

**ROCHAMBEAU IN CONNECTICUT:
TRACING HIS JOURNEY**

Historic And Architectural Survey

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From Yorktown's ruins, ranked and still,
Two lines stretch far o'er vale and hill:
Who curbs his steed at head of one?
Hark! The low murmur: WASHINGTON!
Who bends his keen approving glance
Where down the gorgeous line of France
Shine knightly star and plume of snow?
Thou too art victor, ROCHAMBEAU!

John Greenleaf Whittier

INTRODUCTION

In a recent interview in the historical magazine *American Heritage*, renowned author David McCullough claimed that "When you're working on the Revolutionary War, as I'm doing now, you realize what the French did for us. We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for them."¹ On either side of the Atlantic few historians of that war would dispute the fundamental truth of this assertion. But to most Americans of today, the notion of Frenchmen fighting side by side with Continental soldiers for American liberty and independence comes as a surprise. Some 200 years after Yorktown, far too few Americans are aware of the crucial importance of America's French allies during the Revolutionary War.

The critical support provided by French King Louis XVI toward the success of that war has been largely obliterated in the collective memory of the American people. Not just "out West," where no French soldier ever set foot, but even in states such as Connecticut it was until recently left to devoted individuals such as town historians, and to private organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, or the Souvenir Français, to keep the memory of the Franco-American alliance alive. Only after long efforts by among others, State Representative Pamela Z. Sawyer and the Inter Community Historic Resources Committee, did the State Legislature in 1998 appropriate the first installment of funds for the "Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing His Journey" project to be administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission. The present report is part of a collaborative effort by archaeologists, mapmakers, and historians to research, map, and document the route of the French expeditionary corps in Connecticut from 1780 to 1782 and to emphasize the significance of France's, and Connecticut's, contribution in the American Revolutionary War.

The support of Connecticut was vital for the success of the comte de Rochambeau's mission and thus for America's success in her war for independence. Almost as soon as Rochambeau's forces landed in Newport, Rhode Island, Connecticut became a prime supply base for the French expeditionary corps. In December 1780, Rochambeau became

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

one of the many important personages to visit Governor Jonathan Trumbull in his War Office in Lebanon, the nerve center of Connecticut between 1775 and 1783. In two important conferences in Hartford in September 1780 and in Wethersfield in May 1781, the groundwork was laid for the successful cooperation of the two unlikely allies that culminated in Lord Cornwallis' surrender of Yorktown to the combined Franco-American army later that year. From November 1780 until June 1781, a French cavalry detachment under the duc de Lauzun was quartered in Lebanon. Finally, and that is the topic of this study, Rochambeau's army marched through the state during the month of June 1781 and again in October 1782, on its way to and from the battlefield of Yorktown where America's freedom was won.

Despite some initial apprehension about "Papists" in their state, the citizens of Connecticut welcomed the foreigners as indispensable allies against a common foe. Most French officers shared the feelings of Baron Ludwig von Closen, a Bavarian captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts and aide to Rochambeau, who wrote in his journal: "The inhabitants of Hartford have heaped us with attentions, and beyond a doubt, Connecticut has been the province which has welcomed the French most."² Personal contact between Americans and French obliterated, at least for the time being, many of the mutual prejudices fostering after a century of "French and Indian Wars."

But as the Revolutionary generation passed away in the 1820s and 1830s, and canals and railroads altered modes and patterns of transportation in the 1840s and 1850s, the memory of the "gallant" Frenchmen under General Rochambeau marching from Newport to Yorktown, the memory of their crucial contribution to American Independence, and the memory of the bond forged in the crucible of that war, began to recede into the mist of history. A prime example of this development was given by Benson J. Lossing, who could write as early as 1852, that "a balance-sheet of favors connected with the alliance will show not the least preponderance of service in favor of the French, unless the result of the more vigorous action of the Americans, caused by the hopes of success from the alliance, shall be taken into the account."³

The tragedy of the Civil War and the turmoil of the (Second) Industrial Revolution brought massive economic and demographic dislocation in the 1860s and 1870s. As waves of immigrants from southern and east-central Europe settled along the coast in the 1880s and 1890s, interest in the French alliance was increasingly confined to professional historians and Americans living in France. The celebrations of the centennials of the American and French Revolutions in 1876 and 1889 saw the publication of Thomas Balch's *Les Français en Amérique pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1777-1783*, published in Paris and Philadelphia in 1872.⁴ In 1881 Henry P. Johnston published the still useful *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis*, and Edwin M. Stone followed with *Our French Allies ... in the Great War of the American Independence*, published in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1884.

² Evelyn M. Acomb, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958), p. 265.

³ Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution* 2 vols. (New York, 1852), Vol. 2, p. 83, note 4.

⁴ An English translation appeared in two volumes in Philadelphia in 1891/95.

In Paris, Henri Doniol published his ambitious *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique. Correspondance diplomatique et documents* in five volumes between 1886 and 1892. In 1903, Amblard Marie Vicomte de Noailles' *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique Pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis, 1778-1783* ran off the presses in Paris. Finally, with the strong support of the "Society in France, Sons of the American Revolution," founded in Paris in September 1897, the French Foreign Ministry in 1903 published the names of thousands of Frenchmen who had fought in the Revolutionary War in *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine 1778-1783*.⁵

A few years later, the First World War brought the renewal of an alliance that had flourished some 140 years earlier. "LaFayette, we are here!" an American officer is said to have pronounced over the tomb of the famous marquis in Paris in 1917. With Armistice Day 1918 the "debt to Lafayette" was paid. But the war "over there" also brought renewed interest in the earlier military cooperation against a common foe during the Revolutionary War. When Boston banker Allan Forbes retraced the route taken by Rochambeau and the French forces through Connecticut in the early 1920s, he located some two dozen markers, monuments and sites connected with the French presence in Connecticut during the Revolutionary War as well as mostly anecdotal evidence handed down through family tradition. At Breakneck Hill locals remembered "that one of the Bronson family, which at that time owned the camp site, locked up his daughter, Esther, for fear she would elope with one of the French officers."⁶ In Ridgefield a Civil War veteran named Coe "explained how the French soldiers made a rush for the tannery that stood back of his house and from the vats he said they procured many frogs to satisfy their taste."⁷

Occasionally, however, the memory of the French allies was completely gone. At Windham, he "called on the President of the Windham Bank and asked him if he knew anything about the French camps there and he looked at us as if we had escaped from some lunatic asylum. No one else had ever heard of a Frenchman or a camp."⁸ From there it was but a small step to the near complete unawareness of Rochambeau's troops and their contributions displayed some 50 years later at the time of the American Bicentennial. Two centuries of America-centered historiography had so marginalized French contributions to American Independence in the public mind that little more was left than the efforts of the Marquis De Lafayette. Many a re-enactor in one of the French units tracing Rochambeau's journey from East Greenwich to Yorktown in October 1981

⁵ In the United States it appeared as United States. Congress. Senate. Miscellaneous Publications. 58th Congress, 2nd Session. Document No. 77. (Washington, D.C., 1903/4). It is interesting to note that the editors decided not to include the names of the German soldiers enlisted in the Royal Deux-Ponts nor those of the Irishmen enlisted in the regiments Walsh and Dillon who had fought before Yorktown. In those cases the document lists "officiers seulement."

⁶ Allan Forbes, "Marches and Camp Sites of the French Army in New England During the Revolutionary War" *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* Vol. 58, (April 1925), pp. 267-286, p. 278.

⁷ Forbes, "Marches and Camp Sites," pp. 273/74.

⁸ Forbes, "Marches and Camp Sites," p. 280.

has told me of the incredulous "Who are YOU?!" that greeted them at their public appearances.

It is my hope that this report, which covers but one aspect in the first phase of the "Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing His Journey" project, will provide at least part of the answer to that question of "Who are YOU?" Because McCullough may just have a point when he claims that without the French "We wouldn't have a country."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It gives me great pleasure thank the many people who helped me in the preparation of this report. First of all thanks are due to John W. Shannahan, Director of the Connecticut Historical Commission and State Historic Preservation Officer for the opportunity to write this report and for his patience in working with a "newcomer" to the field of Historic Preservation. Thanks also go to Dr. Dawn Maddox, Preservation Programs Supervisor, for her technical assistance. I will always remember with great pleasure the days I spent with Mary M. Donohue, Project Director, driving across the Connecticut countryside locating sites along the route.

Over the past year many a citizen of the Constitution State has opened his or her home, sometimes quite literally, to me. On top of that list stand Mary and Arnold Carlson of Coventry. Arnold not only alerted me to the project, encouraged me to apply, and traveled with me to some of the sites, but the Carlsons also provided lodging for three weeks during my fieldwork in September 1998. Hans and Susan DePold gave me the opportunity to address audiences in Bolton concerning the importance of the Rose Farm site as the least disturbed campsite of the French army in Connecticut. As chair of the Inter Community Historic Resources Committee Hans has worked tirelessly to preserve the memory of the French contribution to American independence. Hans and Arnold traveled with me to both ends of the state and introduced me to numerous people, chief among them State Representative Pamela Z. Sawyer, who has been instrumental in securing funding for this project, and Colonels Serge Gabriel and John G. Chiarella.

Town historians Lorraine Busque treated me to a tour of her home, the Daniel White Tavern in Andover, so did Cheryl and Tom Curran, owners of the Oliver White Tavern in Bolton. Alicia Wayland, Ruth Ridgeway and Marge Hoskins all gave generously of their time. Mark Sutcliffe freely shared his information on campsites and routes. On the other end of the state, Linda Mary Flint helped me find the campsite on Breakneck Hill and opened her home for a delightful evening. Numerous librarians along the route helped whenever I walked in the door asking for information; if they could not provide it on the spot they not only promised to mail the requested information to me, but also always did. Chief among them are Ann J. Arcari, Farmington Room Librarian at the Farmington Public Library and John O'Donnell, Reference Librarian at the Danbury Public Library.

I would be greatly amiss if I would not thank my good friend and colleague Dr. Samuel F. Scott. Though his most recent book, *From Yorktown to Valmy: The Transformation of the French Army in an Age of Revolution* was published too late for this study, Sam generously shared his vast knowledge of Rochambeau's troops for many years. Thanks are also due Donald Brandt and Dr. Philip J. Handrick who have been interpreting the Royal Deux-Ponts since 1976. They put their files on uniforms and daily routine of the eighteenth-century French soldier at my disposal and provided the tables on the equipment of a soldier and on the march of the army from Providence to Yorktown.

Last but by far not least I would like to thank my wife Barbara and my children Mary, Sebastian, and Hannah for doing without me for three long weeks in the fall of 1998, and for their patience during the time I spent in front of the computer. Thank you all.

METHODOLOGY

The project set itself three goals. 1) to collect, interpret, and evaluate American, French, British, and German primary and secondary sources for information concerning the French involvement in the American Revolutionary War with a view toward explaining the reasons, goals, and results for and of that involvement. 2) to review these same sources for information about the presence of French troops in Connecticut and their interaction with the inhabitants of the state, and 3) to identify historic buildings and sites as well as modern monuments and markers associated with the march of the French forces under the command of General the comte de Rochambeau from Newport across Connecticut in the summer of 1781 on their way to New York and victory at Yorktown, and again during their return march to Boston in the fall of 1782.

Goals one and two were achieved by in-depth research in American and European libraries and archives. In particular I tried to use previously unknown and unpublished materials relating to the French involvement in the American Revolutionary War. Local history research was done in the Connecticut State Library and numerous public libraries across the state during fieldwork in the fall of 1998. I have tried to include all known, and accessible, primary and secondary sources on Rochambeau's army in this report.⁹

Two published sources were particularly helpful in preparation of this report. The first is the three-volume set by Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England* esp. volume 1, (Boston, 1925), pp. 136-189 and volume 2, (Boston, 1927), pp. 1-176. Forbes and Cadman traveled across New England in the early 1920 along the route of Rochambeau's army and compiled a complete a list of houses, monuments and sites as they existed then. Unfortunately some of these sites, particularly buildings, have since disappeared or been remodeled, thus losing their eighteenth-century appearance.

The other indispensable source is the compilation of maps, routes, and journals published by Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1782*, 2 volumes, (Providence and New Haven, 1972). Volume two in particular contains orders and arrangements for the march as well as maps of routes and campsites that are an absolute necessity for anyone interested in the march of Rochambeau and his troops across the State of Connecticut.

In an appendix to Volume 1, Rice and Brown provide the most complete list of journals available at the time of publication of their book. Very few additional sources have appeared since then. To the 45 primary sources listed by Rice and Brown,¹⁰ must be added the journal of Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man in the Royal Deux-Ponts in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Strasbourg, the *Journal Militaire* of an anonymous grenadier

⁹ For a list of sources see the bibliography beginning on p. 82.

¹⁰ The list can be found in Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, pp. 285-348. The reader is referred to the bibliographic information available there. Bibliographic information on primary sources used for this study can be found in the appropriate footnotes below.

in the Bourbonnais regiment in the Library of Congress, and a letter by Jean-François de Thuillière, a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts preserved in the Archives Nationales.¹¹ Also added must be two letters by Louis Eberhard von Esebeck, lieutenant-colonel in Royal Deux-Ponts, dated Jamestown Island, December 12, and December 16, 1781.¹²

The number is deceiving: very few of the 49 primary sources turned out to be of much use for this study. The location of the journals by the vicomte de Vioménil, of Ollonne, Saint-Cyr, Menonville or Rosel listed by Rice and Brown is unknown. Three items are collections of maps drawn by engineers for the march and/or the siege of Yorktown. Numerous other primary sources listed are collections of letters written during different stages of the campaign, i.e. those of the comte de Vioménil, Axel von Fersen, Esebeck, Graf Schwerin, Montesquieu, Mauduit du Plessis, Charlus, Crublier d'Opterre or de Thuillière, and contain little or no information on the march and/or Connecticut. Many more end with the siege of Yorktown, e.g., the accounts by Berthier, Cromot du Bourg or William de Deux-Ponts. Others again, i.e., those of Ségur or Broglie begin only in 1782 when their authors arrived in America. Of those who participated in the marches, some, such as Blanchard, either marched two days ahead of the main army to check on campsites etc., or, as in the case of Lauberdière follow behind the main army because of duel wounds that need healing. Others again, such as Brisout de Barneville simply gave a list of miles (his journal also ends December 5, 1781), just like the grenadier from the Bourbonnais. The marquis de Chastellux did not write a word about the march; the duc de Lauzun and his Legion pursued a separate route in the summer of 1781 and did not make the return march through Connecticut at all: it remained at Crompond, New York, and marched south to Wilmington, Delaware, from where it returned to France in the spring of 1783. Desandrouins had the misfortune of losing his journal in the wreck of the *Duc de Bourgogne* in the spring of 1783, and his description of the march to Yorktown consists of 10 lines; those of the return march are somewhat longer at four printed pages. Many of the journals were written long after the fact and are heavily colored by the usually negative experiences of the authors during the French Revolution.

The usefulness of the majority of journals is further reduced by the fact that virtually all officers who made the march to Yorktown kept their comments on the return march very short, sometimes less than one page for the distance from Newtown on October 25 to Canterbury on November 8, 1782. Clermont-Crèvecœur's journal for example, an excellent source for the march in the summer of 1781, devotes all of 20 lines to the return march a year later. Fortunately Verger, who had remained behind in Newport in June 1780 but sailed with the siege artillery to Yorktown, fills some of that void. Only two journals, that of Baron Closen, a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts and that of Georg Daniel Flohr, an enlisted man in Closen's unit, report details on both stages of the march.

Within the parameters set in the third goal, it was decided to include only structures and sites connected directly with the march proper of the infantry and field artillery

¹¹ The letter is catalogued under B4 172, Marine.

¹² John M. Lenhart, "Letter of an Officer of the Zweibrücken Regiment," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, Vol. 28, (January 1936), pp. 321-322, and Vol. 28, (February 1936), pp. 350-360.

portions of Rochambeau's little army for which primary source evidence exists. Movements of French forces and/or of French officers prior to the summer of 1781, e.g., General Rochambeau's meetings with General George Washington in Hartford and Wethersfield do not form part of this report. Also excluded are the movements of Lauzun's Legion, which, though the cavalry portion of the French forces, stood under the command of the minister of the navy, its quartering in Lebanon during the winter of 1780/81 and the flanking march in the summer of 1781. Also excluded were those sites connected with actions of the French navy and those of Frenchmen in American service, especially the marquis de Lafayette, even though he spent much time in Connecticut in his capacity as major general in the Continental Army.

The sites inventoried on-site in Connecticut during the month of September 1998 are of three different types:

- 1) Buildings connected with the march of the French forces under Rochambeau through Connecticut during June and July 1781 on the march to Virginia and during the return march to Boston in October and November 1782.
- 2) Plaques placed on sites by the State of Connecticut, by organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati as well as by individual communities in the course of this century to commemorate campsites, buildings, and events.
- 3) Roadside markers erected by the Connecticut Department of Transportation as well as supporting organizations pursuant to state legislation in 1957 to indicate campsites.
- 4) Signs erected by the Rotary Clubs of Connecticut in the mid-1970s to mark and identify Rochambeau's route.
- 5) Paintings and murals

For the sake of clarity the sites in this report are listed as they were visited by Rochambeau's army. In Chapter 7.2: The March through Connecticut, June 10-July 3, 1781, and Chapter 7.3: The Return March through Connecticut, July 1782, the sites are listed and numbered as they appear in the field for someone who wanted to trace the route chronologically. Such an approach preserves the historical course of events. On the other hand, since most readers interested in tracing Rochambeau's route may not want to drive back and forth across the state, beautiful as it is!, I have also listed the sites as they are encountered in the field when traveling from the Rhode Island State line to the New York State line, though the reader is cautioned to keep in mind that the sites refer to different years and stages of the march. In addition the reader is cautioned to remember that the route as delineated in this, the project historian's, report was determined by the above ground resources in the field and the modern road system. The actual route as determined

by the map-making team and/or the archaeologists may vary considerably in some areas, especially between Marion and the New York State line, from the route outlined here.

Fieldwork and photography were undertaken in September 1998. Copies of the final report and survey forms are deposited at the Connecticut Historical Commission, 59 South Prospect Street, Hartford, Connecticut, 06106. French and German words are in italics unless they are included as English words in *Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, tenth edition. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are mine.

3.1 Criteria for Selection: How Sites Were Chosen for Inclusion

The historical and architectural survey was conducted in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Identification and Evaluation (National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1983). A discussion of the general methodology that was utilized may be found in *Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning. National Register Bulletin 24* (Derry, Jandl, Shull, and Thorman, National Register of Historic Places, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1977; Parker, revised 1985).

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

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

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

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

Using these criteria, survey personnel personally inspected all listed sites and ensured that all properties likely to be found eligible for the National Register were included.

Applying the criteria as outlined above, I identified 42 separate sites that meet these requirements. These sites consist of:

- 12 Buildings, all but two of them, the Timothy Forbes house and the Rose Farm, are former inns and taverns. One site, the Eliza Pitkin house, has been listed even though the house has been relocated to Guilford, Connecticut.
- 13 SAR, DAR, and 1976 Bicentennial plaques. One of them, the "Frog Pond" marker, in Windham, predates the march of the French forces.
- 8 Department of Transportation markers erected in 1957. According to state records, 27 markers were put up across the state. On one site (intersection Artillery Road and Breakneck Hill Road in Middlebury) the metal post alone was left in October 1998.
- 5 Stone monuments
- 2 Signs maintained by the Rotary Clubs (?) of Connecticut. There should be 10 of these signs which commemorate the 1781/82 route of the French forces.
- 1 mural
- 1 marker pointing to another site (sites 28 and 29)
- 7 sites important for the march of 1781 as well as 1782 have been listed twice.

3.2 The Form

For every historic resource included in this survey, a standard Connecticut Historic Resource Inventory form or an Outdoor Sculpture form was prepared according to guidelines specified by the Connecticut Historical Commission, the state agency responsible for historic preservation. Much of the form is descriptive and was filled out by the survey field workers on site. Later, using the records of the town tax assessors, names and addresses of property owners were added. Although many items are self-explanatory, several of the form's specific entries require further explanation:

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

Historic Name. The historic name serves as a shorthand for indicating the site's significance. In the case of commercial buildings, churches, and public buildings, the historic name is straightforward and represents the buildings earliest known use. With houses, the historic name is usually the name of the family that built it or who lived there for many years. In some cases the name of the earliest owner could not be determined.

Style. In determining the styles of buildings, the survey personnel attempted to use commonly accepted terms, following closely *A Field Guide to American Houses* by Virginia and Lee McAlester. The most frequently used stylistic designations are:

Colonial (1700-1820). Colonial is used for the traditional architecture of the eighteenth century, characterized by a central chimney, clapboard siding, multi-light divided sash, windows, and (usually) a symmetrical five-bay façade.

Federal (1780-1830). Federal-style buildings are distinguished chiefly by the elegance of their decorative features, which include fanlights in the gables and over doorways, fancy cornices with elaborate moldings, and pilasters.

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

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

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

Condition. Without extensive analysis, it was not possible to assess professionally the structural condition of any building. The judgement on the form is based simply on the external condition of the building, and the form's box denoting "good" was checked for any structure lacking obvious problems such as sagging walls. "Good" means that everything about the exterior appeared in order; "Fair" means that there were some problems (badly peeled paint, cracked siding, missing roof shingles, rust stains, deep scratches on plaques, missing fastening bolts etc.) which, if left unchecked, could lead to damage. "Deteriorated" was used for sites with severe exterior problems.

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

Besides the descriptive part of the form, which is amplified under "Other Notable Features" on the reverse side, the form asks for historical and architectural significance as assessed by several standards: 1) Does the building or monument retain most of its original material? 2) To what extent does it embody a particular style or theory of architecture or visual/decorative arts? 3) How does it compare with other examples in Connecticut? 4) Is it in any way particularly beautiful, unusual, or inventive? Answers to

these and similar questions put the building, site or monument in its context as an expression of architecture or art at the time it was constructed.

