

“A Smart firing commenc’d from from both parties ...”
Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne’s Pennsylvania Battalions in Virginia
June to November 1781

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The material included in this work is intended to flesh out the story of Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne’s Pennsylvania provisional battalions during the 1781 Virginia campaign (see “*The whole Line ... behaved in a most orderly manner.’: Organizing and Disciplining the Pennsylvania Provisional Battalions for the 1781 Campaign*”). As such, the information will not necessarily be joined into any solid narrative, and sources immediately follow each chronological section.

For additional campaign details see, “Their presence Here ... Has Saved this State ...’: Continental Provisional Battalions with Lafayette in Virginia, 1781”: Part 1. “This Detachment is Extremely Good ...’: The Light Battalions Move South,” <http://revwar75.com/library/rees/pdfs/light.pdf> .

“We will be much inferior to the enemy ...”
May 31 to July 5 1781

The three Pennsylvania battalions left York, Pennsylvania on 24 May, and eventually reached the Carolina Road, taking it across the Potomac, through Leesburg, Virginia, and across Nowland’s Ferry. The first four excerpts follow them for a few days as they move south. General Wayne continually kept the Marquis de Lafayette apprised of his progress towards a junction:

Nowlans Ferry 31st May 1781

My Dear Marquis Yours of the 29th. from Gould Mine Creek, Southana River, came to hand as the troops were passing the Potowmack. The whole will be in Virginia tomorrow mornng. when we shall move as light as possible by divesting ourselves of all the heavy baggage. ... I have this morning mentioned the route we intend to take, i.e, thro’ Lee’sburg, at which place we shall be tomorrow evening & from thence in the most direct course for Fredericksburg ...

Nowlans Ferry June 1st 1781

My Dear Marquis ... We shall reach Leesburg this Evening, which is performing a march of thirty Miles in two days, besides passing the troops Artillery & baggage over the Potowmack, in four Little boats, one of which sunk – lost some Amunition & a few men Drowned. The excessive wet Night was much against us – however every fatigue & Difficulty is surmounted by Our anxiety for the wished for Junction.

Elk River Church 6th June 1781

5 OClock PM ...

My Dear Marquis ... The weather has not relented, or relaxed, in it's moisture by which men, Arms, & Amunition, are something Injured; I shall therefore halt this side the Rapahanock on Normans Ford to refresh & furbish us tomorrow. Our horses also require some respite from fatigue.

Will you be so Obliging as to let me know when I may be honored with a personal Interview tomorrow afternoon?

Normans Ford 7th June 1781 12 OClock

My Dear Marquis I am this moment arrived here; the Deluge of rain which fell last night, has rendered the river Impassable, but as the water is falling fast I doubt not but that we may cross with facility tomorrow.

The Militia who were sent here to build rafts, have only made one, & that so badly executed that the number of men sufficient to work it, will send it to the bottom. We therefore can not trust our Amunition on it.

We shall loose nothing by this halt. As our Cartridges wanted overhaling & airing, & our arms repairing al this will be executed this day.

I expect to reach about half way between Normans & Raccoon Fords tomorrow Evening.

* * * * *

Maj. Gen. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette's orders:

Bozworths Ord[inar]y [Virginia] 10th [June] 81

The Order of the Army will generally be this; the Right under General Wayne will Consist of the Pensylvania Brigade – the first Brigade of Malitia on the left – the other in a second Line, both commanded by Genl Nelson – the Light Infantry under General Muhlenburgh will form a separate Corps to be placed agreeable to Circumstances – McPhersons Corps Calls Legion & such Corps of Rifle Men or mounted Infantry [946] exclusive of Calls Legion as may hereafter be formed will act upon the Flanks / by particular Order all Volunteer Dragoons Capt Pages Compy excepted to be thrown into Calls Legion –

Louisa County 14th [June] 81

Evening Orders the Arrival of a Reinforcement renders it proper to alter the distribution of the Army – the first line under Genl Wayne will be composed of the Continental [troops] in the same order as they are arranged in the Main Army; the second Line of the two Malitia Brigades will be under General Nelson every Brigade will have two Pieces of Cannon; the comander of the Artilery Stores will forma Park of Artilery & will move & incamp between the first & second Line. Calls Legion, McPhersons Corps & all mounted & dismounted Infantry the Riflemen & every detach'd Corps will form an advanced party under Genl. Muhlenburgh

Marquis de Lafayette, to the Chevalier de La Luzerne, 16 June 1781, "Camp near Pamunkey":

As yet, Monsieur le Chevalier, milord has not succeeded in bringing us into an action. For a long time we had Tarleton entering our camp two hours after it was abandoned. There was not a shot fired, and the junction with the Pennsylvanians was made. I expected that the junction would take place sooner. I expected they would be more numerous. I expected that 500 regular troops and a corps of militia attacked by 400 men, 200 of whom were armed with swords, would prevent their crossing an impassable river. I am sure he [Steuben] acted for the best, but in every respect, I have been, as we say, disappointed {Lafayette here refers to the action at Petersburg, Virginia, on 25 April 1781}.

After having slipped rather fortunately between the enemy army and our stores, we made a junction with a few riflemen. Lord Cornwallis seemed not to like these hilly terrains and withdrew towards Richmond. We make it seem we are pursuing him, and my riflemen, their faces smeared with charcoal, make the woods resound with their yells; I have made them an army of devils and have given them plenary absolution. What regular troops I have are very good but few in number ... we will be much inferior to the enemy ... My first line, composed of Pennsylvanians and light infantry, is commanded by General Wayne. The second, composed of militia, is led by the new governor, Nelson, the best that the state of Virginia could choose. The riflemen and light troops are under General Muhlenberg, and General Weedon is at Fredericksburg to assemble the militia from the area near the Potomac in case of an alarm. I am expecting the baron [Steuben] and Generals Lawson and Stevens, but the baron is so *unpopular* that I do not know where to put him. There you have, Monsieur le Chevalier, the picture of our small corps. Lord Cornwallis has brigades of guards, brigades of light infantry, British regiments, German regiments, I know not how many dragoons; in a word, he has all the fine airs of an army. They made many Whigs along their way, but almost everyone accepted paroles. Those who refuse to bear arms will be sent to the enemy.

Two days (18 June 1781) later La Fayette updated General Washington:

In Spite of every obstacle thrown in our Way I shall Collect our Forces to a point — 800 light infantry, 700 Pennsylvanians, 50 dragoons, 900 Riflemen, 2,000 Militia, and 400 New levies (the Remaining Having deserted) will Be the Utmost Extent of forces we Can Expect. But the Harvest time will Soon deprive us of the greatest part of the Militia.

Capt. Isaac Van Horne, 2d Pennsylvania Regiment, to Reading Beatty, 24 June 1781.

Near Bottoms Bridge Virginia, June 24th 1781

Dear Reading The Enemy have Retreated. I believe about 60 or 70 Miles down the James River. We have pursued them about 17 Miles below Richmond where we now lye, we arrived here yesterday – The Enemy lye a few Miles below us & Made some faints, seeming as if they meant to attack us – we were form'd in a position to receive them but they chose not to hazard an Attack. They have a pretty formidable Body of Horse, which are exceeding trouble some & which distress the Country much, commanded by Tarlton –

The Enemy have taken with them a great Number of Negroes, some say 2000. Have destroyed as much as possible all the Stores & Valuable property in Richmond.

I expect we shall have a brush with them very soon, & of we do, I expect there will be a great stink among the negroes –

This is a D—n Barran disagreeable Country – I don't like it at all. Indeed you may be glad you have not come. I think you must live very happy there now – ... I V Horne

“Christian Febiger, col. commanding Virginia Regulars” to Col. Theodrick Bland:

Camp, 20 miles from Williamsburgh, July 3d, 1781 ... On the 1st instant, our army, consisting of Campbell's brigade of militia, two brigades of regulars under Wayne and Muhlenburg, five pieces of artillery in park, Stephen's and Lawson's brigades of militia, and my detachment ... I will give you our number as nearly as possible.

Campbell's advanced brigade	780 militia
Wayne's brigade	750 regulars
Muhlenburg's brigade	800 do.
Stephen's brigade	650 militia
Lawson's brigade	750 do.
Febiger's regiment	<u>425</u> regulars, best
	<u>4155</u>
Or,	
Regular infantry	1975
Do. cavalry	50
Do. artillery	<u>300</u>
Total regulars	2325
Militia, infantry	2180
Do. cavalry	<u>60</u> very bad
	4565 is about our strength ...

... now we are disposed as follows.

