WINTER 2021 * Vol.22 No.4

AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD TRUST

HALLOWED GROUND

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The Alliance

PLUS:

Long-awaited grave markers for two French officers

HOW THE FRENCH HELPED AMERICA WIN ITS FREEDOM

HALLOWED GROUND A quarterly publication of the American **Battlefield Trust** Winter 2021 Vol. 22, No. 4

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AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD TRUST * * *

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THE AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD TRUST preserves our nation's hallowed battlegrounds and educates the public about what happened there and why it matters today. We permanently protect these battlefields as a lasting and tangible memorial to the brave soldiers who fought in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the Civil War. Thanks to the contributions of more than 300,000 members and supporters nationwide, we have preserved more than 53,000 acres, 143 sites in 24 states. For more information, call 800-298-7878 or visit our website at www.battlefields.org. Hallowed Ground is the membership magazine of the American Battlefield Trust. It is produced solely for nonprofit educational purposes and every reasonable attempt is made to provide accurate and appropriate attribution for all elements, including those in the public domain.Contemporary images are reproduced only with permission adappropriate attribution; uncredited images are courtesy the American Battlefield Trust. Feature articles reflect the research and opinion of the bylined author. ©2021 American Battlefield Trust.



HE BEATLES famously asserted that we each "get by with a little help from [our] friends," a sentiment with widespread applicability in both historical and contemporary settings. This issue of *Hallowed Ground* examines the friendship without which America

likely would not have come to be: the Franco-American Alliance that won the Revolutionary War.

Truly, the scope and scale of French assistance in that conflict is vastly overlooked in most teachings of American history. Their materials, expertise, manpower and more were all integral to our ultimate victory. And yet, in singing along to the Hamilton soundtrack, how many teenagers proudly proclaim that "the codeword is Rochambeau" without having any idea what or who that is?

In truth, the French did more than engineer the bombardment of Yorktown or block the British fleet from resupplying Cornwallis, the two feats for which they are most often given credit. After entering the war, French ships and troops were engaged across the Caribbean, throughout the North Atlantic and even as far afield as the Indian subcontinent. Their involvement drew in the Spanish and the Dutch, transforming our struggle for independence into a worldwide war. In fact, the final battle of the struggle that began on Lexington Green in April 1775 was fought near Cuddalore, in the Bay of Bengal, 98 months later and more than 13,000 miles away.

In a more modern sense, the work that the American Battle-field Trust undertakes is never done in isolation. We have excellent partner groups on the local level, helping us stay alert to acquisition opportunities and turning out to undertake ambitious stewardship and maintenance projects (Site registration for our 26th annual Park Day is now open! See page 8 for details.)

Nor could we operate effectively without lawmakers and officials at the state level, who oversee programs that assist in transactions and create the infrastructure to safeguard special places like

our battlefields. Recently, both Kentucky and North Carolina have taken firm and visionary steps on behalf of American history, for which we are honored to publicly applaud them on pages 8 and 10.

Our chief national colleague remains the National Park Service, as seen so clearly in this issue. First the American Battle-

field Protection Program created an entirely new grand infrastructure to support battlefield interpretation — with a further mechanism for restoration projects still to debut and welcome its first applications. Then, just in time for Thanksgiving, that entity announced the single-largest battlefield land acquisition grant in its 20-year history. The \$4.6 million awarded to us to acquire 250 acres at Williamsburg, Va., is a powerful testament to how profoundly that program has grown since its inception, on the strength of our most important partner of all.

That most indispensable ally is YOU, our individual members. Without your support, we simply would not exist as the organization we are today. Nor is it a matter of just your financial contributions, for which I am profoundly grateful. More fundamentally, it is your enthusiasm and your passion — your unshakable belief that there is power in place and that American history is more deeply understood for having access to the sites where it unfolded.

You are the driving force behind what we do, the reason that I — and the team of dedicated professionals that the Trust has assembled — come to work every day. Because people like you will learn from these places, will pass along those lessons to their children and grandchildren. It is for you that we most earnestly count our blessings, and upon whom we know without any shadow of doubt that we can depend in the new year that is dawning.

David N. Duncan

President, American Battlefield Trust

battle fields.org **Carving History** Go behind the scenes - and back in time - at the John Stevens Shop, a three-century-old stone-carving institution, with our mini documentary produced in collaboration with the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail. These **EXPLORE NEWPORT** talented artisans, masters of a dying craft, carry on a The march of the French and fine tradition. As their predecessors' work graces still-Continental Armies to victory over standing headstones and other tablets or ornamentation Cornwallis and the British famously across the country, so does a new generation leave its ended at Yorktown, Va. — but it mark on modern monuments — from the World War II began at Newport, R.I.! The so-called Memorial in Washington, D.C., to a pair of freshly dedicated sailing capital of the world dates its markers for French dead in the American Revolution. founding to 1639 and is filled with www.battlefields.org/CarvedInStone enough history, culture and adventure to suit travelers of all stripes. Plan your trip to the "City by the Sea" with our latest travel guide! www.battlefields.org/itineraries.

AN AFFINITY FOR THE FRENCH

One magazine edition is insufficient to convey the impact and significance of the Franco-American relationship during the American Revolution.

Gratitude and fraternity ran so deep that it was popularly (though somewhat erroneously) reported that leaders of the American Expeditionary Force, arriving to help liberate France during WWI declared, "Lafayette, we are here." Learn more about the political forces that drove French involvement and how it reverberated on land and sea at www.battlefields.org/

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URING A SOLEMN ceremony on September 10, a pair of finely crafted slate grave markers was placed in the portion of Newport, R.I.'s Trinity Church yard that was typically used for burials 250 years ago. The event was part of a broader weekend

honoring "The French in 1780 Newport" with numerous living history events.

The markers memorialize two French naval officers who arrived in America aboard the frigate *l'Hermione* alongside the Marquis de Lafayette, who was returning from France in April 1780 as an emissary from King Louis XVI and bearing news that thousands of troops would soon follow.

After arrival, Major Pierre du Rousseau, Chevalier de Fayolle, accompanied Lafayette by land to Morristown, N.J., and Philadelphia to inform General George Washington and the Continental Congress personally of the impending French expeditionary force. Less than two months later, he died in an accident in Newport Harbor on June 8. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Augustin Benjamin Lavilmarais was wounded by grapeshot in the thigh during a naval battle against the British Navy

frigate *Iris* and died of his wounds July 18 in Newport.

With their exact burial sites unknown, the new markers were placed next to the tombstone of Admiral Charles de Ternay, commander of the naval forces that brought the Expédition Particulière to Newport in July 1780. The admiral died that December, and a portion of the Episcopalian cemetery was consecrated in the Roman Catholic tradition for his burial, making it likely that his countrymen were interred in close proximity.

The slate markers were crafted by the John Stevens Shop, a Newport stone-carver founded in 1705 and one of the oldest continuously operating businesses in the United States.

Significant support for the project was provided by the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route (W3R-US). (Learn more about how W3R-US supports the national historic trail on page 12.) Additional assistance came from American Friends of Lafayette, Le Souvenir Francais and the Newport Historical Society. The American Battlefield Trust is proud to have worked alongside our friends and partners at the National Park Service and W3R in planning this meaningful and moving ceremony.

TRUST LAUNCHES COMPREHENSIVE INVENTORY

of battlefield markers & monuments



ARLIER THIS YEAR, a Trust-led network of historians undertook the massive task of researching and cataloging the commemorative markers, monuments, plaques and tablets located on America's battlefields. The Trust has a well-established reputation as a nonpartisan historical authority and, through this project, will provide essential context in response to the ongoing conversation around remembering

and memorializing our collective history.

After months of work to capture as much information as possible, especially

contextual details often missing from summaries, the Trust has launched a beta version of our Battlefield Monuments and Markers Database. While still a work in progress — while the data for many key battlefields are fully input, our full vision to capture all Revolutionary War, War of 1812 and Civil War battlefields is so vast that it will take years to complete — we invite our members to explore this fascinating articulation of the array of place-based commemorative and educational objects.

There has never been a comprehensive resource of this kind, capturing not just monument text and date erected, but also the artist, dedication speeches and any subsequent alterations made to the object, all of which are necessary for gaining a complete understanding of these cultural resources. Such comprehensive review also lays the groundwork for digital interpretation of monuments and markers when necessary for full appreciation and understanding. We will further use this information to inform conversations with

lawmakers and provide the public with an authoritative resource that helps tell the important and sometimes difficult story of America's hallowed battlegrounds.

In conjunction with this launch, we have also added a number of contextual articles that shed light on nuanced aspects of how America's battlefields came to be populated with place-based markers and monuments. These feature notable voices, like Timothy B. Smith, the author of multiple volumes on the early decades of the preservation movement and expert on the process by which the War Department placed myriad tablets on battlefields to educate future officers; Brian Matthew Jordan, whose Pulitzer Prize-finalist work *Marching Home: Union Veterans and Their Unending Civil War* made him well suited to address the role that veterans had in shaping practices; and Don Pfanz, now retired after decades with the National Park Service, but also celebrated as a founder of this organization.

Visit www.battlefields.org/monuments to explore all this exciting content.★



A MONUMENTAL SURPRISE at Gettysburg's Seminary Ridge



FTER SERVING as the president of the nation's premier battlefield land preservation organization for more than 20 years, O. James Lighthizer was honored at the Gettysburg Battlefield on Saturday, November 6, 2021. The former Trust

president was completely surprised by the tribute — a monument erected upon Seminary Ridge to commemorate his demonstrated commitment to battlefield preservation — as he'd come to the renowned battlefield that day only expecting to participate in a tour. His wife, Gloria, as well as his dear friends and colleagues were present for the special moment, at which hearty laughter and bright, genuine smiles abounded.

Lauding his mentor and predecessor, current Trust President David Duncan spoke to the crowd and was later

joined by Gloria Lighthizer in unveiling the monument. Upon it, you're met with Lighthizer's inspiring thoughts on battlefield preservation: "Unless you walk a battlefield, you can never fully understand what happened there. Unless you learn the stories of the heroes, you can never fully appreciate how their sacrifice gave us the freedom we enjoy today. And unless you and I pass on the appreciation of these sites and why they are important, we can-



not ensure the same freedom for our children and grand-children."

The monument is a testament to the more than 53,000 acres of battlefield land saved by way of Lighthizer's vision and efforts, including the hallowed ground on which the structure itself sits.★

4 HALLOWED GROUND WINTER 2021 Trinity Church Cemetery, Newport, R.I., NICK BENSON www.battlefields.org AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD TRUST 5





FTER NEARLY THREE DECADES of aiding preservationists with vital matching funds to facilitate the protection and study of battlefield landscapes, the National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program (NPS ABPP) has expanded its purview by

awarding a first round of grants toward interpretation projects designed for public education. The new program awarded \$917,173 to projects that use technology to bring the stories of sites of armed conflict alive for modern audiences, from tactile maps that expand accessibility, to smartphone apps with augmented reality, to engaging videos and more. Innovative interpretation is especially critical as we prepare for commemorations marking the nation's 250th anniversary in the coming years.

The American Battlefield Trust, which received five of the II grants awarded, celebrated the announcement along with other recipients. "This endorsement of the Trust's work underlines our industry-leading commitment to use the best 21st-century innovations to bring the 18th and 19th centuries alive," said Trust President David Duncan.

The Trust-led projects that rose to ABPP's exacting standards are: the creation of virtual field trips that will allow students across

the country to explore Revolutionary War, War of 1812 and Civil War sites in a digital environment: a 16-part animated video series focused on diverse first-person narratives; an interdisciplinary drive to tell the stories of African American combatants who took up arms for a nation that did not yet consider them free or full citizens; a dynamic vision to work alongside Princeton Battlefield State Park to transform the visitor experience at the climactic site of the Revolutionary War's Ten Crucial Days; and an augmented reality undertaking that will allow visitors to downtown Charleston, S.C., to stand in the virtual shadow of the imposing Horn Work that defended the city against British siege forces, as well as other transformative experiences along the Liberty Trail.

"Now more than ever, we know how modern technology can bring people together. Harnessing powerful stories at these battlefields and sites of armed conflict can open our eves to the lessons from the past and lead us to greater understanding of our shared history. The National Park Service is proud to support local communities as they improve

universal access, engage new audiences and broaden our perspectives around these important places," said NPS Deputy Director Shawn Benge.

Other highlighted endeavors include "Forgotten Voices of the American Revolutionary War" from the Connecticut Radio Information System, "Camden County American Revolution Mobile Audio App and Signage Trail Project" from the Camden County Historical Society (N.J.), "Interpretation and Implementation Plan for Fort Ticonderoga's Battlefield" from the Fort Ticonderoga Association (N.Y.), "Independence Rests Here" from the Christ Church Preservation Trust (Pa.), "Scoping Grant: Colonial Complex" from the York County History Center (Pa.) and "Interpreting the Hanging Rock Battlefield" from the South Carolina Battleground Preservation Trust.

NPS ABPP's Battlefield Interpretation Grants empower preservation partners nationwide to modernize and enhance battlefield interpretation — to inspire wonder, understanding and empathy at the places that witnessed some of our nation's most challenging events. In addition, the program administers three other grants: Battlefield Land Acquisition, Preservation Planning and the newly authorized Battlefield Restoration Grants. This financial assistance generates community-driven stewardship of historical resources at the state, tribal and local levels.*

LANDMARK GRANT

will fuel major effort at Williamsburg!

UST BEFORE THANKSGIVING, the Trust announced its contract to purchase 250 acres on the Williamsburg Battlefield in York County, Va. With its size, location and development potential, the tract's massive \$9.2 million price had long posed a challenge. But buoyed by a landmark \$4.6 million grant from ABPP, generous contributions from the Commonwealth of Virginia and a substantial landowner donation, the Trust is confident that its preservation is on the horizon. Although much work remains before an ultimate victory, this is a major milestone in securing a major portion of a

battlefield long-considered virtually lost.

From the 1690s to the mid 19th-century, a series of owners operated the land as a plantation, and as such it is rich in archaeological resources. Then, in 1861, Confederates built a second defensive line on the Peninsula, with No. II of I4 on the site. The Civil War Fortifications Study Group deems it one of the bestpreserved early war redoubts in the state.