Research files have been deposited with the Connecticut Historical Commission and may be used by appointment.

3.3 Other Parts of the Survey Report

In addition to the inventory forms and site profiles, which are the core of the survey, the project report includes an overview of the French army of the *ancien régime*, and of French forces in America before their march through Connecticut in June/July 1781 and again in October/November 1782. It also includes a discussion of primary resources still standing in the field as well as mention and, where possible, images of resources that have disappeared since Forbes and Cadman surveyed the state in the 1920s. It also includes recommendations assessing which buildings may meet the criteria for listing on the National Register of Historic Places as well as information on some questionable sites. A set of color slides for all sites surveyed and included in this report is attached as well. Indices to these forms as well as to the slides accompany the report.

3.4 Recommendations for Phase II of the *Rochambeau in Connecticut* Project

There is only one building that truly deserves nomination for the National Register of Historic Places, the Oliver White Tavern at 2 Brandy Street in Bolton (**SITE 11**). The home has been restored to its eighteenth-century appearance. A potential listing is the Francis Homestead in Canterbury, but more research is needed before a recommendation can be made.

Three sites are included in this report because of their connection with Rochambeau's route, but they can be recommended based on secondary grounds only. One is the Rose Farm, a nineteenth-century structure surrounded by modern farm buildings, in Bolton. It would take considerable work to restore the building(s) to its/their original appearance. Because of its location on the grounds where Rochambeau's troops camped in June 1781 and again in November 1782, the buildings could be included however as part of a larger site. Another building that has been listed in this report despite doubts is the Lebanon Crank Inn, today known as "The Landmark," in Columbia. It too has retained none of its eighteenth-century appearance; neither has the Elm Tree Inn in Farmington.

Besides further research concerning the above-mentioned homes, Phase II of this 'Rochambeau in Connecticut: Tracing His Journey' project should address four aspects of the French presence in Connecticut. 1) Lauzun's Legion, their winter quarters in Lebanon and the flanking route taken in 1781. 2) The conferences of Rochambeau and Washington in Wethersfield and Hartford in 1780 and 1781. 3) "Leisure" travel by officers such as the marquis de Chastellux as well as official business by Rochambeau's aides through the state with a view toward learning about French-Connecticut interaction on a personal

level. In the context of this research "questionable" sites such as the grave of the French buried in Norwich could also be evaluated. 4) A thorough research into and analysis of the Jeremiah Wadsworth and Governor Trumbull papers to get a more realistic idea of what it took to feed, clothe, and house the thousands of Frenchmen not only during their march through the state but also during the 11 months in neighboring Rhode Island.

I do not believe that research into French volunteers such as the marquis de Lafayette or the presence of the French navy in the state has a place in this phase of the project -- unless the focus is changed from "Rochambeau" to "Frenchmen in Connecticut." One aspect that should be approached, however, is making a concerted effort to try and pull neighboring states into the "Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route" project. The more people know about it, the more people will want to travel it. The long-range goal has to be to fill the route with people anxious to travel Rochambeau's route, the road that led to American independence.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF THE ROUTE

When Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman published their *France and New England* in 1925, they indicated that an "effort has been made to get the State Park Commission of Connecticut to mark all the nineteen camp sites in that State and it is hoped that some time this will be done."¹³ Thirty years later, the sites were still not yet marked and it was apparently only in response to the establishment of an "Interstate Rochambeau Commission" that the General Assembly took up the issue.¹⁴

In its January 1957 session, the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut passed House Bill No. 2005, "An Act concerning erecting Markers to designate the Sites of Camps occupied by the French troops under Rochambeau." Approved on June 4, 1957, it appropriated \$ 1,500 to cover expenses and instructed the State Highway Commissioner to "erect roadside signs" in cooperation with the Interstate Rochambeau Commission and "local historical societies or fraternal community groups."¹⁵ Pursuant to this legislation, the State Highway Commission placed a total of 27 signs at or near known campsites of Rochambeau's army across the state.

Fifteen years later, in 1972, Anne S. K. Brown and Howard C. Rice, Jr., published the authoritative and groundbreaking study *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*.¹⁶ Volume 2 of the work contains 204 pages of itineraries and texts followed by 177 contemporary maps, charts, and views of the routes taken by Rochambeau's army on the American mainland as well as in the Caribbean. These maps identified and definitely established the route of the French forces from Newport to Yorktown in 1781 and back again to Boston in 1782.

During preparations for the bicentennial of the American Revolution, United States Representative Fish of Maryland introduced on April 16, 1975, House of Representatives Concurrent Resolution 225. It called upon federal, state, county, and local governments to recognize the route taken by Rochambeau's forces as identified in the Brown and Rice work as "The Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route." On November 14, 1975, the United States Department of the Interior as the supervisory body of the National Park Service informed Representative James A. Haley, Chair of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives, that the department had no objections to the resolution but recommended that the word "National" be removed

¹³ Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, *France and New England* 3 vols., (Boston, 1925) Vol. 1, p. 131.

¹⁴ I have been unable to verify if the State Park Commission ever took up the issue just as I have been unable to locate any supporting information on the "Interstate Rochambeau Commission" of 1956/57. The commission may have been created for the 175th anniversary of the battle of Yorktown.

¹⁵ The legislative history of this bill can be followed via *Stenographer's Notes of Public Hearings before the Joint Standing Committee on Roads and Bridges* (1957), p. 165, (February 26, 1957); Connecticut General Assembly, House, *Proceedings 1957* Vol. 7, Part 3, p. 1436, (April 23, 1957), Part 5, pp. 2819/20, (May 27, 1957); Connecticut General Assembly, Senate, *Proceedings 1957* (May 28, 1957), p. 3557, and Secretary of State, *Special Acts passed by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut at the January Session, 1957* (Hartford, 1957), No. 552, (June 4, 1957).

¹⁶ 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972).

from the route's designation since the route was neither part of the National Park System nor did it meet the criteria of integrity required for inclusion in the National Park System.

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

More than five months later, on July 21, 1976, the Department of the Interior informed Senator Henry M. Jackson, chair of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, that it had no objection to House Concurrent Resolution 225. Following a hearing by the Senate's Subcommittee on Parks and Recreation on August 2, 1976, Jackson's committee recommended on August 5, that the Senate pass the resolution as well.¹⁷ The resolution was passed by the Senate on August 25, 1976.

Sometime prior to the House of Representatives vote on February 17, 1976, State Representative Colucci of the 71st District introduced Connecticut House Joint Resolution No. 66, in which he asked that it be "RESOLVED, that the Historic Routes, through the State of Connecticut, namely in the towns of Sterling ... and Ridgefield, be recognized as the 'Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route'." The resolution never seems to have been referred to committee or voted on. Joint House-Senate Resolution 225 had asked that the states "through appropriate signing, call attention to the route," but failed to appropriate funds to pay for signs outside Colonial National Historical Park in Yorktown, Virginia. Despite the lack of federal funds, a "Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route Committee" was established in Yorktown, New York, which began setting up markers. From October 9-16, 1981, hundreds of re-enactors traced the route from Newport to Yorktown to commemorate the bicentennial of the siege.¹⁸

Another twenty years passed until the Inter Community Historic Resources Committee began its work of identifying and classifying known campsites according to their state of preservation and the danger of potentially destructive development. The Committee set itself the goal in October 1995 of having Rochambeau's route, already recognized as the "Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route" by the United States Congress, listed in the National Register of Historic Places as the "Revolutionary Road." Concurrently it asked State Representative Pamela Z. Sawyer to introduce legislation in the General Assembly to allocate the funds for the historical, archeological, and archi-

¹⁷ See United States. Congress. House. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 94-799, *Recognizing the Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Route*, and United States. Congress. Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 94-1145, *The Washington-Rochambeau Historic Route* (Washington, DC, 1976).

¹⁸ See *The Herald* Friday, August 28, 1981. There also seems to have been some support in France for such a project: see the attached page from the *Revue économique française* Vol. 104, No. 2, (1982).

tectural research required for that registration. After three years, and with the help of 26 co-signers, the state legislature in the spring of 1998 appropriated \$ 30,000 for the first of three annual phases to document the route through Connecticut as the first step toward having the entire route from Newport to Yorktown listed in the National Register.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

5.1 France and Great Britain on the Eve of American Independence

On February 6, 1778, His Most Christian Majesty Louis XVI, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, absolutist ruler *par excellence*, whose right to rule rested on his position as representative of God on earth, whose theory of government knew but subjects without rights, a man who could and did proudly proclaim: *l'état, c'est moi!* - I am the state! - entered into an alliance with a government that was in a state of rebellion against fellow monarch George III, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, a government that justified its existence by claiming to "derive[d] its just powers from the consent of the governed," which proclaimed the seditious idea that "all men are created equal" and turned subjects into citizens by endowing them with "certain unalienable rights" such as "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

In retrospect it is hard to imagine two allies more diverse than France and the United States in 1778. What formed the basis of this alliance and what held it together were not shared ideologies and ideals, nor common territorial or financial interests. France bankrolled a bankrupt, reluctant ally, and in the very treaty creating the alliance renounced all territorial gain in the New World. The one and only reason why the France of Louis XVI would so generously share her resources with American rebels was a passion to defeat and to humiliate a common enemy, the desire for revenge, the urge to destroy the British *tyrannie des mers*, which threatened to swallow the final remnants of France's once powerful colonial empire that had survived the humiliation of 1763.¹ It was for this goal that France spent nearly 1 billion livres between 1775 and 1783, it was for this goal that the *fleurs-de-lis* flew on the ramparts of Yorktown, and it was for this goal that His Most Christian Majesty threw all ideological considerations overboard and provided the United States with the military, financial and economic support she needed to win her independence.

The American Revolutionary War was both the last traditional war of cabinets as well as the first modern "popular" conflict in a century characterized by almost continuous warfare. From the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701 to the French Revolutionary Wars in the 1790s, Europe witnessed barely a dozen years of peace. In all of these wars, Great Britain and France fought on opposite sides. During the first half of the century, the Bourbon kings in Versailles were able to hold their ground against the Hanoverians in London, but the Seven Year's War from 1756 to 1763, appropriately known as the *French and Indian War* on this side of the Atlantic, ended in disaster. In the (First) Peace of Paris, France lost virtually all her possessions in India and in the New World, where Canada became British and Louisiana was given to Spain. All that was left

¹ A book published by the *Association des Amis du Musée de la Marine* on the occasion of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution even carries that aspect in its title. See Jacques Vichot, *La guerre pour la liberté des mers, 1778-1783* (Paris, 1976).

of France's erstwhile globe circling empire were the sugar islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe and the fever-infested swamps of Cayenne and French Guyana.

But there was some posturing behind France's ostentatious anger at this humiliation as well. Much as it hurt French pride, Étienne François duc de Choiseul-Stainville, her chief minister during negotiations in 1762 had insisted that Britain was to retain Canada. Despite the misgivings of many of his colleagues and popular opinion at home, which clamored for the retention of Canada, Choiseul realized that giving up the colony would free his foreign policy in the New World. His adversary Lord Bedford, the chief British negotiator, seems to have anticipated Choiseul's fondest dreams when he saw this alarming mirage emerge across the Atlantic. He wondered "whether the neighborhood of the French to our North American colonies was not the greatest security for their dependence on the mother country, which I feel will be slighted by them when their apprehension of the French is removed."² Bedford's worst fears soon became reality.

The ink was barely dry on the peace treaty when France began her preparations for the war of revenge Louis XV and his ministers considered necessary to restore *la gloire* to the crown of Louis XIV. If revenge in America and India was one goal of French foreign policy after 1763, the restoration of French prestige and political influence on the European continent was another. How little she mattered in European affairs was driven home to France in 1764, when Catherine the Great had her protegee Stanislas Poniatowski elected King of Poland by the *Sejm* over France's opposition. Eight years later, France was forced to watch helplessly as Austria, Russia and Prussia carved large chunks of territory out of France's traditional ally in Eastern Europe. The annexation of Corsica in 1769 was but a small plaster on the festering sore of French pride.

But the eastward orientation of three of Europe's five major powers also held advantages for France. Choiseul knew that France could not count on much help from other European powers in her quest for revenge. Unable to gain allies of her own, her foreign policy after 1763 set itself three goals. First she had to try and isolate Great Britain on the continent. This task was made easier by Russia's war with the Sultan in Constantinople from 1768 to 1774, by Austria's continued attempts throughout the 1770s to trade Bavaria from the Wittelsbachs for the Netherlands, and by Prussia's considerable animosity with Britain for abandoning her continental ally in 1761 once her overseas war aims had been achieved. The second task had to be the strengthening of King Carlos III on the throne of Spain and of the Bourbon Family Compact of 1761 between the ruling houses in Paris and Madrid. As collateral, Paris needed to keep colonial tensions between Madrid and London, especially over Florida, given to Great Britain in 1763, simmering. Lastly she had to avoid all continental entanglements which could infringe upon her ability to wage that war against England whenever and wherever the opportunity arose.

In February 1762, a full year before the treaty of Paris was signed, Choiseul declared that after the conclusion of that war, he would pursue "only one foreign policy, a fraternal

² Quoted in W. J. Eccles, "The French Alliance and the American Victory" in: *The World Turned Upside Down. The American Victory in the War of Independence* John Ferling, ed., (Westport, 1976), pp. 147-163, p. 148.

union with Spain; only one policy for war, and that is England."³ In this policy of revenge, the possibility of a war of revenge in the New World loomed large in the mind of Choiseul. The French minister worked from the assumption that England had to be attacked where she was weakest, and that was in her American Empire. Versailles was convinced that the most effective way to hurt England and her trade, which was the foundation of her wealth, was through the separation of her American colonies. This would severely weaken British trade and sea power and since France would take over transatlantic trade from Britain, lead to a corresponding increase in the relative strength of France. British policy versus her colonies, combined with the free hand France had gained with the cession of Canada, would give her the opportunity to achieve her goals.⁴

The Seven Years' War had not only brought huge territorial gains for Great Britain, it had also resulted in some £ 137 million of debt. Interest on the debt amounted to £ 5 million annually, more than half the government revenues of some £ 8 million. Parliament in London wanted the colonies to help pay for these debts and asked them to defray one third of the cost of maintaining 10,000 Redcoats in the New World. In 1764, Prime Minister Sir George Grenville received the Common's approval for placing import duties on lumber, foodstuffs, molasses, and rum in the colonies. The Sugar Act of 1764 was immensely unpopular in the New World and hostility increased even more when the Quartering Act of 1765 required colonists to provide food and quarters for British troops. Hard on its heels came the 1765 Stamp Act, probably the most infamous legislation concerning the colonies ever passed by a British Parliament. Vehement opposition forced the Commons to repeal the act in March 1766. To make up for the lost revenue, the Townshend Acts of 1767 levied new taxes on glass, painter's lead, paper and tea.

Relations with the motherland had barely been smoothed over when long-standing military-civilian tensions in Boston erupted on March 5, 1770, when British troops fired into a mob.⁵ The infamous *Boston Massacre* killed five people, including Crispus Attucks, a black man reportedly the group's leader. In the fall of 1773, tensions flared up again in Boston and all along the coast when East India Company tea ships were turned back at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. A cargo ship was burned at Annapolis on October 14; another ship had its cargo thrown overboard, once again, in Boston at the *Boston Tea Party* on December 16, 1773, to protest the new tax on tea. Parliament responded with the Intolerable Acts of 1774, which curtailed Massachusetts' self-rule and barred the use of Boston harbor until the tea was paid for.

Of equal, if not greater importance for the rapid deterioration of British-colonial relations was the Quebec Act of 1774. The act not only granted Roman Catholics in Canada the freedom to practice their religion, more importantly it placed all lands between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River under the administration of the governor of

³ Ibid.

⁴ The best introduction into this issue can be found in W.J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York, 1972).

⁵ By far the best introduction into this subject is Douglas Edward Leach's, *Roots of Conflict: British Armed Forces and Colonial Americans, 1677-1763* (Chapel Hill, 1986). For the period following, including the perennial British problem in Boston and New England, see John Shy, *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution* (Princeton, 1965).

formerly French Quebec. With that decision, the House of Commons seemed to have closed off forever all chances of continued westward expansion. Until ten years earlier, the French had stood in the way of land-hungry colonists, now Parliament in London had assumed that role. When the First Continental Congress convened, after ten years of conflict with the crown, in Carpenters' Hall in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774, Great Britain had become the antagonist for expansion-minded colonists who in ever larger numbers saw independence as a potentially viable option.

5.2 French Aid Prior to the Alliance of 1778

The war Choiseul had foreseen was about to break out. France was prepared militarily and politically. Ever since the Peace of Paris, Choiseul and his successor Charles Gravier, the comte de Vergennes, who replaced Choiseul as foreign minister in 1774, had embarked on an ambitious naval build-up. It called for a fleet of 80 ships of the line and 47 frigates, almost twice the 47 ships of the line in French service in 1763. Helped by an enthusiastic response from provincial estates and the generosity of municipalities such as Paris, the French navy grew to 64 ships of the line, mostly of 74 guns, plus 50 frigates in 1770. In 1765, Choiseul issued the first major new navy regulations since 1689, retired numerous incompetent officers, emphasized training, and the following year re-established the navy as an independent service within France's armed forces. Gabriel de Sartines, Choiseul's successor as navy minister (1774-1780), continued these programs: when France entered the war in 1778, her order of battle listed 52 ships of the line of at least 50 guns (plus 60 frigates) arrayed against Britain's 66, and there was hope that Spain would join in the fight, adding another 58. Parity with Great Britain had been achieved; since she had to keep some 20 ships of the line close to home to counter the threat of French raids, naval superiority in select theatres of war such as the Caribbean had become a possibility.⁶

The defeats of the Seven Years' War, particularly Rossbach in 1757, had also laid painfully bare the inefficiency of the French army, which was "still basically functioning as in the days of Louis XIV."⁷ Beginning in 1762, Choiseul's ministry carried out long-overdue reforms. At last all infantry regiments were organized in the same way -- equipment and training were standardized throughout the army and recruiting was centralized. The *Maréchal* de Saxe's dream of the 1740s that some day the French army would march in step was finally coming true. The artillery was re-organized along the ideas of General Jean Baptiste de Gribeauval, and the cavalry got its first riding school.

Reforms were pushed further in 1774 when Louis XVI succeeded to the throne of France. The comte de Saint-Germain, Louis XVI's Minister of War, forbade the sale of

⁶ By far the best account of the French navy is Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787* (Princeton, 1975); annual lists of capital ships on pp. 351-378. At Yorktown in 1781, France enjoyed that temporary superiority that Choiseul had hoped for long enough to decide the outcome of the war.

⁷ A good introduction with superb illustrations can be found in René Chartrand and Francis Back, *The French Army in the American War of Independence* (London, 1991), pp. 6-14; the quote is taken from page 6, the regimental organization from p. 9. Additional information can be found in Samuel F. Scott, *The Response of the Royal Army to the French Revolution. The Role and Development of the Line Army 1787-93* (Oxford, 1978).

officers' commissions, retired some 865 of over 900 colonels in the army and eventually abolished the King's Guards, including the Horse Grenadiers and the famous Musketeers, as too expensive. In March/April of 1776, all regiments (except the Guards and the *Régiment du Roi*) were ordered to consist of two battalions only; those regiments with four battalions saw their 2nd and 4th battalions transformed into new regiments. The most famous of these newly created units is undoubtedly the *Gâtinais*, created from the *Auvergne*, whose grenadiers and chasseurs stormed Redoubt No. 9 before Yorktown in 1781. Concurrently St. Germain also reduced the number of companies per battalion from nine to six and used the savings in officers' salaries to add personnel to each company.

The concept of a two-battalion regiment of five companies each as set up in the *ordonnance* of March 25, 1776, was further clarified on June 1, 1776. It set the strength of an infantry regiment at two battalions of five companies each and an auxiliary company of variable strength. Each regiment had one Grenadier company consisting of 6 officers, 14 non-commissioned officers, 1 *cadet gentilhomme*, 1 surgeon's assistant, 84 grenadiers and 2 drummers for a total of 6 officers and 102 men. Besides the Grenadiers stood one of the newly created *chasseur* or light infantry companies and four companies of fusiliers. The authorized strength of those companies stood at 6 officers, 17 NCOs, 1 *cadet gentilhomme*, 1 surgeon's assistant, 116 *chasseurs* (or fusiliers) and 2 drummers for a total of 6 officers and 137 men. A regimental staff of twelve, i.e. the Colonel, the Second Colonel, 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Quarter-Master Treasurer, 2 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 1 Surgeon-Major, 1 Chaplain, 1 Drum-Major, and 1 Armourer. By the spring of 1780, subsequent ordinances had set the authorized strength of a regiment at 67 officers⁸ and 1,148 men (excluding the auxiliary company), which for bookkeeping purposes was fixed at 1,003 men for French, and 1,004 men for foreign, infantry, for the *expédition*.

When France decided to provide aid to the American colonies in 1775, the paper strength of her land forces amounted to some 140,000 men, though the actual strength was probably 8,000-10,000 men below that number.⁹ Of these, some 77,500 served in one of the 79 French line regiments, about 12,000 in one of the eight German, three Irish, the *Royal Corse* and the *Royal Italien* regiments, and 12,000 served in one of the eleven regiments of Swiss infantry.¹⁰ The royal household troops, including one regiment each of French and Swiss Guards, were authorized at almost 9,000 men. Almost 6,000 served in the artillery; the cavalry added about 22,000 men and the Light Troops about 3,500.

During these same years, the army budget increased only modestly from 91.9 million livres in 1766 to 93.5 million in 1775. This relatively small increase in expenditures hides the real significance of the changes that took place within the French army during those years. The armed forces of 1775 had been thoroughly streamlined and the funds available were spent much more efficiently. Through the reduction in strength of unreliable but

⁸ Including the two *portes-drapeaux* (flag-bearers) and the *quartier-maitre trésorier* (pay/quarter master). The strength of a regiment is that given by Kennett, *French forces*, p. 22.

