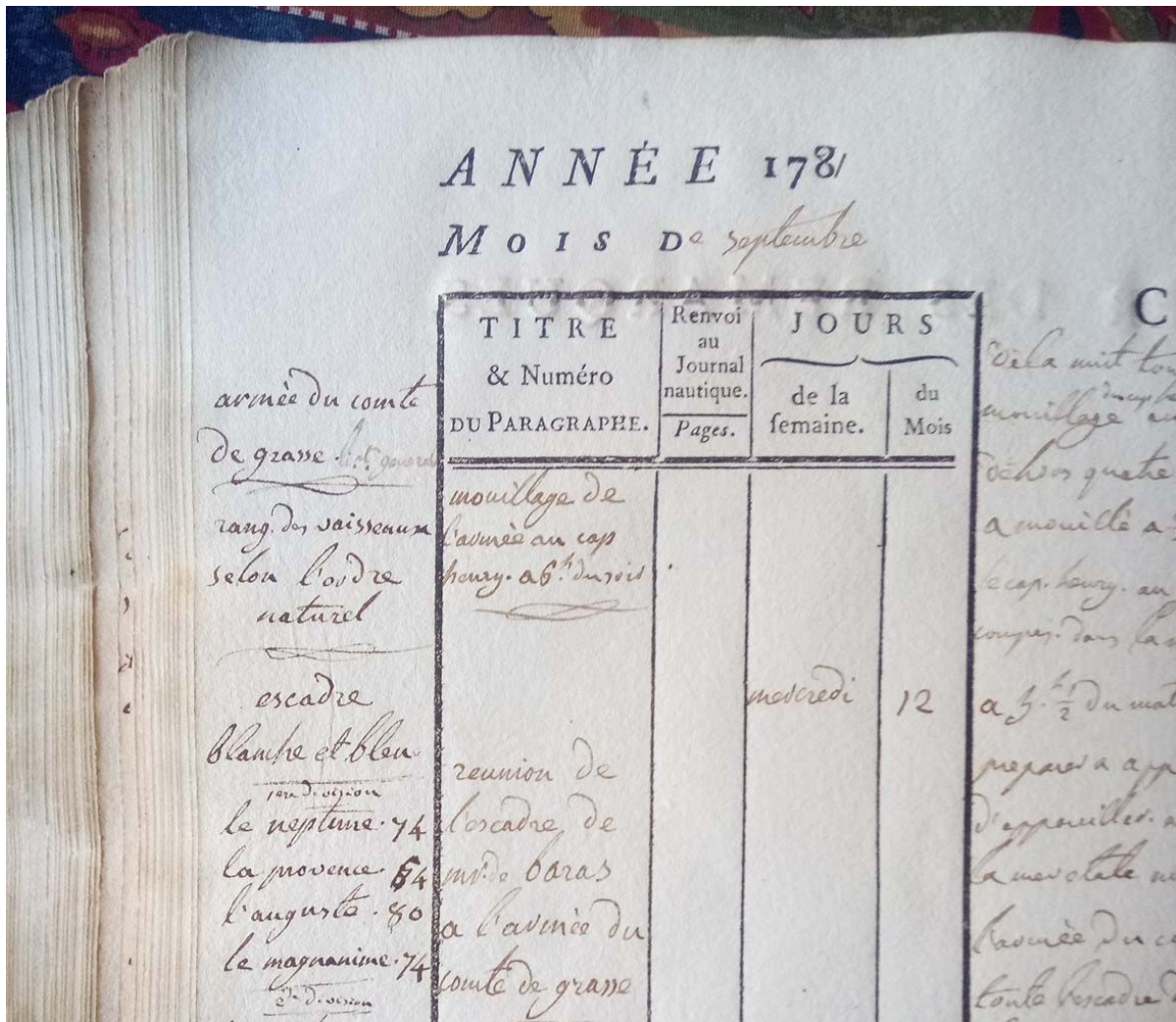
For biographical information on de Sers see Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance 1776-1783* 3^e édition (Chailland : chez l'auteur 2001), p. 503.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: 74-gun Ship *L'Éveillé*

Garde du Pavillon Jean Baptiste Victor Valentin des Mures (1761-1845)
Serving on the 74-gun Ship *L'Éveillé*

The *Journal Du Vaisseau Du Roy L'Éveillé faite du 1780 au Mois de May appartenans a Monsieur De valentin, garde du Pavillon* is entered into log with pre-printed sections on each page with columns on the left-hand side for time, and day covering about one-third of the page and a section labelled *Cahier des Remarques* on the right-hand side. This section shows the entry for Wednesday, 12 September 1781.



The entry for 30 September 1781 reads:

Dimanche 30 a 3^h ½ du soir signal au *Serpent* d'appareiller il va dans le fond de la baye
debarquè 800 proteger nos bateaux chargès de vivres pour l'armée de terre. A 4^h le general fait
hommes des signal de se préparer a faire descendre les troupes destinès a être mises
troupes des a terre. A 5^h signal de les faire partir, notre chaloupe au même instant
vaisseaux pour a debordà avec 30 hommes de bourbon commandes par mr de bocmar
glocester capitaine. ---- l'armée a fourni en tout 800. Hommes de troupes qui
vont camper auprès de glocester. Il y aura environ 2500 sous le
commandement de mr de Choisy destinés à empêcher Cornwallis de se retirer
dans cette partie, dans le cas ou il voudrait tenter d'évacuer york.

Sunday 30 at 3:30 in the evening signal to the *Serpent* to weigh anchor he goes to the
debarkation of 800 entrance of the bay to protect our vessels loaded with foodstuffs for the land
men of army. At 4 the general gave the signal to get ready to lower the troops (into
troups from the boats) meant to be landed. At 5 signal to depart, at the same moment our
ships for rowboat cast off with 30 men of the Bourbon commanded by M de Bocmar
Gloucester captain. --- the army furnished altogether 800 troops who went into camp close
to Gloucester. There were about 2500 under the command of M de Choisy
tasked to prevent Cornwallis to retreat into that area in case he wanted to try to
evacuate York.

Des Mures does not mention his return to *l'Évéillé* but on 4 October he writes about the Battle of the Hook:

Nous apprenons aujourd'hui que m de lauzun vient d'avoir un engagement avec le general tarleton commandant 800 hommes a glocester ce dernier a fait une sortie avec 400 hommes de cavalerie sur les troupes de m de lauzun, qui l'a vivement poursuivi avec ses hussards, et l'a chargé si vigoureusement que l'ennemi a été obligé de se retirer auprès dans ses retranchements. le general Tarleton a été grievement blessé dans cette affaire et a perdue une cinquantaine d'hommes, tant tués que blessés, m de lauzun a eu seulement 4 hommes tués et 13 blessés.

Translation:

We learned today that M de Lauzun had an engagement with General Tarleton, commanding officer of 800 men in Gloucester. The latter made a sortie with 400 men cavalry against the troops of M de Lauzun who pursued him energetically with his hussars and who charged him so vigorously that that the enemy was obliged to retire into his entrenchments. General Tarleton was gravely wounded in that affair and lost about 50 men, killed as well as wounded; M de Lauzun had only four killed and 13 wounded.

Jacques de Trentinian, *La France au Secours de l'Amérique* (Paris : Editions SPM 2016), p. 324, identifies the officer in des Mures' boat as Captain de Boemar ou Bauquemare. He is identified in Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance 1776-1783* 3^e édition (Chailland : chez l'auteur 2001), p. 34, as Alexis François Jacques de BAUQUEMARE (1738- ?) lieutenant in the Régiment de Bourbon on 20 December 1755, captain on 29 May 1778. He retired on 1 March 1784. *Le Serpent* was a cutter in the *comte de Grasse*' fleet.

Valentin des Mures was born in 1761 and thus 20 years old when he witnessed the sieges of Yorktown and Gloucester. He retired from the French navy in 1791 for health reasons. A chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, he died in 1845.

His *Journal Du Vaisseau Du Roy L'Éveillé faite du 1780 au Mois de May appartenans a Monsieur De valentin, garde du Pavillon* is held in a private collection (collection privée). The project team would like to express its gratitude to the descendants of Valentin des Mures for making the journal available and for permission to quote from it.

VALENTIN des MURES is listed as « garde du Pavillon » on fol. 1 of Part 1 of Marine B4 246: "Logs of officers of *L'Éveillé*", where he is listed as one of seven "don't je n'ai pas trouvé les journaux – of whom I have not found the journals."

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: 110-gun Ship *La Ville de Paris*

Ship Log kept by *Lieutenant de Vaisseau* François Sébastien Le Veneur de Beauvais (1742-1787)

A 4 heures nous avons Envoyé de notre bord 75 hommes du Regiment de picardie a terre et les autres vaux en ont aussis envoyé de la Garnison de leurs bord, pour formér en corps et Renforcer Les tropes qui etoient à terre

At 4 o'clock we sent onto land 75 men of the Picardie Regiment from our ship and the other vessels also sent men from the garrisons on their boards there as well to form a corps and to re-enforce the troops that were on land

The log does not record the return of the detachment.

Le Veneur de Beauvais, *Journal de Bord*, Marine B4 258 part IV, fol 233-386, fol. 326.

APPENDIX VII

BRITISH AND HESSIAN MILITARY, PRIMARY ACCOUNTS

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hessian Jäger

Captain Johann Ewald (1744-1813)

Month of August, the 1st. In the afternoon, about one o'clock, all the boats in the York River got under sail and anchored at eight o'clock in the evening before the mouth of the Severn. The jaegers, sharpshooters, the 80th Regiment, and the 20 horsemen ran their boats into Sarah Creek and landed on the right bank a good half-hour below Gloucester during a violent whirlwind and thunderstorm. Colonel Dundas with the 80th Regiment and the 20 horsemen took his route up to the town on the York River, while I had to go around it and try to come in by the headland. We had no guides. Meanwhile we found and took possession of the place and a battery of two 18-pounders abandoned by the enemy.

Since this Landing had occurred so late in the evening and came completely unexpectedly, we came across several families in the place who were about to take flight. Among them was Colonel Whiting, a close relative of General Washington and a great adherent of the Revolution. He soon showed his sentiments towards me, just at the moment when I gave him a Jaeger as a *sauvegarde* for the protection of his property. He then admitted that he would give notice of leaving the town early in the morning with bag and baggage. Hereupon I took post in a wood close by the town.

This place lies in a plain on a neck of land on the left bank of the York River, directly across from the town of York. It is protected by the Severn on the right and by a sharp bend of the York River. There are several crevices and ravines on this side, which present a small front on the side toward the land and consequently form a good position. The place consists of some thirty houses, which, however, belong generally to wealthy people who have great plantations in the country.