During the spring of 1862, Union forces moved to threaten the Confederate capital of Richmond from the southeast, with the Battle of Williamsburg as the first pitched battle of

this offensive. On May 5, 1862, members of the local enslaved population — who had built the works - notified the Union army that two Confederate redoubts were unoccupied, allowing Brig. Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock to outflank the Confederate forces. Despite being temporarily pushed back by an attack that swept across this property, Hancock's forces were able to reestablish their line around Redoubt II, repulsing the Confederates and earning the commander his sobriquet "Hancock the Superb." Following the battle, the Union army used the nearby Custis farm buildings as a field hospital.★

FAMILIAR FACES

Civil War Twin application finds your historical doppelgänger



AVE YOU EVER come across a historical image and done a double take, realizing that a long-ago person bears a striking resemblance to someone alive today — whether a celebrity or an acquaintance?

Now you can quantify the degree of that phenomenon with Civil War Twin, a fun web application stemming from

minds at the American Battlefield Trust and brought to life by the team behind Civil War Photo Sleuth (CWPS), a program designed to identify unknown Civil War portraits using a combination of crowdsourcing and facial recognition.

Both efforts were created by the Crowd Intelligence Lab at Virginia Tech, led by Dr. Kurt Luther, with support from the Trust and Military Images magazine. Vikram Mohanty, Manisha Kusuma, Marx Wang and David Thames served as designers and developers of this project.

To find their Civil War Twin, users upload a photo, which the algorithm matches — after detecting roughly 27 facial landmarks — to faces from a historical photo database, narrowing results to meet selected specifications that



include race and gender, as well as military or civilian roles. The photo database consists of more than 30,000 period portraits within the Civil War Photo Sleuth project, which come from public collections like the Library of Congress and the National Archives, as well as uploads from individual history

lovers. While there are some 15,000 identified photos in the database, that's only a drop in the bucket compared to the estimated 3.3 million soldiers and 27.8 million civilians who experienced the conflict. It's also important to note that the database reflects historical biases; there are markedly fewer images of women and ethnic minorities compared to what is found in modern society.

Please note that the team behind Civil War Twin respects your privacy. Sample photos are available, and if you choose to upload your own image, it will not be stored or used to train Al models. Your photo and any faceprint will be deleted after use. The facial recognition service is provided by Microsoft. which also claims to not store any images on its server. While an email address is required to send you the downloadable photos of your Civil War Twin(s), it will not be stored unless you sign up to receive promotional emails.

Find your Civil War Twin at https://www.civilwartwin.com★

TRUST CONTINUES SUPPORT OF VETERANS ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAM

Helps underwrite crew that will explore Texas's Medina Battlefield



HE AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD TRUST marked Veterans Day 2021 by pledging \$10,000 to support a February 2022 project led by American Veterans Archaeological Recovery (AVAR). This effort intends to determine the true location of the Battle of Medina, which — despite being the bloodiest

battle in Texas history — has long eluded historians.

"The American Battlefield Trust understands keenly the power of place," said Trust President David Duncan. "Archaeology projects the historical record onto a physical space and can deepen, or even reshape, our understanding of past events. And when it is undertaken by a uniquely qualified team like AVAR, it takes on even greater

AVAR CEO Dr. Stephen Humphreys agreed enthusiastically: "Over the last six years, we have found that when we combine the emotional impact conflict sites provide with professional archaeological training, the result for our veterans is profound. We get a

veteran who is uniquely capable of interpreting that site, and that veteran gets to connect not only with other veterans in the present day but also with those who served in generations past."

The August 18, 1813, Battle of Medina was a critical moment in the Mexican War of Independence against Spanish rule. A diverse republican army consisting of Tejano-Mexicans and Tejano-Americans, Americans (including a veteran of the Revolutionary War), Euro-Mexicans (Criollos), former royalist soldiers, Native Americans and at least one enslaved Black man was destroyed by a superior Spanish force. Republican casualties, most executed following the resounding defeat, remained unburied for years; Antonio López de Santa Anna, present with the victors as a young lieutenant, later replicated the decision to offer no quarter to his opponents when he led Mexican forces against the Alamo and Goliad in 1836.

At Medina, AVAR will be collaborating with local historical expert Brandon Seale, producer of the A New History of Old Texas podcast, and archaeologist and historian Kay Hindes. Work will be carried out with the support of the County of Atascosa and the Texas Historical Commission, with technical supervision provided by Dr. Raymond Mauldin of the Center for Archaeological Research at the University of Texas at San Antonio.

In two previous seasons, Trust contributions placed AVAR volunteers alongside National Park Service archaeologists on an award-winning interdisciplinary cultural resources team at Sara-

> toga National Historical Park. Working alongside the Defense POW-MIA Accounting Agency, AVAR volunteers have assisted in projects to recover the remains of U.S. servicemen downed in WWII plane crashes over the U.K. and Sicily.

> Donations in support of the Trust's archaeological work — alongside AVAR and more broadly on other battlefields — may be made at www.battlefields.org/archaeology.★



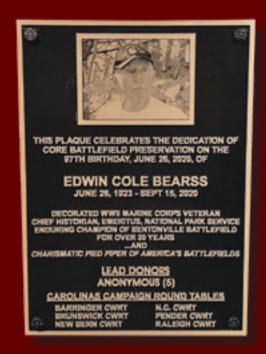
ACH YEAR, thousands of history enthusiasts, families, Boy and Girl Scouts, ROTC units and more come together to help keep our nation's heritage not only preserved, but pristine. In 2022, volunteers will muster at battlefields, museums, cemeteries and historical sites on April 9.

Since 1996, community-minded citizens have taken part in Park Day events at various sites across the country. Activities are chosen by each participating site and can include building trails, raking leaves, painting signs, putting up fences and contributing to site interpretation. In addition to the satisfaction that volunteer work brings, participants receive official Park Day water bottles and may have the chance to hear a local historian speak on the importance of their site. Park Day can also be used to fulfill the service requirements associated with Scout groups, student organizations, training corps programs, school graduation requirements, civic organizations and more.

While Park Day is an annual tradition for many locations, new sites are always welcome to join the movement. Site managers are invited to register online at www.battlefields.org/parkday. As the event grows closer, specific details for individual locations will be posted so that volunteers can identify an opportunity near them.



ON NOVEMBER 9, American Battlefield Trust President David Duncan travelled to Kentucky to visit key allies in the fight to protect Bluegrass State battlefields. Pictured, left to right: Chad Greene and Joni House of the Kentucky Military History Preservation Alliance, longtime advocates of preserving Perryville Battlefield; Rep. David Meade, Speaker *Pro Tempore*; Sen. Robert Stivers, President of the Kentucky Senate; Sen. Rick Girdler, Senate sponsor of legislation that created the Kentucky Battlefield Preservation Fund; and Trust President David Duncan. Also on proud display: a new sign detailing the remarkable preservation achievements at Perryville, which is soon to be displayed at Perryville Battlefield State Historic Site.



BENTONVILLE PLAQUE HONORS LEGENDARY HISTORIAN ED BEARSS

THREE GENERATIONS of the Bearss family gathered at Bentonville Battlefield State Historic Site on October 30 for the dedication of a plaque honoring the memory of Ed Bearss, at a site that benefitted singularly from his preservation activism. Left to right, flanked by longtime Trust Color Bearers and Carolina Campaign Civil War Roundtable activists Gene and CarolAnn Adcock: Ed's daughter Ginny; her son Todd and wife Danielle with their three-year-old twins Oliver and Tristian; and her son Andy.



BLAZE THE LIBERTY TRAIL

with forthcoming episode of PBS's

Travels with Darley

HIS AUTUMN, Darley Newman, six-time Emmy Award–nominated host and producer, ventured to South Carolina to blaze the Liberty Trail and explore the Palmetto State's Revolutionary War history. The end result of her time walking, driving, paddling and otherwise applacing Charleston and the surround

otherwise exploring Charleston and the surrounding countryside will be a winter 2022 episode in season nine of *Travels with Darley*, which airs nationally on PBS and via streaming platforms.

"The state's brand-new Liberty Trail invites travelers to uncover lesser-known sites and fascinating figures related to the period," said Newman. "Parks, battlefields, museums and churches, along with landmarks in Charleston and the Francis Marion National Forest, bring to life key events and people in South Carolina's 18th-century history that are often overshadowed by the war that unfolded further north."

In addition to the episode's emphasis on insights into historic destinations and how to get the most out of your exploration of the Liberty Trail, Newman will also host a virtual event — sponsored by the American Battlefield Trust — with Smithsonian Associates to give

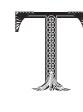


behind-the-scenes glimpses into how the episode was made, plus ideas for experiencing more nearby attractions and great recommendations for local food, drink and lodging. There, the Trust's Liberty Trail partner in preservation — the South Carolina Battleground Preservation Trust — will be represented by its executive director and CEO, Doug Bostick.

The live *Travels with Darley: Discover the Liberty Trail* event is scheduled for Thursday, February 24, 2022, from 6:45 to 8:15 p.m. ET. Register online at *https://smithsonianassociates.org.* Check your local listings for when *Travels with Darley* airs on your PBS affiliate station.★

CALL VIRTUAL SHOT GUN!

Travel with a Trust historian for a two-hour video tour of Gettysburg



HE POWER OF PLACE drives the American Battlefield Trust's dual preservation and education mission through the understanding that a protected landscape is one onto which captivating stories of the past can be best projected. Just shy of the I58th anniversary of the dedication of the Soldiers National Cemetery, the Trust debuted a two-hour online video

tour of the Gettysburg Battlefield, approximating what it is like to drive past and walk around iconic landmarks like Little Round Top and the Bloody Angle. The free tour, created with the consent of the National Park Service, is now available on the Trust's

YouTube channel and website.



"It is easy to get lost in the wonder of Gettysburg, but here at the American Battlefield Trust we're working tirelessly to both preserve this magnificent piece of history and help students and history lovers navigate it with ease," said Trust President David Duncan.

With GoPro cameras affixed to his car and a wealth of stories stashed in his mind, Trust Chief



Historian Garry Adelman — also a longtime licensed battlefield guide at Gettysburg — escorts viewers through the historic town and national military park. Whether it be through small details or big-picture ideas, the expert storyteller weaves together an exciting arrangement of Gettysburg wisdom that will keep viewers glued to their screens

"Gettysburg is a place where stories live, and at the Trust we're always looking for new and dynamic ways to bring stories to life," said Adelman. "While this tour gives online audiences an in-depth look at the battlefield, I cannot emphasize enough how profound it is to see Gettysburg with your own eyes."

While the new video resource delivers unprecedented digital access to a Gettysburg licensed battlefield guide experience, it is no substitute for an in-person visit with one such guide. Arrangements for touring with a licensed battlefield guide can be made through the Gettysburg Foundation, on-site at the Gettysburg National Military Park Museum & Visitor Center or directly through the Association of Licensed Battlefield Guides. **

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FROM the TRENCHES BREAKING PRESERVATION NEWS

NORTH CAROLINA EMBRACES ITS HALLOWED HISTORY

\$1.6 million investment will protect historic sites from encroachment



HEN GOV. ROY COOPER'S signature was affixed to the North Carolina budget on November 18, the future of the Tarheel State's hallowed ground became brighter. The state included \$1.6 million in its budget to preserve and restore North Carolina's

battlefield land, a measure that received bipartisan support from both chambers of the North Carolina General Assembly and will help pave the way for a meaningful 250th anniversary commemoration. The measure is much needed at present, as the state is experiencing rapid growth that carries the possibility of encroachment upon battlefield land. Recognizing the preservation that this measure enables, the Trust applauds the General Assembly and all those involved in this effort.

"Investing in our national heritage opens doors for meaningful impact," said American Battlefield Trust President David Duncan. "Whether it be sought-after, open green spaces; outdoor classrooms for current and future generations; or identity builders for towns seeking to showcase their profound past — North Carolina's battlefields can serve their communities in multiple ways."

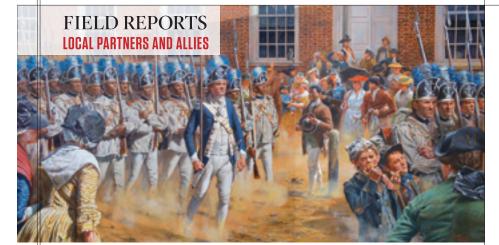
Representing the largest-ever appropriation for battlefield preser-

vation in North Carolina history, the \$1.6 million accounts for the preservation of nine tracts — roughly 700 acres — across the Bentonville Battlefield, the Averasboro Battlefield and the Wyse Fork Battlefield. The Trust will build upon these financial resources by leveraging them against federal matching grants and private donations, which, in combination, would be applied to the acquisition of the nine tracts — valued just below \$3.2 million.

Separately, the budget also includes \$50,000 to establish a North Carolina Road to Freedom program. First introduced in the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Road to Freedom project, undertaken alongside heritage tourism experts at Civil War Trails, Inc., highlights the under-told stories of the African American experience during a state's Civil War-era by linking together historic sites.

The Trust thanks Sen. Brent Jackson (R-Autryville), Rep. Larry Strickland (R-Pine Level), Sen. Chuck Edwards (R-Hendersonville), Sen. Todd Johnson (R-Unionville), Sen. Norman Sanderson (R- Minnesott Beach), Rep. Pat McElraft (R-Emerald Isle), Rep. Ed Goodwin (R-Edenton), Rep. Jimmy Dixon (R-Warsaw), Sen. Kirk deViere (D-Fayetteville), Sen. Jim Perry (R-Kinston), Sen. Jim Burgin (R-Angier), Rep. Howard Penny, Jr. (R-Coats), Rep. Diane Wheatley (R-Linden), Rep. John Bell (R-Goldsboro), and Rep. Chris Humphrey (R-Kinston) for supporting this investment into North Carolina.





PICTURING THE REVOLUTION

New MOAR exhibit helps visitors envision the era

REDATING PHOTOGRAPHY — and even before the advent of lithographic printing enabled detailed images to be mass-produced — the American Revolution lacks the images that students of later eras find invaluable to immerse themselves in the emotional resonance of a conflict. However, the work of exact-

ing and talented historical artists can help overcome this dearth of pictorial representation.

In October, the Museum of the American Revolution (MOAR) in Philadelphia debuted a new exhibit designed to engage visitors with a visual world that brings the compelling stories about the diverse people and complex events of the American Revolution to life. *Liberty: Don Troiani's Paintings of the Revolutionary War*, the first major exhibition of the work Trioani has devoted much of his career to, will run through September 2022.