⁹ Scott, *Response*, pp. 217-222. That British army worldwide numbered 45,000 officers and men in 1775, 8,500 of them were stationed in North America. But the Royal Navy was larger than the French navy, which numbered about 1,250 officers and 75,000 men with a budget of 58.5 million livres in December 1777. Dull, *French navy*, p. 346.

¹⁰ Michel Pétard, "Les Étrangers au service de la France (1786)" *Tradition* Vol. 32, (September 1989), pp. 21-29.

costly elements such as the militia, detached companies, and separate recruit units, the paper strength of the armed forces had declined from roughly 290,000 to 240,000 men. Within the regular army, the guards had remained virtually unchanged and the foot contingent declined by 5,000 through the abolition of units such as the *Grenadiers de France* in 1771. A decrease in the number of foreign infantry, which cost the French taxpayer 368 livres per year as opposed to 230 livres for a French soldier, freed additional funds which were used, e.g., to increase the number of French infantry, of mounted units (from 25,000 to nearly 46,000) and of light troops.¹¹ At the end of these reforms stood the introduction of the new Model 1777 *Charleville* musket, a .69 caliber weapon that was lighter, stronger and more reliable than the .75 caliber "Brown Bess" used by the British.

The same holds true for the artillery. After 1765 it consisted of seven regiments named after the community in which they were stationed. In November 1776, each regiment was divided into two battalions of ten companies each: fourteen of gunners, four bombardiers, and two sappers. Each company consisted of four officers and 71 other ranks. Unattached were nine companies of sappers and six companies of miners for a total of 909 officers and 11,805 men authorized strength in the Royal Artillery. This was well above its actual strength of almost 6,000 men, and the artillery, the most technically advanced branch, always had problems keeping its ranks filled. But what it lacked in numbers it made up in quality: contemporaries considered the French artillery second to none, a well-deserved reputation as Lord Cornwallis would find out much to his dismay at Yorktown.

These reforms, necessary as they were, brought St. Germain numerous and powerful enemies in the officer corps, but it was the introduction of a new and universally hated Prussian-style uniform in 1776 that caused his downfall in 1777 and replacement by the Prince de Montbarey (minister until 1780).¹² By then, the French navy, infantry, cavalry and artillery had been transformed into well-trained, efficient, and well-equipped organizations ready to take on the British foe once again. The fleet that Admiral de Grasse arrayed at the mouth of the York River in September 1781, and the troops that General Rochambeau would take to America and to victory at Yorktown, had little in common with the French army that had suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of Frederick the Great and the British between 1756 and 1763.

While politicians and administrators in Versailles were preparing for the impending war, they also kept a close watch on American developments. As early as 1767, Choiseul had dispatched the German-born (and self-styled Baron) Major-General Johann von Kalb on a secret fact-finding mission to the British colonies and again his successor Vergennes followed this policy. Throughout the late 1760s and early 1770s, the French crown

¹¹ Claude C. Sturgill, "Money for the Bourbon Army in the Eighteenth Century: The State within the State" *War and Society* Vol. 4, No. 2, (September 1986), pp. 17-30. In the 1740s a French soldier had cost 122 livres per year to maintain, a soldier in one of the foreign regiments between 160 and 170 livres.

¹² The unpopular uniform of 1776 was not officially replaced until February 1779. Since uniforms were replaced in three-years cycles with 1/3 of a regiment receiving new equipment each year, and since many units ignored the uniform changes and kept using non-regulation equipment, Rochambeau's troops, even within individual regiments, wore a mix of at least two, if not three, different patterns and styles.

repeatedly sent agents to British America in order to keep informed of developments in the lower thirteen colonies.¹³

Vergennes was well aware of the tense situation along America's eastern seashore when the First Continental Congress adjourned in October 1774 with an appeal to King George III to help restore harmony between Britain and the colonies. They also knew that the Congress had called on the colonies to boycott trade with Britain. As the tense winter months of 1774/75 turned to spring, it became only a question of time until civil disobedience would erupt into open violence. That moment arrived in mid-April 1775, when patriots alerted by Paul Revere, William Dawes and Samuel Prescott attacked British troops at Lexington and Concord on April 19. On May 10, the day the Second Continental Congress opened its debates, Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured Fort Ticonderoga in upstate New York. Next colonials headed for Bunker Hill near Boston, where they repulsed British Redcoats under General William Howe twice before retreating on June 17, 1775. Two days earlier Congress had appointed General George Washington Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

The colonies were at war, and France stepped in as the natural ally of the rebellious colonies against the British motherland. America reached out, and France responded. From mid-March to early April 1775, a secret plan to aid the Americans was drawn up in Versailles. When news of Lexington and Concord reached Paris, the government of His Most Christian Majesty, despite all ideological differences, became the first foreign power to provide aid and support to the fledgling United States.¹⁴ In September, Vergennes' emissary Julien-Alexandre Achard de Bonvouloir arrived in Philadelphia to establish relations and to encourage the Americans in their rebellion. Concurrently Silas Deane arrived in Paris as Congress' commercial agent and covert representative. Deane had been instructed to buy clothes, arms and ammunition for 25,000 men, and to negotiate treaties of alliance and commerce with the French.

To supplement Deane's efforts, Vergennes co-opted the playwright Pierre Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, author of *The Barber of Seville*, into his service. As early as the fall of 1775, Beaumarchais had approached Vergennes with a plan to support the American rebels. In January 1776, Vergennes submitted the proposal to King Louis XVI, informing him that the plan was "not so much to terminate the war between America and England, as to sustain and keep it alive to the detriment of the English, our natural and pronounce enemies."¹⁵ After some hesitation - in March Louis XVI told Vergennes that he "disliked the precedent of one monarchy giving support to a republican insurrection against a legitimate monarchy" -- the king eventually agreed to let Beaumarchais act as the secret agent of the crown.¹⁶ In April 1776, substantial military supplies were made available to Beaumarchais, who set up the trading company of Roderigue Hortalez & Co.

¹³ See Jonathan R. Dull, *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1985), pp. 63.

¹⁴ Claude Van Tyne, "French Aid before the Alliance of 1778" *American Historical Review* Vol. 31, (1925), pp. 20-40.

¹⁵ Quoted in "Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de (1732-1799)" in: *The American Revolution 1775-1783. An Encyclopedia* Richard L. Blanco, ed., 2 vols., (New York, 1993), Vol. 1, p. 107.

¹⁶ Quoted in General Fonteneau, "La période française de la guerre d'Indépendance (1776-1780)" *Revue historique des armées* Vol. 3, No. 4, (1976), pp. 47-77, p. 48.

as a front to channel aid to the Americans. In June 1776, His Most Christian Majesty granted Beaumarchais a loan of 1 million livres; Spain added another million in August.¹⁷

When news of the disaster at Long Island and the occupation of New York by troops under Sir William Howe in September reached Europe in late 1776, Versailles feared that Britain might succeed in snuffing out the rebellion. France and Spain stepped up their support. A royal order forwarded by Jose de Galvez, Minister of the Indies, to Luis de Unzaga, Spanish Governor of Louisiana, of December 24, 1776,¹⁸ informed Unzaga that he would soon "be receiving through the Havana and other means that may be possible, the weapons, munitions, clothes and quinine which the English colonists (i.e., Americans) ask and the most sagacious and secretive means will be established by you in order that you may supply these secretly with the appearance of selling them to private merchants." Concurrently Galvez informed Diego Jose Navarro, governor of Cuba, that he would soon "receive various items, weapons and other supplies" which he was to forward to Unzaga together with "the surplus powder available" in Havana and "whatever muskets might be in that same Plaza in the certainty that they will be quickly replaced."

With the covert backing and financial support of the Spanish and French governments, Beaumarchais' ships carried much-needed supplies to the Americans, frequently via the tiny Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean.¹⁹ By September of 1777, France had dispatched clothing for 30,000 men, 4,000 tents, 30,000 muskets with bayonets, over 100 tons of gunpowder, 216 (mostly 4-pound) cannons and gun carriages, 27 mortars, almost 13,000 shells and 50,000+ round shot. Most of this equipment was still on the high seas when Congress compiled its instructions to Arthur Lee and Benjamin Franklin in September 1776. They were about to join Deane in France, and Congress re-stated its needs in quite unusual candor. "As the Scarcity of Arms, Artillery and other military Stores is so considerable in the United States, you will solicit the Court of France for an immediate Supply of twenty or thirty thousand Muskets and Bayonets, and a large Supply of Ammunition and brass Field Pieces, to be sent under Convoy by France. The United States will engage for the Payment of the Arms, Artillery and Ammunition, and to indemnify France for the Expense of the Convoy." If possible, they were to "Engage a few good Engineers in the Service of the United States."

The last sentence points to another deficiency in the American military establishment: the Continental Army was desperately short of experts to work some of the sophisticated material provided by France, though there was no lack of applicants from all over Europe! As soon as Benjamin Franklin arrived in Paris in late December 1776, he soon found himself flooded with requests for employment in the Continental Army.²⁰ Deane

¹⁷ On French expenditures see Robert D. Harris, "French Finances and the American War, 1777-1783" *Journal of Modern History* Vol. 48, (June 1976), pp. 233-258, and Claude C. Sturgill, "Observations of the French War Budget 1781-1790" *Military Affairs* Vol. 48, (October 1984), pp. 180-187.

¹⁸ Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Estado Legajo 4224.

¹⁹ See J. Franklin Jameson, "St. Eustatius in the American Revolution" *American Historical Review* Vol. 8, No. 3, (July 1903), pp. 683-708. For the most recent literature see Robert A. Selig, "The French Capture of St. Eustatius, 26 November 1781" *The Journal of Caribbean History* Vol. 27, No. 2, (1993), pp. 129-143.

²⁰ Before the war was over, Franklin received 415 applications for employment in the Continental Army; 312 applicants were French, the remainder came from all across Europe. See Catherine M. Prelinger, "Less

had already entered into contracts with some twenty-seven (mostly French) officers, among them the marquis de LaFayette and fourteen additional officers, including the Baron de Kalb, who accompanied him to America on the *Victoire*. But he had also granted to Philippe Jean-Baptiste Tronson du Coudray, a gifted but exceedingly vain artillery major, permission to recruit forty more officers on his own. The pressing need for experts, inexperience, and difficulties of communication led to numerous embarrassments. Deane had promised Coudray a commission as major general and command of artillery and engineers in the Continental Army: Henry Knox' and Presle du Portail's positions! Coudray's death by drowning at the Schuylkill Ferry in September 1777 saved Congress from this embarrassment and caused Lafayette to comment cynically that "the loss of this quarrelsome spirit was probably a fortunate accident."²¹

One of the officers recruited by Deane in the autumn of 1776 was Denis Jean Florimont de Langlois, marquis du Bouchet, the brother-in-law of Irishman Thomas Conway. Du Bouchet's *Journal d'un émigré; ou cahier d'un étudiant en philosophie*, the *Journal of an Emigrant; or Memorial of a Student of Philosophy*, almost 900 pages in three volumes completed in late 1822 or early 1823, provides a singular and enlightening insight into this semi-official and semi-legal phase of French aid. Observations such as those recorded by Du Bouchet shed a unique light the personalities and motivations of some of the volunteers for the Continental Army in 1775/76 as well as on the confusion that reigned in these early days of Franco-American cooperation.²²

In late November 1776, Conway and du Bouchet set out for Le Havre. There the *l'Amphitrite*, a merchant ship of some 410 tons armed with 16 cannon, was waiting to take them to the New World. Loaded with 50 four-pound cannons, 10,000 muskets, 100,000 flints, and an assortment of war-related materials, she was under the command of one-legged Captain Nicolas Fautrel. Her cargo had been provided by Beaumarchais and was to be smuggled to Philadelphia.

But the *Amphitrite* carried an even more valuable human cargo: some 34 French officers and about half a dozen NCOs who had volunteered their services to the nascent Continental Army. The *Amphitrite's* passenger list is a veritable *Who's Who* of French volunteers. Among du Bouchet's travel companions there was indeed many an honest and professional officer who knew his trade and who would return to America with the troops of Rochambeau in 1780. Captain François Louis Teissedre de Fleury is as good an example of these men as can be found. Promoted to lieutenant colonel as a reward for his

Lucky than LaFayette: A Note on the French Applicants to Benjamin Franklin for Commissions in the American Army, 1776-1785" *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* Vol. 4, (1976), pp. 263-270, p. 263. Deane's tendency to mix personal and public business for personal gain while serving as Congress' agent only added to the confusion and led to his recall in 1778.

²¹ Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux Etats-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance* (Château de Vincennes, 1982); the Lafayette quote on p. 464 (my translation). Biographies can also be found in Blanco, *Encyclopedia*, passim; Coudray here in Vol. 1, pp. 405/6.

²² Du Bouchet's manuscript is located in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division of Cornell University Library. I am grateful to Ms. Lorna Knight, Curator of Manuscripts, for permission to quote the manuscript here as well as in my forthcoming article "Journal d'un Emigré: Denis Jean Florimond de Langlois, marquis Du Bouchet And the American Revolutionary War" in the June/July 1999 issue of *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*.

valiant defense of Fort Mifflin in November 1778, he was the only foreigner to receive one of the eight medals Congress had struck to celebrate American victories. He returned to France in September 1779, joined Rochambeau's expeditionary corps in 1780, and was among the conquerors of Redoubt No. 9 before Yorktown on October 14, 1781.

Other volunteers of note were Jean Joseph de Gimat de Soubadère, future aide-de-camp to Lafayette and a lieutenant-colonel in the Continental Army by 1778, and Jean-Baptiste de Gouivon, who served throughout the Revolutionary War, eventually as a colonel, as well as Louis François de Pommereul de Martigny, who served faithfully as a lieutenant in the artillery. There was Thomas Antoine de Mauduit du Plessis, another lieutenant in the artillery with a commission as captain from Deane in his pocket, who distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown and later at Monmouth. In 1779 he accompanied Lafayette to France but returned with Rochambeau in 1780.

All of the half-dozen or so *officiers-de-fortune*, rankers who had served their way up to sub-lieutenant during 10, 15, even 20 years of service, were thoroughly professional soldiers who had been promised ranks in the Continental Army well beyond reach at home. These were men like François Parison, commissioned a captain by Deane, who returned to France in 1778 only to cross the ocean again in 1780 with Rochambeau. Du Bouchet's favorite traveling companion, Thomas Mullens, an Irishman, had worked his way up from common soldier in 1756 to sub-lieutenant in 1770 and would return to the New World with Rochambeau as his *chef des guides*.

But there were others as well. Young Monsieur Désépiniers had no military experience whatsoever but was made a major in the Continental Army as a courtesy to his uncle Beaumarchais. Sixty-year-old Philippe Hubert de Preudhomme de Borre, formerly a lieutenant colonel of the Regiment *Liègeois d'Orion* was clearly past his prime. Rewarded with a commission as brigadier for his troubles involved in crossing the Atlantic Ocean, he returned it less than five months later after the defeat at Brandywine in September to preserve his honor as a soldier which he saw threatened by having to command "such bad troops."²³

Some, like 26-year-old artillery officer Anne Philippe Dieudonné de Loyauté, commissioned a captain by Deane in November 1776, were doubtful assets at best. The future inspector general of artillery of Virginia had just been released from the prison in Pierre-en-Cize where his father had him incarcerated for 16 months to cure him of excessive gambling and womanizing. On the eve of departure, a distraught comtesse de Linanges appeared, pleading with de Loyauté to return to her. His "caprice ... kept the idle public occupied," not to mention the ever-present British spies. Eventually it was only through the complicity of a harbor official, who as an old family friend chose to ignore an arrest order, that de Loyauté managed to escape "his mistresses as well as his creditors" and to "throw between them and himself the immensity of the oceans."

²³ Borre's letter of resignation as quoted in Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 389. He did not leave the United States from Charleston until January 1779.

On December 14, 1776, the *Amphitrite* with 12 artillery and engineer officers as well as eight infantry officers departed for the New World. Two days out, Coudray, who thought that Deane had undermined his mission, forced Fautrel to return to L'Orient where they arrived on January 1, 1777. There Coudray ordered Preudhomme de Borre off the ship in a most offensive manner and proceeded to Paris -- where he received yet another recommendation from Benjamin Franklin. In late January 1777, a total of 27 officers and 12 Non-Commissioned Officers, including Coudray and Borre, sailed from Nantes for Boston, where they arrived on April 20, 1777.

Meanwhile in L'Orient, the *Amphitrite* too had once again set sail for America on January 25, 1777, this time with 25 officers on board. Loyauté had used the three-week layover in L'Orient to form yet another "tendre liaison." According to du Bouchet he once again gave a disgusting "spéctacle au public" and had to be forced to re-embark for America. On the night before departure, Armand Charles Tuffin, marquis de la Rouërie, better known as Colonel Armand after the legion he would raise in the American colonies,²⁴ appeared on board and informed his fellow officers that he "absolument" had to get out of France. Du Bouchet assumed another "affaire d'honneur," i.e., a duel, as the cause for this sudden appearance, since Rouërie had recently wounded the comte de Bourbon-Busset, a cousin of King Louis XVI, in a duel over the love of a belle of the Paris Opera. Rouërie's "trust" in the actress "had been extreme," but apparently there had been some physical contact as well since of late a child had "unexpectedly ... appeared on the scene." The marquis vehemently denied paternity, and in his "desperation" over this betrayal had wavered between suicide and "embracing the monastic life." A closer look showed the "rigors" of monastic life not to his liking, and he decided to "throw between his unfaithful" actress and himself "the immensity of the ocean" and to fight for American independence instead. Colonel Armand returned to France in 1784, but he never again wore the white uniform of the *ancien régime*. He did, however, acknowledge the son "unexpectedly" born in late 1776.

The arrival of dozens of foreigners, French and otherwise, with claims, if not proof, of high commissions in the Continental Army, combined with sometimes arrogant if not contemptuous behavior displayed by some of them, soon caused considerable friction with their American comrades-in-arms.²⁵ Increasingly Americans refused to receive into their ranks some of the more quarrelsome "summer soldiers and sunshine patriots," as Thomas Paine called them, sent by Deane, Franklin and Lee. Du Bouchet found that out when he arrived at Stillwater in late August 1777. Gates was not pleased to see another Frenchman walk into camp: "'What do you want from me?' he said to me very brusquely." In his "very bad English" du Bouchet replied: "'Opportunities to gain your esteem, general. ... Would you have the goodness to allow me to join, as a volunteer, your front-line detachments?'" Growling under his breath how it "'would be very nice if all Frenchmen were that reasonable and moderate in their pretensions,'" Gates allowed him into camp. But when the newcomer dared to ask for a tent, he was immediately put

²⁴ On Colonel Armand and his legion see Blanco, *Encyclopedia* Vol. 1, pp. 40-44.

²⁵ French agents in America were well aware of the damage done by such adventurers who did nothing but "deshonorer la nation dans le nouveau monde," as one of them informed Vergennes. Quoted in Kennett, "L'expédition Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 91.

into his place: "'They are only for the soldiers,' the general answered me very brusquely." Du Bouchet made himself a crude shelter from pine branches where he lived "like Robin Crusoe upon arrival on his island."

Even on pine branches Du Bouchet was more fortunate than men such as French Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Louis vicomte de Mauroy, hired by Deane as major general. Mauroy arrived on June 13, 1777, was not employed and was sent back to France. Major Ludwig Baron von Holtzendorff, whom Deane had commissioned a lieutenant colonel, served as a common soldier before his return to France in 1778. No one in Coudray's company received a commission until after the "fortunate" death of Coudray in September 1777, when Congress promoted Coudray posthumously to major general and granted him the position it could not possibly give him while he was alive. Concurrently it passed legislation providing funds for the return of those officers in Coudray's entourage that it could not, or would not, employ to Europe.

Congress had a lot to learn, but it learned quickly. Once those start-up problems were overcome, Franco-American relations proceeded considerably more smoothly. Of the ten ships dispatched by Beaumarchais and which reached American shores between March and November 1777, only one ran into trouble with the British and had to be blown up with its thousands of pounds of gunpowder by the captain. The vast majority of the almost 100 foreign volunteers either hired by Deane, Lee, or Franklin with the tacit consent of the French crown for the express purpose of serving in America, whether they traveled on ships owned by Beaumarchais or whether they came on their own, whether they were French like the Marquis de Lafayette, Presle du Portail or Pierre l'Enfant, Polish like Tadesz Kosciuszko or Casimir Pulaski or German like Baron von Steuben and Baron von Kalb: they all brought much-needed expertise to the Continental Army, served faithfully and occasionally even laid down their lives for America's freedom.