General Campbell in front, near Byrd's ordinary, 16 miles from Williamsburg; my detachment four miles in his rear; Wayne and Muhlenburg about 1 ½ miles in my rear; and the [artillery] park and militia in their rear ...

Lafayette's orders:

Head Quarters Bever Dam Creek July 3^d 1781
tomorrow being the Annaversary of our Independence the Troops will be drawn up at 8 O'clock upon the Heighth where the Pennsylvanians Encamp, the commanding Officers of Brigades will receive instructions as to the disposition of the two Lines – The Feu de Joye will begin by a discharge of 13 Cannon from the Park which will be followed by a discharge from the advance Corps & afterwards by a discharge from the Musquetry from Right to Left of the first Line continuing from the Left to the Right of the second Line – the Brigade Artillery will fire the moment the firing begins in their respective Brigades – the General Discharge from the two Lines to be repeated three Times –

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“A charge ... under a heavy fire of Grape shot ...”
Battle of Green Springs, 6 July 1781

Capt John Davis, 1st Pennsylvania Regiment:

6th. [July 1781] Chickahomony Church. – At sun rise we took up the line of March for James's town which place the Enemy lay at / the 1st Batt'n was detach'd with some rifle men which brought on a scattering fire, that continued many Hours, when the 2d & 3d Batt. with one of [light] Infantry arriv'd in sight, we form'd & brought on a Gen'l Action. Our advances regular at a charge till we got within 80 y'ds of thir main body under a heavy fire of Grape shot at which distance we open'd our musquetry, at this time 3 of our Artillery horses being wounded; & their right flanking our left render'd retreat necessary with the loss of 2 pieces of Artillery.

William McDowell, a lieutenant in the same regiment, was more expansive concerning the July 6th action and immediate aftermath:

4th. [July 1781] – A wet morning. Cleared up at 10 o'clock. This day we had a Fude of Joy [feu de joie] in celebration of our Independance. After that Gen'l Wayne performed some new maneuvers, in which we fired. Had the thanks of the Marquis. The Fude of Joy was with a running fire from right to left of the army.

5th. – Took up the line of march at one o'clock, on our way to Williamsburgh, which I longed much to see. Proceeded as far as Chickahominy church, where we lay on our arms till sunrise. 6 miles.

6th. – At sun rise we took up the line of march for James Town, at which place the enemy lay encamped. The first battalion [Stewart] of our line were detached with a small party of riflemen, which brought on a scattering fire in front, & on the flank of our battallion, that continued for two or three hours with the Yagers. Our battallion was then ordered to form column and advance, when we had the intelligence of the 2d and 3d battallions, with one of the Infantry, hove in sight of us, we then display'd to the right and left, the third battallion on our right and the 2d on our left, being then formed brought on a general action; our advance was regular, and at a charge till we came within 80 yards of the whole army, they being regularly formed standing at one yard's distance from each other, their light Infantry being in front of our battallion. We advanced under a heavy fire of grape shot at which distance we opened with our musquetry, but being overpowered were obliged to retreat with precipitation, and in bad order for at least one mile, where we formed and retired in good order. Happy for us, the enemy did not press us at this critical moment, or our troops would have inevitably been cut off. We retired to Chickahominy Church about 8 miles where a number of the officers' wounds were dressed, and all the privates who were wounded, – it being at this time about 10 o'clock at night.

A list of the wounded officers of our Line – Capt. Crosby, Artillery.

Officers of Infantry. Capt. Doyle, 6th Penna. Regt. Capt. Van Lear 9th [5th] Penn'a Regt. Capt. Finney, 6th Penn'a Regt. Capt. Stake, 1st Penna. Regt. Capt. M'Clellan, 1st [2nd] Penna. Regt. Capt. Montgomery, 7th [4th] Penn'a Regt. Lieut. Herbert, 6th Do. taken prisoner. Lieut. Piercy, 2d Penn'a Regt. Lieut. Feltman, 1st Penn'a Regt. Lieut. White, 1st Penn'a Regt. The number of killed, wounded, taken prisoner – Sergets, rank and file, being 97.

Capt. Benjamin Bartholomew's account (5th Pennsylvania Regiment):

Friday July 6th. March'd at 8 Oclock A.M. 5 miles, there halted half an hour, were order'd to retire a miles to Mr. Lee's farm, there lay untill 4 Oclock P.M. (some detach'd parts of the army with Col. Stuarts [Colonel Walter Stewart, 2nd Pennsylvania Regiment] Battation had movd down to the green Springs in the morning and drove in the enemies picquets [pickets] when we were ordered to advan[ce] to where the light parties were skirmishing with the enemy near Green spring seat we arrived about one hour before sun set with our two Battalions and one of Infantry commanded by Lt Col Jimot, [Lt. Colonel Gimat, of the light infantry] the line was formed and ordered to advance, in a few minutes a Smart firing commenc'd from from both parties, ours kept their post untill the[y] had fired four round. the enemies whole army being drawn up to oppose our four Battalions, there line being so very extensive & nearly surrounding us, we retreated across the morass, where the other two Battalion of Infantry were form'd to cover our retreat, our artily horses being nearly all kill'd or wounded, we were Obliged to abandon our two pieces of artily which fell into the enemies hands, we had ten officers wounded one of which was left on the field we had 5 Sergets. 64 men wounded our loss kill'd was 3 Sergets. 19 R[and & File] & Nine missing we retired to Chickeyhomeny Church, arrived at 11 Oclock at night, this day & Night march 16 miles.

Major William Galvan's account of Green Springs is the only known detailed narrative of the battle by a member of American light troops who took an active part in the action. There was only one complete light battalion (Gimat's, commanded by Maj. John Wyllys) involved, but Galvan's Advance Guard was formed with at least one (possibly two) companies from Vose's Light Infantry Battalion (Galvan was field officer of Vose's Battalion). Capt. Aaron Ogden was out on the left, left to his own devices, with a company of Jersey Light troops from McPherson's Legion (the company was taken from Barber's Light Infantry Battalion). General Wayne was overall commander of the force, while the three Pennsylvania Battalions were under the immediate command of Col. Richard Humpton.

Camp Near Norrell's Mill 8th July 1781

Dear Sir On the 3rd Instant the Marquis having received information that the enemy had evacuated Williamsburg and were marching to Jamestown, we left our Camp near New Kent Court house and proceeded to Norrell's Mill where we arrived the 5th. There we received intelligence that the greatest part of their army had crossed the river and in consequence the two brigades of Continentals moved off early on the 6th in order to attack what remained at James town. Our march ... was considerably retarded by the uncertainty, variety and contradiction of the reports that were brought. The intelligence was so fatally delusive as to induce the General to Send back the whole of the Light Infantry and to leave behind the greatest part of the Pennsylvanians, so that we proceeded with a few [Virginia] riflemen, McPherson's legion of 80 men [approximately forty cavalry and forty New Jersey light infantry, the latter commanded by Capt. Aaron Ogden], Colonel Stuarts battallion [Walter Stewart, commanding the 1st Pennsylvania (Provisional) Battalion], one field piece and the advance guard commanded by me [Major Galvan] as field officer of the day [Note: As Henry Johnston suggests in his work on the Yorktown Campaign, Galvan's advance force would have comprised a party of light infantry from Vose's Battalion], the whole under General Wayne.

Galvan then described the action from his point of view:

About 2 o'clock in the after noon, we arrived to a large brick house at the Green Springs where we halted ... we resolved to attack and advanced ... within a mile of the enemy's last incampment where we formed in a wood: Colonel Mercer with ten or twelve [Virginia] Volunteer Light Horse was sent to reconnoitre, and the riflemen were detached on our front where they kept firing at the small parties with which the enemy had covered their Number and Dispositions. The Marquis, who was with us, had sent for the rest of the Continental Troops: the scattered firing of the riflemen (now and then returned by the advanced parties of the enemy) had continued for about two hours when on a sudden we heard a field piece firing towards our right. A little after the canon ceased firing, and a report was brought that the piece was retreating, upon which I applied to General Wayne for permission to go and carry it off; this being granted and a regiment of Light Infantry commanded by Major Wills [Wyllys] being arrived and sent to support me with a field piece under Capt. Savage, I moved towards the place where the firing had been heard: we soon came up with several parties of riflemen from which I could learn nothing of the pretended retreating field piece, neither could they better inform me of the situation of the enemy, nor I see any part of their line; upon this I kept moving forward and met Col. Mercer whose horse had been killed and who, wounded himself, had the galantry to guide my little column till we came in full sight of the British line> I found their left extended as far as I could see, a wood prevented my discovering much of their

right, but from my prepossession of the inconsiderable number they had on this side, and from the great extension of their left, I judged that the extremity of their right flank could not be far distant and without further hesitation resolved to turn it. I therefore wheeled to the left [still in column] and soon came to a large open field, where I perceived them drawn up and stretching out of my sight with a field piece opposite to me which had already begun to play. In this critical situation a retreat, when so far from the American line and only within 300 yards of the British was excessively dangerous ... [knowing the Pennsylvanians would soon be up, and expecting Wyllys and the artillery to reinforce him, Galvan continued] parallel to their line and under their fire till I came to a skirt of wood that terminated the field I was in: there I wheeled to the right, came up within 60 yards of the enemy's line, displayed and begun a smart running fire. [Not receiving the expected aid] I remained 15 minutes alone under the fire of the whole British line, which kept advancing at the same time, tho' very slowly. They being at last close to me and no support arriving, I formed the Party in column and retreated ... I soon met the Pennsylvania Brigade advancing in line: I immediately wheeled my column about and placed my Self at their left flank to cover that point, considerably outflanked by the right of the enemy, and in this order we proceeded about thirty yards during which the enemy had halted and were pouring an immense fire upon us> I found that our step was slackening, and together with Colonel [Josiah] Harmer, who commanded the regiment next to me, we endeavored to animate the troops to a brisker charge, but they halted and begun to fire. I displayed my little column a little obliquely to the left of Colonel Harmer and began to fire like the rest ... Our stop encouraged the British and, tho' our fire was as brisk as could be expected from so small a line, they began to move rapidly upon us and the right of the Pennsylvanians [began] to give way, the left followed, and the enemy making a devil of a noise of firing and huzzaing (tho' by the by they did not push on very fast) all on our side became a scene of confusion. I attempted two or three times to stop it, but our flight was too rapid to be checked. The Marquis ... ordered me to endeavour to rally the men in the rear of a marsh which was the most eligible spot, but the men that passed by were exhausted by the fatigue of the march, of the action and of the flight ... It was at [the brick house] that the Marquis reestablished order and from it we marched in the night to Norrell's Mill. Capt. Savage saved his piece, the Pennsylvanians who had two lost them both, the horses having been shot ...

American line of battle at Green Springs

(British rear)

British Line

Galvan's	Harmar's	Stewart's	Butler's	Wyllys'
Advance Guard	2nd Pa Bn	1st Pa. Bn	3rd Pa Bn *	Light Bn.
(American rear)				

* Commanded by Major Evan Edwards.

Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne described the Green Springs action to Gen. George Washington two days afterwards:

on the morning of the 6th several corroborating advices arrived removing every doubt upon that head, with the addition that nothing but a forced march with the lightest & most advanced part of the troops could arrive in time to effect their rear.

this Induced the Marquis to order the advanced Guard, Major McPhersons, Colo Mercers & Capt Hills Corps one Hundred & fifty rifle men, with Colo [Walter] Stewarts Detachment of Penns[ylvani]ans amounting in the Whole to about 500 men Artillery & Dragoons included, to make a forward move under my Conduct, & endeavour to come up with the enemy. upon our arrival at the Green spring farm, a variety of contradictory intelligence rendered it prudent reconnoitre them with a Military eye, their vast superiority in horse also made it expedient to advance the whole of our little Corps to drive in their Guards and keep their horse in check, about this period the Marquis arrived in person & adopted the Maneuver, which being effected it was soon discovered that a very considerable part of their army yet remained on this side the river which induced the General to send for the remainder of the Continentals distant about six miles, at 2 Oclock PM a large smoke was raised by the Enemy, probably as a signal to their parties to return to camp, & for all such as had crossed the river to repass it. at 3 Oclock the rifle men supported by a few regulars began & kept up a galling fire upon the Enemy which continued until five in the Evening when the British began to move forward five Columns, the Marquis anxious to view them near had proceeded rather far upon their left, it was therefore thought proper to Order Major [William] Galvan [French volunteer, granted a commission in January 1780, Massachusetts Provisional light battalion] at the head of the Advance Guard to meet & attack their front who after a spirited tho' unequal contest retired upon our left, a Detachment of the Light Infantry under [Connecticut] Major [John] Willis [Wyllys, Provisional light battalion] having that moment arrived also commenced a severe fire upon the Enemies left but were obliged to fall back, which the enemy taking advantage of & beginning to turn our flanks, a Manoeuver in which had they persevered, they must inevitably penetrated between this Corps & the Other part of the army, but being joined at this Crisis by Lieut Colo [Josiah] Harmar & Major [Evan] Edwards with two Detachments from the 2nd. & 3rd Battalions of Pennsnyans. under Colo [Richard] Humpton, it was determined among a Choice of Difficulties to advance & Charge them, this was done with so much vivacity as to produce the desired effect i.e checking them in their advance & diverting them from their first Manoeuvre,, but being enveloped by numbers many brave & worthy Officers & soldiers killed or wounded, we found it expedient to fall back half a mile to green spring farm, – two of our field pieces which were necessarily Introduced to keep up the Idea of our being in force, were served with equal spirit & effect, until disabled by having Capt. [Jesse] Crosly [4th Continental Artillery] with many Matrosses Dangerously wounded & all the horses killed, at last fell into their hands – the Waggon & Amunition were carried off safe ...

A 12 July 1781 "Return of the Pennsylvania Brigade of Foot" listed three provisional battalions as follows:

	Total	Rank & File
	<u>Rank & File</u>	<u>Present, fit for duty</u>
1st Battalion, Colonel Stewart	248	142
2nd Battalion, Colonel Butler	237	184
3rd Battalion, Colonel Humpton	295	214
Totals	830	542

William Barber ("Major and D.A.Genl.," "Return of the killed wounded and missing of the detachment commanded by General Wayne in a skirmish with the British army near the Greene springs, in Virginia, July 6th 1781."

"Major Galvans advanced guard":
4 rank and file killed; 1 sergeant, 7 R & F wounded.

"Col. Stewarts Detacht. Pennsylvania":
11 rank and file killed; 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 30 R&F wounded.

Col. Butler's Pennsylvania detachment:
2 sergeants, 4 rank and file killed; 15 R&F wounded; 9 R&F missing.

Col. Humpton's Pennsylvania detachment:
1 sergeant, 4 rank and file killed; 3 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeants, 19 R&F wounded.

"Majr. Willis's" light infantry detachment:
1 sergeant, 1 rank and file killed; 7 R & F wounded.

"Capn. Ogdens Co. of Macphersons Legion":
2 rank and file wounded

"Capn. Savage & Duffys artillery":
1 captain-lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 2 rank and file wounded; 3 R&F missing.

Total casualties:
4 sergeants, 24 rank and file killed;
5 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 4 lieutenants, 7 sergeants, 82 rank and file wounded;
12 rank and file missing.

"N.B. A few rifle men were wounded, the number not ascertained"

"Names of the officers wounded"
Captains McLean Division Inspector
Doyle
Finney
Montgomery
Stake
McClellan

Lieutenants Peirce
Feltman
White
Herbert "taken prisoner"

Capt.-lieutenant Crosly of artillery

"Wm. Barber Major and D A Genl."

The Marquis de Lafayette's orders,

Head Quarters Chikhamminy July 8th 1781

The Genl is happy in acknowledging the spirit of the Detachment commanded by Genl Wayne in their Engagement with the whole of the British Army of which he hapned to be an Eye Witness –

Genl Wayne & the Officers & Men under his Command are requested to receive his best thanks, the Bravery & destructive Fire of the Rifle Men engaged rendered Essential service / the Brilliant Conduct of Majr Galvan & the Continental Detachment under his command entitles them to applause, the Conduct & Exertions of the Pennsylvania Field & other Officers are new Instances of their Gallantry & Talents – the Fire of the Light Infantry under Maj Wyllys checked the Enemys Progress round our right Flank – the Genl was much pleased with the Conduct of Capt Savage of the Artillery & it is with Pleasure he observes nothing but the loss of Horses could have produced that of the two Field Pieces belonging to Capt Duffey – his Compy did great Execution – the zeal of Col Mercers little Corps is handsomly expressed in the number of Horses he had killed –

The same day Lafayette summed up the campaign thus far for the commander-in-chief:

It has been a great secret that our Army was not superior and was most generally inferior to the Enemy's numbers. Our returns were swelled up as generally Militia returns are but we had very few under Arms particularly lately and to conceal the lesning of our numbers I was obliged to push on as one who had heartily wishd a general engagement. Our Regulars did not exceed 1500. The Enemy had 4000 Regulars 800 of whom mounted. They thought we had 8000 men. I never encamped in a line and there was greater difficulty to come at our numbers.