On the morning of the 2d I went eight to ten miles into the country with twenty horsemen and fifty jaegers to collect information about the enemy, look around for forage in the vicinity, and if possible to bring back slaughter cattle for the army. I arrived at Abington Church just as the inhabitants had driven together five to six hundred head of horn cattle from the countryside to save them from our hands. I felt sorry for these poor people and wished that they had escaped from me, but the army was nearby. I had to obey the orders and let the cattle be driven off. I ordered them led to Gloucester by the cavalry, and approached Gloucester Courthouse through the woods, where we ran into a patrol of

six militiamen, two of whom fell into my hands. I learned through these men that the militia had orders to assemble at King and Queen Courthouse. The entire tract of land through which I roamed here consists of an exceedingly well cultivated and fertile plain. Toward evening I returned.

In the afternoon the light infantry, the 43rd and 76th regiments, Simcoe's corps, and the Anspach brigade, under Lord Cornwallis, landed at York on the right bank of the York River and encamped on the heights around the town. It was on this day that the plan for the fortification of York and Gloucester was settled by Lord Cornwallis. The latter place, work was begun toward evening on three redoubts on the front and on a battery on the river. Colonel Dundas was designated the commandant of Gloucester.

On the 4th Lieutenant Bickell had to undertake a little foraging with thirty jaegers at Colonel Whiting's plantation, but he was prevented from it by an enemy party and driven back.

On the 6th the Erb Prinz Regiment and the remainder of the 71st Regiment arrived at Gloucester from Portsmouth. They are shipping all the magazines there and will abandon the post at Portsmouth. - How will this look to the loyal subjects there? Have we not made enough people unhappy already?

Early on the morning of the 7th I was sent out with forty jaegers, twenty horse, and one hundred men of the Erb Prinz Regiment to collect information about the enemy, and at the same time to protect a foraging at Whiting's plantation. In the vicinity of Seawell's Ordinary, six English miles from Gloucester, I ran into an enemy party on the plain of Seawell's plantation, which, however, withdrew after a few shots.

On the 12th I went out toward Abington Church with one hundred men and sixteen horse to learn with certainty whether an enemy corps of one thousand men had occupied this position, and whether an American corps under the Marquis de Lafayette had crossed the York River at Cappahosack, opposite the Gloucester side. I had barely reached the vicinity of Seawell's Plantation when a loyal Negro informed me that one thousand Americans were lying in ambush not far from this plantation. Hereupon I withdrew to Whiting's Plantation and ambuscaded myself since it was to be expected that the enemy would pursue me. I sent back Lieutenant Bickell with ten men to probe the area of the ambush who were welcomed with shots from all directions as soon as the enemy perceived that he was betrayed. But Bickell, like a sensible officer, withdrew through a field of Indian corn to my ambush, and the enemy did not follow him very far.

The 16th. We have evacuated Portsmouth completely, and the troops have joined Lord Cornwallis at York. Today Colonel Simcoe and his corps arrived at Gloucester from York and took their post to the left of the town.

On the 18th Colonel Simcoe went out with the jaegers and rangers to conduct a foraging on the plantation of Colonel Lewis. [i.e. Warner Hall] Toward 11 o'clock in the morning a Negro came running to me at top speed, who assured me that if I would get him two gold guineas he would reveal something valuable to me. I quickly opened my purse and handed him the money, whereupon he told me that Major Weeks with five hundred riflemen and one hundred horsemen had just taken post at Turas plantation, four English miles from Lewis's house.

I took this news to the colonel, who quite impulsively took fifty horse to surprise this party, and I followed him with two hundred rangers at quick step. One English mile from the enemy position the colonel ran into an enemy patrol of two men, who ran back. But the colonel, and I with most of the men who could run swiftly, arrived at the same time as the patrol in the camp of the enemy, who had no time to get their arms and tried to save themselves. I try to create still greater confusion by continuous haphazard firing, and we became masters of the whole enemy camp. We took one lieutenant and twenty-two men prisoner, captured forty three horses and all the baggage, and smashed all the saddles and weapons. We returned in the evening, by which time the foraging was success fully accomplished.

On the 23d Colonel Simcoe conducted a foraging with the Ranger Corps in the parish and vicinity of Abingdon Church. I had to ambuscade myself with the jagers and one hundred men of the Erb Prinz Regiment to protect him, two English miles toward Gloucester Court House. At midday a party of the enemy appeared, but they did not come near enough so that I could harm them. Captain Murray, who also lay ambuscaded with fifty rangers at a defile to the right of Abingdon Church, would have caught a party of American dragoons had he not been betrayed by a servant of a thoughtless officer, who had sent him out to pillage.

One perceives from this that a leader of light infantry cannot be severe enough in establishing a strict discipline, since otherwise the best planned strokes will miscarry. — For how many well-devised strokes have been spoiled by a marauder? And yet, I have never seen such a bad mistake punished severely. There are situations in war where indulgence, indeed sympathy itself, is an offense.

From the 26th to the 29th the plantations on both banks of the Severn River were foraged continuously. Small skirmishes usually took place, and a magazine of forage was set up at Gloucester.

A rumor came to hand that a French fleet had been seen in the vicinity of Chesapeake Bay. But many indulgent persons maintained with authority that it was English, since the West Indies fleet was expected daily in the York River. We also had news that the Allied army under Washington and Rochambeau was advancing toward Virginia. But one hears, "That cannot be! By God, Sir Henry Clinton will be here, too, with his whole army! And Sir George Rodney will beat the French fleet before they come here." (He had long since returned in safety to England with his plunder from St. Eustatius.) — We shall doubtless soon see!

On the morning of the 30th, about ten o'clock, I perceived from my post, whence I could look out into Chesapeake Bay, the distant smoke of a cannonading which seemed to be drawing ever nearer. Toward noon the frigate Guadeloupe appeared along with the sloop Bonetta and several small vessels which had sailed from here toward Charlestown yesterday. In less than a half an hour I could detect three heavy vessels in the distance, which cast anchor in the mouth of the York River about two o'clock and ran up a white flag. I had this reported in town at once. Colonels Dundas and Simcoe came to me at full gallop and made long faces. Toward three o'clock we had positive news that the three vessels which lay before our noses were a French 74, a 64-gun ship, and a frigate, and that the French fleet of thirty-three sail under Comte de Grasse lay at anchor in Lynnhaven Bay. [Now comes a discussion of the plans and activities of the French navy]

On the 3d of September the news arrived that the Americans under Lafayette were advancing to Williamsburg, and that a French corps under General Saint-Simon had landed at James City Island and joined the Americans under Lafayette.

The 4th. Last night toward 12 o'clock Colonel Simcoe conducted a foraging at the wharves on the left bank of the Severn River. During this time I occupied the churchyard of Abingdon Church with 150 men to cover the left and rear of the foragers. The church, which lies ten miles from Gloucester on the main highway to Baltimore, is a very good position. It is built of brick in the form of a cross, and the churchyard is enclosed by a wall of the same kind of bricks. Thirty horsemen were ambuscaded on this side of the defile, along the second road which ran past this church to the left beyond Burwell's and Lewis's sawmills, in order to fall upon any party which should pass between this road and Abingdon Church. For my own security, since the church was surrounded by thick woods for a distance of five to six hundred paces toward Baltimore, I placed sixty jagers in six

parties in a circle to intercept enemy parties. Several appeared, but luckily for them all turned around at the right spot.

The 6th. Colonel Dundas, who went to York with the 80th Regiment, had thought of nothing else during the fortification of Gloucester but merely throwing up great heaps of sand. Colonel Fuchs, who had relieved him, discovered all the mistakes quite easily. Indeed, we just now became fully aware that it lacked everything necessary for a good defense. Not a single thought had been given to where the planks and boards for the platforms were to come from. Accordingly, Colonel Simcoe with a detachment of two hundred men and I with just as strong a body were sent out on this same day to search for lumber on the plantations. Luckily, we found and safely collected it on the right bank of Timber Creek, without being disturbed at our task by the enemy.

On the 7th at daybreak we foraged again along the Severn River, where we gathered the information that General Weedon 18 and his corps had advanced twelve miles nearer us from Hudibres [?] Mill. I must admit that I cannot understand why the enemy lets us constantly forage so peacefully, since we would have had to slaughter our horses long ago for want of forage, or buy every bundle of forage with blood. The reason for this poorly designed policy of the enemy can only be that he does not want to dispirit his soldiers by a few small defeats. But he does not need to risk much; he can disrupt our foraging by using ambuscades, which would cost us several men each time. This surely would result in heavy desertion among us, for our soldiers must realize by now that everyone will be captured with bag and baggage in the end.

The 8th. Reliable information has been received that the Allied army under Washington and Rochambeau has passed Head of Elk to join the army under Saint-Simon and Lafayette. Also, today a whaleboat arrived from New York which had safely sneaked through the French fleet and brought us the news that the English admiral would do everything in his power to relieve us. This evening Major Maxwell and 150 men arrived at Gloucester from York to reinforce the garrison.

Since the water was now up to our necks, work was begun to palisade and dress the works at York and Gloucester. For the English Vauban [Captain Sutherland] laid more stress upon repairing the work afterward than on constructing it well in the beginning, or following all the rules of fortification for laying out works. Instead of that, any sensible engineer thinks in advance of palisades, assault stakes, fascines, palings, and saucissons before he starts to break ground; but here, one thinks about these things for the first time only after the work is constructed.— But what is the reason? The engineer gets a daily allowance of one pound sterling as long as his work lasts; hence, it is to his advantage if it drags on.

On the 9th during the night all of our outposts were alarmed several times by the enemy.

The 12th Yesterday we heard a heavy cannonade, and we flattered ourselves with thoughts of the fortunate result of a naval engagement.

On the 14th the English guard ship came in again to us, since the French ships had left the mouth of the York River. Shortly afterward the same three enemy ships reappeared and cast anchor again at their station.

Toward evening bad news arrived, informing us that Admiral Graves and Sir Samuel Hood had fought with the French fleet but had had to put to sea because of the superiority of the enemy and the loss of the two frigates *Isis* and *Richmond*.

The 15th. Yesterday the Allied army was moved in transports from Head of Elk into the James River. The army has joined the troops under Lafayette at Williamsburg, where General Washington has assumed the command over the entire army.

On the 16th we began to sink ten transport ships between York and Gloucester to obstruct the entrance. The fire ship *Vulcan* lay at anchor below the town to move against the approaching enemy fleet.

Today the jagers and rangers undertook a foraging on Whiting's plantation. where we learned through a Negro that one hundred horse and just as many foot had ambuscaded themselves at Seawell's Ordinal. Colonel Simcoe ordered me to go at once toward the place of the ambuscade with fifty horse and fifty jagers to search for it, and he followed me with the same number of men to support me. I divided the body into five groups of ten horsemen and ten jagers, which were arranged in a circle of two thousand paces, in order to attack the ambuscade from all directions. After a small skirmish the enemy withdrew through the wood to Burwell's Mill.

On the 17th toward evening the outposts were alarmed by several strong parties of the enemy, which withdrew.

The 18th. Since the day before yesterday the southern land fever has suddenly attacked me from ten until two o'clock daily, whereby I suffered extremely from the terrible heat in my brush hut. Fortunately, I withstood it today while on horseback, but the attack was so severe that I thought it would throw me from my horse. In general this virulent malady has gotten the upper hand very much for several days, since the cold nights set in now amidst the great heat of the day.