The Continental Army put Beaumarchais' supplies to good use. The defeat of General Johnny Burgoyne and his army on October 17, 1777, to Horatio Gates at Saratoga, was a major turning point in the American Revolutionary War. It was won by American soldiers, even if 90% of the gunpowder used had been supplied by and paid for by France, and was used in French M 1763-66 pattern (*Charleville*) muskets, which by then had become standard in the Continental Army. The victory at Saratoga proved to the French that the American rebellion could be sustained with a possibility of success. News of Burgoyne's capitulation reached Paris in the evening of December 4, 1777; on the 17th Vergennes promised to recognize the independence of the Thirteen Colonies, with or without Spanish support. On January 30, the king authorized the *Secrétaire du Conseil d'Etat* Conrad Alexandre Gérard to sign the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a secret Treaty of Alliance on his behalf. On February 6, 1778, Gérard carried out the order and Deane, Franklin, and Lee signed for the United States. By these treaties, France offered "to maintain ... the liberty, sovereignty, and independence" of the United States in case of war between her and Great Britain. France promised to fight on until the independence of the United States was guaranteed in a peace treaty. All the United States had to do in

exchange was not "conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained."²⁶

On March 13, 1778, His Most Christian Majesty officially informed the Court of St. James of this decision.²⁷ A week later, the three Americans were introduced to the king as *Ambassadors of the Thirteen United Provinces* while Gérard in turn was appointed French resident at Congress in Philadelphia. Copies of the treaties reached Congress in early May, which ratified it unanimously and without debate and ordered them published without waiting for the French government to ratify the treaties as well.²⁸

A treaty of military alliance is not a declaration of war: but the causes for war between France and Great Britain were present even before the treaty was signed and ratified, and both sides understood it as a declaration of war. Upon hearing the news, the Court of St. James recalled its ambassador from France; in early June British ships chased the French frigate *Belle Poule* off the coast of Normandy. The *Belle Poule* held her ground and limped, badly damaged and with half of her crew dead or wounded, into Brest. Louis XVI responded by ordering his navy on July 10 to give chase to Royal Navy vessels. The war France had planned for since 1763 was on at last.²⁹

5.3 The Failed Invasion of 1779 and the Decision to send Troops to America

Choiseul had always wanted to fight the war overseas, and Vergennes continued this policy. Even before the *Belle-Poule* affair, Vergennes had sent Admiral d'Estaing with 17 ships of the line, 6,200 naval personnel and 4,000 infantry to the Caribbean, where they arrived in July 1778. But the first two years of military cooperation did not go well. The siege of Newport in August 1778 ended in failure. So did the siege of Savannah, taken by British troops under Henry Clinton in December 1778, in September and October 1779. Once d'Estaing had raised the siege, British troops began the invasion of South Carolina where Charleston fell in May 1780.

²⁶ For a complete text of the treaties see the *Documents* section.

²⁷ Ruth Strong Hudson, "The French Treaty of Alliance, Signed on February 6, 1778" *The American Society Legion of Honor Magazine* Vol. 49, No. 2, (1978), pp. 121-136.

On November 16, 1776, Governor Johannes de Graaf ordered the 13-gun-salute due independent nations be accorded to the American flag flown on the *Andrea Doria* as she entered the harbor of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. But the Dutch government never followed this act by an official recognition of the independence of the United States, leaving that honor to France in her treaties of February 1778 with the United States. See Barbara W. Tuchman, *The First Salute. A View of the American Revolution* (New York, 1988), pp. 5-22.

²⁸ Alexander DeConde, "The French Alliance in Historical Speculation" in: *Diplomacy and Revolution. The Franco-American Alliance of 1778* Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., (Charlottesville, 1981), pp. 1-38, and William C. Stinchcombe, "Americans Celebrate the Birth of the Dauphin" *ibid.*, pp. 39-72. Accompanied by Deane, who had been recalled to explain some of his business dealings, Gerard reached Philadelphia in July 1778.

²⁹ Spain hesitated until April 1779 to enter the war against Great Britain in the Convention of Aranjuez, while Great Britain herself declared war on the Netherlands in November 1780.

The apparent inability of French forces "to make a difference" in the war severely strained the alliance. But the criticism was quite undeserved: without massive French aid the Continental Army would probably not have existed any more. France had been active in Europe as well: in February 1778, already, she had begun to concentrate troops on the Channel coast for a possible invasion of the British Isles. By June 30, 28 battalions of infantry, some 14,000 officers and men, 10 escadrons of cavalry and 25 companies of artillery were concentrated in the Le Havre, Cherbourg, Brest coastal area. By the end of the year, the numbers had almost tripled to 71 battalions, and more troops were arriving daily. By late spring 1779, 2,608 officers, 31,963 men, 4,918 *domestiques*, 1,818 horses plus large amounts of artillery, almost 1/4 of France's armed might, is waiting around le Havre and Honfleur to board almost 500 transports to take them to the Isle of Wight.³⁰

This policy had largely been dictated by the interests of Spain, which had entered the war in April 1779 and whose interests lay in fighting Britain in Europe, in Gibraltar, Minorca, and Portugal -- not overseas. But Spain was nowhere near ready for war against Great Britain. French naval forces under 69-year-old Admiral d'Orvilliers spent valuable weeks in June and July cruising at the southern entrance of the British Channel, waiting for the Spanish fleet to arrive. The rendezvous for the two fleets had been set for May 15. When the French and Spanish fleets finally joined up in the last days of July, smallpox was sweeping through the French fleet. 140 of d'Orvilliers sailors had already died, some 600 were in Spanish hospitals, another 1,800 sick were on board his ships. On August 15 the combined fleets turned into the Channel only to be driven out by a violent storm. The next day d'Orvilliers received instructions that the place of attack of French land forces had been changed to the coast of Cornwall. First, however, he had to find and defeat the Royal Navy to gain control of the channel. On the 25th his lookouts report the British fleet: 34 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and 20 smaller vessels carrying 26,000 sailors and 3,260 cannon commanded by Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy. The combined Franco-Spanish fleet consists of 66 ships of the line, 12 frigates, and 16 smaller vessels. D'Orvilliers wanted to give battle out on the Atlantic, but Hardy refused to swallow the bait and stayed close to his homeports. Dangerously low on supplies, d'Orvilliers in the first days of September received with relief the order to return to Brest where he disembarked some 8,000 sick sailors. The campaign of 1779 was over. It had cost France the lives of hundreds of sailors and millions of livres without achieving anything. Montbary called the campaign off in October; in November the army moved into winter quarters.³¹

Neither Louis XVI nor Vergennes had placed high hopes on the success of an invasion of Britain. The project went against decades of planning which had always assumed that the war would be fought in America. Now that the project had failed, the voices in favor of fighting England in her colonies grew stronger again. The first suggestions of such an operation had surfaced in late 1777 as France was contemplating the recognition of the United States. That proposal had not been pursued, but now a most important voice was clamoring for just such an expedition: that of the Marquis de Lafayette, who had returned to France in the spring of 1779. It may well have been at Lafayette's urging that Franklin

³⁰ See also Marcus de la Poer Beresford, "Ireland in French Strategy during the American War of Independence 1776-1783" *The Irish Sword* Vol. 12, (1976), pp. 285-297 and Vol. 13, (1977), pp. 20-29.

³¹ All numbers from Fonteneau, "La période française," pp. 79-85.

addressed his memorandum to Vergennes in February 1779, suggesting the dispatch of a corps of 4,000 soldiers to America.³² In July, Vergennes asked Lafayette for a detailed memorandum on the feasibility of such an expedition, and ordered an internal study. When Admiral d'Estaing limped into Brest with his battered flagship the *Languedoc* in early December, the matter took on additional urgency. Louis XVI and his chief ministers feared that unless the new year would bring at least one instance of successful Franco-American cooperation, the colonists might be forced to make peace with Great Britain, leaving France to continue the war by herself.

The decisive shift in favor of sending troops to America came in late January 1780, and on February 2, the king approved the plan code-named *expédition particulière*. The campaign of 1780 would see the transportation of a force large enough to decide the outcome of the rebellion in America across the ocean onto the New World. Naval forces in the Caribbean would be strengthened and put in a position to support the expeditionary force. In Europe, military action would be confined to diversionary actions such as the siege of Gibraltar aimed at binding British land and naval forces to Europe.

5.4 The Comte de Rochambeau and the Troops of the *expédition particulière*

Once the decision to send troops was made, the next questions were 1) who would go, and 2) who would command? Vergennes and his colleagues agreed that the command did not call for brilliance but for level-headedness, ability to compromise, and willingness to cooperate. Harmonious relations with the American ally as well as within the French force was of paramount importance. If the former pointed toward the appointment of the 23-year-old Lafayette, the latter all but ruled it out.³³ Lafayette's recent promotion to colonel in the French army had already ruffled quite a few feathers, and numerous officers made it very clear that they would not serve under the young marquis. In early February, the cabinet appointed the chevalier de Ternay, a *chef d'escadre* with 40 years experience, to command the naval forces. For the land forces the choice fell on 55-year-old Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, a professional soldier with 37 years of experience, an officer who was more comfortable in an army camp than in the ballrooms of Versailles, and who had already been selected to command the advance guard in the cancelled invasion of Britain. On March 1, 1780, Louis XVI promoted Rochambeau to lieutenant general and placed him at the head of the expedition.

Both men wasted little time to get ready for the expedition. Ternay had been ordered to find shipping for 6,000 men. Rochambeau spent much of March at Versailles trying to have his force increased, but only succeeded in adding the 2nd battalion of the Auxonne artillery (some 500 men), a few dozen engineers and mineurs,³⁴ and 600 men from the

³² See Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783* (Westport, 1977), pp. 3-17.

³³ It should be mentioned that Lafayette never actively sought the command, though he dropped numerous hints. Lafayette returned to the United States shortly after the appointment of Rochambeau in March; with him came Commissary Dominique Louis Ethis de Corny who was charged with preparations for the arrival of Rochambeau's troops. Congress made him a lieutenant colonel on June 5, 1780.

³⁴ The engineers stood under the command of Colonel Jean Nicolas Desandrouins. Fragments of his diary which survived the wreck of the *Duc de Bourgogne* in February 1783 are published in Charles Nicholas, *Le*

Légion de Lauzun as a light force to the four regiments of infantry, some 4,000 men, he would be able to take. Quartermaster staff under Pierre François de Beville, a medical department of about 100 under Jean-François Coste,³⁵ a commissary department under Claude Blanchard,³⁶ a provost department headed by Pierre Barthélémy Revoux de Ronchamp with a hangman and two *schlagueurs*, i.e., corporals who were experts with the cat-o'-nine-tails,³⁷ not to mention the dozens of *domestiques*, brought what was supposed to be the first division of the *expédition particulière* to about 6,000 officers and men. Everyone else would have to form part of a second division that Rochambeau hoped would join him in 1781.³⁸ But as Rochambeau's "wish-list" grew, so did Ternay's anger: the admiral saw no reason to take 140 horses across the ocean to please some members at court who insisted on taking their favorite chargers. Each horse would take the space of ten men, not to mention the vast amounts of forage and the roughly 45,000 gallons of water it would take to transport the animals across the ocean! The horses stayed behind.

5.4.1 The Officer Corps

These were only some of Rochambeau's problems. Once the numbers had been agreed upon, the decision as to which units to take was to be Rochambeau's. He chose them from among the forces quartered along the coast for the aborted invasion of England. Lee Kennett's description of Rochambeau's decision-making process, i.e., that the regiments selected "were neither the oldest nor the most prestigious regiments, in the army, but (Rochambeau) judged them to be well-officered and disciplined ... and at full strength,"³⁹ is only part of the story. A look at the units suggests that outside considerations may have played a role in their selection as well. The upper echelons of the officer corps belonged to the very top of aristocratic society whom Rochambeau could not very well afford to alienate. For these members of the *noblesse de race*, the wealthy and influential court nobility, promotion to the highest ranks and participation in prestigious enterprises at an early age was a birthright. They alone had the influence and the money, 25,000 to 75,000 livres, that it took to purchase a line regiment. Nobles such as François Jean chevalier de Beauvoir marquis de Chastellux, a member of the *Académie Française* since 1775, were simply too famous or influential to be ignored once they expressed interest in the

Maréchal de Camp Desandrouins (Verdun, 1887), pp. 341-368. The *mineurs* were commanded by Joseph Dieudonné de Chazelles. See Ambassade de France, *French Engineers and the American War of Independence* (New York, 1975).

³⁵ See Louis Trenard, "Un défenseur des hôpitaux militaires: Jean-François Coste" *Revue du Nord* Vol. 75, Nr. 299, (January 1993), pp. 149-180, and Raymond Bolzinger, "A propos du bicentenaire de la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis 1775-1783: Le service de santé de l'armée Rochambeau et ses participants messins" *Mémoires de l'Académie Nationale de Metz* Vol. 4/5, (1979), pp. 259-284.

³⁶ See *The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army sent to the United States during the American Revolution* Thomas Balch, ed., (Albany, 1876). See also Jean des Cilleuls, "Le service de l'intendance à l'armée de Rochambeau" *Revue historique de l'Armée* No. 2, (1957), pp. 43-61.

³⁷ Unlike in the Prussian army, corporal punishment was not the norm in the French military: the term used in the original documents, *schlagueurs*, is derived from the German word *schlagen*, to hit someone!

³⁸ In June 1781, some 660 men re-enforcements joined Rochambeau's forces just as he was about to set out for New York. The second division, which was to consist of the regiments Anhalt and Neustrie, additional artillery as well as the remainder of Lauzun's Legion, never came to America.

³⁹ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 22.

expedition.⁴⁰ Other such as the duc de Lauzun were, in his own words, "too much in fashion not to be employed in some brilliant manner."⁴¹

From among the French regiments Rochambeau picked the Bourbonnais, commanded by Anne Alexandre marquis de Montmorency-Laval, who had become colonel of the Toraine regiment at 23. He was all of 28 when he took over the Bourbonnais in 1775. The fact that Rochambeau's son, 25-year-old Donatien Marie was *mestre-de-camp-en-second*, i.e., second in command of the regiment, may well have influenced this decision. When Donatien became colonel of the Saintonge in November 1782, his place was taken by Charles Louis de Secondat baron de Montesquieu, a grandson of the famous philosopher. Soissonnais' *mestre de camp* Jean-Baptiste Félix d'Ollière comte de Saint Maisme was all of 19 1/2 when he took over that unit in June 1775. St. Maisme's second in command, 24-year-old Louis Marie vicomte de Noailles, a son of the duc de Mouchy, was not only a member of the highest nobility, but also Lafayette's brother-in-law. He received his new position on March 8, 1780. When Noailles became colonel of the *Roi-Dragons* in January 1782, he was replaced by Louis Philippe comte de Ségur, the 29-year-old son of the minister of war. Though he had started his military career at the age of 5 (!) and become colonel of the Custine Dragoons at age 22, Adam Philippe, comte de Custine, the 38-year-old colonel of the Saintonge, was by far the oldest (and most difficult) of these regimental commanders. Since his second in command, 24-year-old Armand de la Croix comte de Charlus, appointed to the position in March 1780, was the son of the Navy minister, the decision of whether to take the regiment or not may not have been Rochambeau's alone.⁴²

One stipulation imposed upon Rochambeau by the marquis de Jaucourt, who was in charge of the operational planning of the *expédition*, was that 1/3 of the force consist of Germans. Jaucourt argued, overly optimistic as it turned out, that losses in such units could be made up by recruiting deserters from Britain's German auxiliaries.⁴³ Politics may very well have decided the selection of the Royal Deux-Ponts. The German Royal Deux-Ponts was 'suggested' to Rochambeau by Marie Camasse, Countess Forbach,⁴⁴ a

⁴⁰ His *Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781, and 1782* 2 vols., (Paris, 1786; English: London, 1787) form an invaluable source on revolutionary America but provide little information on the campaigns. A modern edition was published by Howard C. Rice, Jr., in 2 volumes in 1963.

⁴¹ *Mémoires de Armand-Louis de Gontaut, duc de Lauzun*, Edmond Pilon, ed., (Paris, 1928), p. 242.

⁴² A scathing analysis by an anonymous subordinate of some these officers in Bernard Faÿ, "L'Armée de Rochambeau jugée par un Français" *Franco-American Review* Vol. 2, (Fall 1937), pp. 114-120.

⁴³ Few "Hessian" deserters ever took French services; if at all, they enlisted with the Americans. If the numbers reported by Hessian Adjutant General Baurmeister can be generalized, only 16 of the 67 soldiers recruited by the Royal Deux-Ponts in America were German deserters, replenishing less than 20% of the 104 men the regiment lost to desertion. Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, ed., *Revolution in America. Confidential Letters and Journals of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 406: "On the 8th of this month, (January 1781) a French recruiting command left Philadelphia with twenty-eight recruits, among whom were five Hessians and two Anspachers."

⁴⁴ This does not mean that the regiment was not qualified to participate in the campaign. On March 27, 1780, Rochambeau characterized the regiment "comme aussi solide par sa composition qu'aucun régiment français et dans le meilleur état." J. Henry Doniol, *Histoire de la participation de la France a l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* 5 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), Vol. 1, # 3733.

Camasse presented Franklin a walking cane upon his departure from France; Franklin in turn willed the cane to George Washington; today it can be seen in the Smithsonian Institution.

former dancer and morganatic wife of its *colonel propriétaire* Duke Karl II August of Zweibrücken. Their eldest son Christian de Deux-Ponts, who had been two months short of his 20th birthday when he was given the Royal Deux-Ponts in 1772, had income from estates in Germany and France amounting to over 7,200 livres annually. To this needs to be added another annuity of 14,400 livres, 9,000 livres pay as colonel of his regiment, doubled to 18,000 livres for the American campaign, plus additional financial support from his mother, which brought his annual income for the American campaign to well over 40,000 livres!⁴⁵ Second in command was Christian's younger brother William, who distinguished himself during the storming of Redoubt # 9 before Yorktown and received his own regiment, the Deux-Ponts Dragoons, in January 1782.

The ships that left Brest in May 1780 were not necessarily carrying the "flower of the French nobility," but Rochambeau's staff was certainly rather heavily laced with court nobility. Competition for these positions was fierce. The slow pace of peacetime advancement in an army where promotion was strictly based on seniority left many officers hoping for an opportunity to "make a name for themselves" as the only way for faster advancement. War alone gave that opportunity. With Europe at peace (and the fever-infested Caribbean an undesirable destination), the American campaign alone seemed to hold out hope for distinction and survival. Rochambeau had been given blank commissions to fill these positions and subsequently spend much of his time trying to refuse sons, nephews, and favorites pressed upon him by members of the court.

The most famous among these is probably 26-year-old Axel von Fersen, son of the former Swedish ambassador to France and favorite of Queen Marie Antoinette. Men such as Fersen belonged to a group just below the very rich. In a letter to his father of January 1780, Fersen stated his fixed monthly expenses for, among others, room and board, three domestics, three horses, and a dog at 1,102 livres, though he promised he would try and economize in the future.⁴⁶ Fersen became an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. Antoine Charles du Houx baron de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, not only secured appointments for about a dozen of his army buddies from the Polish campaigns, he also brought along his brother, a cousin, a son-in-law, and two nephews, as well as his eldest son, 13-year-old Charles Gabriel, who served as aide-de-camp to his father. Rochambeau took his son, *mestre de camp en second* of the Bourbonnais Regiment, as his *aide-major général de logis*. Custine's kinsman Jean Robert Gaspar de Custine became a *sous-lieutenant* in the Royal Deux-Ponts on April 4, 1780, three days after his 16th birthday. Quarter-Master General de Beville took his two sons as members of his staff as well. It was not just Frenchmen who wanted to see America with Rochambeau. Friedrich Reinhard Burkard Graf von Rechteren, a Dutch nobleman with 15 years service in the Dutch military, used his descent from Charlotte de Bourbon, his great-great-great-great-great-grandmother who had married William of Orange in 1574, to get himself

⁴⁵ These figures are based on the *Nachlass Christian Graf von Forbach, Freiherr von Zweibrücken* (Signatur N 73) in the Pfälzische Landesbibliothek Speyer, Germany.

⁴⁶ *Lettres d'Axel de Fersen a son père pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance d'amérique* F. U. Wrangel, ed., (Paris, 1929), p. 46. English translations of some letters were published in "Letters of Axel de Fersen, Aide-de-Camp to Rochambeau written to his Father in Sweden 1780-1782" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 3, (1879), pp. 300-309, 369-376, 437-448. Eight letters from America to his sister were published in *The Letters of Marie Antoinette, Fersen and Barnave* O.-G. de Heidenstam, ed., (New York, 1929), pp. 6-13.

appointed *cadet-gentilhomme* in the Royal Deux-Ponts on March 11, 1780.⁴⁷ One of Rochambeau's nephews, the comte de Laubardière, served as one of six aides-de-camp, another, George Henry Collot, as his aide for quartermaster-general affairs.⁴⁸ As late as April 17, 1780, Claude Gabriel marquis de Choisy appeared in Brest with five officers who wanted to sail to America! Rochambeau refused to take any, but Choisy and his entourage of now ten officers, found passage for St. Domingo on the *Sybille*. They left Brest on June 25, and arrived via Santo Domingo, on the *La Gentille* in Newport on September 29, 1780.

Rochambeau was also under siege by numerous French volunteers who had returned to Europe upon news of the treaties of 1778. They assumed, correctly, that it was better for their careers to serve out the war in the French rather than the American Army. Rochambeau realized that he needed not only their expertise, but, since neither he nor many of his officers spoke English, their language skills as well. These appointments caused much jealousy and resentment: when Rochambeau chose Du Bouchet as an aide, Charlus wrote scathingly in his diary that du Bouchet was but "a brave man who has been to America, [and] who has no other talent than to get himself killed with more grace than most other people."⁴⁹ Another beneficiary of Rochambeau's need for "American" experts was much-decorated de Fleury, who volunteered to serve as a common soldier when he could not find a position as an officer. Rochambeau made him a major in Saintonge, which too caused considerable grumbling among Fleury's new comrades.⁵⁰ Officers such as Fleury belonged to the lower nobility who provided about 90% of the company-grade officers. They could hardly aspire to retiring as more than a major and formed the vast majority of the 492 officers who eventually served in Rochambeau's little army.⁵¹ Though well-paid in comparison to common soldiers -- a *capitaine en seconde* in the French

⁴⁷ Rochambeau made Rechteren a captain *à la suite*, lending credence to Ternay's claim that the army contained "too many useless mouths." Kennett, *French forces*, p. 21. By August 14, 1780, Rechteren had a pass to go sightseeing in Philadelphia; he returned to Europe as soon as Yorktown had fallen. His personnel file is in Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, France, Yb 346.

⁴⁸ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 21. See also my "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, Comte de Laubardière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48, No. 1, (February 1997), pp. 101-106, and "Laubardière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, Comte de Laubardière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 18, No. 1, (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Vicomte de Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1903), p. 161.