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“Cornwallis ... threatens every Devastation that fire & sword can produce ...”
Marching and Countermarching, 9 July to 25 August

Lafayette’s small army withdrew to take stock and reorganize. With losses through commonplace attrition and combat, one Pennsylvania battalion was dissolved, its personnel assigned to the remaining two battalions, and supernumerary officers sent home to recruit a new battalion to march south as a reinforcement. Several officers wrote of casualties remaining from the July 6 action. Capt John Davis, 1st Pennsylvania Regiment:

7th. This day we lay at this church ... Dressing & sending our wounded to Hosp'l.
... 14th. This day the incorporation [merging of the three Pennsylvania battalions into two] to take place when officers drew who was [to remain and serve] for the Campaign.
15th. This day was taken up in crossing the James River when our fre'ds [the officers returning to Pennsylvania] took their leaves.

Isaac VanHorn informed Dr. Reading Beatty,

Camp Near Williamsburg July 9th 81

Dr. Reading I have just time to inform you that we pick'd a Quarrel with the British last Friday – our three Battns & a few more were only engaged & that with the whole British Army, at their own Encampment – I cannot particularize the whole, but refer you to what I imagine will be published. Our Battn. was Captains Doyle, Finney & Montgomery Wounded & Lt. Herbert Wounded & Prisoner – Lt. Crossley of your Regt. is Wounded also – We had 4 or 5 men killed & 20 Wounded. 1st Battn is Captains Staker & McClelland and Lts Piercy, White & Feltman – And Capt. Van Lear of the 2d – we were obliged to retire but agin next day they were all got over the James River, and I believe are about to Embark; if so, we either go to Carolina or New York – I hope it may be the latter – for I am tired of this Country –

Doctr, Downey was Drowned unfortunately the 1st of this Inst a Bathing, in Pamoukey River –

Yours sincerely
I V Horne

Capt. Doyle was first Wounded in the Leg. Capt Van Lear dismounted & was helping Doyle on his Horse, when another Ball Broke his left Arm & Wounded Van Lear through the Shoulder – the two that are the most dangerous.

Capt. Finney is [wounded] in the Head but not dangerous – Crosby's is in the Groin & Also back –

Wayne wrote Joseph Reed with news of the amalgamation and other concerns:

Woodson's ferry, James River, 11th July, 1781.

Dear Sir, The retreat of Lord Cornwallis to Portsmouth, and the advance of Col. Tarlton, with about nine hundred Cavalry & Infantry towards South Carolina, probably with a view of putting Gen'l Green in a disagreeable situation, has determined the Marquis La Fayette to order the Pennsa. & Virginia Troops under my Command to that Quarter.

The smallness of our numbers has also induced us to throw the Pennsylv[vanian]'s into two Battalions, sending field and other officers from each Corps sufficient to bring on as many men as may be in readiness to re-inforce us; together with Shoes and other Articles of Clothing, of which we stand much in need.

When we first left York our numbers were greatly deficient; those who were returned Sick, Absent, still remain in Pennsa., which, added to the loss sustained in Action, and those other Casualties incident to all Armies, renders it absolutely necessary to call for a reinforcement from each Regiment; by a Comparative view of the within return [see the Humpton July return], with that sent from York, you will see the necessity of forwarding all such as may be Cloathed and equiped, with all possible dispatch.

I have the pleasure to Inform you that a few days respite has restored many Men, who, from fatigue, were beginning to fall Sick, and that a great proportion of our wounded will be able to take the field in a little time. ... N.B. A little Thread & Needles will be of the utmost utility.

On July 16th General Wayne sent Washington a battalion strength return and discussed manpower problems:

Woodsons Ferry James River 16 July 1781

Dear General The retreat of Lord Cornwallis to Portsmouth, & the advance of Colonel Tarleton with about nine hundred men Cavalry and Infantry towards South Carolina, probably with a view of putting General Greene in a disagreeable situation has determined the Marquis la Fayette to order the Pennsylvania and Virginia troops under my command to that quarter.

The smallness of our numbers has also induced us to throw the Pennsylvanians into two battallions, sending field, and other Officers, from each corps sufficient to bring on as many men as may be ready to reinforce us, together with shoes and other articles of clothing of which we stand much in need. When we first left York our numbers were greatly deficient, those who were returned sick absent still remain in Pennsyla., which added to the loss sustained [in] action & other casualties incident to all armies, renders it absolutely necessary to call for a reinforcement from each regiment. By a comparative view of the within return, with that sent from York, your Excellency will see the necessity of forwarding all such as may be clothed, and equiped with all possible dispatch. I have the pleasure to inform you that a few days respite has restored many men who from fatigue were begining to fall sick, and that a great proportion of our wounded will be able to take the field in a little time.

Shortly after informed his General Washington from “Malvan Hill July 20h. 1781,”

I am Anxious to know Your opinion Concerning the Virginia Campaign. That the Subjugation of this State was the Great object with the [English] Ministry is an Undisputable fact. ... So long as Mylord [Cornwallis] wished for an Action, Not one Gun Has Been fired. The Moment He declined it we Have Been Scarmishing. But I took Care never to Commit the Army. His Naval Superiority – His Superiority of Horse, of Regulars, His thousand Advantages over us were Such that I am lucky Enough to Have Come off Safe. ... Should He go to England, we are, I think, to Rejoice for it. He is a Bold and Active Man, two Dangerous Qualities in this Southern war.

General Waine’s Pennsylvanians Never Exceeded about 700. Fighting and Desertion Have Much Reduced them. I Have Sent Him to [p. 256] Goode’s Bridge upon Appamatox. The three Pennsylvania Battailions Have Been Reduced to two – About 250 each fit for duty. ...

One month later the Marquis wrote an even more candid, and prescient, letter to Maj. General Henry Knox:

Last Campaign I was Sighing for Opportunities. This Campaign I was trembling for them, as in the Beginning there Was No difference Between A Scarmish and a Battle, a Battle and a total Defeat. We were So lucky as to Escape an Action, and keep ourselves Clear of that Mounted World that Was Galloping Arround us. Then we Had our turn, and for Many, Many Miles Had the pleasure to Occupy His Lordship's Hd. Quarters. You Had Accounts of the two Scarmishes. I thought All was over, and owing to Your Seige of Newyork, I Anticipated a Great Deal of Ease and Happiness. Indeed I Could not Help Growing Jealous, and Begun to think of a Visit to Your Batteries — But Soon found that there was in this Quarter Work Enough for me. Great deal, too Much, Indeed, for My Youth and the Means that I Have. Lord Cornwallis Having not Succeeded in land journeys Has Undertaken a Water Voyage. I thought first the Man was Going to Newyork — then to Pottowmack or Baltimore — But on a Sudden He Entered York River and is at York and Gloster out of our Reach, Refreshing his troops and Meditating

Mischief. York is on High Ground Surrounded with Creeks and Morasses Accessible By one Single Avenue — There to My Surprise He does not fortify. Gloster is a Neck of land Projecting into the River and Very useful to the defense of Shipping — There Mylord is fortifying. Portsmouth is not Evacuated So that He is Divided in three points, two of which I Confess are the Same thing. But Should a Naval Supeiority Come, Great Advantages Might Be obtained in the Quarter.

I wish, My dear friend, our Conduct May Have Met with Your Approbation...At the present I am trying to Conjure up a Cavalry — to Collect New Levies — to Arm and Assemble militia — to Refresh our few Continentals — to Have a part of them in Readiness to Reinforce General Greene — and Am Waiting At this fork of York River to oppose Either way His Lordship's Maneuvres. Parties are upon the lines and forrages Making in Gloster County.

Lord Cornwallis's Abilities are to me More Alarming than His Superiority of forces. I Ever Had a Great opinion of Him. Our Papers Call Him a Mad man But was Ever any Advantage taken of Him where He commanded in Person? To Speak Plain English I am Devilsh Affraid of Him.

Back in Pennsylvania preparations were made to gather new troops for Wayne. Brig. Gen. William Irvine to Joseph Reed, 16 July 1781:

Carlisle, July 16th, 1781.