The 23d, 33d, and 43d regiments and the remainder of the 71st Regiment, along with the English Guards, number scarcely five hundred men fit for duty. The jager detachment consists of only twenty-nine men who are still half-well; the rangers do not number one hundred effective men. Simcoe and most of the officers of the jager detachment are dangerously ill. I consider it fortunate that I have the fever only once a day and can still do my duty.

This illness results from the great heat, which has decomposed our blood too much, and from the continued and frequent drinking of bad water. To this must be added that all medicines are lacking, and that we have already resorted to using earth mixed with sugar to deceive the poor invalids, which is given to them as an emetic. When they are bled, the blood of everyone is vermillion, and it does not take long before the land fever turns into putrid fever.

I cannot deny that my confidence in an attack on the French fleet is gone. It lies in three divisions behind sandbanks, between which wind two narrow channels where only one ship can sail at a time, and this lies under point-blank range of the guns. To be sure, one has some hope in the fire ships, which are expected to move against the fleet. But the enemy will not put his hands in his pockets in the presence of the fire ships, which can be grounded easily in the narrow channels, and then they are in the way of their own fleet.

Toward evening on the 22d a good friend of mine, a naval officer, came to me and disclosed that three fire ships were to sail during the night with the high tide against the three French ships which blocked the York River to burn them. Thereupon I boarded a boat with him to follow the fire ships, and to observe this business which I had never seen in my life. Captain Palmer led the fire ships. The sight was worth the trouble to see! The ships were set on fire and illuminated the area so brightly that we could easily detect the French ships at anchor in the very dark night. But since the fire ships had been set on fire too soon, the enemy ships cut their cables and sailed away. Moreover, the fire ships ran aground. — Hence, nothing came of it.

On the 28th the French general officers undertook a reconnaissance against the works at York, during which a sharp skirmish occurred.

The 30th. Before daylight, after Lord Cornwallis had burned the three advanced redoubts in front of his encampment, the army withdrew behind the works. But the redoubt which lay before the right of the works, on the right bank of the York River behind a swamp and ravine, was retained and occupied by the remainder of the 23d Regiment

under Captain Apthorpe, and mounted with two 12-pounders and three coehorns. It consists of a quadrangle and is surrounded with an abatis of pointed apple or peach trees.

In the morning toward ten o'clock the Allied army invested the works of York. Since it found the advanced redoubts abandoned by the army, the enemy presumed that he would get possession of the redoubt on the right cheaply, because it could not be supported by the main works and appeared to be left to itself. For this reason the French did not pay any compliments, but attacked the redoubt right before our eyes with a detachment of Lauzun's unmounted hussars and grenadiers with sword in hand. With the inborn courage and ardor of the French, a part of them pushed through the abatis up to the edge of the ditches. But they were so warmly received there by the English, who did not fire a shot until the French were in the abatis, that they gave up the business and had to fall back with a loss of five officers and some sixty men killed and wounded.

Month of October, the 1st. Last night the Allied army began to throw up two redoubts between the ravines which encircle York to form their points of support for attack. They made use of two abandoned English redoubts to cover their front.

General Choisy, who commanded fifteen hundred men from the fleet, together with the Legion under the Due de Lauzun, had joined the American corps under General Weedon, who had advanced to Burwell's Mill. Since yesterday Choisy had pushed forward to Gloucester Court House and sent his patrols up to our outposts, whereupon a continual crackling noise arose.

In the evening of the 2d an American galley blew up in the mouth of the York River. At about the same time a guard boat arrived from New York, which brought us the assurance again that Admiral Graves and General Clinton would do everything in their power to relieve us.

The 3d. [October] Last night Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton arrived at Gloucester with the cavalry of the Legion, numbering 250 horse, since there was no forage or room for the horses at York and they were useless there. Colonel Dundas also came over with a part of the 80th Regiment, and the Erb Prinz Regiment under Colonel Fuchs went to York to replace it.

At daybreak I was sent out with 100 horse of Simcoe's and the remainder of the jaegers and rangers, which amounted to only sixty men, in order to take a position between Seawell's plantation and Seawell's ordinary. I was to form a chain there to protect a foraging of Indian corn between Seawell's and Whiting's plantations, which was to be

undertaken for the benefit of the cavalry. Colonel Dundas had gone out with the Legion and the remaining cavalry to support me in case of an attack.

I had hardly taken post when a party of French hussars and Virginia volunteers appeared, with whom I skirmished. I tried to lure them into the fire of my infantry, which I had thrown into a ditch to the right of the road on the plain, but they would not swallow the bait. Toward midday the foraging was finished. Colonel Dundas came to me on horseback and ordered me to withdraw slowly. As soon as the enemy was about to fall upon me, he would rush out with the Legion. In a word, we intended to lure the enemy into an ambushade, which would have succeeded if we had had patience.

At the moment when I took one step backward the enemy followed, but only with skirmishers and very cautiously. I had scarcely reached the Legion, during which only six Virginia volunteers followed my rear guard, when the ambushade fell out and pursued these few people into the woods of Seawell's plantation.

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 eight 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 to resist and withdraw toward Gloucester.

I hurried to their support with the 100 horse of the rangers, which Captain Shank commanded. He held up the enemy, to be sure, but could not improve the situation. The slowness, or the great caution, of the French had saved us and we reach Gloucester safely. On our side one officer and four men were killed and nine men wounded by the lances of the French hussars. Of the French, Comte Dillon, lieutenant colonel with the hussars, was wounded and twelve to fourteen men were killed and wounded.

From this moment on the enemy invested the works of Gloucester. The corps under General Choisy took post at Seawell's plantation, placing its right on the York River and its left on Sarah Creek. Their sentries posted themselves within rifle shot of us. One perceives from this action how disorder and delay can spoil the game.

The 6th. Last night the Allied army opened their trenches at a distance of six to seven hundred paces from the works of York, and three batteries were laid out opposite the hornwork. At midday a strong enemy party appeared in the small wood in front of the

works of Gloucester of which we were master. However, the enemy withdrew after firing a dozen cannon and rifle shots.

On the morning of the 8th it was discovered that the enemy had extended his trenches on both sides toward the York River in the form of a full crescent. Two batteries had been set up at both extremities of the crescent.

At Gloucester the French hussars and light infantry drove our outposts back several times.

The 9th. Since one could expect nothing else from the enemy's side at Gloucester but that they would attempt a coup de main to take these works which were occupied only by light troops, we continually laid ambushes each night to the left along the York River. Last night a French party fell into the trap. In the confusion they must have fired upon each other. At daybreak I found seven hats and five grenadier caps, as well as traces of much blood.

[Ewald crosses over to York in the afternoon of 10 October.]

The 12th. [...] In the afternoon, about four o'clock, Major Gordon and 150 men of the 80th Regiment crossed over to York as reinforcements, because the English Colonel Johnson and the 17th Regiment were to relieve the 23d under Captain Apthorpe in the advanced redoubt. Further, Lieutenant Colonel McPherson was assigned to command the redoubt on the left wing and Captain Campbell the redoubt lying next to it. These posts are the foremost places, for if the enemy holds them the remaining works can be taken in the flank and rear. Without bragging about my limited conception, I have told everyone that as soon as one of these redoubts is taken the business is at an end, and Washington has us in his pocket. Yet one still hears, "But our fleet will come before that time and raise the siege." [Now comes an account of the storming of Redoubts No. 9 and 10, the plight of African-Americans expelled from York, the killing of horses and the British sortie on 16 October and Cornwallis' attempt to cross over to the Gloucester side of the river]

On the 17th this worthy [Cornwallis] man was indeed in the greatest predicament, for the majority of his troops floated on the water, or had reached Gloucester and could not get back to the York shore because of the terrible weather. To our great luck the weather was so frightful that the enemy could not discover anything of this, and when the high wind died down, everyone was brought back to his place about nine o'clock in the morning.

I will not forget this past night in all my life. Choisy threatened to seize us with sword in hand. I had to command two redoubts and a battery for which I was responsible. It was as dark as a sack, and one could neither see nor hear anything because of the awful downpour and heavy gale. Moreover, there was a most severe thunderstorm, but the violent flashes of lightning benefited us, since we could at least see around us for an instant. And to make me really feel the harshness of my wretched life, the fever suddenly attacked me at midnight in the most horrible manner. I was driven to take the most dreadful remedy in the world: two table-spoons full of China powder mixed with the strongest rum. In this desperate situation, I asked for nothing more from nature than to keep my head up during this night— or death. It helped. The fever subsided, and I was quite lively afterward. I thanked God and left everything in His Hands.

Remarks on the break out to the north.

As much as this plan to do all that is possible and to save something when everything is at stake does honor to Lord Cornwallis, this attempt was the greatest impossibility, although worthy of admiration by posterity. I venture to say that if Lord Cornwallis had had the luck to make an unexpected attack on the part of the army under General Choisy, the enemy would nevertheless have had an opportunity to defend himself again, because the defiles of Burwell's and Hudibres s mills could not be outflanked, and would have delayed Lord Cornwallis until the main army had crossed the York River and hung on his neck while Choisy opposed his vanguard. [Now comes a discussion of the difficulties the British would have faced as they tried to fight their way to New York City]

This is all Ewald writes about the surrender [p. 338]:

On the afternoon of the 19th toward two o'clock the Allies cleared away a barrier at each post, and at four o'clock the melancholy parade took place and the arms were grounded.

Johann Ewald, *Diary of the American War. A Hessian Journal* Joseph P. Tustin, transl. and ed., (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), pp. 320-338.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hessian Jäger

Captain Johann Ewald (1744-1813)

During the first days when York in Virginia was occupied by Lord Cornwallis, I had to cover a foraging party departing from Gloucester. I had barely gone [the distance of] three good hours beyond the outpost when Lieutenant Bückel, who was covering my left flank with 30 Jäger, sent a man to me who wanted to talk to me. He assured me with the most sincere countenance that 800 men were already beyond my right flank to cut me off from Gloucester. I did not believe it, and it turn out that that man had been sent from a neighboring planation from where the wagons for foraging to acquire corn and other victuals had been seen.

Not far from that same area, when I had been sent with a detachment to support Colonel Simcoe who was tasked to conduct a raid, a negro was brought to me who demanded to talk to me. He assured me that 1000 men lay in ambush to my right and left and that I would be lost unless I quickly retreated. I remained on my way and determined to take my chances. It turned out afterwards that this Black Patriot had invented this ruse to save his fellow countrymen.

Johann von Ewald, *Belehrungen über den Krieg, besonders über den kleinen Krieg, durch Beispiele großer Helden und kluger und tapferer Männer*. (Schleswig, 1798), pp. 513/514.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hessian Jäger

Captain Johann Ewald (1744-1813)

the whole cavalry with the English army consisted only of light dragoons, on top of which the two colonels Tarlton and Simcoe had had the unfortunate idea to completely discard the carbines and leave their Light Horse only their pistols. Consequently both gentlemen collected the fruits of their idea in the engagement near Gloucester with the hussars of Lauzun, where many a brave English Light Dragoon was killed during skirmishing through the carbine fire of the hussars, without one being able to hurt them (the hussars) in response since one could only respond with pistol shots to the well-aimed carbine shots.