⁵⁰ Gilbert Bodinier, "Les officiers du corps expéditionnaire de Rochambeau et la Revolution française" *Revue historique des armées* Vol. 3, No. 4, (1976) pp. 139-164, p. 140.

⁵¹ 459 officers accompanied Rochambeau from Brest, 20 joined him between July 1780 and November 1783. Samuel F. Scott, "The Army of the Comte de Rochambeau between the American and French Revolutions" *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* Vol. 15, (1988), pp. 143-153, p. 144. Twelve non-commissioned officers were promoted to officer rank during the campaign. Samuel F. Scott, "Rochambeau's Veterans: A Case Study in the Transformation of the French Army." *Proceedings, the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850* (Athens, 1979), pp. 155-163, p. 157. Captain Jean François de Thuillièrre of the Royal Deux-Ponts joined his regiment in Newport in October 1780. Thuillièrre, recommended to Franklin by Camasse left Europe in early 1777. Captured twice by the British, he arrived in America just as his leave was about to expire. He returned to France only to find out that there was no place for him Ternay's ships and he had to sail with Choisy's group to Newport.

infantry still earned 2,400 livres per year in America -- they were caught between their limited financial resources and the obligations rank and status required of them.⁵²

A look at the Royal Deux-Ponts, Rochambeau's German regiment, its history and its officer corps, provides a representative sample of the troops of the *expédition particulière* in America as well as of the nature of the army of the *ancien régime*. The Royal Deux-Ponts was the result of a business agreement between Louis XV of France and Duke Christian IV of Zweibrücken (=Deux-Ponts), ruler of a duchy of some 2,477 km² in southwestern Germany (incl. some 495 km² in Alsace), inhabited by some 80,000 subjects. Trying to win favor with his powerful neighbor to the west, Christian, on May 30, 1751, entered into an agreement with Louis XV in which he promised to raise a battalion of infantry for France when and if needed. In return he was to receive an annual subsidy of 40,000 fl. The need arose with the outbreak of the Seven Year's War, and on November 23, 1755, Christian offered a "Regiment de deux Bataillons"⁵³ for service with France. Louis XV accepted the offer and in April 1756 signed the contract that raised "deux mille hommes d'Infanterie" in exchange for 80,000 fl annually.

There were extra-military reasons for the creation of the Royal Deux-Ponts: Christian Graf von Forbach, Freiherr von Zweibrücken and his siblings.⁵⁴ Born on July 20, 1752, Christian was the eldest of seven children born to the Duke and Marie Anne Camasse. In June 1754, his brother Wilhelm was born; by 1771 two more sons and three daughters had completed the family created by the union of duke and dancer. Though excluded from the line of succession, Christian had every intention of providing for his children, and the Royal Deux-Ponts was raised and leased to the French crown as a means of support for his eldest sons. On February 19, 1757, the regiment was officially established with Duke Christian as *colonel propriétaire*; on April 1, 1757, it entered French pay.⁵⁵

The French army reforms of 1776 effected the Royal Deux-Ponts as well. A treaty of March 31 specified that 3/4 of all officer positions of the regiment be reserved for the German nobility, the remainder to noblemen from Alsace or Lorraine. The duke retained the right to recall the regiment when and if needed, provided it was not against the King of France or his allies.⁵⁶ This treaty determined the ethnic background and of its officer

⁵² All pay information is taken from *Ordonnance du Roi, Pour régler le traitement des Troupes destinées à une expédition particulière. Du 20 Mars 1780* (Paris, 1780).

⁵³ Quoted in Wilhelm Weber, *Die Beteiligung des Regiment Royal-Deux-Ponts am amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg* Katalog der Ausstellung der Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern (Kaiserslautern, 1976).

⁵⁴ Duke Christian used his connections with Madame de Pompadour to improve the social status of hismorganatic wife. In 1757, Louis XV of France provided letters of nobility, King Stanislas of Poland in his position as Duke of Lorraine elevated Maria Anne Camasse and her descendants to the title of Counts and Countesses Forbach after the Seigneurie Forbach in Lorraine, which Christian had bought for her in late 1756. One of the requirements for this ennoblement was a marriage under French law: on September 3, 1757, Christian once again tied the knot with Camasse, legitimizing his offspring. The story is told in Adalbert Prinz von Bayern, *Der Herzog und die Tänzerin. Die merkwürdige Geschichte Christians IV. von Pfalz-Zweibrücken und seiner Familie* (Neustadt/Weinstrasse, 1966).

⁵⁵ The treaty of February 19, 1757, in Rudolf Karl Tröss, "Die Gründung des Regiments Royal Deux-Ponts" in: Rudolf Karl Tröss, *Das Regiment Royal-Deux-Ponts* (typescript, Zweibrücken, 1983), pp. 9-17.

⁵⁶ The agreement is printed in Rudolf Karl Tröss, "Die Konvention vom 31. März 1776," in Tröss, *Royal-Deux-Ponts*, pp. 18-28.

corps. In French units, well over 90% of the officer positions were filled by native Frenchmen, the Royal Deux-Ponts, on the other hand, had a multi-ethnic officer corps drawn from all across Europe. More than half of the 69 officers who served with the regiment in America came from the Duchy of Zweibrücken, the Palatinate, from Alsace and from Lorraine; others came from as far away as Lithuania, Denmark, and the Tyrol.

Zweibrücken:	9
Alsace:	17
Lorraine:	4
Palatinate:	6
Switzerland:	6
Empire:	16
France:	4
Denmark:	1
Belgium:	1
Netherlands:	1
Luxemburg:	1
Sweden:	1
Tyrol:	1
Lithuania:	1

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A look at the age structure of the corps shows that fifteen officers were under 20 years old, another eighteen were under 25. Eleven more officers were under 30, and 25 of the officers or 36 % were between 31 and 50 years old. Most of them had received their commissions at a young age, around their 14th or 15th birthdays, though it is doubtful these "child-officers" performed many of the duties required of their rank. The youngest recipients ever of commissions in the Royal Deux-Ponts were Friedrich Baron von Schwengsfeld, who was 26 days short of his 9th birthday when he became *sous-lieutenant* in September 1769 and Christian Friedrich Baron von Glaubitz from Strasbourg, who became a *sous-lieutenant* on October 9, 1770, four days before his 11th birthday.⁵⁷

born before 1740:	13
1740-1744:	9
1745-1749:	3
1750-1754:	11
1755-1759:	18
1760-1764:	15

In America the two youngest *sous-lieutenants* of the regiment were born in 1764, i.e., 16 years old in 1780. The oldest officer, Louis Aimable de Prez de Crassier, born in Switzerland in 1730, was already 50 years old. He had entered French service in 1747 as

⁵⁷ Joseph Louis César Charles comte de Damas, an *aide-de-camp* to Rochambeau, was all of 2 years and 9 months old when he became a *sous-lieutenant* albeit in the regiment Du Roi and thus outside the regular line infantry establishment, in August 1761. By April 1781 he was a *mestre-de-camp*, or colonel. Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, p. 121.

a *sous-lieutenant* and after 33 years made major in April of 1780 when retirements and transfers brought some movement into the ranks. But he was still not married: he received permission to do so only as a 58-year-old in 1788.⁵⁸

Not much younger were the five or six regimental *officiers de fortune*, soldiers who had risen through the ranks to reach *sous-lieutenant* after decades of service. The most common stepping-stone toward the coveted commission was the position as one of the two *portes-drapeau* (color-bearers or ensigns) or *quartier-maître trésorier* (paymaster or quartermaster) of the regiment. Of the 12 officers commissioned at age 26 or older in the Royal Deux-Ponts, five were current or former *portes-drapeau*, three were or had been *quartier-maîtres trésorier*.⁵⁹ During the American campaign, both *portes-drapeau* were promoted to *sous-lieutenant* and replaced by men promoted from the ranks.

One of them was Jean Mathieu Michel Bayerfalck, born 1739, who had joined the regiment as a sergeant in 1766 with already eight years service in the Regiment de Berry. Promoted to *porte-drapeau* in 1772, he became a *sous-lieutenant* on 28 October 1781 after 23 years of military service. His place as *porte-drapeau* was taken over by J. Georg Hanck, who had joined the regiment at age 19 in 1758. By the time he became a *sous-lieutenant* in 1787, he had 29 years of service. The second *porte-drapeau* of the regiment, Jean Frederic Schleyder, had enlisted as a 17-year-old in 1759. He became *porte-drapeau* in 1777 and *sous-lieutenant* after 21 years on 15 April 1780. His place was taken by Philipp Wilhelm Sonntag, who had signed up at age 17 in 1774. When Sonntag decided to stay in the United States and resigned in May 1782, Jean Pierre Guillaume Mittmann became his successor. Born in 1739, Mittmann had joined the regiment in November 1756; he had almost 26 years of service in the summer of 1782. It took him another eight years to make *sous-lieutenant* in February 1790.

Besides the *portes-drapeaux* the regiment had one true *officier de fortune*, an enlisted man who had risen from the ranks through long years of service via the *quartier-maître trésorier*. Born in Meissenheim in 1732, Henry Schanck joined the Regiment de Bergh in November 1749 as a common soldier. On 30 November 1756 he transferred to the Royal Deux-Ponts where he was promoted to *sous-lieutenant* in August 1770. Ten years later, on April 4, 1780, he was made a captain.

Helpful as these statistics may be, they do not tell us much about the lives of these men. A series of ten letters written by Count Wilhelm von Schwerin, a twenty-six-year-old sub-lieutenant of grenadiers of the Royal Deux-Ponts, partly in German, partly in French, between August 1780 and December 1781, to his uncle Graf Reingard zu Wied, fills some of this void. They provide a rare glimpse into the life -- and the precarious

⁵⁸ Officer data are based on the information given in Bodinier, *Dictionnaire*, passim. The number includes von Fersen and *quartier-maître trésorier* Charles Anton Baronheydt, who were transferred to the regiment in 1782, three promotions from the ranks to *porte-drapeau*, and Rechteren. Four officers -- two captains and two lieutenants -- stayed with an auxiliary company in Schlettstadt.

⁵⁹ The other four, Axel von Fersen (13 years), Louis Aimable de Prez de Crassier (10 years when he joined on 1 April 1757), Rechteren (15 years) and Joseph Chevalier de Stack (14 years) all have long years of service in other regiments before joining the Royal Deux-Ponts.

finances -- of a company-grade officer in America.⁶⁰ In a letter of March 16, 1780, Schwerin laid bare his financial situation. His base salary was 60 livres per month. Stoppages included 8 livres for his uniform and 2 livres to help pay the debts of a retired officer. His monthly share to pay the salary of Georg Friedrich Dentzel, the Lutheran minister of the regiment, amounted to 9 sous. That left him 49 livres 11 sous per month or 594 livres 12 sous annually. Anticipating the high cost of living and the need to pay for everything in the New World, salaries were doubled in March of 1780, raising Schwerin's annual income to 1,309 livres 4 sous. His uncle added 48 livres per month or 576 livres per year for an annual income of 1,885 livres 4 sous or 157 livres 2 sous per month.⁶¹

In preparation for the expedition, the king had ordered that the officers be paid three months in advance plus 50 livres to buy tents, hammocks, shirts etc. For Schwerin that meant an additional 200 livres, but not much of it was spent on travel preparations. Some older officers retired rather than accompany the regiment to the New World. That meant that Schwerin had to pay the expenses arising from the *concordat* among the officers of the Royal Deux-Ponts. The *concordat* was an agreement stipulating that every time an officer left the regiment, each officer below him in rank, who would thereby advance in seniority, if not in rank, was to pay that officer the equivalent of two months of his own wages if that officer retired without pension, one month if he retired with a pension. Count Wilhelm's *concordat* in the spring of 1780 amounted to at least 288 livres, the equivalent of 6 months wages. To make up for the four officers who could not pay their share of the *concordat* since they "already sit in prison because of other debts," each lieutenant of the regiment had to pay an additional 24 livres 11 sous 6 deniers.⁶²

Upon arrival in America, Schwerin had additional expenses that put a severe drain on his budget as well. The servant, whom he was required to keep, cost him 15 livres in cash wages and 35 livres for food each month plus 3 livres clothing allowance. His lunch alone cost him 80 livres per month in Newport, which left him with maybe 24 livres per month from his 157 livres income. In the evenings he ate "but a piece of bread" and lots of potatoes, as he ruefully informed his uncle, but at 22 sous for a pound of bread or 4-6 sous for a pound of potatoes even that was an expensive meal. Shoemakers in Newport charged 40 livres for a pair of boots, and just the material for a shirt was 9 florin or 18

⁶⁰ Schwerin's original correspondence was sold to an American collector in the early 1960s, its current whereabouts are unknown; all quotes from the 166-page correspondence are taken from copies made for the Library of Congress in 1930. It is the topic of my forthcoming article "'*Mon très cher oncle*': Count William de Schwerin reports from Virginia" *Military History Quarterly*.

⁶¹ The minister had a remarkable career made possible by the French Revolution. Georg Friedrich Dentzel was born on July 16, 1755, in Bad Dürkheim as the son of a baker. From 1774 to 1786 he served as the Lutheran preacher in Royal Deux-Ponts. As senior of the Protestant clergy in Landau from 1786-94 he was the founder and first president of the local Jacobin Club. In 1792, he was elected a member of *Assemblée Nationale* in Paris and commanded the defense of Landau in the fall of 1793. Arrested and imprisoned in Paris he was released after the fall of Robespierre. By 1813 he was a brigadier in Napoleon's army and *Baron de l'Empire*. Retired as full general in 1824, he died in Versailles in 1828. He is the grandfather of Prefect Hausmann the architect responsible for the reconstruction of Paris in the 1850s and 1860s.

Paul de St. Pierre, the Catholic priest of the Royal Deux-Ponts, lived an exciting life as well. Born Michael Joseph Plattner in 1746 in Dettelbach near Würzburg, he was back in the United States by late 1784 and living in Baltimore. St. Pierre became a missionary to the Indians and died in 1826 in Iberville, Louisiana.

⁶² There is a receipt to that amount in Schwerin's papers, actual expenses may have been over 500 livres.

livres 15 sous. A good horse, estimated by Fersen to cost about 50 louis d'or or 1,200 livres in Newport, was simply out of reach for 2/3 of the officers in Rochambeau's army. Schwerin was constantly borrowing money; in the spring of 1781 alone, he borrowed 1,200 livres from his colonel to equip himself for the campaign, which meant, among others, hiring a second servant and purchasing a horse for 300 livres.⁶³ No wonder he concluded one of his letters by telling his uncle that those who had remained in Europe "would not believe how everyone is fed up with waging war in this country here. The reason is quite simple in that one is obliged to buy one's forage with one's own money, and no one gives you your ration that is your due in times of war."

A final question to be asked here is: How much did the French officers reflect upon the reasons for fighting in this war? Did they know, or care, about the causes, and consequences, of their involvement in the American Revolution? To put it briefly: very few of them knew or cared. Among those who put their thoughts on paper, the opinion of the young comte de Lauberdière is representative for that expressed in the vast majority of diaries and journals. The war, so Lauberdière, had been caused by the "violent means employed by the ministry in England" to raise taxes "in violation of the natural and civil rights of her colonies." France came to the aid of the colonies, but one looks in vain for an explanation as to what these "rights" consisted of. Glory, honor, the opportunity to make a name for oneself, a chance to escape boredom, creditors, girlfriends: these are the recurrent themes found in the journals of participants. France entered the war not because she believed in the ideals of the revolution, and not because she wanted to fight FOR America. She entered the war because of the enemy she could fight AGAINST: Great Britain. By 1780, a whole generation of Frenchmen had grown up in the shadow cast upon the crown of the Sun King by the humiliation suffered in the Peace of Paris. This common enemy provided much, if not most, of the impetus for Franco-American cooperation. The comte de Lauberdière expressed the feelings of his age group as well as anyone when he wrote that France "was looking to take revenge for the peace of 1763."

5.4.2 The Rank and File

Unlike their officers, the rank and file of the *expédition particulière*, the non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, have remained largely a faceless mass of people. Thanks to the meticulous research of Samuel F. Scott, we know at least how many there were: Rochambeau took with him almost 5,300 soldiers. In June 1781, 660 re-enforcements were sent from France, 160 men were recruited in the US (all but one European-born) for a total of 6,038 men who served with Rochambeau's forces.

Non-commissioned officers promoted to their ranks after long years of service formed the backbone of the French army. Following the army reforms of 1776, a fusilier or chasseur company had 15 NCOs, five sergeants and ten corporals, while the smaller grenadier company had four sergeants and eight corporals. The sergeants formed the elite

⁶³ Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville, a *sous-lieutenant* and aide to Baron Vioménil, largely confirms Schwerin's prices. See the "Journal de Guerre de Brissout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" *The French-American Review* Vol. 3 , No. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278, p. 245/46.

of a company's non-commissioned officers. Based on an analysis of the careers of over 20,000 men, Samuel F. Scott found that in 1789 more than half of all sergeants were under 35 years of age despite the often ten or more years of service it took to reach that rank. Every one of the eight to ten corporals too had reached his rank based on seniority after long years of service. According to Scott, "[c]orporals fell into three general categories: a minority of apparently talented soldiers who were promoted after four to six years' service, soldiers who followed a more common career pattern and were promoted around the time of their completion of their first eight-year-enlistment (sometimes as an inducement to re-enlist); and soldiers with long service, over ten years, who were promoted on this basis." More than 3/4 of these men were under 35 years old.⁶⁴

Below them was the rank and file, and, unlike the Prussian military at the time, where Frederick the Great preferred older soldiers, the French army was a *young* army. In 1789, almost exactly 50% of all enlisted men were between 18 and 25 years old, another 5% were even younger. About 12% had less than one year of service, but 60% had been with the colors between four and ten years, another 20% had served for over ten years. These data are confirmed by information collected on the troops of the *expédition particulière*. Taking the Royal Deux-Ponts again as our case study, we find that the regiment sailed from Brest in April 1780, with a supplement of 1,013 men.⁶⁵ 113 reinforcements selected from the German regiments of LaMarck and Anhalt joined in June 1781, another 67 men were recruited in America between August 1780 and November 1782, adding up to a total of 1,193 men who served with the Royal Deux-Ponts.⁶⁶

If well over 90% of all soldiers in the French regiments were native Frenchmen,⁶⁷ the treaty of March 1776 between Duke Charles and Louis XVI had stipulated that of the 150 recruits needed each year to maintain the strength of the unit, 112 were to come from the Duchy of Deux-Ponts and surrounding areas. The remainder was to be drafted from the German-speaking territories of the King of France since the language of command in the regiment would remain German. An analysis of the hometowns of the soldiers of the regiment in America reflects that recruitment largely followed these stipulations:

Zweibrücken:	330	27.7%
Remainder of the Empire:	343	28.8%
Alsace:	357	29.9%
Lorraine:	108	9.0%
France:	7	0.6%
Switzerland, Low Countries, Savoy (3), Ireland (2), Sweden (1)	48	4.0%

	1,193	100.0%

⁶⁴ Scott, *Response*, p. 8.

⁶⁵ Six women and three children accompanied their husbands and fathers in the Royal Deux-Ponts.

⁶⁶ For much of the information on the rank and file of Rochambeau's army I am grateful to my friend and colleague Professor Samuel F. Scott, who generously shared his research with me.

⁶⁷ Rochambeau's corps had at least one black soldier in its ranks: Jean Pandua, "un fils d'amour" according to his enlistment record, who had joined the Bourbonnais regiment as a musician in 1777; after five years of service he deserted in October 1782 near Breakneck in Connecticut.

A look at the age of the soldiers shows that 584 men or 48.9% of the rank and file had been born between 1753 and 1759: almost half of the men were between 21 and 27 years old by the time the regiment left for the United States. Some 736 soldiers or 61.7% of the rank and file had signed up between 1773 and 1779, i.e., had up to eight years of service. Enlisted men could join at a very young age: the *enfants de troupe*, sons of soldiers or officers, were usually admitted at half pay at the age of six and served as drummers until the age of 16, when they could enlist as regular soldiers. The youngest drummer-boy soldiers in the regiment were but nine years old. Comparative data for the Bourbonnais confirm these findings. Most of its men were in their early 20s, the average age being 27. The youngest *enfant de troupe* in the Bourbonnais, however, was but 4(!), the oldest 64.⁶⁸

The biggest important difference between the Royal Deux-Ponts and French units besides their geographic origins in western Germany and the fact that their language of command was German, not French, was in the religious affiliation of the soldiers.⁶⁹ If the French regiments were almost 100% Catholic, while the Royal Deux-Ponts was almost 40% Protestant:

Catholic:	732	62.0%
Lutheran:	269	22.8%
Reformed:	180	15.2%

		100.0%

Their ethnic German background and religious affiliation with various Protestant strands of the Christian faith greatly influenced the experiences of the soldiers in the regiment, especially in traditionally anti-French and anti-Catholic New England.

There is a general conception that the soldiers in the armies of the eighteenth century were the dregs of society, released from prison if not from the gallows in exchange for military service. In the case of the French army and the troops of Rochambeau, research has shown that this is clearly not the case. As a rule, these men did not come from well established, "middle-class" families, but rather what we might call the "working poor." The emphasis here should be on *working*: of over 17,000 beggars registered in the city limits of Paris between 1764 and 1773, only 88 (!) entered the army!⁷⁰ The most detailed report on any regiment, that on the Royal Deux-Ponts compiled on October 1, 1788, a few years after its return from America, shows, not surprisingly for a pre-industrial society, that 76.4%, or 875 of its 1,146 men were peasants and "autres travailleurs de la campagne." The next largest group, 59 men or 5% were tailors, 48 gave shoemaker as

⁶⁸ Kennett, *French forces*, p. 23. The Touraine regiment which Admiral de Grasse brought to Yorktown kept an 80-year-old on its pay-list.