Sir, I received a letter yesterday from Major James Moore, at Hanover, in York County, in which he informs me the Magistrates are backward to Quarter the Troops there, as they have not received any particular Instructions from Council, for the purpose. I am also informed from other Posts, particularly by Major Grier at Lebanon, that the purchasers have refused to procure any more Provisions, as Mr. Morris is to find the supplies for the States. As it may be some time before Mr. Morris gets his arrangements made, I fear the Troops will suffer in the mean time. ... The mode I was informed Mr. Morris intended adopting, in my opinion will not answer, viz., to supply only one General Rendezvous. The Recruits found by the Classes must have provisions immediately on their inlisting — beside we have no Tents or Camp Equipage of any kind yet, prepared to enable us to draw the whole together. I have not got any particular Returns of the number of Class Men got in Philadelphia, or the lower Countys — but am sorry to inform Council that York & Cumberland are very slow, indeed, they seem quite indifferent about the matter — it is true this is a bad [p. 286] season for the business, being in the midst of Harvest, perhaps after that is over, they may do something.

The people in general seem as easy and secure as if there was no War in the Country.

Lt. Col. Francis Mentges to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania:

Philadelphia, the 20 July, 1781.

Honored Gentlemen: I am informed by Capt Christy [James, 3rd Pa., or John 5th Pa.], who has the Command of the troops at Reading, that the Magistrates and Quarter Master refuse to quarter the troops amongst the Inhabitants; I must therefore apply to your Honorable Board for Directions how the Men should be quartered at Reading.

I likewise would beg to know when a man had served three years in the Service of the United States, and was legally discharged, (he formerly being a Deserter of the British Army,) whether that man may take the oath ascribed by the state, and be inlisted by the Classes. There are instances that men would inlist who have resided 6, 7 years in the

Country, having deserted before the Contest, but on account of the Oath they may not be inlisted. I beg the Opinion of your Honorable board ...

Joseph Reed's reply to Mentges, 20 July 1781:

Sir, In Answer to your Letter of this Day, would inform you that the Council are of Opinion, that when the Recruits are inlisted & delivered to the proper Continental Officer, they are to be quartered as other Troops. ... With Respect to inlisting Deserters, we apprehend the Number to be so few who deserted before the War, & the Abuses that would follow recruiting such as have deserted since, that we deem it best to abide by the Instructions as given.

General Wayne's efforts at the Green Springs action and trying campaign conditions continued as topics of discussion. Doctor Robert Wharry to Dr. Reading Beatty, then stationed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Cox's Mills Virginia, July 27th, 1781

Dr. Beatty ... You, now, probably expect a Gazette, instead of which I only send you a supplement, I call it, for want of a better word. I make no doubt, but, you have heard of the Brush we had with the whole British Army; I was brought to bed with a Disappointment, another Blockhouse affair – *Madness* – Mad– A—y, by G— I never such a peice of work heard of – about eight hundred troops opposed to five or six thousand Veterans upon their own ground – you may gain more intelligence from the retiring Officers – we had six Captns. wounded, viz; Doyle, Finney, Montgomery, Stake, McClellan, and Van Lear; four Subalterns, Feltman, White, Herbert & another whose name I forget at present; and about one hundred Rank & file killed & wounded.

I dare say you will have a flaming account of it in the papers; our troops behaved with such firmness & resolution which it is impossible for my pen to describe, they only wanted an opportunity of distinguishing themselves with an equal number – I was not in the action – therefore speak from hearsay & perhaps a little prejudiced in their behalf, but, be that as it will, it matters not. I have reason to bless my lot & to curse it likewise, being left at this place with the sick, women, & Baggage & am now ordered to pursue them in their Route to S. Carolina – a Country as hot as the Antichambers of Hell – no pure water for to drink, but sand, mud & water; no bread, but Indian corn chopt fine with a broadax and worked into a sort of Bread – this is only the beginning of Sorrows – when will there be an end. I think if I can stand the warmth of the climate, as it is described to me, I need not fear Pluto's clime much. ... Now, for the Inhabitants and the part of Virginia I have been in, tho small. The Land is tolerable, the people generally genteel & hospitable, the Ladies handsome & witty & what is better they have fortunes – very great loadstones – I have a mind to pay me adresses to eight hundred acres of good Land and twenty or thirty *black* Negro's – what would you think of that? Mr. Hovendon is our commander; he is enamoured with a handful of a woman, about an armful.

A soldier's life in Virginia did have its rewards. Captain Van Horne to Doctor Beatty, 13 August 1781

Camp Bottoms Bridge Augt. 13th 81

My Dear Doctr. You never was in Amelia County in this State, where the Society of the *Patriotic Fair* have form'd *Resolves* so much in favour of those who have step'd forth in the *service* of their Country I presume – Ah, Reading, can you guess what this Resolve is

– Why it was that they will not receive the Addresses of any but those who I have above Mentioned – Could you believe me, an Elderly Lady of a very respectable Family (When in Company with a number of our Gentn & a number of Young Ladies of the first Rank), observ'd was *She* young & to be Married She would have none of them but of those who had persevered to the *end of the War*, during which time she would wish to be under engagements to him, & all the *Scars & Defects* even to the *loss of a Limb* She would esteem as *Beauty Spots* & prize him the more for it. What think you of this & two Amiable Daughters present, will they not imbibe the same good principles – will this not do for our business? Ay, and Invitations dayly to Dine out, by the Gentn –

But cruel Fortune! We must be remov'd from that Paradise before we had an Opportunity of cultivating their Friendship – & ordered to the North side of James River again, where it is almost the reverse.

Mr. Hovendon has Just Joined us from Coxe's Mill – the Gentn that were Wounded are recovering fast – & some of them coming to Pennsylvania.

Among other matters, clothing was again a concern. On 3 August Virginia militia General Thomas Nelson told Lafayette that “16 pair of boots 237 pair men's shoes, 20 pieces of Oznaburgs, about 2000 yards” belonging to Virginia were taken by Gen. Anthony Wayne. Confronted with the charge, Wayne replied:

Bottoms Bridge 9th Augt. 1781

My Dear Marquis

Yours of the 7th Instant inclosing letters from His Excellency Govr. Nelson, Colo. Davis & Mr. Ross complaining of a seizure of certain articles of Clothing belonging to the State of Virginia duly came to hand. ... The situation they were found in, & the danger of being all embezzled or destroyed, added to the distressed Condition of our people were in for want of shoes & Overalls (more than three fourths being totally destitute of the first article, & too many bare leged rather too high up for a modest eye to view) as well as the presumption that they were the property of the United States, Induced me to order them to a more proper use ... However should they be property of this state, they shall be delivered to the Governors Order. In this case 173 Veterans must inevitably be rendered unfit for service for want of these essential articles. It will therefore be my duty to send these troops into a safe position until shoes & overalls arrive from Pennsa. Humanity will also Induce me to direct Genl. Irvine not to advance his Detachment until properly supplied with Clothing. ... if these shoes & Linnen are the private property of the State of Virginia, the Governor has only to Demand & receive them – which probably may be sparing the lives of many of my brave Veterans, by keeping them out of the way of Danger.

I must beg leave to suggest that had we not made a forced march & accidently fell in with these stores, you would probably have only heard of them in the usual way after being destroyed, or in the hands of the Enemy.

Notwithstanding this Circumstance, Delicacy has induced me to march the Pennsians bare foot over sharp pebbles, & thro' burning sands (altho' heretofore unused to such treatment) rather than discriminate between any body of troops under my Command. ... the greater part of the troops with me were riflemen Dragoons & Eighteen months men belonging to this State.

On the 18th Wayne wrote President Reed downplaying the incident:

Hanover, 18th Augt. 1781.

Dear Sir, After being near the Roanoke we have Returned here to meet Lord Cornwallis, who threatens every Devastation that fire & sword can produce, from & after the 24th Instant, we have once saved Virginia & may do it again, however I sincerely wish she may not have occasion for our service.

You may probably hear something concerning a quantity of Cloathing which we saved near the Appomattick from Col. Tarlton by a forced march, the articles were 173 pair shoes Eleven pair of Boots, & twenty pieces of Oznabrigs.

A premature Complaint was lodged with the Marquis Lafayette on the Occasion, it was too inadequate to supply our wants, & Delicacy prevented me from Discriminating between the Troops under my Command untill there were proper orders for it, & I am very happy no part was appropriated for the use of the Pennsa. Line nor will not however great their Distress. ...

Doctr. Kemp who carries this waits whilst I write. Our wounded Officer[s] & Soldiers are much obliged to him & Doctr. Wilson for their care and attention.

At the pressing solicitation of the Officers I have permitted them to remove to Pennsa. wounded as they are ...

Reed replied on the 25th with welcome news about recruits and apparel, but in the event neither commodity was sent in a timely manner or in sufficient quantities.