Johann von Ewald, *Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg, besonders über den kleinen Krieg, durch Beispiele großer Helden und kluger und tapferer Männer*. (Schleswig, 1800), pp. 391/392.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hessian Jäger

Captain Johann Ewald (1744-1813)

A few days after the surrender of York in Virginia I found myself one day with the Captain of the Guard and the two officers of the legion of the Duke of Lauzun at the table in my hut in Gloucester. A certain French sea captain, who wanted to visit the Captain of the Guard, had hardly entered the hut he divulged, without worrying who I was, something about a certain secret expedition whose purpose it was very to guess since the French vessels in the York River took a large number of fascines from which one could guess that a siege of one of the English West-Indian properties, where there was not much wood, was planned. The officers of the guard looked at each other. The sea captain did not know what that was all about since he did not know the uniform of the Hessian Jaeger and took me for an American officer. I noticed the embarrassment of these gentlemen, and in order to give hem a way out I got up from the table and left the room, all the while assuring them that though I was a loyal officer of the King of England, and though as a prisoner of war, since I was treated so nicely, would never be a spy. The gentlemen were content with that explanation.

Johann von Ewald, *Zweite Folge der Belehrungen über den Krieg, besonders über den kleinen Krieg, durch Beispiele großer Helden und kluger und tapferer Männer*. (Schleswig, 1803), pp. 84/85.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Hessian Jäger

Captain Johann Ewald (1744-1813)

After Colonel Simcoe had foraged on Lewis' Plantation in Gloucester County during the Virginia campaign, he was informed, while on the way back, that a few hours ago an American detachment of 100 horses and as many riflemen had taken up post near Turas Plantation, four English miles from Abingdon's Church in order to prevent in this area the foraging of Cornwallis' army, of which a part stood near Gloucester. Colonel Simcoe immediately took his cavalry and hurried to raid the American detachment and ordered me to follow with the infantry as quickly as possible. Just as he had expected the Colonel found the enemy, cut many of them down, and took many of them prisoners, among them a number of officers.

A Treatise on Partisan Warfare by Johann von Ewald. Introduction and Annotation by Robert A. Selig and David Curtis Skaggs (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1991), pp. 81/82.

In A. Maimburg, *Treatise upon the duties of Light Troops. By Colonel Johann von Ewald* (sic) (London: T. Egerton, 1803), p. 195, "Turas Plantation" is identified as "Ward's Plantation" named after John Warde, one of the earliest settlers of Gloucester. In his *Abhandlung vom Dienst der Leichten Truppen* (Korten und Boie: Flensburg, Schleswig, Leipzig, 1790) p. 235, Ewald locates "Wards Plantation" at "1 ½ hours from Gloucester Church".

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: Queen's Rangers

Lieutenant Colonel John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806)

On the 12th of August the Rangers passed to Gloucester, to cover the foraging in front of that post, which the 80th and the Hessian regiment of Prince Hereditaire garrisoned, under the command of Lieut. Col. Dundas. The climate, the sickly state and condition of the corps, as more fully detailed in the appendix, and what was reasonably to be apprehended from the militia of the enemy, now assembling in numbers, rendered this a service of great fatigue and danger: the troops were generally employed on it twelve hours in the twenty-four. The infantry, to secure them from the intense heat, were ambuscaded as much as possible in the woods, and the cavalry patrolled in their front, or on their flanks. Lt. Col. Simcoe, on his return one day from Abington church, was informed that Weeks, now stiled Major, with a party of the enemy, had just arrived within a few miles: he instantly pressed on with the cavalry to attack him, ordering Capt. Ewald to proceed to his support as fast as possible with the Yagers and infantry. On his arrival near the post, he had the good fortune to push a patrol, which came from it, so rapidly as to follow it into the house where Weeks lay, who, with his men, escaped in great confusion into the woods, leaving their dinner behind them : an officer and some men were made prisoners, and this check, together with the country being constantly ambuscaded, prevented the foragers from receiving the least interruption.

One morning as the foragers were at some distance from Gloucester, they were surprised at hearing a considerable firing of musketry, between them and the garrison : it was suspected that some party of the enemy might have stolen through the woods; but on a detachment falling back to procure certain intelligence, it appeared, that some men on a predatory party had landed from the shipping, and, being panick-struck, had fired at a wood where they fancied they saw the enemy. Serjeant Ritchie, of the grenadiers of the Rangers, who with the other convalescents had been left in the camp at Gloucester, on hearing the firing, supposed that the regiment was engaged, and assembling such men as were able to move, to the amount of thirty or more, he marched forward, and took up a piece of ground that would have been highly advantageous in case of real action: so spirited were the soldiers, so able were the non commissioned officers become, by perpetual service and experience!

On the 31st of August, the advance ships of the French fleet blocked up the York river. The cavalry of the Queen's Rangers had been regularly instructed in wheeling and forming in the closest order possible, and they were disciplined in everything that might enable them to maintain that superiority which they had hitherto acquired over all their opponents. It being of the utmost consequence to prevent the enemy gaining any information from deserters, the out sentries were constantly composed of a cavalry and infantry man. Earl Cornwallis, in a conversation with Lieut. Col. Simcoe, asked him whether "he thought that he could escape with the cavalry;" he answered his Lordship, "Without the smallest doubt."

Gen. Washington invested York Town on the 23d of September; when the blockade of Gloucester was formed by one thousand one hundred French troops, joined with the rebel militia, under the command of Mons. de Choisy so well known for his surprisal of Cracow. Captain Shank, with thirty huzzars, retreated before them as they advanced, and close to the Duke of Lauzun's legion. The French ships that blocked the mouth of York river were driven from their station, and narrowly escaped being destroyed by fire-ships, commanded by Capt. Palmer of the navy: this gallant officer would have probably burnt a man of war which was driven ashore, but he was prevented by the misbehaviour of a master of a privateer, who, as might be expected from people of his vile trade, prematurely set on fire one of the small vessels which he had volunteered the direction of and which were to accompany the King's ship, at such a distance as could neither endanger the enemy, or himself. The out piquet which the Queen's Rangers occupied was on a high bank on the left, close to the York river, which in front was almost inaccessible from a cove into which the tide flowed: this post was maintained at night on the commencement of the blockade; but it was soon attempted to be carried off. Captain Shaw, who commanded, overheard the enemy on their approach, and withdrawing his sentinels and party to a bank in its rear, let them without molestation possess themselves of his fires, when, giving them an unexpected discharge, they fled in great confusion, and with every appearance of several of them being wounded, leaving fire-arms, caps, and accoutrements behind them. Captain Shaw then resumed his post, which was constantly occupied in the day, and frequently at night, without any further attempt being made upon it. The health of Lieut. Col. Simcoe began now totally to fail under the incessant fatigues, both of body and mind, which for years he had undergone. Lt. Col. Tarleton with his cavalry passed over from York to Gloucester. [2 October 1781] Lt. Col. Simcoe observed, in conversation with Col. Dundas, that as Capt. Shank had faced the Duke of Lauzun with the cavalry of the Rangers the preceding day, it was probable the Duke would not hesitate to attack them, being acquainted with the inferiority of their numbers, when, if Lt. Col. Tarleton's corps, of whose arrival he must be ignorant, should be placed in ambuscade, the Duke's legion might be swept off and totally ruined. Lt. Col. Tarleton marched out with the cavalry the next morning [3 October 1781], Col. Dundas accompanying him; and about midday firing was

heard, and some people galloped in in great confusion: one of the forage masters saying Col. Tarleton was defeated, Lt. Col. Simcoe sent him to Earl Cornwallis, ordered the troops to their post, and, being carried from his bed to his horse, went himself to the redoubt occupied by the Rangers. Capt. [David] Shank [of the Queen's Rangers], on his return, reported to Lt. Col. Simcoe, that being on the left when the line was formed he had received no orders; but when the right, composed of the legion, advanced to charge, he did the same, in close order, but necessarily not in equal front: on the legion giving way, the Rangers followed, quitting the field the last, and in such order as prevented a rapid pursuit, and returned to the charge with Lt. Col. Tarleton, when he, having again offered the enemy combat, which they declined, remained master of the field. Lt. Col. Dundas being ordered to York Town, Lt. Col. Simcoe, on whom the command of Gloucester devolved, was obliged from total want of health, to give up its duties to Lt. Col. Tarleton. The most disagreeable that could be fall an officer now drew nigh: the works at York Town were rendered untenable by the superior fire of the French artillery, and Earl Cornwallis determined to attempt to escape with the best part of his troops by the way of Gloucester: a principal part of his force was sent over to that place, and Lt. Col. Simcoe was informed that his Lordship meant to attack Mons. de Choisy the next morning. There was every probability of surprising that officer, as he in some measure depended upon the vigilance of the militia joined with him; and a spy, who came into Gloucester almost to the very day of its surrender, could have conducted the Queen's Rangers by the secret path which he made use of, to the rear of the enemy's post. It was not improbable that his Lordship, on viewing the advantageous position which might be occupied in front of Gloucester, would have been of opinion that the post might at the least have been defended for ten days, if the provisions would last, against any force the enemy could combine to attack it within that period. A violent storm arising, prevented the succeeding division of the garrison of York from passing over; that which had arrived returned early in the morning, and the firing soon after ceasing, it was understood that Earl Cornwallis had proposed a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of settling the terms on which the posts of York and Gloucester were to be surrendered.

Simcoe does not provide a description of the surrender ceremonies.

Simcoe's Military Journal: A History of the Operations of a Partisan Corps, Called the Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieut. Col. J.G. Simcoe During the War of the American Revolution. Illustrated by ten engraved Plans of Actions, &c. now first published, with a memoir of the Author and other Additions (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844), pp. 248-253.

Primary Sources Battle of the Hook

Unit: British Legion

Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833)

On the 1st and 2d of October, advanced detachments of the allies, with general officers and engineers, reconnoitered the British lines. It was soon evident, the principal attack would be directed against the left. A few cannon shot were fired from the embrasures which looked upon the works the enemy were finishing on the gorge: Large parties of infantry were employed on the magazines in the town, and at the outward redoubts upon the left. In the evening, the legion cavalry and mounted infantry were passed over the river to Gloucester. At daybreak in the morning, Lieutenant-colonel Dundas, who commanded that post, led out detachments from all the corps in his garrison to forage the country in front. About three miles from Gloucester, the waggons, and the bat horses were loaded with Indian corn, and at ten o'clock the infantry of the covering party began to return. The rear guard, composed of dragoons, formed an ambuscade for some militia horsemen who made their appearance, and who came near enough to give effect to the stratagem. The waggons and infantry had nearly reached York river before the cavalry began to retreat. When they had proceeded to the wood in front of Gloucester, Lieutenant Cameron, who had been sent with a patrol to the rear, reported, that the enemy were advancing in force. A column of dust, and afterwards some French hussars, became visible.