⁶⁹ Of twelve soldiers the religion is unknown.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Scott, *Response*, p. 19. As yet there are no comparative data on recruitment from jails for the French army, but I agree with Scott that, at least for the French army, such claims are often based on contemporary and modern prejudice rather than hard evidence.

their profession, and 46 were masons. The rest were carpenters (24), butchers (22), wheelwrights (21) and an assortment of other trades.

What bound all the men together no matter what their trade, language, or religion, was a precarious financial situation. To say that the armies of the *ancien régime* were paid poorly is an understatement, but the French army ranked at the very bottom of the pay-scale. When the salaries of French and Foreign infantry, i.e., the Royal Deux-Ponts, were equalized at a higher level for the *expédition particulière*, it meant that a fusilier would be paid 9 sous 6 deniers per day or 14 livres 5 sous per month in America. The better-paid grenadier made 11 sous for a total of 16 1/2 livres per month. Before departure, the rank and file received one month pay plus 18 livres from the *masse* to equip themselves; another 18 livres from the *masse* were distributed upon arrival in Newport.⁷¹ But they had to pay stoppages from their pay as well. The *ordonnance* of March 20, 1780, set food costs at 2 sous for bread, 1 sous 6 d for beef per day. This meant a monthly food bill for every non-commissioned officer and enlisted man of

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

5 livres 3 sous 6 deniers		

Also increased was the stoppage for the *masse*, from 36 livres for the French infantry and 72 livres for the Foreign infantry to 48 and 84 livres respectively to pay for uniforms and equipment. If all contributions to the *masse* came from the soldiers, who received a new uniform every thirty six months, that would mean that a soldier in one of the French units had an additional stoppage of 1 livre 6 sous 10 deniers, a soldier in the Royal Deux-Ponts had 2 livres 6 sous 10 deniers taken out of his monthly pay.⁷² That left a fusilier in the Bourbonnais with 7 livres 14 sous 14 deniers, a fusilier in the Royal Deux-Ponts had even a livre less than that. In order to put this into perspective it might be well to remember that Fersen estimated that it cost him 20 livres a month to keep his dog! Since he was paid in specie rather than in paper even 7 livres was more than what a continental soldier received (if he was ever paid) but a look across the battlefield shows that his British and German enemies were considerable better paid. A soldier in the British army received 8 pence a day or exactly £ 1 pound per month, a common soldier in a Brunswick regiment in British service had 16 shillings 1 penny 1 farthing for 4 weeks of service. That left him with 14 shillings after stoppages for food and clothing had been taken out; a *Gefreiter* had 16 s 4 p.⁷³ Those 16 s 1 d 1 f are just about 19 livres or 2 1/2 times the pay of a fusilier in the Bourbonnais!

⁷¹ The regimental *masse* was the purse from which the expenses of clothing a regiment were met; stoppages were made from a soldier's pay to that account. I do not know whether, and if so how much, the crown contributed to the *masse*.

⁷² While in France, the foreign regiments were better paid than French units to make up for the higher deductions for the *masse*, but the *ordonnance* of March 20, 1780, placed virtually all ranks on an equal pay scale with the French infantry despite the higher deductions.

⁷³ Otto Elster, *Geschichte der Stehenden Truppen im Herzogtum Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* 2 vols., (1899-1901; reprint Bad Honnef, 1982), Vol. 2, p. 388.

If officers in Rochambeau's corps do not necessarily reflect upon the causes of the war and the reasons for France's involvement, our knowledge on how enlisted men felt is based on a single source. It was only a few years ago, that two journals kept or written by enlisted men even came to light. One is the *Journal militaire* of an unidentified grenadier of the Bourbonnais, which unfortunately focuses almost exclusively on military events and contains precious little for the purposes of this study.⁷⁴ The other is a journal kept by a fusilier in the Royal Deux-Ponts by the name of Georg Daniel Flohr.

The only child of Johann Paul Flohr, a butcher and small farmer, and his second wife, Susanne, Georg Daniel was born on August 27, 1756, and baptized on August 31, 1756, in Sarnstall, a community of some twenty families, and a suburb of Annweiler in the duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken. Orphaned at the age of five by the death of his father, Georg Daniel and the five children from his father's first marriage were raised in the German Reformed Church by their mother. Nothing is known about his schooling or the trade he learned, but he presumably attended both the Calvinist school in Sarnstall and the German Reformed school in Annweiler. On June 7, 1776, shortly before his twentieth birthday, Flohr volunteered for an eight-year-term in the Company von Bode, of the Royal Deux-Ponts. Regimental records describe him as 1.71 meter (5 feet 8 inches) tall, with black hair, black eyes, a long face, regularly shaped mouth, and a small nose.

What sets Flohr apart is his keen mind and interest in the New World around him as he describes it in his *Account of the travels in America undertaken by the praiseworthy regiment von Zweibrücken on water and on land from the year 1780 until 1784*.⁷⁵ In a brief explanation following the title page, Flohr informs us of his goal, which is to describe the "towns, villages, hamlets and plantations," as well as the habits and customs of the inhabitants, "in North- as well as in West-America" as he had "daily and most meticulously" recorded them. He illustrated his narrative with 30 colored drawings of communities he passed through on his way to and from Yorktown and in the Caribbean.

Flohr's journal is largely descriptive: he says very little about the American cause or the reasons for his being in America. If he heard about the ideas of Independence, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, he neither mentions them nor does he apply them to himself,

⁷⁴ Library of Congress, Milton S. Latham Journal-Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection # 1902.

⁷⁵ Flohr's *Reisen Beschreibung von America welche das Hochlöbliche Regiment von Zweybrücken hat gemacht zu Wasser und zu Land vom Jahr 1780 bis 84* is located in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Strasbourg, France. It was first shown to the public in 1976. I am currently preparing an English language edition of the journal. See my "Private Flohr's America. From Newport to Yorktown and the Battle that won the War: A German Foot Soldier who fought for American Independence tells all about it in a newly discovered Memoir" *American Heritage* Vol. 43, No. 8, (December 1992), pp. 64-71; "A German Soldier in New England During the Revolutionary War: The Account of Georg Daniel Flohr" *Newport History* Vol. 65, Part 2, No. 223, (Fall 1993), pp. 48-65; "A German Soldier in America, 1780-1783: The Journal of Georg Daniel Flohr" *William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 50, No. 3, (July 1993), pp. 575-590, "Georg Daniel Flohr's Journal: A New Perspective" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 15, No. 4, (Summer 1993), pp. 47-53. Flohr returned to the United States in circa 1798 and ended his days as a Lutheran minister in Wytheville, VA, in 1826. See my "Private Flohr's Other Life: The young German fought for American Independence, went home, and returned as a man of peace" *American Heritage* Vol. 45, No. 6, (October 1994), pp. 94-95.

at least not during this phase of his life. Flohr and the French troops had come to America to put an end to the British "wreaking havoc on this beautiful country."

THE EXPÉDITION PARTICULIÈRE IN RHODE ISLAND

6.1 The Transatlantic Journey

To put an end to the British "wreaking havoc on this beautiful country" was indeed the goal of the *expédition particulière* assembled in Brest in March 1780. By April 6, the troops were embarked; Rochambeau boarded the *Duc de Bourgogne*, one of only five 80-gun vessels in the French navy, on April 17. Everything was ready, but for days the fleet had to wait in the rain for the wind to change. The first attempt to clear the coast failed, but on May 2, the convoy of 32 transports and cargo ships protected by seven ships of the line, two frigates, and two smaller warships finally left Brest with some 12,000 soldiers and sailors on board.¹ Conditions on board ship were less than comfortable.

Baron Ludwig von Closen, an *aide-de-camp* to Rochambeau as well as a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts was traveling with two servants on the *Comtesse de Noailles*. The *Comtesse* was a 300-ton ship of about 95 feet length on the lower deck, a width of 30 feet and a depth of 12 feet in the hold. For the next 70 days, she was home to 12 naval and 10 army officers and their domestics, of crew of 45, and 350 enlisted men from the Royal Deux-Ponts. Given the limited space available, even officers had to sleep ten to a cabin. At mealtime, 22 people squeezed into a chamber 15 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 4 1/2 feet high.² Closen complained that odors from "men as much as from dogs," not to mention cows sheep and chickens, "the perpetual annoyance from the close proximity" of fellow officers, and "the idea of being shut up in a very narrow little old ship, as in a state prison," made for a "vexatious existence of an army officer ... on these old tubs, so heartily detested by all who are not professional sailors." Closen would have liked it better on the *Duc de Bourgogne*. In order to provide Rochambeau and his officers with the foodstuffs they were accustomed to, she even carried an oven to bake fresh bread! "There is nothing more ingenious," so the anonymous Bourbonnais grenadier, "than to have in such a place an oven for 50 to 52 loafs of bread of three pounds each! There is a master baker, a butcher, a cook for the officers and a scullion for the sailors and soldiers."

For enlisted men, conditions were much worse. War Commissary Claude Blanchard traveling on the *Conquerant*, a 74-gun ship of the line which drew 22 feet of water at the bow, had to share her with 959 men, among them the baron de Vioménil and the comte de Custine.³ The anonymous grenadier of the Bourbonnais embarked on the *Duc de Bourgogne* counted 1,432 persons on board at the time of departure!⁴ Private Flohr,

¹ The numbers given for the size of the convoy differ greatly; my numbers are from Dull, *French navy*, p. 190. 15 women and nine children are known to have crossed the Atlantic, though there may have been even more: the Bourbonnais grenadier writes that his number "includes the children."

² Closen, *Journal*, pp. 6-8. Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, a Swiss officer, had entered the Royal Deux-Ponts as a 17-year-old *cadet-gentilhomme* in February 1780; He also traveled on the *Comtesse de Noailles*, described as having 550 tons and carrying 250 soldiers. His journal of the American campaigns is published in *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783* Howard C. Rice, Jr. and Anne S. K. Brown, eds. 2 vols., (Princeton and Providence, 1972), Vol. 1, pp. 117-188.

³ *The Journal of Claude Blanchard*, pp. 5- 8.

⁴ Only about 500 of these men belonged to Rochambeau's army: a ship the size of the *Duc de Bourgogne* (190 feet long, a 46 foot beam with a hold of 22 feet and a somewhat smaller draft) carried a regular crew

lodged on the *Comtesse de Noailles*, describes the first day of the journey thus: "Around 2 o'clock after the noon hour we had already left the French coast behind and lost sight of the land. Now we saw nothing but sky and water and realized the omnipotence of God, into which we commended ourselves. Soon the majority among us wished that they had never in their lives chosen the life of a soldier and cursed the first recruiter who had engaged them. But this was just the beginning; the really miserable life was yet to begin." Soldiers slept in linen hammocks, which were attached to spars on the four corners and described by Flohr as "not very comfortable." Since two men had to share a hammock, "the majority always had to lie on the bare floor." Flohr concluded by saying: "He who wanted to lie well had better stayed home."

Provisions on troop transports have always had a bad reputation, and the food served by the French navy was no exception. According to Flohr "these foodstuffs consisted daily of 36 loth Zwieback (=hardtack) which was distributed in three installments: at 7 in the morning, at 12 at noon and at 6 at night. Concerning meat we received daily 16 loth, either salted smoked ham or beef and was prepared for lunch. This meat however was salted so much that thirst was always greater than hunger. In the evening we had to make do with a bad soup flavored with oil and consisting of soybeans and similar ingredients. Anyone who has not yet seen our grimy cook should just take a look at him and he would immediately lose all appetite." Since starvation was their only alternative, the soldiers forced the food down, living proof for Flohr of the proverb that "Hunger is a good cook." The soup was cooked in a huge copper kettle large enough to feed 800 to 1,200, sometimes up to 1,400 people at a time! These were enormous kettles indeed: if everyone on board ship would get 2 cups of soup per meal, it took 150 gallons of soup for 1,200 men. If we add another 20% space for cooking to prevent boiling and spilling over, the kettles would have had to hold a minimum of 180 gallons!

A common complaint on all transatlantic passages was the poor quality and the small quantity of drink available. According to Flohr, each man received 1 and 1/2 Schoppen of "good red wine" distributed in three installments at morning, noon and night with the meal. If they received "Branntwein" i.e. liquor, instead, he received 1/8 of a "Schoppen." Of water they received "very little, most of the time only 1/2 Schoppen per day."⁵ This poor diet lacking in vitamins and minerals soon started to claim its victims, and Flohr witnessed "daily our fellow brothers thrown into the depths of the ocean. No one was surprised though, since all our foodstuffs were rough and bad enough to destroy us."

Arrival in Newport was anxiously awaited, and joy was universal when the convoy sailed into Narragansett Bay on July 11, 1780.⁶ The troops debarking in Newport over the next few days were hardly ready to face a British attack. About 800 soldiers and some 1,500 sailors were afflicted with scurvy, and, according to Flohr, of companies 100 men

of some 940 men. Most of them were needed to man its 80 cannons: it took 15 men to work just one of the thirty 36-pounders on the main deck during battle and hundreds more to operate the other fifty 18 and 8 pounders on board. All numbers are taken from Jean Boudriot, "The French Fleet during the American War of Independence" *Nautical Research Journal* Vol. 25, No. 2, (1979), pp. 79-86.

⁵ 1 Schoppen = about 1/2 pint or 1/4 liter.

⁶ The *Île de France* with 350 men of the Bourbonnais got lost in fog and put into Boston instead.

strong, "barely 18-20 could still be used" to throw up defenses around the harbor. As the Newporters "could now daily see the misery of the many sick, of whom the majority could not even stand up and move ...they had very great pity on them and did all they could for them." Despite this care, Flohr thought that "200-300 men [died] every day," but here he got his numbers confused: some 200 men was the total number of deaths. From September to November 24 men of his own regiment died; another 12 men had died during the crossing itself. Without having fired a single shot his regiment was 73 men short by the time it went into winter quarters on November 1, 1780.⁷

By July 15, 1780, Barneville reported that "les boulangers," i.e., the bakers, and "les bouchers," i.e., the butchers, "sont établis au camp." From now on the troops received their daily "1 1/2 pounds of bread plus 2 loth rice besides 1 pound of beef." The amount of food consumed by Rochambeau's men was enormous. Besides the vast quantities of bread, rice, and vegetables for almost 6,000 men, the army needed 300 to 400 heads of cattle every six to eight weeks and kept an additional 200 heads in reserve around the camp as well as the salt pork it had brought over from France.⁸ The troops seem to have supplemented their diet on their own: in late July 1780, Lafayette wrote to Washington that in Newport "Chicken and pigs walk Between the tents without being disturb'd."⁹

6.2 The Old World Meets the New World

Lafayette's pastoral landscape of "chiken and pigs walk[ing] Between the tents" in the French camp in Newport "without being disturb'd," and of "a Corn field from which not one leaf of which has been touched," was deceiving. By sending troops to the New World, His Most Christian Majesty had taken a considerable risk: it was by far not certain that they would be welcome! Before Rochambeau's troops set foot on American soil only a small minority of Americans had ever met a Frenchman off the battlefield. Frenchmen knew Americans as part of the British Empire, as enemies, not as allies, and fifteen years of uneasy friendship before the alliance of 1778 had not been long enough to wipe out old prejudices. More positive concepts of the continent as a *tabula rasa* inhabited by noble savages and some English settlers forming lone outposts of European civilization in the American wilderness were mere ideals formed by the wishful thinking of the *philosophes* -- Jean-Jacques Rousseau comes to mind -- rather than reality.¹⁰ "In the eyes of their

⁷ Samuel F. Scott, "The Soldiers of Rochambeau's Expeditionary Corps: From the American Revolution to the French Revolution," in: *La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe*, Claude Fohlen and Jacques Godechot, eds., (Paris, 1979), pp. 565-578, p. 570, puts the death toll in the first four months at almost 200; the Royal Deux-Ponts lost another 8 men before the year was over - fully half of its 162 dead for the whole campaign.

⁸ Barneville, "Journal," p. 254. All witnesses agree that the Germans did not handle the voyage very well. On August 21, Barneville wrote: "Le régiment des Deux-Ponts a été inspecté aujourd'hui. Il est superbe, mais il y a beaucoup de malades."

⁹ Lafayette to Washington, July 31, 1780, as published in *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution. Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1780* Stanley J. Idzerda, ed., 5 vols., (Ithaca, 1979), Vol. 3, p. 119.

¹⁰ Durand Echeverria, "Mirage in the West: French *Philosophes* rediscover America" in: *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité: The American Revolution and the European Response* Charles W. Toth, ed., (Troy, 1989), pp. 35-47. Most insightful analyses can be found in Jean-Jacques Fiechter, "L'aventure américaine des officiers de Rochambeau vue à travers leurs journaux" in: *Images of America in Revolutionary France* Michèle R. Morris, ed., (Washington, DC, 1990), pp. 65-82, and François Furet, "De l'homme sauvage à l'homme historique: l'expérience américaine dans la culture française" in: *La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe*, pp.

American hosts," as Scott has pointed out, "most Frenchmen remained alien, objects of suspicion and potential hostility." Many Americans saw the French as "the adherents of a despicable and superstitious religion, as the slavish subjects of a despotic and ambitious prince, as frivolous dandies lacking in manly virtues, as physical and moral inferiors whose very dress and eating habits evidenced this inferiority."¹¹ They were not afraid to express their feelings, before, and even more so, after!, the failed sieges of Newport and Savannah! Throughout its existence, the Franco-American alliance was under severe strains and it is a testimony to the leadership capabilities of both Rochambeau and Washington that the military cooperation achieved any results at all.

Such likes and dislikes, fears and apprehensions, can only be understood within their broader historical, religious, and cultural context. For decades, the French had been the traditional enemy for New Englanders. Throughout the eighteenth century, ministers from Maine to Massachusetts had encouraged repatriated prisoners of the Franco-Indian wars to record their experiences and read them from the pulpits of their churches. Their accounts were invariably anti-French and anti-Catholic, and "confirmed the longstanding Protestant tradition that linked the Catholic Church with violence, tyranny, immorality, and theological error."¹² This practice had reached new heights during the French and Indian War and had been re-enforced as late as 1774. On June 22 of that year, Parliament had passed the Québec Act, thereby extending the Province of Quebec south to the Ohio River and west to the Mississippi. The act not only ignored western land claims of Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, but also guaranteed the traditional language, civil law, and the Roman Catholic faith of its new French subjects. The repeal of the act had been a major demand of American revolutionaries.

A telling sample of the inter-dependence of Catholicism and oppressive government as seen by some New Englanders was provided by James Dana, pastor of the First Church of Wallingford, Connecticut, in "A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut at Hartford on the Day of the Anniversary Election, May 13, 1779." In this sermon, delivered more than a year after the signing of the Franco-American alliance, Dana reminded the legislators that "the preservation of our religion depends on the continuance of a free government. Let our allies have their eyes open on the blessings of such a government, and they will at once renounce their superstition. On the other hand, should we lose our freedom this will prepare the way to the introduction of popery."¹³ Enough members of the Connecticut legislature

91-108. See also Pierre Aubéry, "Des Stéréotypes ethniques dans l'Amérique du dix-huitième siècle" *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* Vol. 6, (1977), pp. 35-58.

¹¹ Samuel F. Scott, "Foreign Mercenaries, Revolutionary War, and Citizen Soldiers in the Late Eighteenth Century" *War and Society* 2 (September 1984), pp. 42-58, pp. 42/45. For American attempts at counter-acting these images see William C. Stinchcombe, *The American Revolution and the French Alliance* (Syracuse, 1969), chapters VIII: "The Press and the Alliance," pp. 104-117, and chapter IX, "French Propaganda in the United States," pp. 118-132. The French side of the Atlantic is covered in Peter Ascoli, "American Propaganda in the French Language Press during the American Revolution" in: *La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe* pp. 291-308. For Connecticut see Charles L. Cutler, *Connecticut's Revolutionary Press* Connecticut Bicentennial Series XIV (Hartford, 1975).

¹² Gayle K. Brown, "'Into the Hands of Papists': New England Captives in French Canada and the English Anti-Catholic Tradition, 1689-1763" *The Maryland Historian* Vol. 21, (1990), pp. 1-11, p. 9.

¹³ Quoted in Stinchcombe, *American Revolution* chapter VII: The Pulpit and the Alliance, p. 96.

remembered this warning in their spring 1780 session and refused to vote funds to supply the French even though Jeremiah Wadsworth had been hired by the French as their purchasing agent.¹⁴ Despairingly Jedediah Huntington wrote to Wadsworth on May 5, 1780, of his fears that the French aid might not materialize at all: "I assure you I have apprehensions that our good Allies will [only] stay long enou' to cast upon us a look of chagrin and pity and turn upon their heels."¹⁵

What worried some of the legislators was the very idea of a military establishment. A century after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the slogan of "No Standing Army!" was an integral part of American political culture and had indeed been one of the rallying cries of 1776. In the Declaration of Independence the revolutionaries accused King George of having "kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures." For many Americans, a standing army was a potential instrument of tyranny. That included their own Continental Army, which many political leaders such as Thomas Jefferson would have loved to convert to an all-militia force, and which was indeed reduced to a single regiment of 1,000 men as soon as the war was over!

In 1765, Baron de Kalb had reported that the Americans would not welcome a French army, a good ten years later, in May of 1776, John Adams had made his position very clear when he wrote: "I don't want a French army here."¹⁶ In November 1778, Admiral d'Estaing sent disturbing information about the difficult allies to the Navy Minister: "One must also fawn, to the height of insipidity, over every little republican who regards flattery as his sovereign right, ... hold command over captains who are not good enough company to be permitted to eat with their general officers (one must be at least a major to enjoy that prerogative), and have some colonels who are innkeepers at the same time."¹⁷

Earlier that same year Vergennes had sent agents across the ocean to probe American sentiments concerning the militarily desirable project of armed intervention by an expeditionary force. Their reports were less than encouraging as well. In early 1779, one agent recorded that the Americans were not at all disposed toward supporting foreign troops on their soil: "It seems to me that in this regard the Americans harbor an extreme suspicion." Other officers reported later that year that they too had taken up the issue with the Continental Congress though without much success. "The most enlightened members of Congress, though convinced of the necessity of this course of action, have not dared to propose it for fear of alarming the people by the introduction of a foreign army."¹⁸ To

¹⁴ Richard Buel, *Dear Liberty. Connecticut's Mobilization for the Revolutionary War* (Middletown, 1980), p. 226. Interestingly enough, "the journals for this meeting of the legislature have disappeared." (Ibid.)