Sir ... We have made every Exertion of Supply for the Troops & to equip the Recruits, amounting to about 500, so that Capt. Zeigler is now in Possession of a considerable Quantity of Shirts, Overalls, Shoes, &c., which he has orders to forward as soon as possible. It has been a Complaint too general, & I fear too just, that when the Troops have been at a Distance, they have been neglected; but you may depend upon it this will not be the Case with you.

Lafayette had informed Wayne on August 18th that he had forwarded shoes and overalls for the Pennsylvanians, to which the brigadier general replied on the 23rd that he had received neither the clothing nor any account of it. He enclosed a return (unfortunately, not found) of shoes, overalls, and other items needed for the Pennsylvania Line and sent Lt. George North of the 5th Regiment, who carried the letter, to collect the clothing. The Marquis wrote again from "Mrs. Ruffin's 25h. August 1781 Dear Sir The Shoes and Overalls for Your line which I thought long Ago Gone, and a Waggon to Carry them Have Been Delivered to Lt. North. [360] I am glad you Send me a Return of Articles Wanting. I Hope we May Soon Get a Sufficient Supply."

(For more on Pennsylvania soldiers' clothing supplies, 1780-1781, see the final section of this Appendix.)

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“The batteries were opened and fired with great success ...”
September to November 1781

Lt. Ebenezer Wild, with Vose’s Light Battalion, recorded their junction with French forces and other events in early September:

2d, [September] Sunday. The General beat half hour before day. At daylight we began our march and proceeded about 8 miles, halted and pitched our tents in a field near Dyerscon [Diascund] creek, where we halted till 3 o’clk P.M., at which time we began our march again, leaving our tents and baggage, and proceeded about 7 or 8 miles, & halted near Chichohomny Church. General Wayne was wounded by one of our sentinels in the evening.

3d. Began our march at daylight. Proceeded about 8 miles, and halted near Green Springs, where our men had orders to wash & put on clean clothes, expecting to march to James Town & join the French troops, which landed there. But after halting about three hours we took up our line of march again, and proceeded six miles towards

Williamsburg. After halting a few moments, marched back the same road, three miles, where we remained the remaining part of the day. About nine in the evening I took post with a small picket about half a mile on the right of the Brigade.

Col. Richard Butler, commander of the 1st Pennsylvania (Provisional) Battalion, recorded in detail the early days of the Yorktown investment.

Sept. 8th.—Received orders to march for Williamsburgh to join the allied army; arrived at our ground at 11 o'clock, had some difficulty in getting our baggage as we had to let the allied army have our wagons to bring on their whole train and camp, therefore had to lay in bough huts, on very dusty ground, for this day and night; the French army, the Pennsylvania and light-troops made a very elegant appearance in passing through the city.

Sept. 9th.—Obtained our baggage, pitched our camp. Lay by without any accounts of the enemy stirring on the eighth, the British fleet passed Cape Henry and came into the bay, and were gallantly engaged by the French, who drove them to sea, and pursued them, but leaving six ships of the line for the security of the bay. The Baron de Steuben arrived in camp with his suite.

Aug. [sic.] 11th.—Accounts by a Frigate that the French were left in full pursuit of the British, who were flying before them, and that in about six hours sailing they must come up with eighteen sail of victuallers which the British intend for Lord Cornwallis' relief and support, which they had abandoned in their flight. Still no flour or meal, and the beef supplied is very bad, in short there is yet no exertions made to supply the troops who have been supplied with only three days' bread out of seven, and not the least likelihood of being better supplied.

Sept. 12th.—Several cannon heard down the river; no account from the fleet. This day Governor Nelson sent Mr. Nichols to give me an order to retain a mill, and to impress corn carriages, boats, or anything to facilitate the collecting of provisions; sent off Lieutenant Collier with a party for this purpose.

Sept. 13th.—An account of the Commander-in-Chief having arrived at his own seat at last. He has not been within his own door for seven years, indeed not since he was first a member of Congress in the year 1775, all which time he has been a most faithful patriot and servant of his country, from the citizen he was a councillor, then a General, and in reality the Father of the people, he has nobly shared in all their misfortunes, showing the utmost fortitude and regularity of conduct; indeed the able statesman has appeared in all his actions. Some malign shafts have been shot at him by a small insignificant tribe whose falsely and ill directed arrows always reverted to their own bow and wounded themselves.

Sept. 14th.—The Marquis Lafayette still continues ill of the ague. Yesterday the Marquis de St. Simon, and a number of his officers, paid a visit to our line, and the Baron Steuben and our good friend Gen. Wayne, whose wound and gout still continue ill. About 3 o'clock an express arrived, announcing the approach of our great and good Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Washington, and the Count de Rochambeau, the commander of the allied armies of France, now joining. At 4, P. M., the guns fired a royal salute as the General approached the camp, on which the two armies turned out on their battalion parades; — his Excellency and the Count De Rochambeau, with their suites, attended by the Marquis de Lafayette, Maj. Gen. and commander of the American, and Maj. Gen. Marquis de St. Simon, commander of the allied army (lately arrived), and all their suites, visited the allied army first, and then the American army, and were saluted according to custom; these ceremonies finished, the whole of the officers of the French army attended at the

Marquis de St. Simon's quarters and were introduced to the *Illustrious Hero*. The field officers of the American army all attended to bid him and the other Generals welcome. These ceremonies over, an elegant supper was served up. . . . To add to the happiness of the event and evening, an elegant band of music played an introductory part of a French Opera, signifying the happiness of the family when blessed with the presence of their father, and their great dependance upon him. About 10 o'clock the company rose up, and after mutual congratulations and the greatest expression of joy, they separated.

Sept. 15th.—An officer arrived from Count de Grasse's fleet, with certain account of the arrival of his and Count de Barras' fleet, from Rhode Island, with the French troops on board, and heavy artillery and large mortars, also of the capture of the *famous* Iris frigate, and the Richmond frigate, which with the Romulus of 44 guns, are sent to Baltimore, and head of Elk, to bring down all our troops and apparatus for a siege; the storm seems to thicken fast about Lord Cornwallis, whose people desert fast, which is a certain symptom of despondency in all armies. This day, his Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, dined with the Marquis de Lafayette, also Marquis de St. Simon, Baron de Steuben, Count de Rochambeau, Dumas, and Desandroins, a number of American and French officers of distinction, and passed the afternoon in the greatest happiness and harmony. Several officers of the Navy, among whom is the captain of the Experiment of 40 guns.

Sept. 16th.—His Excellency Gen. Washington, Counts de Rochambeau, de Chastelleux, and a great number of Generals and other officers dined with Baron de Steuben; we spent the afternoon in great harmony and retired.

Sept. 17 to 27.—Has been spent in debarking the troops and trains from the shipping the whole being arrived, the troops having taken their proper stations and every thing arranged, and the Commander-in-Chief and principal officers returned from on board the Ville de Paris where the Generals have been fixing a plan of cooperation with the Admiral, orders were issued for the whole army to move at 5 o'clock.

The completion of the second parallel, including the captured redoubts, would bring the allied artillery at some points to within 300 yards of the main British line, a close and deadly range. To delay the work, Cornwallis launched a counterattack.

The batteries were opened and fired with great success, which silenced the chief of the enemy's batteries; many of their men were killed, and the whole of the garrison thrown into confusion. About 12 o'clock at night, Maj. Abercrombie, of the British, with a party of the Light Infantry and Guards, made a sally, and passing between two small redoubts that were unfinished, and where (by the parties being moved in another post to work,) the line was weak, got possession of the trench; thence they pushed rapidly to a French battery, and spiked the guns and drove our the people, having killed four or five: Thence to the covert way or communication leading from the first to the second parallel, where they halted. They then discovered a battery commanded by Capt. Savage, of the Americans and challenged, What troops? The answer was French—on which the order of the British Commandant was "Push on, my brave boys, and skin the b——rs." This was heard by Count de Noailles, who had the command of a covering party, which he ordered to advance, and was guided by the Huzza of the British. He ordered grenadiers to "charge bayonet and rush on," which they did with great spirit crying "*Vive Le Roy*", and to use the British phrase skivered eight of the Guards and Infantry, and took twelve prisoners, and drove them quite off. The British spiked Savage's three guns with the points of bayonets, but our smiths and artillery men soon cleared all the guns, and in six hours chastised the enemy for their temerity with the same pieces. Our loss was very trifling, though the British really executed the sortie with secrecy and spirit.