Part of the legion, of the 17th, and of Simcoe's dragoons, were ordered to face about in the wood, whilst Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with Lieutenant Cameron's party, reconnoitered the enemy. The superiority of their horses enabled this detachment to skirmish successfully with the hussars of Lauzun. At this point of time, Brigadier-general de Choisy was moving down the road with a corps of cavalry and infantry, to sustain his people in front, and the English rear guard was forming at the edge of a wood upwards of a mile distant, in sight of the skirmish upon the intermediate plain; when a dragoon's horse of the British legion, plunged, on being struck with a spear by one of the hulans, and overthrew Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton and his horse. This circumstance happening so much nearer to the body of the French than the British cavalry, excited an apprehension in the latter for the safety of their commanding officer. Impelled by this idea, the whole of the English rear guard set out full speed from its distant situation, and arrived in such disorder, that its charge was unable to make impression upon the Duke of Lauzun's hussars, who at this period were formed upon the plain. Meanwhile Tarleton escaped the enemy, and obtained another horse, when perceiving the broken state of his cavalry, occasioned by

their anxiety for his safety, and which now precluded all vigorous efforts, he ordered a retreat, to afford them opportunity of recovering from their confusion. At three hundred yards from the French squadrons he dismounted forty infantry, just come up under Captain Champagne, and placed them in a thicket on his right: The fire of this party restrained the enemy's hussars, and the British were soon rallied. A disposition was instantly made to charge the front of the hussars with one hundred and fifty dragoons, whilst a detachment wheeled upon their flank: No shock, however, took place between the two bodies of cavalry; the French hussars retired behind their infantry and a numerous militia who had arrived at the edge of the plain.

Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, upon receiving part of their fire from behind a rail, again ordered the retreat to be sounded. Many attempts were made afterwards to detach the French hussars from their infantry, but they were all ineffectual. The troops between whom this skirmish happened consisted of the rear guard of an English foraging party, opposed to Brigadier de Choisy, at the head of great part of the corps sent to blockade Gloucester. The British troops had one officer and eleven men killed and wounded. The French had two officers and fourteen hussars killed and wounded. The next day, General de Choisy, being reinforced by a detachment of marines, proceeded to cut off all land communications between the country and Gloucester.

Then follows Tarleton's description of Choisy's reconnaissance in force of 6 October. He does not mention the faint attack on his position on 14 October, neither does he mention the surrender at Gloucester.

Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London, 1787), pp. 376-378.

British Legion (Banastre Tarleton)
24 August 1781 — 25 December 1781

Company/Troop	Date	Present				Sick				Absent/On Command				Prisoners			
		Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts
<i>Hovenden</i>	24 Aug 1781	3	3	2	32	0	0	0	4*	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	9
	24 Oct 1781	1	0	1	17	1	1	0	6	0	0	1	7	1	2	0	15
<i>James</i>	24 Aug 1781	3	2	2	32	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	1*	0	2	0	11
	24 Oct 1781	0	0	1	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	3	3	0	24
<i>Sandford</i>	24 Aug 1781	2	2	0	21	0	0	0	5*	0	0	0	2*	1	0	1	13
	24 Oct 1781	0	2	0	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	1	19
<i>Ogilvy</i>	24 Aug 1781	3	2	1	32	0	0	1*	10*	0	0	0	2*	0	1	0	11
	24 Oct 1781	0	1	0	12	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	10	3	2	1	34
<i>Vernon</i>	24 Aug 1781	3	2	1	32	0	0	0	5*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
	24 Oct 1781	2	0	0	21	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	20
<i>Gildart</i>	24 Aug 1781	3	4	2	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
	24 Oct 1781	1	2	0	16	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	5
Edwards	12 Oct 1779	4	4	2	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1*	0	0	0	3
	24 Oct 1781	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	27
Stewart	24 Aug 1781	0	0	2	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	18
	24 Oct 1781	0	0	2	8	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	6	2	1	0	18
(late) Rousselet	25 June 1781	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1*	0	1*	6*	0	1	1	34
	24 Oct 1781	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	1	27
McDonald	24 Aug 1781	2	1	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	12
	24 Oct 1781	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	3	0	20

Company/Troop	Date	Present				Sick				Absent/On Command				Prisoners			
		Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts
Miller	24 Aug 1781	4	1	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	17
	24 Oct 1781	2	0	0	9	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	17
McPherson	24 Aug 1781	1	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1*	12*	2	3	1	31
	24 Oct 1781	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	2	3	1	30
Total:	24 Aug 1781	28	22	12	275	0	0	1	34	1	0	2	27	6	10	3	172
	24 Oct 1781	7	5	5	141	1	1	0	15	3	1	3	57	18	19	8	256

*Primarily in New York and Charleston

Alterations between 25 August and 24 October: 9 Enlisted or Drafted; 6 Discharged or Transferred; 18 Dead, 1 Killed, 18 Deserted. Some of these numbers occurred earlier in the year and were only listed now, the men previously being listed as present.

The dates are those listed on the rolls, but almost certainly do not actually represent the days the rolls were made out, but rather the muster period. The rolls could have been made out at any time in between, or even afterwards. One of the 24 October to 24 December rolls notes a prisoner escaped and rejoining on 12 February 1782.

➔ The table shows 12 Sergeants, 9 Corporals, 5 drums and 84 R&F new prisoners. If we add 7 Sergeants, 5 Corporals, 5 drums and 141 R&F present together we arrive at 19 Sergeants, 14 Corporals, 10 drums and 225 R&F new prisoners = 269, very close to the 17 Sergeants, 9 drummers and 232 R&F = 258 who surrendered. It seems therefore fair to assume that the strength of Tarleton's Legion on 3 October 1781, Fit for Duty stood somewhere around 200 men cavalry though it is unknown how many actually participated in the Battle of the Hook.

On 18 October 1781, Banastre Tarleton surrendered 1 Lt. Colonel, 6 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 6 Qr. Masters, 1 Surgeon, and 15 Serjeants, 8 Drummers, 208 Rank & File Fit for Duty [= 231]; 2 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 24 Rank & File Sick Present [= 27] 17 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 232 Rank & File Total.[=258]

These troops are all mounted: in his thorough studies of the personnel of the Legion, Todd Braisted concluded that "After the battle of Cowpens, the surviving Legion Infantry not taken prisoner, were either transferred to the cavalry or sent to Charlestown, where they sat out the rest of the war. Only the Legion Cavalry stayed with Tarleton until the end at Yorktown. <http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/britlegn/blinf1.htm>

Source: Library and Archives Canada, RG 8, "C" Series, Volume 1883, Page 45; Ibid, Volume 1884, Pages 1-2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 14, 16, 21, 22, 67, 68, 69-70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 81; Ibid, Volume 1885, Page 18; and Great Britain, The National Archives, Headquarters Papers of the British Army in America, PRO 30/55/10272, courtesy Todd Braisted.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES ON CAVALRY OFFICERS
OF THE BRITISH LEGION 1778-1782

LIEUTENANT CAMERON, Allen

April 1781 to December 1782. Public Archives of Canada, "Muster Rolls", Series C, RG 8, Vol 1883-5. Served in Captain David Kinlock's Troop.

On September 29, 1781, a Legion detachment, led by Lt. Allen Cameron skirmished with the Americans while the British were abandoning their outposts and withdrawing into Yorktown. On October 3, 1781, he participated in a skirmish with French Huzzars, under the Duke of Lauzun, on Gloucester Point.

Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London, 1787) repr. North Stratford, NH, 1999, p 84.

A total of 241 members of the Legion surrendered at Yorktown consisting of 18 officers and 223 of other ranks. Tarleton, "History", p. 450.

Queens Rangers Infantry
25 August 1781 — 24 October 1781

Company	Date	Present				Sick				Absent/On Command				Prisoners				
		Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	
Grenadier	25 Oct 1781	3	1	3	25	0	0	0	1*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Light Infantry	24 Aug 1781	2	3	1	26	0	0	0	3	1*	0	0	2*	0	0	0	0	2
Highland	24 Aug 1781	3	3	2	15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1*	0	0	0	0	3
Smith	24 Aug 1781	3	2	2	27	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Murray	24 Aug 1781	3	2	1	20	0	1	0	1*	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
Kerr	24 Aug 1781	2	3	1	23	1*	0	0	1*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Agnew	24 Aug 1781	3	3	1	19	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
Shaw	24 Aug 1781	2	2	2	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
McCrea	24 Aug 1781	3	3	2	27	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Dunlop	24 Aug 1781	1	1	0	18	1	2*	0	4*	0	0	0	4*	0	0	0	0	1
Whitlock	24 Aug 1781	3	2	1	26	0	0	0	2*	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total:	24 Aug 1781	28	25	16	257 (326)	2	3	0	25	1	0	0	14	0	1	0	0	13

*All or primarily at New York. The muster dates are for pay periods, not the actual date of a muster.

Changes from 25 August through 24 October 1781, five days after the surrender: 2 Enlisted, 3 Returned from Prison, 27 Dead, 1 Dead from wounds, 23 Deserted. Once these 51 men are subtracted from the total of 511 NCOs and Rank & File, there remain 280 NCOs and Rank and File in the infantry companies.

Queens Rangers Cavalry
(Capt. Saunders' and late Capt. von Diemar's Troops excepted)

25 August 1781 — 24 December 1781

Troop	Date	Present				Sick				Absent/On Command				Prisoners			
		Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts	Sgts	Cpls	Drum	Pvts
(late) Wickham's	25 Aug 1781	3	3	1	43	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	25 Oct 1781	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	1	40
Shank's	25 Aug 1781	3	3	1	32	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
	25 Dec 1781	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	7	3	3	1	36
Cooke's	25 Aug 1781	3	3	1	88	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	25 Dec 1781	1	1	1	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	38
Total:	25 Aug 1781	9	9	3	163 (184)				2				3				5
	25 Dec 1781	1	1	1	16				1				7	8	8	2	114

Alterations between 25 August & 24 December 1781: 8 Deserted, 1 Dead.

The muster dates are for pay periods, not the actual date of a muster. No muster rolls for Shank's or Cooke's Troop immediately after the siege have survived and their casualties are therefore impossible to ascertain. The casualties listed for these two troops are for 1782, not during the siege. Captain Saunders' troop was still in South Carolina, and late Captain von Diemar's Troop of Hussars never joined the Rangers in Virginia.

Once sick are subtracted and the +/- 40 mounted grenadiers of the 23d Regiment of Foot under Captain Forbes Champagne are added, the de fact strength of British mounted troopers, the total cavalry on the British side could have numbered +/- 370 riders, almost exactly the +/- 320 hussars plus Lt.-Col. John Webb's +/- 40 troops Virginia cavalry.