¹⁵ "The Huntington Papers" *Connecticut Historical Society Collections* Vol. 20 (1923), p. 150.

¹⁶ Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 38.

¹⁷ D'Estaing is also pointing out one of the discrepancies of revolutionary ideology and political reality. In the French army, the colonel was expected to keep an open table for any officer of his regiment, no matter what rank he held. The letter from d'Estaing to Navy Minister Sartine, November 5, 1778, in Idzerda, *Lafayette*, Vol. 2, pp. 202/03.

¹⁸ Quoted in Lee Kennett, "L'expédition Rochambeau-Ternay: un succès diplomatique" *Revue historique des armées* Vol. 3, No. 4, (1976), pp. 87- 105, p. 92. See Lee Kennett, ed., "Charleston in 1778: A French Intelligence Report" *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Vol. 66, (1965), pp. 109-111, for reports of anti-French riots as well as Scott, "Strains," pp. 80-100.

alleviate such apprehensions, Rochambeau's troops were officially declared "auxiliaries" with supreme command in the hands of Washington. How much of a euphemism that really was became obvious to everyone when some 4,000 superbly uniformed, well-equipped, and regularly paid French troops joined forces with an equal number of ill-clad, poorly equipped, and unpaid Continentals at White Plains in June 1781.¹⁹

How uncertain even leading Americans about military intervention became apparent when Lafayette approached Franklin with the idea in October 1779. The usually rather talkative American replied evasively that he had "no orders for troops, but large ones for supplies, and I dare not take any further steps than I have done in such a proposition without orders."²⁰ His request for instructions from Congress, mailed more than a month after the conversation with Lafayette, did not reach Philadelphia until March 1780, by which time Rochambeau's troops were ready to embark. When the French cabinet discussed the idea of sending troops to America, all it had to go by was Lafayette's enthusiasm and a letter by George Washington of September 30, 1779, in which the latter promised a cordial welcome if Lafayette should return at the head of "a corps of gallant Frenchmen."²¹ The cabinet concluded, rightly as it turned out, that Congress would rather not be forced to make a decision at that point in the hope that the saying "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" would apply once the French had landed. But just in case that welcome would not materialize, Rochambeau was authorized to either make for the West Indies or to seize Rhode Island by force until he could be evacuated.

Rochambeau's fears turned out to be unfounded. The legislatures of Rhode Island and neighboring states officially and heartily welcomed their illustrious guests -- everyone among the educated had heard about Chastellux -- and after some initial apprehension the officially-ordered welcome became genuine as officers were welcomed into the homes of Newport as well. High-ranking officers in Rochambeau's staff were quartered in Newport, and the close personal contact helped to overcome fear, prejudices and hostility.²² By early September, Fersen could report that "there has not yet been a single complaint against the troops. This discipline is admirable. It astonishes the inhabitants, who are accustomed to pillage by the English and by their own troops. The most entire confidence exists between the two nations." If there were tensions and misunderstandings, they were caused more by a clash of cultures based upon the social status and the expectations of the persons involved rather than by ill will.

It was the court nobility in Rochambeau's army that had the most difficulty adjusting to the New World. Some had hardly disembarked when they began to complain about the less than enthusiastic welcome. William de Deux-Ponts, *colonel-en-second* of the Royal

¹⁹ Cromot du Bourg estimated the American army at: "four thousand and some hundred men at the most." Fersen wrote "... les Américains à peu près 3,000 hommes." The actual strength lay a little over 4,000 men, about one-fourth of which was African-American.

²⁰ Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 8.

²¹ *The Writings of George Washington* John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., 39 vols., (Washington, DC, 1931-1944), Vol. 16, p. 369.

²² Alan and Mary Simpson, "A new look at how Rochambeau quartered his army in Newport (1780-1781)" *Newport History* (Spring 1983), pp. 30-67; Warrington Dawson, ed., "With Rochambeau at Newport: The Narrative of Baron Gaspard de Gallatin" *The Franco-American Review* Vol. 1, Nr. 4, (1937), pp. 330-34.

Deux-Ponts, remarked that the French had "not met with that reception on landing which we expected and which we ought to have had. A coldness and reserve appear to me characteristic of the American nation."²³ Clermont-Crèvecoeur believed that "the local people, little disposed in our favor, would have preferred, at that moment, I think, to see their enemies arrive rather than their allies." He thought the British were to blame. They "had made the French seem odious to the Americans ... saying that we were dwarfs, pale, ugly, specimens who lived exclusively on frogs and snails."²⁴ Nicolas François Denis Brisout de Barneville, at 44 still only a *sous-lieutenant*, thought that the image of the papist, intolerant French, those "adherents of a despicable and superstitious religion," those "slavish subjects of a despotic and ambitious prince,"²⁵ had at least in part been formed "by numerous French refugees," i.e., Huguenots who had settled in America.²⁶

Fersen, though himself a member of that group, wrote his father how these "*gens de la cour*" were in "despair at being obliged to pass the winter quietly at Newport, far from their mistresses and the pleasures of Paris; no suppers, no theatres, no balls." The "simple necessaries of life" with which Americans made do were quaint and fun to watch in others, but for a member of the high aristocracy such a life-style betrayed a serious lack of culture. Cromot du Bourg thought it "impossible to dance with less grace or to be worse dressed" than the women of Boston.²⁷ The *till*, a dance in this "still somewhat wild country," was "a sad piece of stupidity."²⁸ Many French officers such as Clermont-Crèvecoeur thought the girls "pretty, even beautiful [but] frigid." Unless you "assume the burden of conversation, animating it with your French gaiety, [all] will be lost," and summed up his judgement by declaring that "one may reasonably state that the character of this nation is little adapted to society" -- at least not society as defined by the standards of Versailles and French court aristocracy.

As far as these men were concerned, the concept of *noblesse oblige* went beyond the intellectual horizon of the average American, who seemed "rather like their neighbors the savages." Their accounts are filled with complaints about the poor quality of American bread and monotonous dinners of vast amounts of meat washed down with innumerable toasts. In-between they drank either "very weak coffee,"²⁹ Blanchard thought that "four or five cups are not equal to one of ours," or "vast amounts" of strong tea with milk. Eating seemed to be the major occupation for Americans, "who are almost always at the table; and as they have little to occupy them, as they go out little in winter and spend whole days along side of their fires and their wives, without reading and without doing anything, going so often to table is a relief and a preventive of *ennui*."³⁰ After dinner

²³ William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America* Samuel Abbot Green, ed., (Boston, 1868), p. 91.

²⁴ Crevecoeur journal as edited by Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, pp. 15-100, p. 21.

²⁵ Scott, "Foreign Mercenaries," p. 43.

²⁶ Barneville, "Journal," p. 242. In 1677, 12 Huguenot families purchased land in Ulster County, New York, where they established New Paltz in 1678; in October 1686, Huguenot refugees established Frenchtown in Rhode Island, 10 miles inland from Narragansett Bay.

²⁷ Marie-François Baron Cromot du Bourg, "Diary of a French Officer, 1781" *Magazine of American History* Vol. 4, (June 1880), pp. 205-214, p. 214.

²⁸ "Letters of a French Officer, written at Easton, Penna., in 1777-78" *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 35, (1911), pp. 90-102, p. 96.

²⁹ Clermont-Crèvecoeur, "Journal," p. 20

³⁰ Blanchard, *Journal*, p. 78.

"each person wipes himself on the table-cloth, which must be very soiled as a result."³¹ Looking back, such misunderstandings appear humorous, but one can only wonder about the hurt feelings of the host in Marion in June 1781, when an officer, invited to tea, pointed to some sprigs on the table and informed them that "one do give dis de horse in my country." Another "felt insulted that his dog should be suspected of drinking" his milk from "a cracked bowl" that Tavern Keeper Asa Barnes had poured it in.³² And all prejudices of the people of Windham were confirmed when French soldiers, hardly encamped, came down upon the frogs in their pond and feasted on them during that memorable night of June 20, 1781.³³

Some disagreements ran deeper and touched the very core of the alliance. Compared to eighteenth-century France, New England society was a society composed largely of equals: in 1782, French traveler Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur observed that in America "the rich and poor are not so far removed from each other as they are in Europe." He defined an American as someone who had left "behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners," who saw no reason to defer to someone because he wore epaulettes or had a title of nobility.³⁴ Commoners in France had no right to question a nobleman's actions, yet the constable of Crompond arrested Rochambeau for damage done by his soldiers.³⁵ The chevalier de Coriolis explained the strange rules of warfare in America thus: "Here it is not like it is in Europe, where when the troops are on the march you can take horses, you can take wagons, you can issue billets for lodging, and with the aid of a gendarme overcome the difficulties the inhabitant might make; but in America the people say they are free and, if a proprietor who doesn't like the look of your face tells you he doesn't want to lodge you, you must go seek a lodging elsewhere. Thus the words: 'I don't want to' end the business, and there is no means of appeal."³⁶ The vicomte de Tresson, a captain in the Saintonge whose father had commanded the regiment until replaced by Custine, put his finger squarely on the problem when he wrote his father: "Here they have more respect for a lout than they have for a duke in France."³⁷ Could it be that a colonist had just pointed out to de Tresson that here in America we "have no princes for whom we toil, starve and bleed."³⁸ Such language was anathema in the ears of a court nobility used to be accorded exactly that deference in Europe. They might find it amusing that the ranks of the New England militia contained "shoemakers who are colonels," who in turn asked their French counter-parts "what their trade is in France."³⁹ They might even chuckle as they told their friends and families anecdotes such as this one told by the chevalier de Pontgibaud:

³¹ Closen, *Journal*, p. 51.

³² Heman R. Timlow, *Ecclesiastical and other Sketches of Southington, Conn.* (Hartford, 1875), p. 53.

³³ Forbes, "Marches," p. 271 and p. 272.

³⁴ Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York, 1957), p. 36.

³⁵ The story is told by Rochambeau's son in Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau. Father and Son. A life of the Maréchal de Rochambeau and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau* (New York, 1936), pp. 259/60; also in Forbes, "Marches," p. 271, and Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 168.

³⁶ "Lettres d'un officier de l'Armée de Rochambeau: le chevalier de Coriolis" *Le correspondant* No. 326, (March 25, 1932), pp. 807-828, p. 818. Coriolis was Blanchard's brother-in-law.

³⁷ Quoted in Kennett, "Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 100.

³⁸ Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, p. 36.

³⁹ Cromot du Bourg, "Diary," p. 209.

One day I dismounted from my horse at the house of a farmer upon whom I had been billeted. I had hardly entered the good man's house when he said to me,

"I am very glad to have a Frenchman in the house."

I politely enquired the reason for this preference.

"Well," he said, "you see the barber lives a long way off, so you will be able to shave me."

"But I cannot even shave myself," I replied. "My servant shaves me, and he will shave you also if you like."

"That's very odd," said he. "I was told that all Frenchmen were barbers and fiddlers."

I think I never laughed so heartily. A few minutes later my rations arrived, and my host seeing a large piece of beef amongst them, said,

"You are lucky to be able to come over to America and get some beef to eat."

I assured him that we had beef in France, and excellent beef too.

"That is impossible," he replied, "or you wouldn't be so thin."

Such was, -- when Liberty was dawning over the land, -- the ignorance shown by the inhabitants of the United States Republic in regard to the French. This lack of knowledge was caused by the difficulty of intercourse with Europe.⁴⁰

But if the curiosity of Americans toward the noble titles of the court aristocracy could be ascribed to ignorance, their strange foodstuffs to local customs, their provinciality to remoteness from European culture, their greed, seen as lack of devotion to the cause of American liberty, bordered on treason. In Europe, food and lodging for the army would simply be requisitioned, but here everything had to be paid for, and quite dearly at that. The French government had been aware that their allies lacked virtually everything and that Rochambeau's forces would have to bring much of their supplies with them. When Rochambeau arrived in Newport, conditions were worse than expected. In July 1780 already, he pleaded with the War Minister: "Send us troops, ships and money, but do not count upon these people or their means," and added the sober warning that "this is going to be an expensive war."⁴¹

What the French did not or could not bring they had to purchase at what was generally agreed were very high prices. Rochambeau felt himself "at the mercy of usurers."⁴² Axel von Fersen vented months of frustration in January 1781 when he wrote to his father that "the spirit of patriotism only exists in the chief and principal men in the country, who are making very great sacrifices; the rest who make up the great mass think only of their personal interests. Money is the controlling idea in all their actions." They "overcharge us mercilessly ... and treat us more like enemies than friends. ... Their greed is unequalled, money is their God; virtue, honor, all count for nothing to them compared with the precious metal."⁴³ Schwerin thought the inhabitants of Newport treated the foreigners "fort mal honette" and were anxious to cheat them out of their money. Even Flohr

⁴⁰ Pontgibaud was an *aide-de-camp* to Lafayette from September 1777 until after the siege of Yorktown. Charles Albert comte de Moré, chevalier de Pontgibaud *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence* Robert B. Douglas, trans. and ed., (Paris, 1826), pp. 50/51.

⁴¹ Quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 72.

⁴² Quoted in Scott, "Strains," p. 91.

⁴³ "Fersen, *Letters*, p. 371.

complained, and with good reason. A 3-pound loaf of bread cost him 40 to 44 sous, though a common soldier like him received only about 150 sous cash per month which bought him an extra loaf of bread every eight or nine days but nothing more!⁴⁴ Few officers wanted to see the laws of supply and demand at work and admit that New Englanders were no worse than Frenchmen under the same circumstances. Only Brisout de Barneville declared that "The merchants sell to us just as dearly as ours did to the Spanish when they were in Brest last year."⁴⁵

Americans had long since lost faith in the paper money issued by their government and insisted that unlike their own army, the French pay in specie: gold or silver. Spend the French did, to the tune of millions, and much to the chagrin of the purchasing agents for the Continental Army, who found out that no farmer was willing to sell to them for worthless paper as long as Rochambeau's agents paid in Pieces of Eight! Finance Minister Jacques Necker had arranged for a first-year credit of 7,674,280 livres in early March 1780, 2.6 million of which Rochambeau took with him in cash -- not in French livres but in Spanish piasters, the most widely circulating currency in the colonies.⁴⁶ But when Rochambeau arrived in Newport he found out that his purchasing agents had already spent some 700,000 livres. In addition he needed a minimum of 375,000 livres each month to keep his army going, on top of almost 90,000 livres he needed to prepare winter quarters for his troops. When an emergency shipment of 1.5 million arrived in late February 1781, the navy, which had only brought half a million, was down to a mere 800 livres in cash. In early May, Rochambeau's son brought another 6.6 million livres in cash and bills of exchange, but by the time the French and American armies joined forces at White Plains, they were almost gone too.⁴⁷ Rochambeau loaned some 120,000 livres of the 300,000 he had left to Washington, much to the relief of the American general, who was afraid that his troops might refuse to march unless they were paid. For many a Continental soldier that was the first, and only, time in his career he was paid in specie.⁴⁸

Unfortunately the military proficiency of New Englanders was vastly inferior to their skills in "fleecing," to use Fersen's term, their allies. The French prided themselves in

⁴⁴ Schwerin had quoted 22 sous for a pound of better bread for officers.

⁴⁵ Barneville, "Journal," p. 241.

⁴⁶ Timothy R. Walton, *The Spanish Treasure Fleets* (Sarasota, 1994), p. 183, "On the eve of the American Revolution, about half the coins used in the British North American Colonies, some 4 million pesos (24 million livres) worth, were pieces of eight from New Spain and Peru." The remainder of Rochambeau's funds were in bills of exchange which lost 1/3 or more of their value as opposed to specie. But since it cost 1 livre to bring 4 livres in specie to the New World, the French reluctantly accepted the loss.

⁴⁷ Noailles, *Marins et Soldats*, p. 204; Kennett, *French forces*, pp. 66-68. Altogether there were nine shipments of specie from France for a total of some 10 million livres, at first in Spanish piasters, later in French coin. In 1782, New York made French livres legal tender for the payment of taxes. Kennett estimates that "the French forces [army and navy combined and including private funds] may well have disbursed 20 million livres (sic) in coin" during their stay in America.

⁴⁸ Rochambeau was only able to agree to that arrangement because he knew that Admiral de Grasse would bring 1.2 million livres from Cuba. On the Spanish role in making funds available to France throughout the war see James A. Lewis, "Las Damas de la Havana, el precursor, and Francisco de Saavedra: A Note on Spanish Participation in the Battle of Yorktown" *The Americas* Vol. 37, (July 1980), pp. 83-99. Lewis estimates inter-governmental loans such as the one for de Grasse in August 1781 at about 2 million peso, loans arranged by private lenders at 3, possibly 4, million peso for a minimum of 30 million livres (at an exchange rate of 6 livres per peso). These funds were vital for the French, and American war efforts.

their expertise and derived great satisfaction from the high level of proficiency of the armed forces under their command. French officers, though impressed with the skill and even more so the devotion of the Continental Army, had little faith in the fighting abilities of the militia, an opinion shared by their American counterparts. They were not afraid of expressing their views, but few descriptions of that soldiery can match the pen of the chevalier de Pontgibaud describing Rhode Island and Connecticut militia gathering for the siege of Newport in 1778.⁴⁹

"Hardly had the troops disembarked before the militia, -- to the number I believe, of about ten thousand men, horse and foot, -- arrived. I have never seen a more laughable spectacle; all the tailors and apothecaries in the country must have been called out, I should think; -- one could recognize them by their round wigs. They were mounted on bad nags, and looked like a flock of ducks in cross-belts. The infantry was no better than the cavalry, and appeared to be cut after the same pattern. I guessed that these warriors were more anxious to eat up our supplies than to make a close acquaintance with the enemy, and I was not mistaken, -- they soon disappeared."

Company grade and junior officers with limited financial resources, *sous-lieutenants* like Schwerin who were sitting in their rooms at night eating potatoes, learning English, and counting the days until they might be invited to another evening event, men who had to turn each livre over twice before they decided to spend it, were much less concerned with the niceties of dancing, the simplicity of the food, and the home-made dresses of their hosts. Baron Ludwig Eberhard von Esebeck, the 40-year-old lieutenant colonel of the Royal Deux-Ponts informed his father in Zweibrücken how he "would never have believed ... that I should find in America the means of hunting deer and foxes. In Europe it is the *exclusive luxury of the great*. (my emphasis)"⁵⁰

From Philadelphia, French Resident Gérard had warned Vergennes that "the manners of the two peoples are not compatible at all. ... Should there be too close contact between the French soldier and the American colonists ... there can be no other result but bloody conflict."⁵¹ Rochambeau heeded Gérard's warning and attempted to keep frictions at a minimum by imposing the strictest discipline and by keeping them closely confined to their quarters. But this policy only heightened a sense of alienation felt by many French

⁴⁹ Pontgibaud, *French volunteer*, p. 67. For other appraisals of the militia and the Continental Army see Orville T. Murphy, "The French Professional Soldier's Opinion of the American Militia in the War of the Revolution" *Military Affairs* Vol. 33, (February 1969), pp. 191-198 and Durand Echeverria, "The American Revolutionary Army: A French Estimate in 1777" *Military Affairs* Vol. 27, (1963), pp. 1-7 and pp. 153-62.

⁵⁰ John M. Lenhart, "Letter of an Officer of the Zweibrücken Regiment," *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, Vol. 28, (January 1936), pp. 321-322, and (February 1936), pp. 350-360, p. 322. The letters are dated Jamestown Island, December 12 and December 16, 1781. Officers from the lower nobility were enamoured by the entertainments of Williamsburg; Fersen, on the other hand, wrote to his sister on April 25, 1782: "We are still in this wretched little hole of Williamsburg, where we are bored to death. There is no society at all." His patience with the simple life in America was apparently running out: the previous year he had written very differently to his father from Newport. Heidenstam, *Letters*, p. 12.

⁵¹ Quoted in Kennett, "Rochambeau-Ternay," p. 100.

soldiers who were living in a hostile country, devoid of fellow countrymen, where hardly anybody spoke their language, and where their faith was more or less openly despised.⁵²

For the Germans in the Royal Deux-Ponts the situation was different. Flohr remembered that he "got along very well with the inhabitants." He was full of praise for their hospitality and the medical support provided for the hundreds of soldiers afflicted with scurvy. As an enlisted man not used to finer foods, he had few problems adjusting to the diet in New England. Bread was a staple for every French soldier who consumed nearly two pounds a day. By late summer already Blanchard's commissaries were unable to provide the almost 2 1/2 tons of flour the army and navy consumed every day. Not only did rations have to be cut, but the flour also had to be mixed with cornmeal, at least for the bread for the soldiers. But Flohr thought the bread, even with the corn meal, "very good" though "sold for a very high price." The "money of the inhabitants was made of paper, about the size of a playing card" and bearing "the seal of the province and the signature of the governor." It did not seem to have much buying power: one had "to add good words" i.e., plead, to get food if one tried to pay with these 'Continental's.'

American-German relations ran smoothly as well, even though the soldiers "could talk precious little with them, [and] every one of us soldiers" tried to learn some English in order to "caress" the "beautiful American maidens." The freedoms granted to the younger generation, particularly to the girls, greatly surprised him: "Once they are sixteen years old, their father and mother must not forbid them anything anymore, cannot give them any orders on anything any more, and if they have a lover he can freely go with them" without injury to their reputations.