"It is my hope that my paintings help people today grasp the significance of the Revolutionary struggles of the people who lived 250 years ago, whose brave actions continue to shape our lives," said Troiani, in advance of the unveiling.

In addition to showcasing more than 40 original works, the exhibit is intended to highlight the depth of research that goes into each painting by including artifacts used as references and other tools of the trade. Alongside renditions of pivotal moments like Washington's daring 1776 attack on Trenton and the Franco-American victory at Yorktown in 1781 are a number of images that drive home the often-overlooked diversity of the Revolutionary War story. These include paintings showing the contributions of Native American troops at Oriskany and Kingsbridge, as well as the most recent of Troiani's works: *Brave Men as Ever Fought.*

Commissioned by MOAR and funded by the National Park Service Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail, *Brave Men as Ever Fought* depicts the First Rhode Island Regiment, consisting of Black Patriot soldiers, passing through Philadelphia en route to Yorktown, where its troops would play an important role in that climactic action.

Special activities and resources are available to enhance the exhibit experience, including first-person theatrical performances written by local playwright Marissa Kennedy about the life of young sailor James Forten, a key figure in the painting. A free audio tour and family tour guide are available, while a 360-degree virtual tour and teacher guide will debut in early 2022.

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI CONTEMPLATES

"Why Is America Free?"



OUNDED IN 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati is the nation's oldest patriotic organization. Today, its more than 4,400 members — qualified male descendants of officers of the Continental army and navy and their French counterparts during the Revolution-

ary War — reside across the United States, France and more than 25 other countries. The oldest members are great-great-grandsons of those Patriots, while the youngest are nine generations removed from their Revolutionary ancestors. While fellowship is at the heart of the Society, education is at its soul, as members strive never to let America's revolutionary ideals be forgotten.

Now a nonprofit educational organization devoted to the principles and ideals of its founders, the modern Society maintains its headquarters, library and museum in Washington, D.C. In 2021, the Society created the American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati as an advocacy organization dedicated to promoting understanding and appreciation of the American Revolution and its legacy. Its chief goal is to ensure that the story of our Revolution, the constructive accomplishments of the revolutionaries and the legacy of the Revolution are widely recognized within history education. Amid advocating for the memory and ideals of the Revolution, the Institute strives to protect tangible aspects of that heritage, including books, manuscripts, art and artifacts, as well as battlefields, and encourages the study, exhibition, interpretation and enjoyment of these treasures.

The Society and Institute maintain that the history and ideals of the American Revolution are the foundation of our national identity. If they are forgotten, we will have nothing to hold us together. Future generations, unaware of the historic sacrifices that secured our liberty, will fail to value that liberty and sacrifice and preserve them.

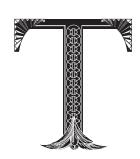
In service of this vision, the Institute has debuted *Why America Is Free*, a new narrative history of the American Revolution from its origins in the social and demographic experience of mid-I8th-century British America, through the crisis in the British Empire that followed the French and Indian War, to the Revolutionary War and the creation of the first great republic in modern history.

Written for teachers, secondary classrooms and Americans intent on understanding our national origins, Why America Is Free argues that the American Revolution is the central event in our history — the turning point between our colonial origin as a society in which freedom was limited and in which everyone was the subject of a distant monarch and a republican form of government expressing ideals of liberty, equality, natural and civil rights and responsible citizenship. Why America Is Free is an ideal enrichment text for classroom and remote use and the foundation for a series of online lesson plans on the pivotal events of the Revolution discussed in the book. Learn more at www.americanrevolutioninstitute.org/why-america-is-free.*

CREATING A ROUTE TO VICTORY

National Historic Trail traces a physical and thematic journey

*b*_ν ROBERT A. SELIG



HE WASHINGTON-ROCHAMBEAU Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail was created in March 2009, making it the youngest of the 19 national historic trails (NHTs) in the National Park Service (NPS) system. It began as a private-public effort in Connecticut in 1995 with the eventually successful attempt to preserve and protect the Rose Farm in Bolton, site of two encampments of French forces under the comte de Rochambeau from June 21 to 25, 1781, and November 4 to 5, 1782, from commercial development. In October 2000, it became a national effort with the passage of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Heritage Act of 2000, which required "the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600-mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War."

Thus the route is designed is to tell the story of the movements of Continental army and allied French forces from bases in New York and Rhode Island south to Yorktown, how this journey contributed to the British surrender on October 19, 1781, and how Patriot and French troops returned north again, the Continental army in November and December 1781, and French forces in July and August 1782.

The themes, goals and unifying purpose of the route are defined by the National Trails System Act of 1968, which requires NHTs to "follow as closely as possible and practicable the original trails or routes of travel of national historical sig-

Washington Rochambeaus **JOURNEY** TO YORKTOWN

every Revolutionary War battlefield along America's East Coast from Bunker Hill to Newport, White Plains, Morristown, Princeton, Trenton, Germantown, Redbank, Cooch's Bridge and Yorktown. French diaries, journals and letters describing these sites constitute invaluable resources of the appearance of these sites, supplementing American and British descriptions. The racial, ethnic, linguistic and religious makeup of the

Continental army reflected the diversity of the nascent United States. French troops reflected the vast empire from which they originated. As these soldiers met their allies, and the civilian populations through which they marched, their encounters made them aware of who they were in part by showing them who they were not. French observations of life in America, particularly of slavery, of customs, habits and foods, often contain information not found in American sources.

The route provides an opportunity to show how victory at Yorktown, indeed in the War of Independence, could only be achieved through the non-military contributions of thousands of Americans who provided cattle, grain, firewood and lodging, and who served as ferrymen, wagon drivers and guides to the troops marching to Virginia. No single community was large enough to supply the roughly 2,400 Americans and 4,500 French troops commanded by hundreds of officers and accompanied by well over 1,000 servants, riding on at least 1,500 horses and hundreds of wagons drawn by as many as 2,000 oxen as they made their way to Virginia. Access to supplies could only be ensured if the troops spread out across a larger area. The legislation establishing the NHT takes this into account when it defines the route as "a corridor" of multiple routes rather than as a single route.

Yorktown Battlefield, part of

LAUREL HOUSDEN PHOTOGRAPHY

In 1776, France became to first nation to support the rebellious colonies in their struggle, first clandestinely and then openly after the treaties of February 1778. Few Americans realize the extent of that support or how crucial it was in achieving independence. The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail celebrates that victory and the Franco-American friendship that has endured until today.★

Robert A. Selig is a historical consultant with a PhD in history from the Universität Würzburg in Germany and has served as project historian for the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route since 1997.

nificance," and by the NPS Final Review Document of October 2006, which states that the route is to "serve interpretive, educational, commemorative, and retracement purposes through recreational, driving, and water-based routes." The route's intent is to preserve and interpret campsites, surviving road sections, buildings and other architectural or landscape features.

This goal was achieved through resource studies and site surveys for the nine states and the District of Columbia through which the NHT runs. The studies, beginning in Connecticut in 1999, and ending in New Hampshire in 2018, were funded by various public and private donors, the NPS, and the National Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association (W3R-US), a nonprofit corporation incorporated in Delaware in 2003, and its state affiliates.

This research identified hundreds of resources and added the State of New Hampshire, where a number of vessels in the fleet of Admiral Louis-Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, charged with transporting French forces to the West Indies, anchored from August to December 1782. Research also showed that, with the exception of battlefields related to the Burgoyne Campaign, allied forces visited or marched across

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From French arms to French fleets, how France changed the tides of the American Revolution

by BOB ZELLER



HEN 70-YEAR-OLD Benjamin Franklin boarded the Continental sloop-of-war *Reprisal* in Philadelphia on October 26, 1776, for a month-long voyage to France, General George Washington's Continental army was losing the American Revolutionary War.

The hope and excitement spawned by the Declaration of Independence, announced just four

months earlier, with Franklin among the signers, had been replaced by the dread of impending defeat in the face of the overwhelming military power of the British Army.

Franklin knew his mission was straight-forward, if not simple. He would use his intellect, charm, wit and experience to convince France to join the war on the side of the fledgling United States of America. Franklin's popularity and persuasive powers, and a key American battlefield victory, were crucial factors that led France to join the war in 1778.

France provided the money, troops, armament, military leadership and naval support that tipped the balance of military power in favor of the United States and paved the way for the Continental army's ultimate victory. When British General Charles Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown on October 19, 1781, his vanquished troops

marched through a corridor formed by the victorious forces. On one side were the Americans; on the other side stood the French.

Wars between the British and French date back to the 12th century, escalating as European powers established and expanded their colonial empires. France had suffered bitter defeat in the most recent conflict, the Seven Years' War (1756–63), called the French and Indian War across the Atlantic. It had lost a majority of its claim to North America, forced to cede to England most of its land there, including all of Canada.

As England's American colonies be-

As England's American colonies became ever more rebellious in the 1760s and 1770s, France was naturally predisposed to favor the American revolutionaries and saw an opportunity to try to blunt the power of its longtime adversary. It began providing covert support — beginning with badly needed gunpowder — in the spring of 1776. The Declaration of Independence was well received across France, and Franklin was warmly welcomed when he arrived in Paris in December, charming his way to celebrity status.

In the face of the dreadful final weeks of 1776 — "the times that try men's souls," as Thomas Paine wrote — Washington scratched out miraculous victories at Trenton and Princeton that brought new life and hope to his ragged Continentals. Covert support from France expanded to include field guns, arms, ammunition, money and other assistance. Some of this aid came in the form of 20-year-old French aristocrat Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, who paid his way to America in 1777 to fight with distinction for the Continental army as a major general in Washington's command.

When American troops, commanded by General Horatio Gates, defeated the British at the Battles of Saratoga on September 19 and October 7, 1777, it is estimated that as many as nine out of 10 American soldiers carried French arms, and virtually all had French gunpowder. French field guns also played a critical role in a decisive triumph that forced the historic surrender of British General John Burgoyne and his entire army.

The stunning success at Saratoga gave Franklin what he had been pleading for — explicit French support in the war. King Louis XVI approved negotiations to that end. With Franklin negotiating for the United States, the two countries agreed to

FRANCE was naturally predisposed to favor the American revolutionaries and saw an opportunity to try to blunt the power of its longtime adversary.

a pair of treaties, signed on February 6, 1778, that called for France's direct participation in the war.

At Valley Forge that day, Washington's army was suffering. More soldiers were dying or deserting with each new frigid winter day. The rest were just trying to survive. But by May 1, when Washington received word of the good news from Paris, the harsh winter was a bad memory. He assembled the entire army at Valley Forge for a martial celebration. The ceremony included Washington's request that "upon a signal given, the whole army will huzza, 'Long Live the King of France.'"

A French fleet conducted operations in America in 1778–79, but the support that made the difference came in 1780, when French General Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau arrived in Rhode Island with more than 5,000 French soldiers.

Though he spoke no English, Rochambeau immediately hit it off with Washington. The two formed an effective team, and their combined forces became, as Washington put it, seemingly "actuated by one spirit." In August 1781, they moved south into Virginia on the offensive, with a plan to trap British General Cornwallis and his 8,000-man army encamped at Yorktown. Lafayette's force was already there, blocking escape routes.

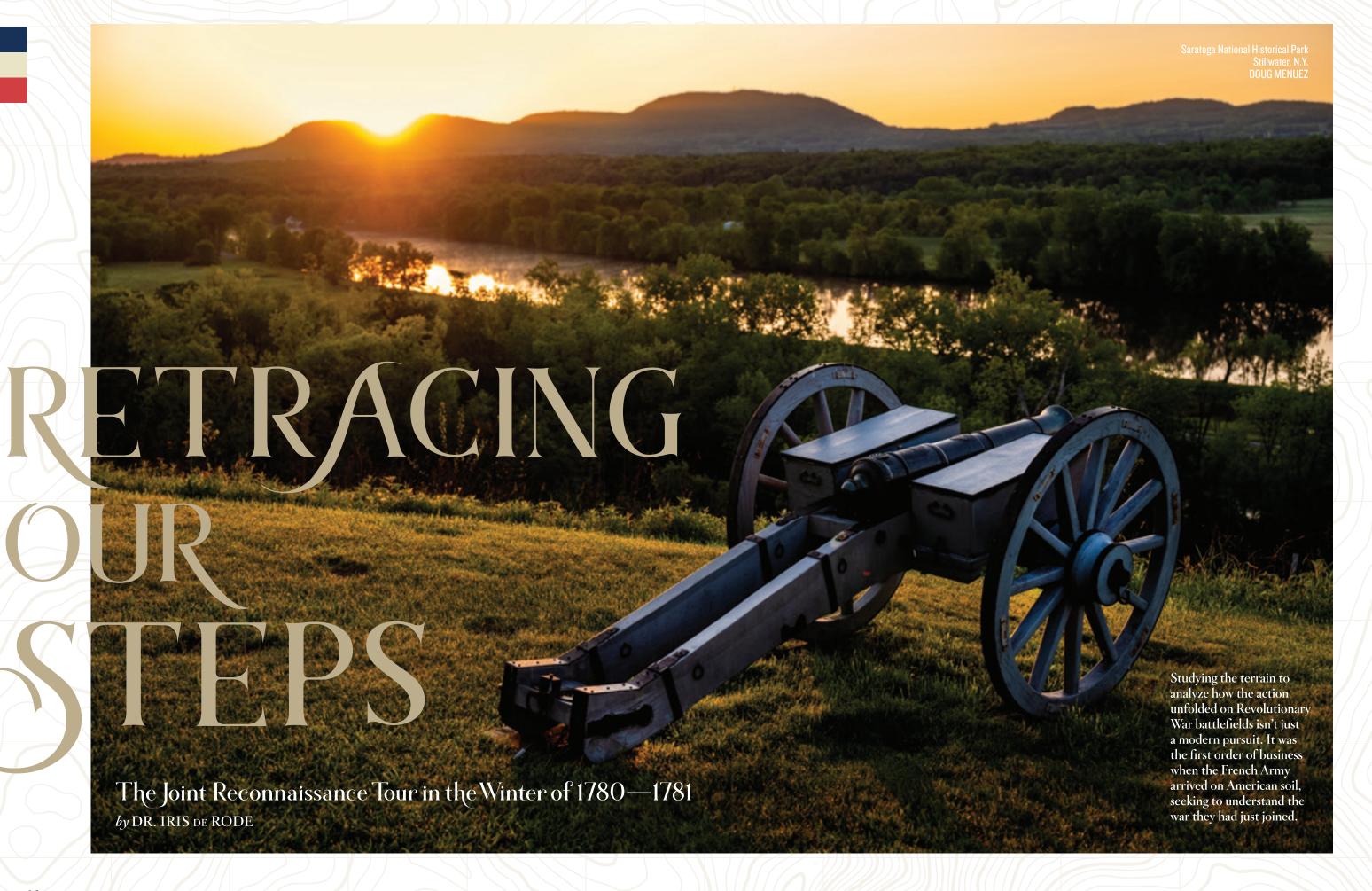
The plan's success hinged on French naval support. Washington and Rochambeau had requested and received the assistance of the French fleet in the West Indies commanded by Admiral François Joseph Paul de Grasse, who was sailing to Virginia. If de Grasse could wrest control of the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay from the British fleet protecting Cornwallis, the British Army would be surrounded.