Recorded in an order book for Gimat's Light Battalion:

Head Qrs Williamsburgh Sept 24th 1781

The Continental Troops composing the Army in Virginia are to Brigaded as follows

Col Vose Regt }
LCol Barbers } Light Infantry to form a
LCol Gimat } Brigade under BG Muhlenburgh

Col Scammell Regt }
LCol. Hamiltons Battn } BGenl Hazen
Hazens Regimt }

LCol Gaskins [Virginia] Regt } BGenl Wayne
the two Pensylvania [Battalions] }

tow Jersay Regts } Col Dayton
Rhode Island }

3^d & 4th Maryland Regts — BGenl Gist

1 & 2^d New York Regt — BGenl Clinton

All through October the siege works were advanced, defensive sorties were made by Cornwallis's forces, and on the evening of the 14th Continental and French troops captured Redoubts 9 and 10, the final obstacles to the Allies making a breach in the Yorktown fortifications. A ceasefire was called two days later, and negotiations settled details of a Crown forces surrender. Capt. William McDowell, with the newly arrived 3rd Pennsylvania Battalion, noted,

19th [October] – We landed at 12 o'clock. At one o'clock this day Maj'r [James] Hamilton [Pennsylvania Brigade] with a detachment marched into town and took possession of the Batteries, and hoisted the American Flag – The British Army marched out and grounded their arms in front of our Line. The French Army on their right and the Americans on their left. The British Prisoners appeared much in liquor. After they grounded their arms, they returned to town again.

Col. Richard Butler recapped events leading to the capitulation for Brig. Gen. William Irvine back in Pennsylvania:

Camp at York, October 22d. 1781

Dear General, – As time presses I know you'll be so good as to excuse me from giving you a journal of the minutia of the siege of Yorktown. Let it suffice to say, that on the 6th ultimo, we opened our first paralell, on the 9th, at 3 o'clock P.M., our batteries. On the 11th I began the second paralell within 200 paces of the enemy's works, & on the 14th two of their advanced redoubts were taken by storm by a detachment under the Marquis Lafayette, who attacked the one with his Americans, & Baron Viominel with the French

which put it in our power to complete the second Paralell that night. [On the] 16th formd Batteries & fird seventy [shot?], did great damage to their works. 17th, Ld Cornwallis sent a flag requesting a cessation of arms for 24 hours, & 2 commissioners from each army to be appointed to form a capitulation for the army, and the surrender of the shiping and posts of York & [p. 202] Gloster. The General sent no answer to the first message which came about 10 o'clock A.M., he recd a second about 4 P.M., & hostilities were ordered to cease & a capitulation agreed to – the general purposed thus, The garisons prisoners of war till exchangd, the whole to march out with Colors cased, and not to beat a French or an American march. The whole to keep their private baggage. All public stores to be delivered to [the[American Commissary, &c. &c. &c. On the 19th, at 11 o'clock Their Flag was struck, and Major [James] Hamilton, with 100 men (Americans) took possession of one work and planted our flag, and a French major, with 100 men (French) another. Then the Allied Army and the American Army was drawn up opposite to each other, and, I assure you Sir, they made a most elegant appearance. About 3 o'clock P.M., the British & Foreigners marchd out to a place ass[i]gnd, & was ordered by General Lincoln to ground their Arms. The same was done on the side of Gloster, and the whole marchd off this day for the places asignd for their residence during Captivity. ... Their stores are immense, there are about 70 pieces of Brass ordinance, beside ship-guns, with a great quantity of ammunition, & arms almost innumerable. ... Thus has the Earl been brought to anchor in the height of his career. Col. Craig & is detachd just arrived in time for some of his officers to see the surrender, what the effect may be, God knows, but I hope it will bring a speedy peace. I expect we shall immediately press for Carolina, but this is a surmise. ...

P.S. Not a principal officer wounded or killed, and but very few men, & I think I may with propriety now congratulate you, my friend, and country in general, with certain Independence, and the pleasing approach of Peace.

Ens. Ebenezer Denny, 4th Pennsylvania, gave a slightly different account of Major Hamilton's triumphant entry:

19th. [October 1781] – Our division man the lines again. All is quiet. Articles of capitulation signed; detachments of French and Americans take possession of British forts. Major [James] Hamilton commanded a battalion which took possession of a fort immediately opposite our right and on the bank of York river. I carried the standard of our regiment on this occasion. On entering the fort, Baron Steuben, who accompanied us, took the standard from me and planted it himself.

Denny also recorded the arrival of the newly constituted 3rd Provisional Battalion,

20th. [October] – Joined by a new raised regiment from Pennsylvania. Officers hastened to partake of the siege, but were too late. ... Some of our officers return to Pennsylvania, others to take their places. ... Our brigade prepare for a long march.

Enos Reeves, a lieutenant in the 3rd Battalion, recorded their trip south, arrival at Yorktown and events immediately following.

[2 October 1781, Philadelphia]

Orders came out this afternoon to hold ourselves in readiness to march tomorrow morning at eight o'clock, the Assembly at half past, and to march off at 9 o'clock. We have been obliged to stay very close to camp, on account of deliveries of clothing, arms,

accoutrements. I have spent the day in the City, and am as busy as you please in getting in readiness for a long march.

The battalion marched the next day, and took ship down the Delaware River. Disembarking at Christiana Bridge, the troops arrived at Head of Elk on October 7th. They embarked down the Elk River to the Chesapeake Bay, en route for Baltimore, where they disembarked (at North Point) on the 18th.

[22 October 1781]

Fort Baltimore

On Sun: 21. – This morning to my unspeakable joy, I saw the copy of a Letter from the Count d'Grasse to the Governor of Maryland, giving him an account of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis with all the army under his command at York, in Virginia. I was somewhat mortified to think, that I had been eighteen days on our way to that place and by misfortune could not be there. It is very remarkable that on the same day, of the same month, (that is the 17th of Octobr, 77), that Burgoyne surrendered with his army at Saratoga ...

[31 October 1781, Yorktown]

On the 28th instant I ran up York River to Yorktown, about 8 miles from the Bay, where I landed and walk'd up to the Encampment and made my report to Colonel Craig ... I marched the company to camp within two miles of the town of York, on the 29th instant, and have once more joined the Regiment from which I had been separated sixteen days, with sixty men and upwards ...

[4 November 1781, Yorktown]

On the second instant, I went to take a view of the Lines and found them very grand. The enemy had the town picqueted all round very strongly. The town is small, not exceeding two hundred and fifty houses, the most of which were shot through like a riddle – some had the whole side burst out with the explosion of the shells, and the whole at present in a ruinous state. At present all the small craft that can be had is Loading with the heavy artillery and ordnanace stores, which are to be sent immediately to the Head of Elk ... The town at present is entirely a scene of confusion – here you may see all putting backward and forward, and running one among another about their own business. British officers and French sailors, soldiers, marines, fatigue men, boatmen, British merchants, American Speculators, Jews and Infidels – Negroes, British wives, soldiers' trolls, with a song &c. So be-mixed, be-hurried, be-know'd, be-frightened and be-deviled, that nothing short of ... the pencil of a Hogarth could possibly do them justice to delineate or describe.

Captain Bartholomew noted the Pennsylvanians departure for South Carolina, while troops headed north.

Monday Novbr. 5th. 1st. N. York Regt. Rhode Island & Jersey troops march this day to York & embarkd for the head of Elk; one Maryland Regt. two Companies of Delaware troops & three Battalions of Pennya. Troops with t[h]ree companies of Pennya. Artillery with 6 six pounders 4 5½ Inch Howitzers & 3 5½ Inch mortars March'd at 12 OClock ...

And, Lieutenant Reeves closes the Virginia Campaign for Wayne's troops:

[8 November 1781]

Bottom Bridge

On the fifth instant about 9 o'clock the Genl beat and we marched off under the command of Major Gen. Arthur St. Clair. The detachment is composed of the Pennsylvania Line, the Maryland Troops that are here, a detachment of Virginians, a detachment of artillery with brass pounders and Howitzers ... with a large quantity of Ordnance stores, Commissary, Qr.Mr.Genl. Stores, with a quantity of clothing ... on our way to join the Southern Army, under the command of General Greene. Being encumbered with such a quantity of waggons will cause us to move on very slow.

Pennsylvania Battalion Troop Strength, November 1781

1st Battalion, Col. Richard Butler (Noted on this return, "Colo Butler Returned to Pennsya.")