While stationed in Gloucester Point in September and October 1781, Simcoe's Queen's Rangers consisted of three troops of cavalry and one company of Grenadiers, a company of Light Infantry and nine compagnies Line Infantry. On 18 October 1781, the Queen's Rangers surrendered a total of 35 Sergeants, 17 Drummers, and 387 Rank & File for a total of 439 men. Of those 439 men, 25 Serjeants, 13 Drummers, 268 Rank & File were Fit for Duty, 10 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 119 Rank & File were Sick Present. (State of the Army 1781)

Source: Queen's Rangers: muster rolls in Library and Archives Canada, RG 8, "C" Series, Volume 1864, Pages 1, 1a, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, & 40, courtesy of Todd Braisted.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES ON CAVALRY OFFICERS OF THE QUEEN'S AMERICAN RANGERS 1779-1783

After Cornwallis had moved his army to Yorktown, Virginia, Captain David Shank and his troop patrolled the area between Yorktown and Williamsburg between August 2 and August 11th. On August 12, 1781, the Rangers, both cavalry and infantry, moved to Gloucester Point. Shank's final action was assisting the British Legion, on October 3, 1781, in a skirmish with French Huzzars, under the Duke of Lauzun, on Gloucester Point.

John Graves Simcoe, *History of Operations of a Partisan Corps Called the Queens Rangers*, (New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844), pp. 239, 248, and 250.

The Ranger cavalry had a total of 5 troops during the war. The Hussar Troop was created in late 1778, three cavalry troops in late 1780 and the German troop, established as an independent troop in early 1779 but absorbed into the Rangers in early 1781. All the troops saw active service, with one officer killed in action (Cornet Jones on June 26, 1781, at Spencer's Ordinary), 4 officers taken prisoner at Yorktown. These officers were

Captain David SHANK born in Scotland but living in VA in 1776.
Lieutenant William Digby Lawlor,
Lieutenant George Spencer
Cornet Benjamin Woolsey
and three other officers still on active detached service in South Carolina
(Captain Saunders Troop) during all of 1781.

Simcoe, p. 248: On the 12th of August the Rangers passed to Gloucester, to cover the foraging in front of that post, which the 80th and the Hessian regiment of Prince Hereditaire garrisoned, under the command of Lieut. Col. Dundas.

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/rhist/qar/qarcav1.htm>

State of the Army in Virginia 18th October 1781.

York Garrison

Royal Artillery

2 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, 1 Serjeant, 4 Drummers, 127 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 40 Rank & File Sick Present; 1 Serjeant, 4 Drummers, 167 Rank & File Total.

Guards

3 Lt. Colonels, 12 Captains, 1 Ensign, 1 Adjutant, 2 Qr. Masters, 1 Surgeon, 3 Mates, 20 Serjeants, 8 Drummers, 323 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 3 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 167 Rank & File Sick Present; 23 Serjeants, 12 Drummers, 490 Rank & File Total.

Light Infantry

1 Major, 11 Captains, 17 Lieutenants, 2 Adjutants, 1 Qr. Master, 3 Surgeons, 35 Serjeants, 18 Drummers, 577 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 9 Serjeants, 3 Drummers, 209 Rank & File Sick Present; 44 Serjeants, 21 Drummers, 786 Rank & File Total.

17th Regiment

1 Lt. Colonel, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Qr. Master, 1 Surgeon, 4 Serjeants, 11 Drummers, 74 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 4 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 114 Rank & File Sick Present; 8 Serjeants, 13 Drummers, 188 Rank & File Total.

23rd Regiment

3 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 1 Adjutant, 1 Surgeon, 12 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 67 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 3 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 97 Rank & File Sick Present; 15 Serjeants, 5 Drummers, 164 Rank & File Total.

33rd Regiment

1 Lt. Colonel, 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 10 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 141 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 3 Serjeants, 37 Rank & File Sick Present; 13 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 178 Rank & File Total.

43rd Regiment

1 Major, 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 16 Serjeants, 6 Drummers, 94 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 5 Serjeants, 8 Drummers, 168 Rank & File Sick Present; 21 Serjeants, 14 Drummers, 262 Rank & File Total.

71st Regiment

2 Majors, 1 Captain, 10 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Qr. Master, 1 Surgeon, 1 Mate 18 Serjeants, 7 Drummers, 163 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 10 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 65 Rank & File Sick Present; 28 Serjeants, 11 Drummers, 228 Rank & File Total.

76th Regiment

1 Major, 5 Captains, 13 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Qr. Master, 1 Surgeon, 1 Mate, 24 Serjeants, 13 Drummers, 427 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 8 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 134 Rank & File Sick Present; 32 Serjeants, 15 Drummers, 561 Rank & File Total.

80th Regiment

1 Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Mate, 16 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 171 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 8 Serjeants, 3 Drummers, 269 Rank & File Sick Present; 27 Serjeants, 7 Drummers, 440 Rank & File Total.

Two Battns. Anspach

2 Colonels, 1 Lt. Colonel, 2 Majors, 7 Captains, 13 Lieutenants, 16 Ensigns, 1 Chaplain, 2 Adjutants, 2 Qr. Masters, 2 Surgeons, 9 Mates, 69 Serjeants, 22 Drummers, 718 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 13 Serjeants, 6 Drummers, 191 Rank & File Sick Present; 82 Serjeants, 28 Drummers, 909 Rank & File Total.

Prince Hereditaire

1 Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, 4 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Chaplain, 1 Adjutant, 1 Qr. Master, 4 Mates, 40 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 232 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 10 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 135 Rank & File Sick Present; 50 Serjeants, 11 Drummers, 367 Rank & File Total.

Regimt. of Bose

2 Majors, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Adjutant, 1 Qr. Master, 3 Mates, 30 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 159 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 14 Serjeants, 6 Drummers, 115 Rank & File Sick Present; 44 Serjeants, 15 Drummers, 274 Rank & File Total.

Total

2 Colonels, 8 Lt. Colonels, 11 Majors, 52 Captains, 89 Lieutenants, 36 Ensigns, 2 Chaplains, 12 Adjutants, 10 Qr. Masters, 10 Surgeons, 22 Mates, 295 Serjeants, 121 Drummers, 3273 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 90 Serjeants, 44 Drummers, 1741 Rank & File Sick Present; 385 Serjeants, 165 Drummers, 5014 Rank & File Total.

Gloucester

Detachmt. 80th Regiment

1 Major, 1 Captain, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Qr. Master, 1 Surgeon, 1 Mate, 20 Serjeants, 12 Drummers, 84 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 20 Serjeants, 12 Drummers, 84 Rank & File Total.

Queen's Rangers

1 Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, 10 Captains, 15 Lieutenants, 12 Ensigns, 2 Adjutants, 2 Qr. Masters, 2 Surgeons, 25 Serjeants, 13 Drummers, 268 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 10 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 119 Rank & File Sick Present; 35 Serjeants, 17 Drummers, 387 Rank & File Total.

British Legion

1 Lt. Colonel, 6 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 6 Qr. Masters, 1 Surgeon, 15 Serjeants, 8 Drummers, 208 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 2 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 24 Rank & File Sick Present; 17 Serjeants, 9 Drummers, 232 Rank & File Total.

Jagers

1 Captains, 1 Mate, 4 Serjeants, 42 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 5 Rank & File Sick Present; 4 Serjeants, 47 Rank & File Total.

23rd & 82nd Lt. Infantry

1 Captain, 4 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 44 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 3 Serjeants, 26 Rank & File Sick Present; 6 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 70 Rank & File Total.

Lieut. Col. Hamilton

1 Lt. Colonel, 5 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 6 Serjeants, 4 Drummers, 85 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 1 Serjeant, 10 Rank & File Sick Present; 7 Serjeants, 95 Rank & File Total.

Captn. Branson's

1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Serjeant, 13 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 1 Serjeant, 8 Rank & File Sick Present; 2 Serjeants, 21 Rank & File Total.

Total

3 Lt. Colonels, 2 Majors, 25 Captains, 39 Lieutenants, 25 Ensigns, 2 Adjutants, 9 Qr. Masters, 4 Surgeons, 2 Mates, 74 Serjeants, 34 Drummers, 744 Rank & File Fit for Duty; 17 Serjeants, 5 Drummers, 192 Rank & File Sick Present; 91 Serjeants, 39 Drummers, 936 Rank & File Total.

This Return was inclosed in a Letter from Captain Despard but was not signed by him.

Signed, Ol. DeLancey
Adj. Genl.

APPENDIX VIII

VIRGINIA MILITIA LEGISLATION

Militia Law in Effect in Virginia in 1781

NOTE: A complete overview of militia laws in force in the colonies before 1789 is U.S. Selective Service System, *Backgrounds of Selective Service: Military Obligation, the American Tradition, Compilation of Enactments of Compulsion from Earliest Settlements of the Original Settlements on 1607 Through the Articles of Confederation 1789*. Special Monograph No. 1, Volume II, 14 Parts in four volumes. (Washington, DC, 1947). Part 1: General Information; Part 2: Connecticut Enactments; Part 3: Delaware Enactments; Part 4: Georgia Enactments; Part 5: Maryland Enactments; Part 6: Massachusetts Enactments; Part 7: New Hampshire Enactments; Part 8: New Jersey Enactments; Part 9: New York Enactments; Part 10: North Carolina Enactments; Part 11: Pennsylvania Enactments; Part 12: Rhode Island Enactments; Part 13: South Carolina Enactments; Part 14: Virginia Enactments.

Between the first Charter of Virginia of 1606 and the Federal Militia Law of 1792, the Colony and later Commonwealth of Virginia passed 65 separate and distinct bills of compulsory military enactments, only four of which called for raising forces by voluntary enlistment.

Since much of the fighting in Virginia in 1781 was done by militia in cooperation with, and under the command of, Continental Army officers who took precedence over militia officers, a brief look at the history and organization of the militia in Virginia in 1781 seems necessary to help understand some of the difficulties facing officers such as Baron Steuben and the marquis de Lafayette. The militia law in effect in Virginia at the outbreak of the War of Independence was *An Act for the better regulating and disciplining the Militia* of April 1757.¹ It restricted the right to

¹ *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, p. 205. This law was amended and continued four times, the last time in May 1771 in *An act for further continuing the Act, intituled an Act for the better regulating and disciplining the militia*. Exceptions to militia duty included government officials such as members of the council, clergy of the Church of England, professors at the College of William and Mary, members of the government of the City of Williamsburg, keepers of the public goal, overseers of four or more slaves, millers, and those working in iron, copper, or lead mines. There were no exemptions for religious reasons for Quakers, Mennonites or similar groups.

Since 1971 Article 1, Section 13 of the Virginia Bill of Rights reads:

"That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defense of a free state, therefore, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed; that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power."