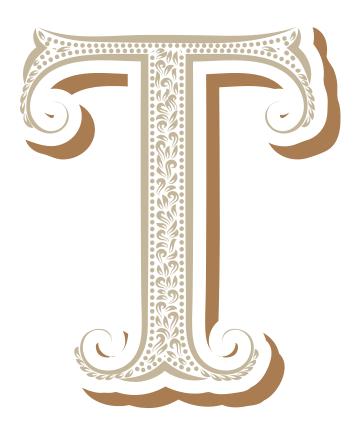
Beginning on September 5, 1781, in the Battle of the Capes, one of history's most consequential naval battles, de Grasse defeated the British fleet, damaging it badly enough to force its withdrawal to New York. Cornwallis was surrounded, and the Siege of Yorktown began. On October 19, 1781, Cornwallis surrendered. His defeat broke the back of Britain's war effort and led to the formal end of the war in 1783.

Lafayette was one of many French heroes in the Revolutionary War, but his name came to shine the brightest in the United States, especially after he returned to America for an enormously popular, year-long farewell tour in 1824–25. The aging commander visited all the young nation's 24 states and received a hero's welcome at many stops. He was the last surviving French general of the Revolutionary War.★

Bob Zeller is one of the country's leading authorities on Civil War photography and co-founder and president of the nonprofit Center for Civil War Photography. He has published 20 books, including Fighting the Second Civil War: A History of Battlefield Preservation and the Emergence of the Civil War Trust.







ODAY, the American Battlefield Trust preserves America's hallowed battlegrounds and educates the public about what happened there and why it matters, an important mission that's older than one might think. Exactly 240 years ago, during the Revolutionary War, America's French allies already recognized the importance of the preservation, research and documentation of those very recent battlefields. These individuals intended, in the words of French Major General François-Jean de Chastellux (1734–88), to prepare to fight their enemy, the mighty British Royal Army, but also to inform future generations on the war they fought.

Contrary to popular belief, rather than waiting for their respective leaders to dispatch more troops and supplies, the French and American officers did not sit idle over the winter of 1780–81.

Rather, the French organized a joint reconnaissance mission to previous battlefields of the American Revolution under the initiative of Chastellux, an overlooked figure who played a crucial role as a liaison officer between the French and Americans, and in the logistical and strategic planning of the allied army. My discovery of his unpublished private papers, in the ancestral château of the Chastellux family in Burgundy, reveals numerous details about his role,

especially on this forgotten reconnaissance mission.

After arriving in Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1780 with the French expeditionary force of more than 5,500 men under command of the Comte de Rochambeau, Chastellux and his French brothers in arms realized that the relationship with their American allies was troubled by mutual prejudices, sharp cultural differences and the fact that less than a generation previous, they had been bitter enemies on the battlefield during the Seven Years' War (known in North America as the French and Indian War). Furthermore, the low numbers of soldiers their respective armies had at their disposal to fight the powerful British Army disheartened both sides. The French were also disappointed by the quality of the Continental Army troops. The soldiers were "untrained, ill-disciplined," and in contrast to their own splendid French military uniforms, American soldiers were dressed in "rags." In addition to all of this, the French realized they had outdated maps and that many crucial details on the war they were fighting were unknown to them. This alliance seemed doomed.

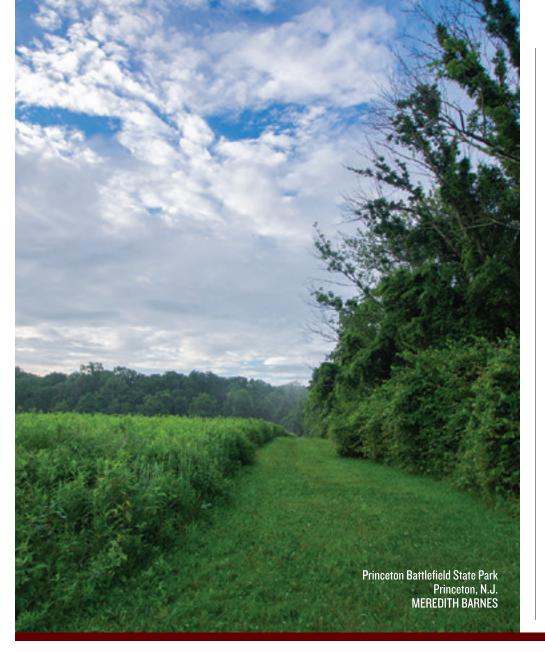
However, to prevent disaster, Chastellux secured the blessing of Generals Washington and Rochambeau to send a small group of officers on a reconnaissance tour through different North American states. This "Gallo-American" team — Chastellux's term — was sent on a joint mission to study the American theater of war to find out what could be done to get out of the allies' desperate situation, but also to spend time together to overcome their prejudices and differences.

The use of military reconnaissance and the study of former battlefields is as old as warfare itself, but the practice of these research missions became more institutionalized and organized during the 18th century in France. Standardization in the practices of documentation had expanded greatly after the Seven Years' War, as the French Army administration established a separate "dépôt" to preserve and collect maps and military reports based on reconnaissance missions. Additionally, officers, cartographers and engineers were trained in the "art of reconnaissance" in newly formed military colleges. The Enlightenment heavily inspired all of this: Based on the use of reason and observations, French officers collected, catalogued, systemized and organized their knowledge on the "science of war." In America, the Continental army had also performed reconnaissance missions,

but its officers were eager to cooperate with the French in their mission, not only to show them the lands, but also to learn from them on the art of reconnaissance and share their own ideas.

Starting in early November 1780, the French party left Newport, then it was onward to Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York and Delaware, with relevant American officers joining along the way. The French group was composed of Chastellux and his aides-de-camp, Isodore Lynch and Charles-Louis Montesquieu (grandson of the famous philosopher), and Rochambeau's aides-de-camp Mathieu Dumas (a cartographer), Charles de Damas and Baron de Turpin (an engineer-cartographer). They met with the of-

ficers of the Continental army during their travels, amongst whom were the Marquis de Lafayette, Alexander Hamilton, John Laurens and Philip Schuyler. On two occasions, George Washington himself joined the party. A reflection of this reconnaissance expedition is today to be found in the papers of Chastellux, who kept 13 reports and drafts (today unpublished) on this reconnaissance tour in his private collection. He also included some of his observations in



"I CONFESS that I was rather anxious to examine the traces of General Washington in a country where every object reminded me of his successes..."

his travel diary, which he published in 1786.

As a typical French "soldier-philosopher" of the Military Enlightenment, Chastellux believed that "The best method for military men in following the campaigns of great generals on the ground, is not to have the different positions pointed out and explained to them: it is much better, before they are made acquainted with these details, to visit the places, to look well about on every side, and to propose to themselves little problems on the nature of the ground and on the

advantages to be derived from it; then to compare their ideas with the facts, by which means they will be enabled to rectify the former, and to appreciate the latter"

Chastellux and his research team visited West Point, Stoney Point, Princeton, Trenton, Germantown, White Marsh, Brandywine, Barren Hill, Still Water and Saratoga, all sites of battles fought within the past four years. They always visited a site with Continen-

tal army officers who had been present and brought different British and American (to have both sides) military accounts and maps with them to study while there. Once at a site, the French cartographers also made new maps. By studying the movements of the army units and the order of battles, they gained an understanding of the decisions made by generals on their tactics. In trying to understand the strategies and tactics of both armies and their ways of operating, they were also identifying mistakes and finding solutions to prevent them in the future.

After visiting the fortifications of West Point and the battlefield at Stoney Point, Chastellux visited Lafayette's camp. The two Frenchmen were actually related, and Lafayette introduced his wife's uncle to Washington. "A few glasses of claret and Madeira accelerated the acquaintances I had to make, and soon I felt myself at ease near the greatest and best of men," Chastellux wrote. The two men saw each other frequently during the remainder of the war and developed a "deep friendship."

Before visiting Trenton, Chastellux wrote: "I confess that I was rather anxious to examine the traces of General Washington in a country where every object reminded me of his successes ... Colonel Moyland was telling me where one hundred and eighty English laid down their arms." Apart from being impressed by Washington's successes here, Chastellux paid particular attention to roads and waterways and to the events that had taken place on the exact places he visited. Indeed, the French party did extensive research on American geography,

topography and roads to find potential routes, crossings, camp- or battlefield sites to determine where provisions could be bought, but also where soldiers could be recruited. A little farther down the road, Chastellux described, on the road to Philadelphia:

As you advance you find a richer and better cultivated country, with a great number of orchards and pastures, everything, in short, answers the neighborhood of a large town, and this road is not unlike those around London. Four miles from Bristol you pass the creek of Neshaminy over a ferry, it is pretty large It had struck me from the view of the country, and from inspecting the chart, that on the retreat of Clinton, General Washington might have passed the sources of this river and marched along it towards the Delaware. It would have covered his right flank, and

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by this precaution, he would have been at liberty to have approached the Delaware, and to have crossed it as soon as Clinton.

fter visiting the "buzzing town" of Philadelphia, the group went to the battlefield of Germantown. There, they analyzed many details, including the specifics

of the Continental army's organization and its strengths and weaknesses. Based on the observations Chastellux had made under the guidance of John Laurens (Washington's aide-de-camp), he wrote that the Americans had shown a remarkable will to fight, and concluded: "Perhaps this army, notwithstanding the slowness of its maneuvers and its inexperience in the war, may merit the praises of Europeans."

Despite this will to fight, the Continental Army presented many weaknesses to Chastellux. They had made many mistakes at Germantown, and overall, Chastellux commented: "One can only be persuaded that they were devoted to destruction, and that the alliance with France alone proved the means of their preservation."

In his personal notes on this battle, Chastellux commented on the ill-disciplined, slow-moving columns and inexperienced army, and made long remarks on how they could be improved by different column formations and better communication, training and discipline measures, something Chastellux had been thinking about for his own French Army for more than 30 years. There was hope for the American army, if a reorganization were put into place, if more soldiers were recruited and trained and especially if the Continentals worked together with enough French troops and the French fleet.

In addition, during his research Chastellux found another reason for hope for the French collaboration with the Continental Army: its general, George Washington. This can be illustrated by his visit to Pennsylvania's Whitemarsh Battlefield with the Marquis de Lafayette. "It was a bold position which the English never dared to attack. ... The position is excellent ... the more respectable this position was, the more honor it did to Gen. Washington, who had divined, rather than discovered it. This was really an eagle eye's view, for it seems he must have hovered above the trees to examine the ground concealed by them." These kinds of positive remarks on Washington are abundant in Chastellux's papers, as well as those of



his colleagues. They show an evolution in the French mind on the capabilities of the general of the Continental army, which strengthened their hopes on the alley's potential, and especially for their future campaign.

After Germantown, the "Gallo-American" group continued to the battlefield of Barren Hill, Pennsylvania — today known as "Lafayette Hill." The eponymous general led the tour, and Chastellux wrote a detailed description of the general's actions there, based on his and other testimonies. He wrote: "I followed the exact road of the left column, which leads to Schuylkill Falls, where there is a sort of scattered village, composed of several beautiful country houses." He was not left untouched by the "pleasing landscape that would not escape the pencil of Robert and le Prince." This passage shows the research methods employed: The French officers talked to participants first, and then formed their own ideas and analysis on the ground.

During the time of travel, a severe winter had set in, as Chastellux remarked: "I turned my face towards the north, to seek after the traces of General Gates and General Burgoyne, amidst heaps of snow." He was eager to visit the famous site of Saratoga, New York. The French group did this with Colonel Alexander Hamilton and Brigadier-Colonel James Clinton. Before leaving, they stayed at General Philip Schuyler's house in Albany to discuss the "Northern campaigns." Chastellux commented: "Mr. Schuyler, to give the best answer to our questions, proposed to us to read his political and military correspondence with General Washington, which we accepted with great pleasure. The General opening his pocketbook, the Vicomte de Noailles and I divided the different manuscripts containing upwards of sixty pages of close

A few reports and correspondences detailed the "dangerous and ineffective campaign on Canada," in the words of Chastellux; others covered past battles. Chastellux and the others read military reports the whole day, and only had "supper at ten." This studious day shows that researching war was not only about going to the ground, but was additionally based on reading different accounts of battles and reports of military planning. Chastellux had copies made of these correspondences and kept them in his private papers, which are today kept in the Château de Chastellux.

After staying with Schuyler's team, the French continued with their research on the



"... This was really an EAGLE EYE'S VIEW, for it seems he must have hovered above the trees to examine the ground concealed by them."

ground, this time at the famous battlefield site of Saratoga, where, Chastellux wrote, "I continued reconnoitering here till night, sometimes walking in the snow, where I sunk to the knees, and sometimes travelling still less successfully in a sledge ... After surveying [British General John] Burgoyne's lines, I at length got down to the high road, passing through a field where he had established his hospital." He asked his mapmakers to draw accurate maps of the battlefield, including the positions of

the armies. Escaping the snows and returning south, the French team continued to Brandywine, Pennsylvania, noting that they passed "the road where M. de Lafayette wounded as he was, stopped the fugitives, and made the first dispositions for rallying them behind the creek." Lafayette and his aide-de-camp, Jean-Joseph Gimat, and the Generals Anthony Wayne and John Sullivan now accompanied the French travelers, and these American gentlemen provided the French with valuable

information on the past battles and the American lands.