"Officers present fit for duty": 1 lieutenant colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants, 1 ensign

Staff: 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon, 1 surgeon's mate

"Non Commission'd": 1 sergeant major, 1 quartermaster sergeant, 1 drum major, 1 fife major, ? sergeants, 13 drum and fife

"Rank and File": 180 fit for duty, 37 on duty, 34 sick present, 65 sick absent, 10 on command, 40 "On Extra service," 2 on furlough (TOTAL: 368)

"Alterations since last Return": 3 dead, 1 discharged time expired, 2 deserted, 2 transferred

2nd Battalion, Col. Walter Stewart (on furlough)

"Officers present fit for duty": 2 majors, 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 4 ensigns

Staff: 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon

"Non Commission'd": 1 sergeant major, 1 quartermaster sergeant, 1 drum major, 20 sergeants, 11 drum and fife

"Rank and File": 180 fit for duty, 35 on duty, 35 sick present, 68 sick absent, 18 on command, 32 "On Extra service," 1 on furlough (TOTAL: 357)

"Alterations since last Return": 2 dead, 1 deserted, 1 transferred

Joined since last return: 3 rank and file

3rd Battalion, Col. Thomas Craig

"Officers present fit for duty": 1 colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 13 lieutenants

Staff: 1 adjutant, 1 quartermaster, 1 surgeon

"Non Commission'd": 1 sergeant major, 1 quartermaster sergeant, 1 drum major, 1 fife major, ? sergeants, 16 drum and fife

"Rank and File": 210 fit for duty, 69 on duty, 18 sick present, 29 sick absent, 4 on command, 30 "On Extra service," 1 confined (TOTAL: 361)

"Alterations since last Return": 6 deserted, 3 transferred, 3 reduced

Joined since last return: 6 rank and file

Sources

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Ebenezer Denny, "Military Journal of Major Ebenezer Denny", *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. VII (1860), 248-249.

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E. Lee Shepard, ed., *Marching to Victory: Capt. Benjamin Bartholomew's Diary of the Yorktown Campaign, May 1781 to March 1781* (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 2002), 27.

"Return of the Pennsylvania Brigade of Foot, commanded by Brig. Genl. Anthony Wayne Nov 10th [1781] Richmond," signed "Thos. Craig Colonel Commanding," Revolutionary War Rolls, National Archives Microfilm Publication M246, Record Group 93, reel 84.



A good representation of the variety of uniforms worn in the Continental Army during the Yorktown Siege operations. From left to right we have soldiers from: the Rhode Island Regiment; Hazen's Canadian Regiment; a rifleman, and an artilleryman. Howard C. Rice and Anne S.K. Brown, eds. and trans., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, vol. I (Princeton, N.J. and Providence, R.I.; Princeton University Press, 1972), between pages 142-143 (description on page xxi). Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University.

"The Cloathing was drawn near twelve month ago ...".
1780-1781 Pennsylvania Clothing, Letters and Returns

"Return of Cloathing Issued for the Pennsylvania Troops from the Continental Stores

By whom and where Issued	Breeches and		Woolen		Linen		Shirts	Hose	Shoes	Boots	Blankets	Socks
	Hatts	Coats	Vests	Overalls	Overalls	Shirts						
John Moylan AC Genl from the Magazine at Camp for the Year 1780	1621	186	416	318		1022	1054	5499	1	703	1000	
Jacob S. Howell DC Genl from the Magazine at Philadelphia from 1 January 1780 to 23d March 1781	31	42	73	107	1532	162	20	452	2	4	1	
Total issued	1621	228	489	425	1532	1084	1074	5951	3	707	1001	

[Plus 2 watch coats, 301 stocks, and 31 shoe buckles.]

NB exclusive of the above 2000 Coats were delivered to the executive Council in the fall 1779 and 500 Suits with several other Articles not comprehended in the Return were issued last fall as soon as particular Returns can be obtained from Newburgh they shall be reported

James Wikinson
CGenl"

“Return of Cloathing Issued for the Pennsylvania Troops from the Continental Stores,”
 26 March 1781, Roland M. Baumann, ed., Records of Pennsylvania’s Revolutionary
 Governments, 1775–1790, in the Pennsylvania State Archives (microfilm edition, 54 reels)
 Record Group 27, reel 17 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978).

Richard Butler to Joseph Reed, 24 February 1781.

“Col. R Butlers most Respectful Compliments to the President & Council, Prays they Will be so
 Obliging as to grant an Order for as much blue Cloth & trimings as will make a Coat for a
 Recruiting Serjt., Also for some black stocks Worsted Epaulets & Drumrs. lace that Captn.
 Zeigler has in store & are not worth Dividing to Regts. – there is some Remnts. of blue in Col.
 Farmers store will Ansr. the above purpose.
 24th Feby. 1781”

Richard Butler to Joseph Reed, 24 February 1781, Roland M. Baumann, ed., Records of
 Pennsylvania’s Revolutionary Governments, 1775–1790, in the Pennsylvania State
 Archives (microfilm edition, 54 reels) Record Group 27, reel 17 (Harrisburg:
 Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978).

Pennsylvania Executive Council to Richard Butler, 24 February 1781,

“Sir Council would gladly comply with any Request from you not inconsistent with general
 Rules but your own Knowledge & Experience will suggest the Uneasiness which partial Issues
 make in Armies – at the Desire of the Officers two Years ago the Council made a Rule against
 Issues unless general - & we have found that it has been generally acceptable. We cannot supply
 the Regiments in the same Manner & they will think it hard to see a Preference when all are
 equally desiring – We are taking Measures to procure a general supply in which a due
 Consideration will be paid to your Regiment. ... there is no Duty we will perform more
 chearfully than that of expending the Money furnishd for the Accomodation of the Troops.”

Pennsylvania Executive Council to Richard Butler, 24 February 1781, Roland M.
 Baumann, ed., Records of Pennsylvania’s Revolutionary Governments, 1775–1790, in
 the Pennsylvania State Archives (microfilm edition, 54 reels) Record Group 27, reel 17
 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978).

“No. 2 General Return of Cloathing remaind on hand, Received & Delivered Agreeable to the Honble.
 Supreme Executive Council and General Officers Orders

Of Whom and received	Linnen Coats	Linnen Vests	Linnen Overalls	Do. Jackets	shirts	shoes	stockings	stocks	White Bindings	Yellow Bindings
Received of Colo Farmer 703	485	1393	2076	3	2473	2318	6	1000	100	244
Received of the Cloathier Genl.			1500							
Received of Mr Wm. Garter C:[Issues?]						2				
Total	485	1393	3576	3	2473	2320	6	1000	100	244

“No. 2 General Return of Cloathing remaind on hand, Received & Delivered Agreeable to the Honble. Supreme Executive Council and General Officers Orders,” 18 April to 6 October 1781, Roland M. Baumann, ed., *Records of Pennsylvania’s Revolutionary Governments, 1775–1790*, in the Pennsylvania State Archives (microfilm edition, 54 reels) Record Group 27, reel 19 (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1978).

Lt. Col. Josiah Harmar’s remarks on the Southern Army:

Camp Pompon [S.C.] February 5th 1782

The North Carolina Brigade is composed of (Two) Battalions, the first forming eight Companies (the) second only Six, which is irregular. The Arms of this Brigade are of different Callibers, two thirds of them [p. 320] without Bayonets, and in bad Condition. The Ammunition is incomplete, The Accoutrements bad, and the Men almost naked as to Clothing. Several Companies are without a single Commissioned Officer. Each Man (should be provided with a spare) Flint, at present they have (but the one) in their piece.

(The) Maryland Brigade is compos’d of two Regiments of Nine Companies each; wants several stands of Arms, many Bayonets deficient, the Arms they have are bright and in good Order, (sev)eral Cartridges wanting, Accoutrements tolerable, many Men almost naked as to Clothing.

(T)he Pennsylvania Brigade is compos’d of three (B)attalions of eight Companies each, are well (a)rm’d in general, with French Musquets and Bayonets. The second Battalion is complete with 30 Rou(nds) Cartridges. The first & third with 40 Round(s,) each Man has a spare Flint. The Accout(rements) are good. The Cloathing was drawn near twelve month ago, many of the Men are (in a) ragged miserable Condition.

The Cartridges drawn last throughout th(e line) are by no means fit for Service. They are so small that after priming, scarcely a Squib (is) left for (the charge.)

The Waiters (excepting Field & Staff) (Should) all be arm’d. They are a considerable Dra(wback) from the Strength of the Army.

The Troops require frequent wa(shing) exercise & manoeuvring, in order to assume (the) proper military Air.

Jos. Harmar

[Harmar, a Pennsylvanian, undoubtedly made this report as the recently appointed adjutant general.]

Dennis M. Conrad, ed, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, vol. X, 3 December 1781–6 April 1782 (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 319-320.