The current Virginia Militia law is defined in § 44-1 *et seq.* of the Virginia State Code of 1 February 1950 as amended and approved in *An Act to amend and reenact §§ ... of the Code of Virginia, relating to military laws of Virginia* [S 1334] on 25 March 2011. It reads:

"The militia of the Commonwealth of Virginia shall consist of all able-bodied residents of the Commonwealth who are citizens of the United States and all other able-bodied persons resident in the Commonwealth who have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who are at least 16 years of age and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 55 years of age. The militia shall be divided into four classes: the National Guard, which includes the Army National Guard and the Air National Guard; the Virginia-Defense Force; the naval militia; and the unorganized militia." Quoted from <http://leg1.state.va.us/cgi-bin/legp504.exe?111+ful+CHAP0586>.

service in the militia to “all male persons above the age of eighteen years, and under the age of sixty years, within this colony (imported servants excepted)”. This law extended the right and duty of militia service to free African-Americans though just like Indians they were not allowed to serve with arms: “all such free mulattoes, negroes, as Indians as are or shall be inlisted, as aforesaid, shall appear without arms, and may be employed as drummers, trumpeters, or pioneers, or in such other servile labor as they shall be directed to perform.”² Each militiaman was expected to supply his own musket as well as a cartridge box, one pound of powder, and four pounds (approx. 60 balls of caliber .69) of musket balls. Militiamen who could not afford the expense were to be supplied the equipment at public expense.

In the spring of 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses had been working on a new militia law, but Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore had dissolved the assembly on 26 May before a new militia law could be passed. As tensions with the crown increased, a number of counties such as Fairfax (on 21 September), organized Independent Companies in the fall of 1774.³ At a meeting that day the freeholders declared that:

In this time of extreme Danger, with the Indian Enemy in our Country, and threat'ned with the Destruction of our Civil-rights & Liberty, and all that is dear to British Subjects & Freemen; we the Subscribers, taking into our serious consideration the present alarming Situation of all the British Colonies upon this Continent as well as our own, being sensible of the expediency of putting the Militia of this colony upon a more respectable Footing & hoping to excite others by our Example, have voluntarily freely & cordially entered unto the following Association; which we, each of us ourselves respectively, solemnly promise, & pledge our Honours to each other, and to our Country to perform. That we will form ourselves into a Company, not exceeding one hundred Men, by the Name of Fairfax independent Company of Volunteers, making Choice of our own Officers; to whom, for the Sake of Good-order & Regularity, we will pay due submission. [...]

Such Independent Companies and similar volunteer organizations could not be a permanent substitute for a colony-wide defense force, however. To address this issue Patrick Henry at the Second Virginia Convention in Richmond in March 1775, submitted a resolution to the assembly declaring "That a well regulated Militia, composed of Gentlemen and Yeomen, is the natural Strength, and only Security, of a free Government."⁴ The subsequent turmoil in the colony again prevented the

² *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, p. 207.

³ Similar activities took place in other colonies as well, most prominently in Pennsylvania, the only colony without a militia law, where patriots formed into “Associations” fought as “Associators” at Trenton and Princeton until the passage of the militia law of 17 March 1777.

⁴ After the passage of this resolution a committee was appointed and tasked to prepare a "Plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."

During this same speech of 23 March 1775 Henry also declared that "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!" After the passage of this resolution a committee was appointed to prepare a "Plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."

passage of a militia law. Once the political and military situation in Virginia had stabilized following the departure of Lord Dunmore, the House of Burgesses on 12 June 1776, passed “A Declaration of Rights made by the Representatives of the good people of Virginia, assembled in full and free Convention; which rights do pertain to them and their posterity, as the basis and foundation of Government.” Article 1 declared “That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.” Regarding militia the delegates held “That a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defense of a free state, that standing armies, in time of peace, should be avoided as dangerous to liberty; and that in all cases the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by, the civil power.”

The text of this declaration closely follows the argumentation and ideology current in the colonies in 1776. Following Samuel Johnson’s dictionary of 1766, Virginians defined *Militia* as a force raised from the civilian population, as the people in arms, as, in Johnson’s words, “the standing force of a nation”. In the same entry Johnson quoted Thomas Villiers, 1st Earl of Clarendon, who wrote: “The *militia* was so settled by law, that a sudden army could be drawn together.”⁵ They followed English thinking and political tradition as well when they expressed their strong fears of a standing army as “dangerous to liberty.”⁶ Yet though the Declaration of Rights of June 1776 laid the legal and ideological foundations for the subsequent *Act for the regulating and disciplining the Militia* of 5 May 1777, it did not follow its own stipulations. Neither were “all men [...] by nature equally free and independent” under the 1777 militia law nor did the law grant the right to serve to the whole “body of the people”. Just as in 1757 that right was restricted – or granted - to “all free male persons, hired servants, and apprentices, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years” only. And once again “the free mulattoes (...) shall be employed as drummers, fifers or pioneers.”⁷

⁵ Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language in which the words are deduced from their originals, explained in their different meanings and authorized by the names of the writers in whose works they are found*. 3rd ed., corr. 2 vols., (London, 1766), vol. 2, p. 123.

⁶ The fear of and aversion to a standing army and conversely the preference for militia is apparent in many discussions and debates of the time, e.g., in the resolves of the CONVENTION of the DELEGATES of Maryland, which stated on 3 November 1776:

“25. That a well regulated militia is the proper and natural defence of a free government.

26. That standing armies are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be raised or kept up without consent of the legislature.” Quoted from <http://aomol.net/000001/000203/html/am203--135.html>

The Delaware Declaration of Rights of 11 September 1776 contained these clauses:

SECT. 18. That a well regulated militia is the proper, natural and safe defence of a free government.

SECT. 19. That standing armies are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be raised or kept up without the consent of the Legislature.

⁷ *Selective Service* vol. II Part 14, pp. 321/22.

That these regulations were indeed observed is evident in pension applications such as the one submitted by Samuel Steward of 24 September 1832. (No. W 7220) That day “personally appeared before the Justices of the Court of Surry county in open court now sitting Samuel Steward (a Free Negroe) a resident of the said county aged 74 years who being first duly sworn according to Law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the provision made

For the next few years Virginia was spared the turmoil and destruction of war though she did send assistance to South Carolina.⁸ Almost a year into Thomas Jefferson's term as governor of Virginia, the legislature on 1 May 1780 passed *An act for giving farther powers to the governour and council, and for other purposes*. It declared "That the governour, with advice of council, shall have full power, and he is hereby required, if need be, to call into actual service, from such counties as shall be judged most proper, any number of the militia, not exceeding twenty thousand men, including those already ordered out by virtue of the act of general assembly, entitled "An act to embody militia for the relief of South Carolina." [...] When regimented, they may be marched either to the northern states, or to the assistance of any of the southern United States."⁹

When the war came to Virginia in full force in the spring of 1781, the question of sending militia outside the Commonwealth was a mute one. Every single militiaman was needed at home and if the *Act for giving farther powers to the governour* of May 1780 had threatened every deserter from the militia with eight months of service in one of the Virginia Line regiments in the Continental Army,¹⁰ the *Act to amend the act for regulating and disciplining the militia, and for other purposes* of 7 May 1781 went even further when it declared that "every militia-man ordered into actual service, who shall refuse and neglect to appear at the time and place of rendezvous [...] or produce an able-bodied substitute [...] shall, upon conviction before a court-martial, be declared a regular soldier for six months."¹¹ To judge from the consistent complaints of officers such as the *marquis de Lafayette* about the unsatisfactory response to Governor Jefferson's calling out the militia even the threat of six months service in the Continental Army was sometimes not enough to field large numbers of militia-men. But those who did answer the call were indispensable in Lafayette's strategy of wearing down Crown Forces under Lord Cornwallis in the hot Virginia summer of 1781 and the victory that was won at Yorktown on 19 October 1781.

by the act of congress passed June the 7th 1832 That being a native & resident of Surry county in the state of Virginia he enlisted in the Regular service for Two Years under the comand of Capt John Steed in the said county in the 4th Virginia Regiment Col Jack nevil [John Neville] Maj Mulingburg [Peter Muhlenberg] being of that Regiment marched from surry under command of capt Steed to Vally Forge [1777-78] near Philadelphia from thence to Monmouth [NJ] thence to West Point [NY] from thence to Camp Middlebrook was then discharged had a written discharge but lost it or distroyed long since was in no battle but the one at Monmouth [28 June 1778] cannot be particular as to dates or names as his memory is impaired by age &c & that after his term of Regular service he served a tour in the militia service & was at York in the siege of that Place [1781].

Samuel his X mark Stewart

The pension application is quoted from a transcript available at <http://southerncampaign.org/>. I am grateful to C. Leon Harris and Will Graves for their kind permission for the extensive use of these transcripts in this study.

⁸ *An Act to embody militia for the relief of South Carolina, and for other purposes* of 1 May 1780. *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, pp. 367-372

⁹ *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, p. 380. The law was to expire after a year but was renewed in May 1781. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

¹⁰ *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, p. 384.

¹¹ *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, pp. 406-407.

Virginia Militia Law of 5 May 1777

At the Capitol, in the City of Williamsburg, on Monday the fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven, and in the first year of the Commonwealth.

Patrick Henry, Governour

CHAP. I

An act for regulating and disciplining the Militia.

FOR forming the citizens of this commonwealth into a militia, and disciplining the same for defence thereof, Be it enacted by the General assembly. That all free male persons, hired servants, and apprentices, between the ages of sixteen and fifty years (except the governour and members of the council of state, members of the American congress, judges of the superiour courts, speakers of the two houses, treasurer, attorney general, commissioners of the navy, auditors, clerks of the council of state, of the treasury, and of the navy board, all ministers of the gospel licensed to preach according to the rules of their sect, who shall have previously taken before the court of their county an oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, postmasters, keepers of the publick jail and publick hospital, millers, except in the counties of Accomack and Northampton, persons concerned in iron or lead works, or persons solely employed in manufacturing fire arms, and military officers or soldiers, whether of the continent or this commonwealth, all of whom are exempted from the obligations of this act) shall, by the commanding officer of the county in which they reside, be enrolled or formed into companies of not less than thirty two, nor more than sixty eight, rank and file, and these companies shall again be formed into battalions of not more than one thousand, nor less than five hundred men, if there be so many in the county. The free mulattoes in the said companies or battalions shall be employed as drummers, fifers, or pioneers. Each company shall be commanded by a captain, two lieutenants, and an ensign; each battalion by a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major, who shall take precedence and command of each other according to rank and seniority, and the whole by a county lieutenant. These officers shall be resident within their county, and before they enter on the execution of their office shall, in presence of the court of the same county, take the following oath: I [] do swear, that I will be faithful and true to the commonwealth of Virginia, of which I profess myself to be a citizen, and that I will faithfully and justly execute the office of a [] in the militia of the county of according to the best of my skill and judgment. So help me God.