Chastellux also had received "information from General George Washington himself," in the form of reports or letters. He wrote: "We got on horseback at nine, provided with a map completed under the direction of General Howe, and engraved in England, but we got more information from an American major, with whom M. de Lafayette had appointed a place of meeting. This officer was present at the engagement, and his house being on the field of battle, he knew it better than anybody."

In his account, Chastellux recollected the events prior to the battle, and described George Washington's preparations, commenting:

> "When a general has foreseen everything, when he has made the best possible dispositions and, when his activity, his judgment and his courage in the action correspond with the wisdom of his measures, has he not already triumphed in the eyes of every impartial judge? And, if by any unforeseen accidents, the laurels he has merited drop from his head, is it not the historian's duty carefully to collect, and place them on his head again? Let us hope that posterity will perform this study better than us, and let us see how such wise dispositions were disconcerted by the mistakes of some officers, and the inexperience of the troops."

n this passage, Chastellux not only praises Washington, he also shows that he's thinking about future generations and how they'll study and judge the American Revolutionary War. Furthermore, his lengthy writings on Brandywine once again provide descriptions on how the research was conducted, noting that when "there is disagreement in some particulars ... I was therefore obliged to draw my conclusions from the different narratives, and to follow none of them implicitly."

After this long tour of the American battlefields and after visiting George Washington a second time at his head-quarters close to Albany, the French travelers said goodbye to their new American friends, with whom they had



developed a relationship based on mutual trust and recognition of respective strengths. The French slowly made their way back, on sleighs, to Newport, where they arrived in early January and promptly began to collect their observations in large military reports. This is reflected in Chastellux's private papers, which hold maps, long manuscript lists, drawings, descriptions and drafts, as well as the military reports they wrote in February based on these primary sources. In these, they systematically describe the battlefields they visited: They always started with a topographical description of the battlefield, then the details of the battle were discussed, followed by a detailed analysis of successes and problems and ending with what one could learn from this information. The French did this to understand the American theater of war as well as the American army's officers, but they also sent several of the reports to the French Army administration for preservation in the military dépôts of Louis XVI. Within that broader body, these reports demonstrate an expanding definition of intelligence gathering to include research on American language, culture, religion and customs, as well as commerce and agriculture. These additions were due to an enlightened interest in discovering and understanding the world, in addition to useful information to wage war.

Based on the conclusions of this reconnaissance trip, it is possible to observe a shift from the despair of the French troops' first months in America, to hope for the future

French-American campaign. This hope continued to evolve in the spring and summer of 1781, when Chastellux was secretly sent on a mission to the Chesapeake Bay and Yorktown in April, and several French expeditionary units, together with Continental troops, organized a "reconnaissance in force" mission on New York in July. The results of the reconnaissance mission were crucial for the outcome of the American Revolutionary War: Based on the French research, with the precious aid of American officers, it had become clear that Washington's initial wish to attack New York was too dangerous, and that the safe alternative was Yorktown. The March to Yorktown and the following battle and siege, were a success because of the prior research and understanding of roads and waterways, sources for provisions and the potential battlefield itself.★

Dr. Iris de Rode is a Dutch historian who specializes in the French participation in the American Revolution. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Paris 8, based on the personal papers of François-Jean de Chastellux, and teaches at Sciences Po in Paris. Her research and translation earned 13 international fellowships; an English adaptation of her first book will be published by the University of Virginia Press in 2023.

WEATHERING THESTORIA

The Battle of RHODE ISLAND

by ISAAC MAKOS





HE BATTLE of Rhode Island was planned as a combined operation between the Americans and their new French allies, to trap and defeat a British army. Unfortunately, this grand design never came to pass.

The British occupied Newport and the rest of Aquidneck Island in December 1776. The city, then the fourth largest in America, provided the Royal Navy with an excellent base of operations, with neighboring Narragansett Bay offering an expansive and protected natural harbor. The occupation inflamed American passions. John Adams wrote that "If they are not crushed I will never again glory in being a N.E. [New England] man." Samuel Adams echoed the sentiment: "I fear New England will be charged with the loss of her former military pride if it is not done." There were two attempts to take Newport with militia forces in 1777, but they both ended in failure. The Americans found more success with smaller raids: A nighttime attack

THE HILL was defended by the First Rhode Island Regiment — a unit with a large number of Black soldiers.

on July 10 managed to capture Major General Richard Prescott, the commander of the British garrison. Prescott would eventually return to active service after being exchanged for American Major General Charles Lee.

In 1778, France signed a Treaty of Alliance with the United States. The French then dispatched a fleet of 16 warships to North America, led by Charles Hector, Comte d'Estaing. General George Washington suggested that the French assist Major General John Sullivan in capturing Newport. D'Estaing agreed, and the French fleet arrived in Narragansett Bay on July 29, 1778. The French fleet greatly outmatched the 11 British warships on station. Between July 30 and August 8, 1778, the British stripped their warships of guns, ammunition and supplies, and then burned or scuttled them to prevent their capture. While the British commander, Major General Robert Pigot, second baronet, had more than 5,000 troops — including British regulars, Hessians and American Loyalists — on the island, he faced a Franco-American army of nearly 16,000 men: 2,500 Continentals and 4,000 French troops, bolstered by state troops and militia.

The French and Americans were landing their troops on the island on August 9, 1778, when a lookout on the

French flagship spotted a British fleet on the horizon. D'Estaing halted the landing of the French troops and sortied out to meet the British. On August 11, 1778, a two-day nor'easter known as "the Great Storm" inflicted serious damage to both fleets. D'Estaing reappeared off Newport on August 20 with 12 battered ships. He informed General Sullivan, who had begun a siege of the city, that his fleet needed repairs and he would be sailing immediately for Boston. The decision left many American officers fuming. Sullivan was so harsh in his criticism of the French that it was rumored that the Marquis de Lafayette was going to challenge him to a duel.

The departure of the French fleet caused many American militia units to leave the army, and it left the Americans unable to block any British reinforcements. General Sullivan decided to end the siege and withdraw. The American army, which had shrunk to just over 5,000 men, left its siege works on the evening of August 28, 1778. The next morning, the British discovered that the enemy was gone. General Pigot ordered an immediate pursuit, hoping to catch the Americans on the march.

The opening engagement of the Battle of Rhode Island began at 7:00 a.m. on August 29, 1778, when British and Hessian troops made contact with the American rear guard. The Americans conducted a successful fighting retreat to a defensive line anchored on Butts Hill and Durfree's Hill. Durfree's Hill became the center

of battle and the target of several attacks by Hessian and Loyalist troops under Major General Friedrich von Lossberg. The hill was defended by the First Rhode Island Regiment — a unit with a large number of Black soldiers, including enslaved men who received their freedom in exchange for their service. Even with the support of cannon fire from British warships offshore, the British were unable to break through the First Rhode Island. The battle ended in a draw: The British had pushed the Americans back

from Newport, but the American position had held against sustained assault. Total casualties were 30 American soldiers killed and more than 100 wounded, while the British force lost 38 killed and more than 200 wounded.

Sullivan completed his withdrawal off Aquidneck Island on August 31, 1778 — only one day ahead of a British fleet carrying more than 4,000 reinforcements. Newport remained in British hands until October 25, 1779, when British Commander-in-Chief Sir Henry Clinton redeployed the garrison in preparation for the Southern Campaign. The British left behind a community hard-hit by war: The population had fallen to half its pre-war level, and the closure of the port had devastated the local economy.

The Newport Campaign was the first instance of cooperation between French and American military forces in the Revolutionary War, and it was not a positive start. But the story of Franco-American joint operations that began, however unsteadily, at Rhode Island would culminate three years later with victory at Yorktown.*

Isaac Makos is a Revolutionary War Fellow with the American Battlefield Trust, navigating and creating content pertaining to the war that created the United States of America. He is also an interpretive supervisor at Mount Vernon.

LAFAYEJIE

HERO OF TWO WORLDS

by MIKE DUNCAN

HE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE was only 22 in February 1780. In the French table of ranks, he was only a colonel. Expecting to lead an entire expedition was a dream inspired by foolish cu-

pidity. But there were just enough arguments in his favor for Lafayette to hold out hope. Charles Gravier, comte de Vergennes, an early supporter of the American Revolution, said at least he thought it would be advantageous to have a man the Americans trusted inside the French command tent after so many mutual recriminations and misunderstandings at the Battle of Newport.

But the French minister of war was one of the few men on Earth unmoved by Lafayette's charms. He let Lafayette make his case, then assigned the command to the comte de Rochambeau. Rochambeau was a cultured, smooth and diplomatic officer who was a general before Lafayette was born. Though a 40-year veteran of numerous continental campaigns — with plenty of scars to prove he was a real soldier and not a soft aristocrat — this would be Rochambeau's first truly independent command. This was a mission he was more than ready for.

Meanwhile, the French government ordered Lafayette to resume his place as a major general in the Continental army. The French lodged as many complaints about the Americans as the Americans lodged about the French, and Vergennes liked the idea of placing a man he trusted at Washington's side. For Lafayette, this was not an unpleasant consolation prize — though he insisted it be circulated he requested this return to the Continental army, lest the Americans wonder why he had been passed over.

Leaving Paris, Lafayette made one last trip to the palace at Versailles. A year ago, he returned to the palace with his head bowed submissively; now he departed with his head held high. Donning the uniform of a Continental major general, he presented himself to the king and queen.

They bid him good luck and good fortune. Then Lafayette left to rejoin a revolution aimed at overthrowing kings and queens forever.

Lafayette dispatched a letter to Washington the minute he touched solid ground, saying, "Here I am, my dear General." The news of his return electrified the Continental camp. The eternally stoic Washington could hardly contain his elation. Alexander Hamilton, General Nathanael Greene, artillery commander Henry Knox and the others couldn't wait to see their friend again. The rank and file also had reason to cheer. Lafayette's youthful courage and eager generosity long made him a favorite among the common soldiers. Lafayette rode into camp on May 10, 1780, to general rejoicing. As the camp gathered round, he and Washington embraced. Beloved by two families — one in France, the other in America — Lafayette found that whenever he crossed the Atlantic, he was always coming home. Washington's pleasure at Lafayette's return only increased when Lafayette revealed another French expeditionary force was on the way. Washington told Lafayette, if anything, he undersold the dire situation of the Continental army. While the winter at Valley Forge has become the proverbial dark night of the patriot soul, this most recent winter in Morristown was even worse.

Ceaseless blizzards pounded the countryside. Rivers and harbors iced over with sheets thicker than anyone could remember seeing. Private Joseph Plumb Martin, who maintained a daily



journal during his years in the Continental army, said, "We are absolutely literally starved — I do solemnly declare that I did not put a single morsel of victuals into my mouth for four days and as many nights." Everyone was miserable. That the horrendous winter in Morristown imprinted itself less on America's cultural memory is



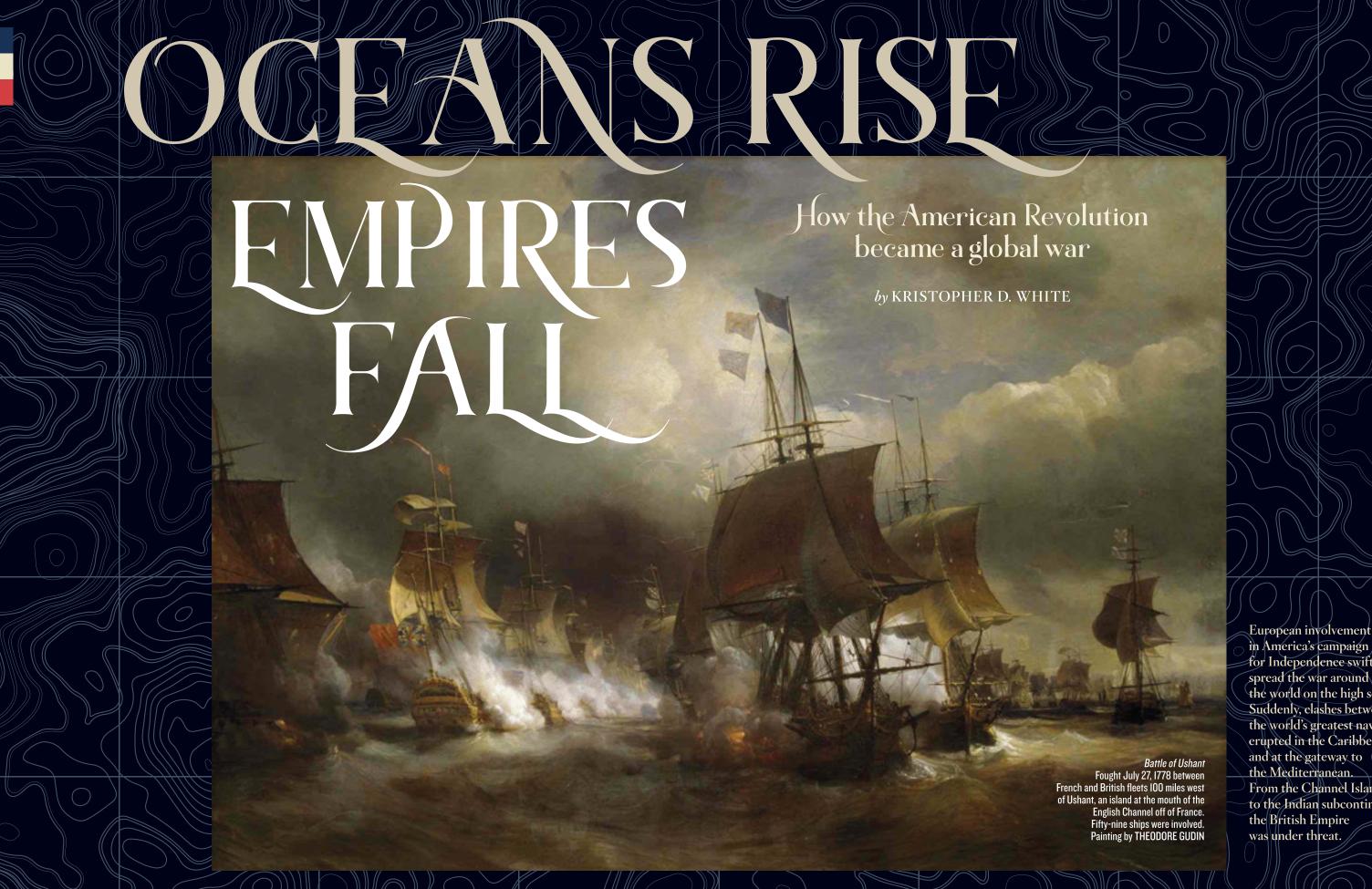
fitting. American citizens at the time were

letting the war fade into the background. State and local governments neglected to pay and supply their soldiers. The powerless national Congress lacked the authority to impose direct national taxes. The paper money they printed was worthless, the decrees they issued ignored. Five years after Lexington and Concord, the credit, goodwill and attention of the people were exhausted. The handful of stubborn true believers tasked with maintaining the flame of liberty froze to death in its dying light. Many resigned. Many deserted. Few took their place.

In these conditions, Lafayette's revelation France was sending more money, supplies, guns and men was manna from heaven. But there was more. Well briefed by Lafayette on the political importance of George Washington, the French government ordered General Rochambeau to consider himself serving under Washington's ultimate authority. Lafayette told them anything less would be an intolerable insult to American honor. But when the French government clarified the hierarchy of ranks, they made no mention of the authority of Congress. Washington was bound by law to consult Congress on the organization, movements, and strategies of the Continental army. Lafayette informed Washington he would be bound by no similar constraints with the incoming French Army. According to the French government, Rochambeau and his men would answer to Washington alone.

His authority over Rochambeau was a pleasant diplomatic formality — Rochambeau was not there to blindly take orders from Washington. Besides, news of the French expedition was exactly the jolt of electricity necessary to prod the lethargic American politicians to life. Lafayette threw himself into the task of lobbying Congress, state legislatures and local militias to give everything they had to give. The war had been going on too long. If they all threw their shoulders into one last great push . . . there was no reason the summer of 1780 could not be the last summer of the war. *

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in America's campaign for Independence swiftly spread the war around the world on the high seas. Suddenly, clashes between the world's greatest navies erupted in the Caribbean and at the gateway to the Mediterranean. From the Channel Islands to the Indian subcontinent, the British Empire was under threat.



ALPH WALDO EMERSON waxed poetic that the onset of hostilities at Lexington and Concord in 1775 amounted to a "shot heard 'round the world," and thanks to the involvement of allies from France, Spain and the Netherlands, sorties directly tied to the American Revolution truly were fought around the globe.

"I have the satisfaction to present your Excellency with the convention of Saratoga by which His Excellency Burgoyne has surrendered himself & his whole Army into my hands ... this signal and important event is the more glorious as it was effected with so little loss to the United States Army," boasted a jubilant General Horatio Gates to the Continental Congress. The American victory at the Battles of Saratoga was a turning point of epic proportions in the history of the United States and of the world. The conflict that American rebels had initiated at dawn on a sleepy New England village green was morphing into a minor global conflict that involved many of the leading countries of the day-Great Britain, France, Spain and the Netherlands.

A burgeoning Franco-American alliance gave credence to at least the fighting prowess of the Continentals, even as the European powers warily dipped their toes into the ever-growing conflict. Thus, the American War for Independence set off yet another war for empire among European rivals. While America fought for its independence and freedom from the British Crown, France, Spain, the Dutch and other powers seized the opportunity to strike a weakened or distracted Great Britain. Lacking the traditional allies who served them so well throughout their history while waging wars, the British were vulnerable across the globe, at least on land. What started as a conflict between British subjects in North America now spread like a fire across the globe.

Before Saratoga, it was a poorly kept secret that the French, Spanish and Dutch clandestinely provided the rebels with weapons, provisions and money. The numerous wars of empire spanning the latter decades of the 17th and much of the 18th century had snowballed into the Seven Years' War (the French and Indian War in North America) in the 1750s, laying the groundwork for much of the animosity between the British House of Hanover and Bourbon France and Spain that erupted in the late 1770s. Over the preceding 80 years, the three great powers battled one another time and again. With the end of each conflict, the trio ceded or acquired new lands and subjects, all in the larger power struggle for empire.

By 1764, Great Britain had amassed some 26 colonies in the Americas. The wealthiest of these settlements was not one of the 13 rebellious colonies; it was the island colony of Barbados, where sugar and rum were kings. Barbados was the largest supplier of sugar to the British Empire, and keeping with Old World rivalries, the French, too, produced Caribbean sugar in large amounts on their nearby island colony of Saint-Domingue (modern-day Haiti). European warships prowled the waters of the Caribbean to protect trade interests and ward off pirates. Thus, when France entered the war on the rebels' side in 1778, the British Empire was faced with a multifront war, including the home islands, the Iberian Peninsula and the Caribbean.

By 1778, war-weariness was overtaking the British Empire. With no clear end in sight to the American rebellion and the French now entering the war, the belligerent nations (sans the Americans) largely shifted the theater of operations outside continental North America. The first moves came in the Caribbean, where the French got the jump on their opponents at Barbados and Jamaica. Barbados posed no tremendous military threat to the French, but dockyards and wharfs allowed the Royal Navy to refit and resupply ships. What the fall of Barbados offered to the French was an economic opportunity in the form of cornering the world sugar trade. From 1778 to 1779, French ships blockaded the tiny island. Disease and starvation ravaged the islands of the Caribbean and damaged the British economy abroad.

Meanwhile, orders arrived from Paris for the French governor of Martinique to seize the small, but vital island of Dominican, once a French holding but lost to the British in 1761. The recapture of the island would provide the French with unimpeded lines of supply and communication between Martinique and Guadeloupe. The prosperous is-



It was growing MORE EVIDENT to Clinton and other officers that the struggle with the rebelling colonists was no longer the primary theater of operations.

land of Guadeloupe was a source of contention in the British Empire, as the Crown had traded the small island for the much larger but less wealthy Canadian colony in the wake of the Seven Years' War. Less than 100 British officers and men handled the defenses on Dominican, unaware that they were now at war with France, as word was slow to reach the British Caribbean colonies. French governor François Claude Amour, the Marquis de Bouille, sailed to Dominican and observed the British forces, while also entering into negotiations with the British governor under false pretenses that de Bouille sought

an agreement that prohibited privateering.

The ruse worked, and when a Royal Navy frigate departed the island, leaving it vulnerable, de Bouille struck. Dominican fell to the French in September 1778. Shocked by the news from the Caribbean, the Crown ordered some 5,000 men dispatched from North America to the besieged islands. General Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded the British Army in North America, was flabbergasted and protested the order. The Crown would not heed his advice, promising and failing to replace the soldiers. It was growing more evident to Clinton and other officers

that the struggle with the rebelling colonists was no longer the primary theater of operations. Still, this was not the first time that war found its way to the shores of the British islands during the conflict.

In February of 1776, a small American fleet departed Delaware destined for Nassau, Bahamas. In 1775, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of the Virginia Colony, transferred a large gunpowder magazine from Williamsburg to the Bahamas to keep it from falling into rebel hands. Having received word of the location of the desperately needed powder, the Continental Congress approved a task force to capture the stores. On March 3, 1776, the task force of navy personnel and Marines attempted to land at daybreak and capture Fort Nassau. The operation was aborted when it was spotted by the British, who opened fire from the fort.

Later that afternoon, a second attempt

The Revolutionary War on an International Scale: TIMELINE

April 19, 1775 The Revolutionary War officially begins with the Battles of Lexington and Concord.



July 4, 1776 The Declaration of Independence is adopted by the Continental Congress.



Kosciuszko introduces himself to the Continental Congress, hoping to enlist in the Continental army.



June 13, 1777 The Marquis de Lafayette arrives in America to offer his service in the Continental army.



December 1, 1777 The experienced Baron von Steuben arrives in Portsmouth, N.H., with the hope of earning himself a rank





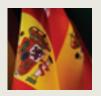
and French fight in the naval Battle of Ushant.

Arising from an attempt by the

British Channel fleet to intercept

a convoy from the U.S., the British

July 27, 1778



June 21, 1779 Spain officially declares war on Great Britain, thereby creating a de facto alliance with the **American Patriots**





March 3-4, 1776 In what was the Continental Marines' first amphibious landing, American forces invade and capture Nassau, Bahamas, from the British.



August 15, 1776 The first British troops arrive in America at Staten



November 16, 1776 The first foreign salute to the American flag is ordered by the Dutch of St. Eustatius toward the Continental Navy's Andrew Doria.



September 21, 1777 After Brandywine, Polish Casimir Pulaski is promoted and given "chief command of the American light dragoons



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April 12, 1779 Spain and France sign the mutually beneficial Treaty of Aranjuez.



June 24, 1779 With more than 5.000 British soldiers stationed on Gibraltar, the French and Spanish begin a siege of the former Spanish territory.

was made, and some 250 sailors and Marines disembarked on the first amphibious landing in United States Marine Corps history. This time the force focused their efforts on the capture of Fort Montagu, after which they were to press on and capture Nassau and the powder. The surprised and outnumbered British asked for a parlay and then inquired as to why the Americans had arrived on their shores. Naively, the Americans revealed their mission, and the British swiftly secreted as much precious powder as possible onto two ships In another rookie mistake, the Americans had neglected to blockade the harbor and the ships slipped out, bound for St. Augustine, Florida. Nassau fell to the Americans, with many valuable supplies — but only one-third of the original powder store, rendering the expedition hardly the success it should have been.

In 1778, in a further effort to counter French operations in the Caribbean, the Royal Navy ordered a fleet under Admiral William Hotham to the islands. They were to bolster the West Indies fleet commanded by Admiral Samuel Barrington. This combined fleet struck the French-held island of St. Lucia, capturing the prize in December of 1778. The following year, the islands of Saint

Vincent and Grenada fell to the French. While both sides traded islands, little was gained.

The French fleet, which could muster 64 ships of the line in 1779, was simply not strong enough to battle across the globe with the Royal Navy and its 90 similarly powerful vessels in a prolonged war. Thus, the French needed help from other enemies of Britian.

The Spanish watched and waited, receiving overtures from both the French and the British to enter or not enter the war. King Carlos III cared little for the American cause; he was more worried about the stabilization and expansion of his slowly crumbling empire. Eventually, Spain brokered a deal with France to enter the war on its side (no formal treaty was signed with the United States), adding some 57 ships of the line to the allied fleet. But this addition came with a few caveats. First, the Spanish wanted to invade the English home islands. Second, they yearned to recapture Menorca in the Balearic Islands and Gibraltar, which the British had captured in 1704 and secured through the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht. Reluctantly, the French conceded. Pressure on the British and military and financial assistance were paramount.

In North America, the Spanish successfully campaigned along the Gulf Coast from New Orleans to Baton Rouge, to Mobile and Pensacola, seeking to turn the Gulf of Mexico into a giant Spanish lake while recapturing the territories of West and East Florida lost during the Seven Years' War.

In Europe, a second Spanish Armada never materialized to threaten the British Isles. The British home fleet was far too powerful, "Le Manche" — the English Channel — was too difficult to overcome and French hearts were not in the undertaking. Menorca did fall to combined French and Spanish forces on January 5, 1782, just a few months after the British surrender at Yorktown. But the true prize for the Spanish was situated just south of the Spanish territory of Andalusia.

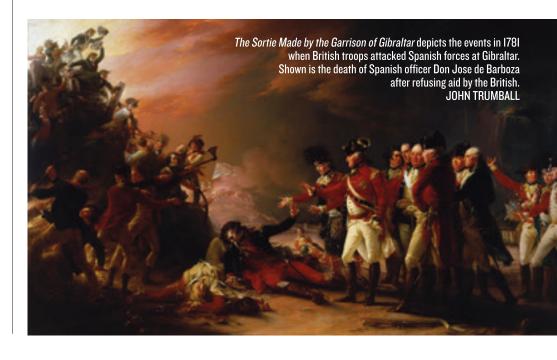
Jutting south as if it were the pinky of the Iberian Peninsula, Gibraltar, a peninsula itself and boasting the imposing "Rock of Gibraltar," commanded the easternmost point of the Mediterranean Sea, the Strait of Gibraltar. For decades, the Spanish Crown had yearned to bring Gibraltar back into the fold. Although situated on its own peninsula, its imposing topography, bolstered by the Royal Navy, fortifications and, by the end of the siege, some 663 pieces of artillery, all made the position a tough nut to crack.

In May of 1777, Lieutenant General George August Eliott arrived in Gibraltar and assumed the position of governor, a much sought-after posting. Eliott immediately set about preparing the garrison for war. Twenty-five months later, the Spanish initiated a blockade of Gibraltar. Siege operations lasted from July 18, 1779, to February 3, 1783. The Siege of Gibraltar is one of the great annals of European warfare. Each side attempted a bevy of military operations to break the landward siege and the seaward naval blockade. Parallels were dug, fire ships and floating batteries employed and the "Rock" was wreathed in smoke for days on end as British gunners fired at will at targets on land and sea. Blockade runners swooped in and out of the Mediterranean, and the navies battled on the waters. The Siege of Yorktown was a sideshow compared to the military might flexed by the European powers on the Iberian Peninsula. Yet, after expending millions of Spanish pesos and three-and-a-half years of siege operations by tens of thousands of soldiers and sailors, Gibraltar remained in British hands.

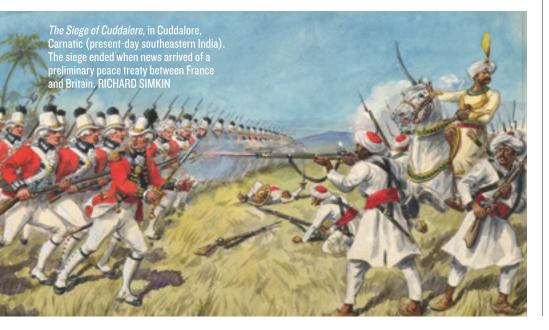
Other actions raged across the globe. The Spanish surrendered the Fortress of the Immaculate Conception along the San Juan River in Nicaragua. The famed sea battle of Flamborough Head took place off the coast of Yorkshire. The British brought the Dutch to their knees on the high seas and captured their colony of Saint Eustatius during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War. The Second Anglo-Mysore War erupted in India. What had started as an uprising in the Massachusetts Colony morphed into a conflict with worldwide consequences. While the French and Spanish were not supportive of the motives

laid out in the Declaration of Independence, they were opportunists who assisted the upstart rebels. On March 20, 1778, Benjamin Franklin told King Louis XVI of France that "Your Majesty may count on the gratitude of Congress and its faithful observance of the pledges that it now makes." Franklin and the members of Congress could never have imagined at the time that the American rebellion would carry the war to the British Empire across the globe, and they established a friendship between the United States and France that endures nearly 240 years later.★

Kristopher D. White is the deputy director of education at the American Battlefield Trust. White is the co-founder and chief historian of Emerging Civil War. He is the author of articles that have appeared in publications such as Civil War Times, Blue & Gray Magazine, and America's Civil War.