There shall be a private muster of every company once in every month, except the months of January and February, at such convenient time and place as the captain, or next commanding officer, shall appoint, and a general muster in each county at a convenient place, near the centre of the county, on some day in the months of April and October, in every year, to be appointed by the county lieutenant, or other commanding officer: For notifying the time and place whereof, the captains, or next commanding officers, shall have power to order so many of their serjeants as they

shall think fit to give notice to every person belonging to the company of the time and place of such generall or private muster, as the case may be; and if any serjeant, so appointed, shall fail in his duty, he shall forfeit and pay forty shillings for every such failure. Every officer and soldier shall appear at his respective muster-field by eleven o'clock in the forenoon, armed or accoutred as follows: The county lieutenant, colonels, lieutenant colonels, and major, with a sword; every captain and lieutenant with a firelock and bayonet, a cartouch box, a sword, and three charges of powder and ball; every ensign with a sword; every, non-commissioned officer and private with a rifle and tomahawk, or good fire-lock and bayonet, with a pouch and horn, or a cartouch or cartridge box, and with three charges of powder and ball; and, moreover, each of the said officers and soldiers shall constantly keep one pound of powder and four pounds of ball, to be produced whenever called for by his commanding officer. If any soldier be certified to the court martial to be so poor that he cannot purchase such arms, the said court shall cause them to be procured at the expense of the publick, to be reimbursed out of the fines on the delinquents of the county, which arms shall be delivered to such poor person to be used at musters, but shall continue the property of the county; and if any soldier shall sell or conceal such arms, the seller or concealer, and purchaser, shall each of them forfeit the sum of six pounds. And on the death of such poor soldier, or his removal out of the county, such arms shall be delivered to his captain, who shall make report thereof to the next court martial, and deliver the same to such other poor soldier as they shall order.

And if any poor soldier shall remove out of the county, and carry his arms with him, he, shall incur the same penalty as if he had sold such arms; and if any persons concerned in selling or concealing such arms shall be sued for the said penalty, and upon conviction and recovery shall fail to make payment, he shall suffer such corporal punishment as the court before whom the recovery shall be shall think fit, not exceeding thirty nine lashes. And the lieutenant of any county may recover any arms, so sold, concealed, or bought, contrary to this act, by action or petition in detinue or trover,¹² with costs. Each captain shall, at every muster, either by himself or some sworn officer, note down the delinquencies occurring in his company, and make return thereof to the next court martial; but where any person is disabled by sickness from attending, the captain, or commanding officer, being satisfied thereof by testimony on oath, which he is hereby enabled to administer on the spot, shall not note down such non-attendance. Every officer and soldier shall be allowed six months after his appointment or enrollment to provide such arms or accoutrements as he had not at the time. All arms and ammunition of the militia shall be exempted from executions and distresses at all times, and their persons from arrests in civil cases, while going to, continuing at, or returning from, any muster or court martial. Each captain shall appoint a drummer and fifer to his company, and also shall provide a drum, fife, and colours for the same, at the publick expense, to be reimbursed out of the fines on the delinquents of his county. One or more adjutants shall be appointed by the court martial of each county to attend musters general and

¹² *Detinue* is a common-law form of action to recover personal property from a person who refuses to give it up; it is also used to collect money damages for losses caused by wrongful detention. *Trover* is a form of lawsuit in common-law for recovery of damages for wrongful taking of personal property.

private, and instruct the officers and soldiers in military duty, who shall continue in office till the next court martial, and have an allowance by the said court not exceeding the rate of fifty pounds a year each, to be paid out of the fines; or if they be not sufficient, the deficiency to be supplied by the justices of the same county in their next county levy, on certificate from the court martial of such deficiency. Every captain, or next commanding officer, shall, at every, general muster, make up and report to his county lieutenant a state of the company last assigned to him, noting therein such as are dead, removed, or exempted, and adding the names of such persons, not already enrolled, as are within the extent of his company, and ought to be enrolled; and, on failure to make such report, shall forfeit five pounds. For failing to qualify himself to a commission at the first or second court which shall be held, after accepting the same, every officer shall forfeit five pounds. For failing to enrol the militia, or to appoint a general muster, the county lieutenant, or, if he be absent on necessary business, the next commanding officer, shall forfeit one hundred pounds. For not appointing a private muster, the captain, or next commanding officer, shall pay forty shillings. For failing to appear at any general muster properly armed, or at any court martial, every county lieutenant and field officer shall pay ten pounds. For failing to appear at any court martial, every captain shall pay forty shillings. For failing to appear at any general or private muster properly armed or accoutred, every captain shall forfeit forty shillings, every lieutenant or ensign twenty shillings, every non-commissioned officer or soldier five shillings. For not returning to the next court martial a true list of delinquencies in his company, every captain, or commanding officer for the time, shall forfeit ten pounds. Every officer failing to furnish himself with one pound of powder shall forfeit and pay ten shillings, and the same for failing to furnish himself with four pounds of ball; and every soldier failing therein shall likewise be liable for the same penalties, which penalties, where incurred by infants, shall be paid by the parent or guardian, and where incurred by servants shall be paid by the master, who, if such delinquency were without his influence or direction, may retain so much out of the hire of such servant, or be compensated by farther service, to be ascertained by the county court.

If any officer, when on duty, shall misbehave, he may be put under arrest, for the day, by his commanding officer; and the next court martial, if required, shall inquire into such misbehaviour, and either censure the same, or make report thereof to the governour and council, who, if the cause be sufficient, shall thereupon degrade such officer. If any soldier, at any muster, shall refuse to obey the command of his officer, or shall behave himself refractorily or mutinously, or misbehave himself at a court martial, the commanding officer, or court martial, may, in like manner, put him under arrest for the day, or may cause him to be bound, neck and heels, for any time not exceeding five minutes. If any bystander interrupt, molest, or insult any officer or soldier while on duty, at any general or private muster, or misbehave before any court martial, the commanding officer, or court martial, may put him under arrest for the day. The county lieutenant, field officers, and captains, or the greater part of them (whereof the county lieutenant or a field officer shall be one) shall hold a court martial at the courthouse of their county, or at, or convenient to, the place where the general muster shall be, on the day following their general muster, having first taken the following oath: I [] do swear, that, as a member of this court martial, I will do equal right and justice to all men, according to law. So help me God. Which oath

shall be administered to the presiding officer by the next in command, and then by such presiding officer to the other members. The said court may adjourn from day to day, and shall have power to exempt all persons enrolled whom, from age or inability, they may adjudge incapable of service; and shall also inquire, by testimony, on oath, (which the clerk is hereby enabled to administer) into all delinquencies against this act which shall have happened since the last court martial, and where no reasonable excuse for the same is made appear to them, shall give judgment for the penalties thereto annexed. But if it shall appear to the next court martial that any person fined for such delinquency was unable to attend the court, by which he was fined, and had reasonable excuse for the delinquency, such fine shall be remitted.

The said court shall have power to appoint a clerk to enter and preserve their proceedings, to whom the president shall administer an oath, truly and faithfully to execute the duties of his office, and may also appoint a provost martial to attend on the said court for the preservation of order and good behaviour. And all fines shall be collected by the sheriff of the county, who shall have power to levy the same in like manner, and be entitled to the like fee, as in case of execution by *feri facias*; and on failing, without reasonable cause, or refusing to make such collection, shall be held accountable for the same, to be recovered with costs, before any court of record, by action, to be brought) in the name of the members of such court martial, or the survivors of them; and after collecting the same, if he shall refuse to pay them to the order of the said court martial, judgment, on motion, in the court of the said county, shall be given, and execution, awarded against him and his securities for the same, with costs, they having ten days previous notice of such motion. And the said court martial shall also appoint some person, not being a member of the said court, to be a bursar, who shall receive from the collector all fines by him collected, and all sums of money recovered from him, and who, before he enters on the execution of his office, shall give bond, with sufficient security, payable to the members of the said court and their successors, for the due payment of all such monies which shall come to his hands. And if any bursar shall fail or delay to account with the said court, or to apply the money in his hands as by them directed, after deducting at the rate of five per centum for his own trouble, on motion made in any court of record, by any person authorised to receive money for him, or by any other by order of the said court martial, judgment shall be given, and execution awarded for the sums so unpaid or unaccounted for, together with the costs of the motion, the defendants having first had ten days notice of such motion.

All fines imposed by this act shall be appropriated, in the first place, to the payment of the salaries and allowances to the adjutant, clerk, provost martial, collectors, and bursar, then to reimbursing the publick treasury for any arms purchased for the poor soldiers of such county, and for drums, fifes, and colours, bought for the several companies; and if any surplus remain, it shall be laid out by the court martial in establishing and furnishing, for the use of their county, a magazine of small arms, field pieces, ammunition, and such other military stores as may be useful in case of invasion or insurrection.

And be it enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the chief officer of the militia in every county, and he is hereby required, some time before the tenth day of

August, yearly, to appoint an officer, and so many men of the militia as to him shall appear to be necessary, not exceeding four, once in every month, or oftener, if thereto required by such chief officer, to patrol and visit all negro quarters, and other places suspected of entertaining unlawful assemblies of slaves, servants, or other disorderly persons, as aforesaid, unlawfully assembled, or any others strolling about from one plantation to another, without a pass from his or her master, mistress, or owner, and to carry them before the next justice of the peace, who if he shall see cause, is to order every such slave, servant, or stroller, or other disorderly person, as aforesaid, to receive any number of lashes, not exceeding twenty on his or their bare back, well laid on.

And in case one company of patrollers shall not be sufficient, to order more companies for the same service; and after every patrol the officer of each party shall return to the captain of the company whereunto he belongs a report in writing, upon oath (which oath such captain is hereby empowered to administer) of the names of those of his party who where upon duty, and of the proceedings in such patrol. And such captain shall, once in every month, deliver such patrol returns to the county lieutenant, or other chief commanding officer in his county, by whom they shall be certified and delivered to the next court martial; and if they shall adjudge the patrollers have performed their duty according to law, the chief officer shall certify the same to the county court, who upon such certificates, are hereby empowered and required to levy fifteen pounds of tobacco, or two shillings and sixpence, for every twelve hours; each of them shall so patrol. And every commanding officer of the militia failing to appoint patrollers, according to the directions of this act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of fifty pounds; and every person appointed to patrol in pursuance of this act, and failing to do his duty, shall forfeit and pay the sum of twenty shillings for every such failure; which fines shall be laid by the court martial of the county, and shall be collected, accounted for, and appropriated, as is hereinbefore directed for the collecting, levying, accounting for, and appropriating, the several fines and penalties herein before laid.

All other acts and ordinances, so far as they relate to regulating and disciplining the militia of the several counties, are hereby repealed: *Provided*, nothing, in this act shall be construed to alter or change anything contained in the general constitution or form of government, or to disqualify any militia officers heretofore appointed from acting by virtue of such commissions respectively; *and provided also*, that any court martial, which shall be held by virtue of this act, shall hear and determine any delinquency committed or done before the passing thereof, according to the laws in force at the time of the commission of the offence.

This act shall be read to every company of the militia, by order of the captain, or next commanding officer thereof, at the first muster next succeeding every general muster, on penalty of five pounds for every omission.¹³

¹³ *Selective Service* vol. II part 14, pp. 321-328. The Virginia Militia Law of 18 October 1784 limited service to “all free male persons between the ages of eighteen and fifty years” without further service distinctions. *Ibid.*, p. 422. The 1792 National Militia Act restricted militia service during peacetime to free white males only.