THE SPANISH watched and waited, receiving overtures from both the French and the British to enter or not enter the war.



invade Baton Rouge, Louisiana, and capture the territory from the



March 11, 1780 To prevent the British from searching neutral vessels for contraband, Russia, Denmark and Sweden form the First League of Armed Neutrality.



December 20, 1780 The Fourth Anglo-Dutch War begins over egality and conduct of Dutch trade with British enemies of war.



The Spanish — under the leadership of General Don Bernardo de Gálvez begin a siege for control of Pensacola Florida, topping off an extensive



October 19, 1781 Cornwallis surrenders his British forces at Yorktown after bearing the wrath of Washington, Rochambeau and Comte de Grasse's efforts.



January 20, 1783 American, French, Spanish and British representatives sign a provisional peace treaty, proclaiming an end to hostilities.



September 3, 1783 U.S. and British representatives sign the Treaty of Paris, officially ending the Revolutionary War and recognizing U.S. independence.



John Paul Jones and the French engage the British in the naval Battle of Flamborough Head off the coast of Great Britain.



July 10, 1780 Rochambeau and his 5.500 French troops arrive in Newport, Rhode Island. to reinforce Washington's Continental army.



March 9, 1781 campaign along the Gulf Coast.



July 27, 1781

French spy

François Henri de la

Motte is hanged and

drawn in London

for high treason.

September 5, 1781 Comte de Grasse's fleet batters the British in the Battle of the Capes, a victory that leaves Cornwallis in an utterly vulnerable position at Yorktown



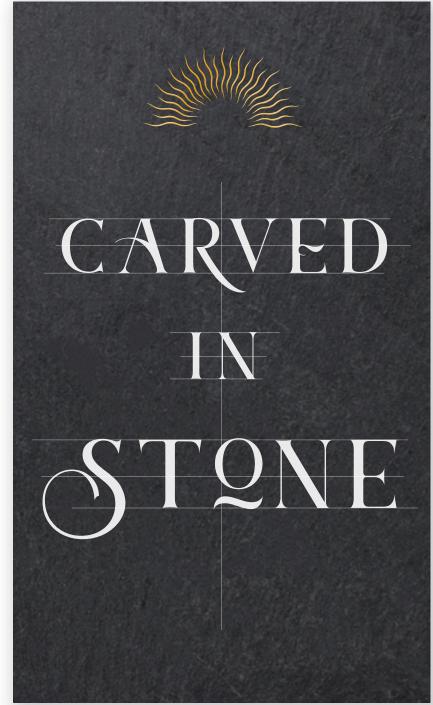
April 9-12, 1782 Comte de Grasse faces defeat against the British in the Battle of the Saintes



The Netherlands and Great Britain sign a preliminary







For 316 years, the John Stevens Shop has been hand chiseling monuments and grave markers for great leaders, war heroes and everyday people. Recently, they were commissioned to create markers for two French officers who crossed the Atlantic to help save the colonists in 1780. The Trust was lucky enough to observe them at work.

Photography by GREG KAHN

HE YOUNG MAN who boarded a ship to emigrate from Oxfordshire to England's North American colonies in 1698 had no inkling that his name would

linger on three centuries later as a standard of outstanding craftsmanship. But the John Stevens Shop still stands on Thames Street in Newport, R.I., where its resident artisans have been producing exceptional stone carvings since 1705.

The Stevens clan etched its way into history over the course of 220 years, before selling the shop to native Newport artist John Howard Benson in 1927 and beginning a new family legacy of tradition and excellence. The eldest Benson was an internationally renowned calligrapher and educator who authored the instructional book The Elements of Lettering and designed the Iwo Jima / Marine Memorial inscriptions. Upon his death, the shop passed to a second generation.

John Everett Benson ("Fud") — who still tinkers in carving, sculpture and other artistic media in a studio behind the shop continued the tradition of carving onto monumental edifices, designing and working directly in the stone of iconic institutions, including the John F. Kennedy Memorial, the National Gallery of Art, the Vietnam Memorial and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial.

Like his father before him, Nicholas Benson began apprenticing in the John Stevens Shop at age 15. He was still a teenager when he was handed a chisel and carved the headings for the Trustees inscriptions in the National Gallery of Art West Building, a moment that helped shape his life. After studying drawing and design as an undergraduate in the United States, he undertook a specialized course in calligraphy, type design, typography and drawing at the Basel School of Design in Switzerland. In 1993, five years after completing studies and returning home, Nick Benson took the reins of the business in his steady and precise hands.

Although careful to describe carving as a craft rather than an art, Benson could easily be mistaken for a virtuoso given the passion he summons to describe his vision and his process. On monumental projects like the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial, World War II Memorial and Dwight D. Eisenhower Memorial, he created custom typefaces meant to evoke specific elements of the overall design. But his work is about much more than aesthetics; legibility and durability must always remain front of mind, as must the physical reality of working in stone.

Despite the passage of centuries, work in the John Stevens Shop is still performed in a rhythm that would be familiar to the many craftspeople who came before. Designs are still created by hand and applied with fine-tip paintbrushes before they are incised into stone. While the cutting implements may now be made of tungsten rather than colonially available metals, the mallets that steadily strike them are typically fashioned by hand, weighted and gripped perfectly for the user. Shelves are lined with the tools favored by the generations before, occa-



capsule. The original headstone for John Stevens — replaced with a loving copy when it became too damaged to stand shares space alongside a prototype carving of Harvard University's installation honoring its Medal of Honor recipient alumni. A larger-than-life, art deco portrait of John Howard Benson towers over the

LEGIBILITY AND DURABILITY MUST ALWAYS REMAIN FRONT OF MIND, AS DOES THE PHYSICAL REALITY OF

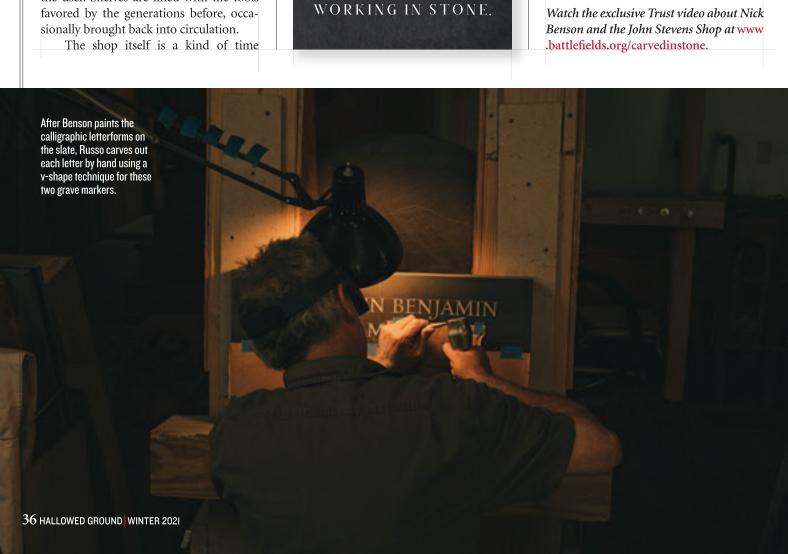
studio. Near the front window and still in use, albeit lightly, is a drafting desk dating to the shop's early decades, and hanging on the wall, a framed advertisement for the shop's services in a Newport newspaper, dated 1781.

Thus, Benson took it as a sign when he was approached by the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail to create headstones for two of the earliest French casualties of the Revolutionary War, who had rested in Newport without proper markers since their demises in 1780. That their work would physically and symbolically be joining that of their predecessors in the oldest sections of Trinity Church's yard was a moving realization. In one way, however, Paul Russo, who specializes in headstones, treated the commission like any other he immersed himself in learning as much as possible about Major Pierre du Rousseau, Chevalier de Fayolle, and Lieutenant Augustin Benjamin Lavilmarais as a way of honoring their lives as he set down their names for eternity.★

Watch the exclusive Trust video about Nick .battlefields.org/carvedinstone.











PROFILES in PRESERVATION

RECOGNIZING INDIVIDUAL ACHIEVEMENT

REMEMBERING THE ROUTE TO INDEPENDENCE

The National Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association, Inc.



NY TOP 10 LIST of the greatest moments in American history would have to include the surrender of the British Army by General Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, which cleared the way for the creation of the United States of America.

But before the more than 9,000 young soldiers in General George Washington's Continental army and General Rochambeau's French Army could win the Revolutionary War, they had to get to Virginia.

Step by step, yard by yard, they marched hundreds of miles on rutted roads and paths from Boston and New York down the East Coast and finally into the south, enduring all manner of weather and overcoming all challenges in a daring and risky movement designed by the commanders to enable their combined armies to defeat the British once and for all.

Telling the epic story of that historic march is the mission of the National Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association, Inc. (W3R-US), an organization created in 1999 by some 50 historians, reenactors and history buffs from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut who sought to commemorate French involvement in the American Revolution and the march that led to victory at Yorktown and the end of British military operations in the American colonies.

The association was founded by "a range of people who were all interested in the American Revolution and cared about preservation," said Executive Director Ellen von Karajan. "It was a dream for many years to have a designated national historic trail, but it's a hard thing to get one approved, and they [the association] went back and forth with Congress for many years."

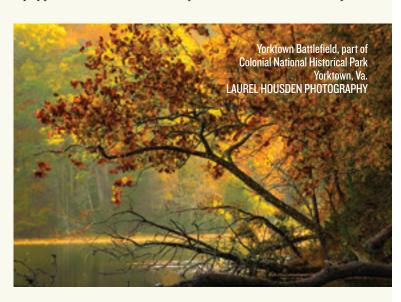
After a decade of hard work, in March 2009, President Barack Obama signed legislation that designated the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route as an official national historic trail. The designation brought support from the National Park Service that includes the publication of a traditional park service informational brochure and map.

"It's essentially a driving tour where you pass from one

historic site — maybe an encampment or a museum or a historic house — to another," von Karajan said. "There's better than 240 sites, and that doesn't get into the historical markers, the statuary, the monuments and other features along the way."

"We don't want the stories of those soldiers and their march and the French who helped us to get lost in the shuffle of our rapidly changing world," she said. So, education is a main objective of the trail. Economic development from heritage tourism is another objective. By linking the many historic places that stretch from Massachusetts to Virginia, the trail provides a level of unity and cohesiveness that benefits both those who travel it and those involved in preserving and promoting its sites.

The official trail consists of a roughly 680-mile primary land route, as well as several major parallel routes and water routes. In many places, especially in the north, the armies used a network of roads, paths and water routes to help expedite the movement of two full armies and minimize the impact on local communities illequipped to deal with the sudden presence of thousands of troops.



The association is currently developing an online travel app "that's going to be a real game-changer for us," von Karajan said. "When you say 'trail,' people often think of the Pacific Coast Trail or the Appalachian Trail and they say, 'Well, what is this trail? Can you hike it?' Our travel app will provide much more information and will help make the trail more concrete in peoples' minds. We're also developing a teacher tool kit, and right now we're doing a survey to have teachers tell us what they feel they need to make this history interesting to kids."

Although the national historic trail designation came in 2009, "we're still a new trail," von Karajan said. "It usually takes about 20 years to really get your programs together and all your ducks in a row. And, of course, interpretation is always changing as new research comes to light and also as society changes. So, we've still got a lot of work to do."

The timing would appear to be propitious, though, as the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail will celebrate its 20th anniversary midway through the semiquincentennial of the American Revolution, an event from 2026 to 2031 that the association has already begun preparing for.★

ANCESTRY HISTORIC CONNECTIONS IN YOUR FAMILY TREE

FINDING YOUR ANCESTORS' MILITARY CONNECTION

Helping Trust members with search tips and a discount



etween the passage of time blurring the line between fact and family legend — never mind the difficulty of deciphering the spindly penmanship

on old, handwritten documents — genealogical research can seem a daunting task. However, that personal connection can enliven the study of past, deepening the sense of connection to the places that directly shaped your personal history.

That's why the American Battlefield Trust is thrilled with our ongoing collaboration with Ancestry and its Fold3 initiative devoted to military records. Not only does Trust content enrich the experience for users searching the more than 30 billion documents in the Ancestry collection, but this relationship also makes it easier than ever for our members to dive into their own family trees. Trust members are eligible for a 25 percent discount on a premium subscription to Fold3 — with even further savings available to Color Bearers.

If, thanks to this added impetus, you're ready to begin ancestry research for the first time — whether to confirm cherished stories or perhaps identify a personal connection to your favorite battlefield — here are some tips from the experts to get you started!

To find an ancestor's military connections, start with the basics: a name and place of residence. If you aren't lucky enough to build this context off a family tree created by others, begin with a grandparent's name and you'll be able to climb your way up the family tree. As you uncover relevant documents in the Ancestry system, pay particular attention to obituaries and census records, which often link to parents and siblings'



names and provide helpful clues into hometowns, occupations, physical appearances and spouses.

Once you've come across a male relative who would've been between the ages of I5 and 45 during the years I775–I783, I8I2–I8I5, or I86I–I865, you can determine if they served in the Revolutionary War, War of I8I2 or the Civil War. Since most units were raised and named by state, knowing where they enlisted is particularly useful. Using that ancestor's name and location, utilize Fold3 to determine military service. Typical service records unearthed in this system include enlistment records, muster rolls, casualty reports, award citations and pension applications.

But finding your soldier or sailor can be tricky, especially with a common last name. If you're lucky, you might come across an enlistment registration that notes their age, occupation, marital status or place of birth — defining details that can be compared with birth, marriage and census records to determine whether it is indeed your "John Smith." When examining pre- or post-war census records, keep in mind that many soldiers relocated following military service — a big

geographic shift doesn't mean you're looking at separate people. Researching the unit to determine which towns or counties raised particular companies may also help rule out (or in!) particular candidates. In addition to the records within Fold3, the unit histories contained in the National Park Service's Soldiers and Sailors System may be particularly helpful.

Even if you don't find records placing a direct ancestor in the ranks, you may find uncles who served — or perhaps a female relation who aided the wounded as a nurse. Once you gather enough evidence to say with certainty that the person you've identified in military records is your ancestor, you'll likely want to learn more about where they fought and the legendary figures they may have encountered.

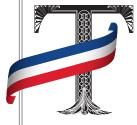
The search for these connections may not always be simple — or even attainable — but it is almost always a thrill. Imagine the feeling when you receive a new Trust battle map emblazoned with the name of a unit in which your now-found ancestor marched! That battlefield will hold new significance, even if you've visited it many times before.★

38 HALLOWED GROUND WINTER 2021 LIBRARY OF CONGRESS LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



THE CODEWORD IS ROCHAMBEAU

Influential Frenchmen who propelled the Patriot cause



broughout this issue of Hallowed Ground, you've run into several French figures who furthered the American quest for independence from Great Britain. Now, dive into their backgrounds and learn more about their American connections

King Louis XVI

In 1774, at age 19. Louis XVI assumed the throne and was resolute in his efforts to elevate France as the supreme — and proudly Christian — monarchy in Europe, as well as overcome France's past losses to England during the Seven Years' War. While initially hesitant to provide large-scale assistance to the Americans in their fight against England, the French monarch eventually grew to view a Franco-American alliance as a means to protect French colonial interests and deliver distress to rival England. On February 6, 1778, the Treaty of Alliance and the Treaty of Amity and Commerce were signed, with the American Continental Congress thereafter deeming Louis XVI the "defender of the rights of mankind." Supplying the American colonists with French military and financial support proved a foreign policy success, but it came with a devastating price tag that put the French government on the brink of bankruptcy. These financial woes ultimately amounted to France fac-

Marquis de Lafayette

ing a revolution of its own.

Born into a French aristocratic family, the Marquis de Lafayette sought his path to glory as a soldier. Barely an adult, he traveled on his own dime and without any official capacity to Philadelphia in July 1777. To remedy his lack of combat experience. Lafavette served on General Washington's staff and fought with distinction at the Battle of Brandywine, with the general becoming a valuable mentor in the process. He was thereafter given command of his own division. By February 1779, Lafayette was back in his native France, working alongside Benjamin Franklin and John Adams to convince King Louis XVI of the need for additional troops and supplies. Effective in the venture, he returned to America with news of forthcoming French troops and ships. He would then go on to command Patriot forces in Virginia against those of the traitor Benedict Arnold, Accompanied by troops under Generals Anthony Wayne and Baron von Steuben, Lafayette tailed Lord Cornwallis across Virginia, eventually trapping him at Yorktown in late July 1781. After surrender came on October 19, 1781, Lafayette became known as the "Hero of Two Worlds" and returned to France in 1782.

Comte de Rochambeau

During his first combat experience in the War of Austrian Succession, Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau showed signs of a bright military future when he was promoted to colonel and given command of a regiment at age 22 in 1747. He'd go on to serve in the Minorcan Campaign and the Seven Years' War before proving an integral part of American history. When King Louis XVI sent a French expeditionary force of 5,500 troops to America in 1780 to support France's new ally, Rochambeau was its commander in chief. Together with General Washington's men, this French force would

march south to Virginia in 1781 and trap Cornwallis and his 8,000 British troops at Yorktown, ultimately garnering British surrender. Even prior to the surrender, Washington expressed his praise for Rochambeau, stating in a letter to Congress, "I cannot but acknowledge the infinite obligations I am under to His Excellency, the Count de Rochambeau..."

Comte de Grasse

Born to French nobility, François Joseph Paul de Grasse joined the French Navy at age 17. A lifelong sailor, he was given command of his own ship by 32 and reached the rank of full admiral in his late 50s. In 1781, the full admiral sailed with a fleet of 23 ships to protect French interests in the West Indies. Upon arrival in Haiti, he was met with an American dispatch carrying the news of revolutionary activity in Virginia. Responding quickly, de Grasse sent word to Washington and Rochambeau that the British fleet protecting Cornwallis would soon be confronted. In the September 1781 Battle of the Capes, de Grasse's fleet battered the British and picked up a game-changing victory that left Cornwallis vulnerable, with enemy forces surrounding him on both land and sea. By the time the British were able to send reinforcements, Cornwallis had already surrendered at Yorktown.

Jacques-Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont

As a powerful aristocratic force in the court at Versailles and with sympathy toward the American cause, Jacques-Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont acted as a bridge between King Louis XVI and American representatives like Benjamin Franklin. He even developed a close relationship with the eccentric Franklin, allowing the American to live in his estate in Passy for many years. In addition to being a support-











ive voice that swayed the French government to aid the Patriots, Le Ray provided a great deal of his own funding to arm, supply and clothe the fledgling Continental army. He also helped equip and manage the combined French and American naval fleet. In addition, he ordered that a merchant vessel be transformed into a warship, which he gifted to the Americans as the USS *Bonhomme Richard*. Unfortunately, Le Ray would suffer immensely from the financial burden of his generosity.

Louis le Begue Duportail

The son of a nobleman and a member of the Engineering Corps of the French Army, Louis le Bègue Duportail was recruited to serve in the Continental army through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. Arriving in America in 1777, he was named "Colonel in Chief of Engineers" and proved vital in surveying areas to gain knowledge on terrain and enemy movements, as well as in devising defenses that took these findings into consideration. He partook in the devastating Philadelphia Campaign, helped establish the winter encampment at Valley Forge, assisted Henry Knox in artillery instruction, planned and prepared the winter encampment at Morristown and overall became an integral cog in the Continental machine. He even directed work on the trenches at Yorktown, despite months spent as a prisoner of war after the fall of Charleston in 1780. Lafayette once called him "one of the best and most honest officers upon this continent." He initially returned to France, but returned to America in 1794.

Augustin de la Balme

After serving in the Seven Years' War in Europe, Augustin de la Balme became an expert in horsemanship. With Benjamin Franklin on his side, he was appointed the Continental army's inspector general of cavalry. However, when Casimir Pulaski was given command of the cavalry, de la Balme's injured pride compelled him to resign from his position in October 1777. Yet this decision appeared to be later regretted, and in 1778, de la Balme campaigned the Continental Congress to reinstate him. But Congress had grown to distrust him. Not one to be easily cast aside, de la Balme traveled west and — declaring himself a representative of Louis XVI — started a private effort to form a unit to pester the British in the Ohio Valley and Illinois regions. He gathered a force of just over 100 men, who first attacked Fort St. Joseph and gained valuable supplies. Propelled by these supplies, he advanced toward Fort Detroit. However, the Miami war chief Little Turtle intercepted de la Balme before he reached his destination, killing him and many of his men.

Marquis de Chastellux

Before reaching his 30th year, François Jean de Beauvoir, Marquis de Chastellux had developed an impressive military résumé from his

service in the Seven Years' War. He was also a prodigious writer of books and plays that were well received in the era of Enlightenment. By July 1780, the then major general set sail for America with Rochambeau's French expeditionary force. With a strong grasp of the English language, de Chastellux became an invaluable liaison between Washington and Rochambeau, as they embarked on the winding and ultimately victorious Yorktown Campaign. He'd remain in America after the British surrender, with a desire to learn more about the newly liberated nation's culture and geography. During his journey, he received honorary degrees from the College of William and Mary and the College of Philadelphia. Upon returning to France, he published his travel journal of North America in 1786 and didn't forget to send a copy to his friend George Washington.

Toussaint-Guillaume Picquet de la Motte

Taking to the sea at age 15, Toussaint-Guillaume Picquet de la Motte joined the French Navy as a midshipman. Making naval service a lifelong career, he rose through the ranks. During the American conflict, La Motte served as a squadron commander, leading from the Saint-Espirit in the July 1778 Battle of Ushant and further pursuing the British as he cruised the English seas. He went on to participate in the Battle of Grenada and the Siege of Savannah. In 1781, as commander of a nineship squadron, he advantageously intercepted Admiral George Brydges Rodney's fleet en route from St. Eustatius, capturing 26 British ships and a plunder of five million sterling — a victory that resulted in his promotion to lieutenant general of the naval armies. To this day, five vessels in the French Navy have been named after the high-achieving admiral.

Armand Louis de Gontaut

In his vouth, the aristocratic Armand Louis de Gontaut — Duke de Lauzun - found satisfaction in adventure, much to the detriment of his fortune. But his military capabilities would serve him well, and by 1779, Gontaut was appointed to a command against the English, traveling to Senegal before being sent to aid Rochambeau in the American Revolution. As brigadier general and commander of Lauzun's Legion, he arrived in Newport, Rhode Island, in July 1780, with approximately 600 hussars, grenadiers and chasseurs. Upon being ordered to act as the advance party of Rochambeau's main French forces, Gontaut and his men left their winter encampment in Connecticut in June 1781 to march south along the current-day Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route. In doing so, they protected the Patriot flank against towns bristling with Tories, and ultimately reinforced General Washington at Yorktown. Along with the good news of Cornwallis' surrender, Gontaut returned to France in November 1781. He would go on to become a fierce supporter of the French Revolution and victim of its guillotine.



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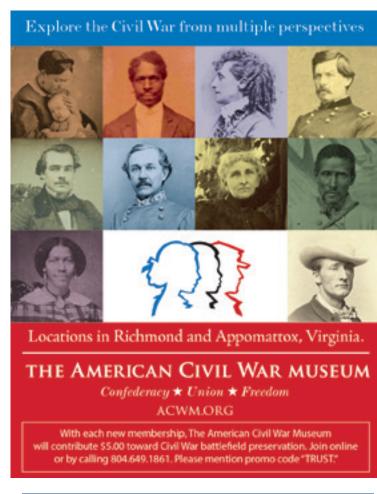
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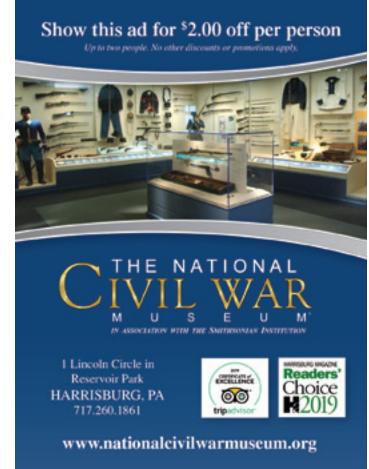
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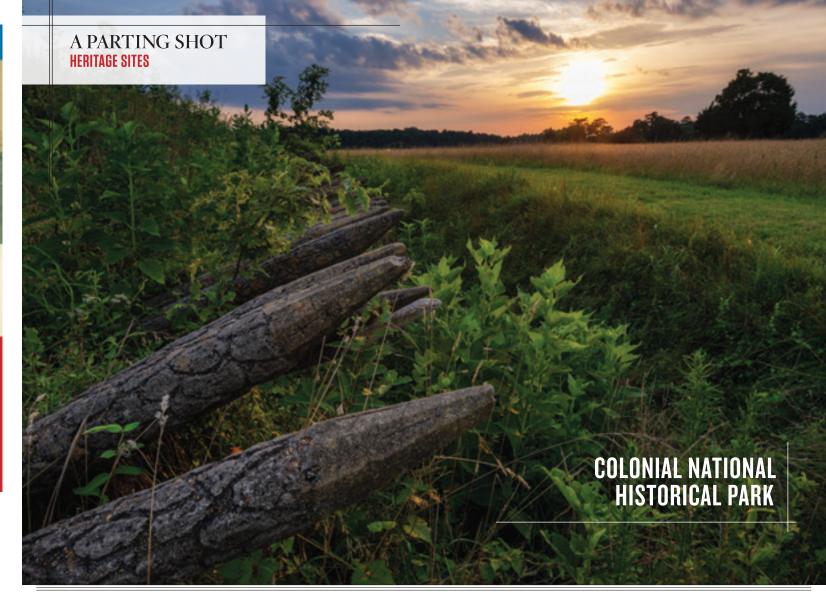
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NCOMPASSING the Yorktown Battlefield — where "The World Turned Upside Down" — the Colonial National Historical Park marks the final stop on the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route. The park, founded in 1930 and operated by the National Park Service, covers more than 9,000 acres and is home to significant colonial-era locations,

including the battlefield, the site of the original 1607 Jamestown Settlement, Green Spring Plantation and the 23-mile Colonial Parkway.

A French expeditionary force of 5,500 troops arrived in America in July 1780, and would soon embark on a long journey. Beginning in Rhode Island, the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route was comprised of winding roads and waterways. With the trek concluding in Yorktown, Virginia, the joint effort became the largest troop movement of the American Revolution. The September 28 to October 19, 1781, Siege of Yorktown concluded with the surrender of Cornwallis' British forces to the combined American and French

forces, and ultimately resulted in the Treaty of Paris and the war's end. Little would it be known that 81 years after the Revolutionary-era surrender, this field would yet again see combat during the Civil War.

Visitors to the historic landscape can witness the Revolutionary- and Civil War-era earthworks and trenches that were refurbished and re-created by the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930s and 40s. Furthermore, this history can be navigated by way of the Yorktown Tour Guide app, produced through a partnership between the Trust and the National Park Service. The free app's GPS-enabled audio tours include a walking experience through Historic Yorktown and two separate driving tours to fully explore the 1781 siege. And if traveling with kids through the age of 12, consider embarking on the Junior Ranger Program!

To learn more about the Yorktown Battlefield and the expansive park it sits within, check out the Colonial National Historical Park online!★

COLONIAL NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK, 1000 Colonial Pkwy Yorktown,Va. 23690, 757-898-3400, www.nps.gov/colo 1156 15th Street NW, Suite 900 Washington, DC 20005

We celebrated many milestones in 2021, with many more on the horizon.

Take our Exclusive Quiz testing how much you remember from the past four issues of *Hallowed Ground!*



Aim your phone's camera at this Code or use a QR code reader.

Chancellorsville Battlefield Fredericksburg & Spotsylvania National Military Park Spotsylvania County, Va. THERESA RASMUSSEN