Here Flohr also provides one of the reasons for this *entente* when he writes: "In our vicinity we had two beautiful neighbors who lived in a wind-mill. One of them was named Hanne, the other Malle (Molly). We were especially welcomed by these girls because we (i.e. the Royal Deux-Ponts) were Germans, and they hold the German nation in very high esteem." By implication this has to be read to mean that the French nation was not held "in very high esteem." Germans were well liked in Colonial America, Franklin's occasional outbursts about "Palatine Boors" notwithstanding. The Lutheran and Calvinist co-religionists in the Royal Deux-Ponts were welcome anywhere in New England. Around New York Americans dropped such finer distinctions: "Whenever you

⁵² Conflict erupted despite such precautions. In September 1778 a waterfront brawl in Boston between locals and sailors of d'Estaing's fleet resulted in the death of a French officer and a number of injuries; a similar incident occurred when the *Hermione*, a 32-gun frigate, put into Boston in 1780. On August 31, 1780, a French sergeant was executed for the murder of an American medical doctor in Newport, but the affair was hushed up so successfully that not even the name of the victim has survived. In the winter of 1780/81, the crewmen of the *Surveillance* and the American *Alliance* went at each other, again in Boston, but this affair too was hushed up despite the fact that two American sailors were killed. French consul Holker told Desandrouins "plusieurs autre histoires qui viennent a l'appui de cette observation ..." Gabriel, *Desandrouins*, p. 363. In July 1781, members of Lauzun's Legion "pillaged many houses," in the vicinity of New York, "and even the grenadiers and chasseurs had a hand in it." Cromot du Bourg, "Journal," p. 302. Americans were not always innocent in these affairs: on February 1, 1781, Barneville's journal carries the entry: "les enrôleurs engagent jusqu'a des valets de l'armée française," and at least six French deserters from Ternay's fleet appear on the roster of the American frigate *Concorde* in 1781. When fellow sailors forcibly carried a deserted sailor back onto a French warship, the town of Boston served the Captain with a writ of *Habeus Corpus*, which the French captain honored! Kennett, *French forces*, p. 82 *et passim*.

entered a house around Suffern ...the inhabitants would ask you if you wanted to stay with them and promised to hide you until *the French* were gone!" (my emphasis)⁵³

As they spent the winter of 1780/81 in Newport and began their march south in the early summer of 1781, Rochambeau's troops marveled at a country where "all inhabitants are wealthy and well. One does not see a difference between rich and poor." Here "one does not see a difference between the Sunday clothes and their workday clothes," and women were "always dressed like ladies of the nobility." Many a time Flohr "wondered where their wealth came from since they don't work at all." Looking around he realized that this wealth was created by a relatively equal distribution and free ownership of land, where the absence of tenancy leveled social distinctions based on birthright and noble privilege. Like Crèvecoeur, Flohr appreciated the egalitarian character of that American society of citizens who despite their wealth were "not haughty at all. They talk to everybody, whether he be rich or poor." In America, so Flohr, common folk live "more ostentatiously than the nobility in Europe." That roles were reversed in America was driven home to Graf Schwerin in Philadelphia:

"On the last day of our stay in Philadelphia I was surprised to see a one-horse-chaise stop before my tent. In it sat two women and a man, who drove it. They said they were from Dierdorf; I asked them to get out of the carriage and recognized the one to be the Henritz who was a servant at the (your) castle and the other to be her sister, who has already been married to a beer brewer in Philadelphia for 18 years and who is very rich. I had dinner with them; they have a perfectly furnished house. In the evening they introduced me to a man named Dichon who had been with you at Dierdorf. ... I had breakfast with him before our departure from Philadelphia. He has a superb house and lots of ready money, because he showed me a little chest full of Louis d'Ors."

The spirit of equality, opportunity, and freedom was not lost on members of the lower nobility in the officer ranks either: Flohr's lieutenant colonel Esebeck thought that "no one could live more happily than here. There is a freedom here the like of which is found nowhere else."⁵⁴ For hundreds of landless sons of impoverished peasants in the Royal Deux-Ponts, the strangely wonderful New World exerted a powerful temptation to desert. Of 316 deserters from Rochambeau's corps who avoided recapture, 104 came from the Royal Deux-Ponts alone, another 186 deserters were German-speaking soldiers (mostly from Alsace and Lorraine) serving primarily in Lauzun's Legion. Many of them deserted around New York and during the march through Pennsylvania, where, so Flohr, half of the regiment met friends and relatives anxious to help a fellow countryman disappear.

⁵³ Cromot du Bourg's journal shows the success of this encouragement: as long as the army remained before New York, a number of men deserted every day. Punishment for desertion was eight years in chains, but of seven executions in America, five were for desertion. In one instance in the Royal Deux-Ponts in mid-August 1781, a captured deserter was sentenced "to be hung, but in consideration of the number of relatives he had in his Regiment M. de Deux-Ponts persuaded the General to consent that he should be shot, and he was so executed." Cromot du Bourg, "Journal," p. 306. Since Rochambeau could hardly afford to lose dozens of men to the executioner, the *schlagueurs* went into action: three Royal Deux-Ponts deserters who were turned in in early July "by some Americans, *good Whigs* (sic), ... were flogged." Clösen, *Journal*, p. 91.

⁵⁴ Lenhart, "Letter," p. 359.

Few Frenchmen on the other hand were prepared to venture into a country inhabited by locals anxious to make a dollar, or in this case a livre or a louis d'or, by returning deserters to their units. A scant 26 deserters (8% of the total) were native Frenchmen who successfully ventured out into the hostile environment of America. And of those only six acquired their freedom in New England, the other twenty deserted in Virginia.⁵⁵

The "gallant Frenchmen" had come to America, so the vicomte de Noailles "to deliver America entirely from the yoke of her tyrants," but all they seemed to be doing was waste time and money in Newport.⁵⁶ In September the conference between Washington and Rochambeau at Hartford did not result in military action despite Horatio Gates' disastrous defeat at Camden on August 16, and the treason of Benedict Arnold on September 25. With nothing accomplished the troops went into winter quarters on November 1. Following a brief stay in Windham, the duc de Lauzun, to his great dismay, found himself in Lebanon: "Siberia alone can furnish any idea of Lebanon, which consists of a few huts scattered among vast forests."⁵⁷

The death of Admiral de Ternay and his grand funeral in December brought little distraction. In January, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey lines mutinied, and French officers were convinced that the Americans had reached the end of the line. In Newport, frustration about the forced inactivity resulted in at least three duels among officers. When André de Bertrier des Forest, a captain in the Saintonge with 22 years of service committed suicide on March 5, 1781, after a violent dressing down by Custine, his friends in the officer corps very nearly lynched the colonel. The naval expedition designed to capture Arnold in the Chesapeake in February resulted in the capture of the 44-gun *Romulus*, but Arnold was still free. A visit by Washington helped prop up morale; so did a second sortie to Virginia from which French Admiral Charles René chevalier Destouches, who had assumed command over the French fleet after the death of de Ternay, returned on March 26, claiming victory in a naval battle since Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot had refused to renew the engagement.

The campaign of 1781 would have to produce results. Rochambeau's son returned from France with badly needed cash on May 10, 1781, (Rochambeau needed between 375,000 and 400,000 livres per month to keep his troops paid and supplied) but also with the news that the second division would not be coming after all. Rochambeau was advised to draw up plans for the coming campaign, possibly in cooperation with Admiral de Grasse who had left Brest for the Caribbean on April 5, and who might be able to provide naval support. At Wethersfield in late May 1781, Washington and Rochambeau decided to join the forces on the North River for an attack on New York "as the only practicable object under present circumstances," as Washington reminded Rochambeau on June 13. A march to the south had been ruled out since the summer heat would decimate the troops too much.

THE CONNECTICUT EXPERIENCE, 1781-1782

⁵⁵ Desertion figures in Scott, "Strains," p. 96. Naval desertion was considerably more serious: by June 1781, Barras' fleet was nearly 1,000 sailors short. Kennett, *French forces*, p. 85.

⁵⁶ So in a letter to Vergennes of September 1780, quoted in Kennett, *French forces*, p. 87.

⁵⁷ Lauzun, *Memoirs*, p. 194.

Preparations for the march had been going on for months before the French forces broke camp. In April Quartermaster-General de Beville had used a visit to Washington's headquarters in New Windsor to inspect the roads from Newport to New York. Upon his return his assistants began drawing maps and picking campsites. Jeremiah Wadsworth began collecting the vast amounts of supplies needed to feed thousands of men, as many as 1,500 horses and close to 1,000 oxen! By mid-May the French had hired in Hartford "a number of Laborers employed in building Ovens and making the necessary preparations for the accommodation of said Army on their march."⁵⁸ Rochambeau's force was quite small by European standards: barely 4,800 officers and men on March 1, 1781.⁵⁹

REGIMENT	PRESENT OFFICERS AND MEN OF ALL ARMS	DETACHED		TOTAL			
		Newport	Providence	Renegades			
Bourbonnais	852	30	32	-	914	-	
Soissonnais	971	8	16	-	995	2	
Saintonge	882	2	26	1	911	1	
Royal Deux-Ponts	912	-	21	-	933	-	
Artillerie	404	-	9	-	413	-	
Mineurs	21	-	2	-	23	-	
Voltigueurs de Lauzun							
in Newport	330	12	13	-	355	-	
Hussars de Lauzun							
in Lebanon	212	15	6	-	233	-	
-----		-----		-----		-----	
	4,584	67	125	1	4,777	3	

On June 11, 1781, just as he was about to leave for New York, a convoy carrying 592 infantry replacements and two companies, 68 men, of artillery, arrived in Boston, but only about 400 were healthy enough to join their units. These replacements had been drawn from the regiments of Auvergne and Neustrie for the Bourbonnais, Languedoc for Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, and Saintonge, Boulonnais for Saintonge, Anhalt and LaMarck for the Royal Deux-Ponts, and Barrois for Lauzun's Legion. Of these 660 men, some 260 men afflicted with scurvy and 200 healthy arrivals remained with Choisy as a garrison in Newport; so did the siege artillery with some 30 officers and men, the sick, and a small detachment, about 90 men under Major de Prez of the Royal Deux-Ponts, to guard the stores in Providence. Rochambeau added 200 men from his regiments to the garrison and was forced, much against his wishes, to detach 700 men to replenish the thinned ranks of the navy. Since Lauzun's Legion, almost 600 men, followed a separate

⁵⁸ Quoted in Florence S. Marcy Crofut, *Guide to the History and Historic Sites of Connecticut* 2 vols., (New Haven, 1937), Vol. 1, p. 69. The location of these ovens is unknown; for speculation on the site see *ibid.*, pp. 69/70. Crofut thinks the ovens "may not have been used," but we know that Wadsworth "operated a shuttle of wagons that carried bread baked in Hartford ovens westward to the French Army at successive camps as far as Newtown." Chestler Destler, "Newtown and the American Revolution" *Connecticut History* Vol. 20, No. 6, (1979), pp. 6-26, p. 16. A note in Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 12, states that the troops were to "draw four days' rations" of bread in Hartford. "Each division, furthermore, will be followed by a sufficient number of wagons to carry bread for four more days."

⁵⁹ The table is based on information in U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on the Library, *Rochambeau. A Commemoration by the Congress of the United States of the Services of the French Auxiliary Forces in the War of the American Independence* D.B.Randolph Keim, ed., (Washington, DC, 1907).

route to the south of the main army, the French forces marching through Connecticut numbered somewhere around 450 officers and 2,900 enlisted men.

But the actual convoy was much larger: despite bad experiences earlier, Rochambeau again hired American wagoners "for two dollars (sic) per day," so Lauberdière, and 15 mostly female cooks for the 15 brigades of the 250 wagons of four oxen each in his train.⁶⁰ As officers completed their equipment, they hired servants and purchased horses: even a poor *sous-lieutenant* such as Schwerin kept two servants for the campaign. Baron Closen was able to acquire one of the most important status symbols of the eighteenth century, a Black servant, when he was able to hire a man named Peter, "born of *free* parents in Connecticut,"⁶¹ who accompanied him to Europe in 1783. Rochambeau and his fellow generals had 8, 10, or more servants, some free, some slaves. On June 9, 1781, the French advertised in the *Newport Mercury* that on Wednesday, June 13, "at 10 o'clock in the morning, at Captain Caleb Gardner's wharf, A number of Negro Men, Women and Boys, lately captured by his Most Christian Majesty's fleet" would be sold to the highest bidder. In what seems to have been a pre-public sale, Rochambeau on June 5, 1781, acquired a black slave who had been captured during Admiral Destoches' expedition to Virginia in February 1781 for 170 piastres.⁶² If the ratio of two domestics per officer was observed throughout Rochambeau's little army, the practice would have added as many as 1,000 *domestiques*, the equivalent of a whole infantry regiment, to the march!⁶³

As the troops got ready to break camp, tensions ran high among officers anxious for the glory and honor of a victorious campaign. Nobody wanted to share the fate of *aide-major-general* Du Bouchet, appointed chief of staff in Newport, who felt slighted though he was the perfect choice for the position. When Lauberdière offered to buy his horses since he would have no need of them in Newport, Du Bouchet took that for an insult and challenged Lauberdière to a duel. Lauberdière was "seriously wounded" in this *affaire d'honneur*," Du Bouchet was almost killed. Mauduit du Plessis, second to both of them, had to help pull Lauberdière's sword out of Du Bouchet's shoulder, where it had lodged underneath the collar bone. "For a few days" even Lauberdière's life was in danger. It had been his first duel, but he had defended his honor so valiantly that he received "demonstrations of the most conspicuous concern," if not approval, "from all his comrades and all the general and superior officers." Both duelists had to stay in bed for weeks, but once they were able to walk again, Choisy, in command in Newport, invited all remaining officers to a reconciliation dinner where the two antagonists embraced and the affair was over. Lauberdière left Newport on June 23 and, tracing the route of the main army, rejoined Rochambeau's staff at White Plains and marched on to Virginia, where he also met Du Bouchet again: Admiral de Barras had transported the Newport

⁶⁰ The names of the drivers and cooks are listed in Kenneth Scott, "Rochambeau's American Wagoners, 1780-1783" *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* Vol. 143, (July 1989), pp. 256-262. To judge from the names, at least one of the cooks was a black man named "Moses," as were probably the drivers named "George Negre" and "Richard Freeman." According to Chester M. Destler, *Connecticut: The Provisions State* (Chester, CT: 1973), p. 54, drivers and cooks were all from Connecticut.

⁶¹ Closen, *Journal*, p. 187.

⁶² The bill of sale is listed in the exhibition catalogue of Musée de Rennes, *Les Français dans la Guerre d'Indépendance Américaine* (Rennes, 1976), p. 83.

⁶³ The actual number of servants was probably closer to 500 men.

detachment to Yorktown, and both men got the opportunity to use their martial skills in battle against the English.⁶⁴

7.1 Order and Organization of the March

On June 11, 1781, the troops crossed over from Newport to Providence. There they waited for the re-enforcements to join up with them. On June 16, Blanchard, who also traveled with two servants, "set out in the morning for General Washington's camp ... stopping at the different places where our troops were to be stationed, in order to examine if anything was needed. The Americans supplied us with nothing; we were obliged to purchase everything and to provide ourselves with the most trifling things. It is said that it is better to make war in an enemy's country than among one's friends."⁶⁵ That same day the replacements joined their units⁶⁶ and two days later, on Monday, June 18, the first division set out for Waterman's Tavern in Rhode Island, their first stop. Rochambeau, who marched with the first division, had established the following order:

- 1) The regiment Bourbonnais under the comte de Rochambeau, to leave on June 18
- 2) The regiment Royal Deux-Ponts under baron de Vioménil, to leave on June 19
- 3) The regiment Soissonnais under comte de Vioménil, to leave on June 20
- 4) The regiment Saintonge under comte de Custine, to leave on June 21

The eight twelve-pounders and six mortars of the field artillery were divided into four detachments with one detachment attached to each of the four divisions. Lauzun's Legion left Lebanon on the 20th, the day the 1st division reached Windham, pursuing a route about 10-15 miles to the south of the main army, protecting its flank.

Each division was led by an Assistant Quarter Master General and preceded by workmen commanded by an engineer who filled potholes and removed obstacles.⁶⁷ Then came the division proper. In the case of the 1st division, this meant that the vicomte de Rochambeau led the column.⁶⁸ Then came the officers and men of the Bourbonnais and the guns of the field artillery drawn by horses. The seven wagons of Rochambeau's baggage headed the baggage train, followed by the ten regimental wagons (one per company) with the tents of the soldiers and the luggage of the officers. Each captain had

⁶⁴ All quotes from Lauberdière's unpublished *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau pendant ses campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France. Du Bouchet's somewhat different account was published in part by Morris Bishop, "A French Volunteer" *American Heritage* Vol. 17, Nr. 5, (August 1966), pp. 47, 103-108.

⁶⁵ Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 107/08. For description of his journey ahead of the main body of troops see pp. 108-113. He reached the American Army on June 26, 1781, 10 days ahead of Rochambeau and his men.

⁶⁶ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 113. His brief account of the march through Connecticut is on pp. 113/14.

⁶⁷ The first division was preceded by 30 pioneers, half of whom carried axes, the second through fourth division by 15 pioneers, eight of which had axes.

⁶⁸ The 2nd division was led by Captain Charles Malo comte de Lameth, an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau until May 1781, the 3rd by Captain Georges Henry Victor Collot, also a former aide-de-camp to Rochambeau, and the fourth by Louis Alexandre Berthier, whose journal was published in Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, pp. 221-282, and upon which (p. 246) this paragraph is based. Somewhat different numbers are given in Destler, *Provisions State*, p. 54

been allowed 300 pounds, each lieutenant 150 pounds of baggage for a total of 1,500 pounds per regiment distributed on wagons drawn by 4 oxen each. The staff was allowed a separate wagon; a wagon for stragglers completed the regimental assignment of twelve wagons.⁶⁹ Besides their muskets, the soldiers, dressed in gaiters, wigs, and tight-fitting woolen underwear, carried equipment weighing almost 60 pounds. Behind the regimental train followed the three wagons assigned to Blanchard, and the division's hospital wagons. Eight wagons carried the military chest under the supervision of chief treasurer Monsieur de Baulay.⁷⁰ Wagons for the butchers, loaded with bread, with fodder, the "King's stock," and the brigade of wheelwrights and shoeing smiths brought up the rear. Even the Provost had his own wagon for the instruments of his trade. The make-up of the 2nd through 4th divisions followed the same pattern. Behind their QMG guide came the individual regiments, followed by a quarter of the field artillery, part of the baggage train of the headquarters staff led by the baggage of the general in charge of the division and the field hospital down to wheelwrights and shoeing smiths.

In order to avoid having to march in the heat of the day, the regiments got up early: *veille* was around 2:00 a.m., by 4:00 a.m. the regiments were on their way. The next campsite, usually 12 to 15 miles away, was reached between 8:00 a.m. and noon, and the soldiers set up their tents.⁷¹ Afterwards they received meat, bread, and supplies "in front of the camp."⁷² Until Newtown was reached "we were much too far from the enemy to take any other precautions than those, which our own discipline required,"⁷³ and the convoy proceeded "hardly militarily." The general officers lodged in a near-by tavern, the company-grade officers slept, two to a tent, with their men. The early arrival provided an opportunity to meet the locals who came from afar to see the French, and for dancing with the "beautiful maidens" of Connecticut; music courtesy of the regimental bands.

7.2 The March through Connecticut, June 18-July 3, 1781

The description of Connecticut from the *Americanische Reissbeschreibung* of Georg Daniel Flohr is typical for that found in other journals. It contains, in a nutshell, all of the major events along the route. His regiment, the Royal Deux-Ponts, which formed the second division, left Newport on June 10, 1781, for Providence. Then, "On June 19 we broke camp and marched 15 miles to Waterman's House, a pretty Gentleman's manor and set up camp there. On the 20th we broke camp there again and marched 15 miles to Plainfield, again a beautiful Gentleman's manor in a beautiful area. On the 21st again 15 miles to Windham, a little town, On the 22nd 16 miles to Bolton, also a little town in the mountains. On the 23rd 11 miles until Hartford, a rather large town on a much-navigated river, which

⁶⁹ All numbers from Berthier, "Journal," p. 246. Closen, *Journal*, p. 84, writes: "the general allotted 14 wagons to a regiment, two for each general officer and 2 for his six aides-de-camp. He kept only 4 for himself." Scott, "Wagoners," gives each regiment 15 wagons and five each to the general officers.

⁷⁰ I have been unable to identify "de Baulay," also spelled "de Baulny" in the Newport quartering records.

⁷¹ Soldiers slept eight to a tent according to their *chambrées*, the precursors of the modern infantry squad.

⁷² Closen, *Journal*, p. 85.

⁷³ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 113.

therefore has a lot of trade. There we had rest days until the 27th.⁷⁴

On the 27th we broke camp from there again and marched 12 miles to Farmington, a little town. As soon as we had set up our camp there and the Turkish Music could be heard playing prettily, such a large number of inhabitants assembled there that one was surprised and had to wonder where all these people were coming from since we had encountered very few houses along our way during the daytime. This coming together of inhabitants continued to happen every day. As soon as we reached another camp we were immediately surrounded by Americans. Among them one saw very few male persons however but only women folk: if one saw a man among them it was unfailingly an old man or a cripple because all men folk from their 14th until their 60th year had to join the colors. Because of this there was a great dearth of men there. Almost everyone there nearly perished since the English treated them very badly at the time. But there was no lack of women folk, which is why they oftentimes came into our camp to buy out soldiers from among us which was denied them however very curtly so that they had to go home again with empty hands.

On the 28th we departed again from there and marched 13 miles to Barne's Tavern, an inn along the road. We set up our camp very close to it. We again had very numerous visits from the American maidens who circled the camp on horseback and who appeared just like English horsemen. This afternoon our MM generals gave a ball on the open field in front of our camp and invited the American maidens to it. This lasted into the dark night. All joy could be seen there what with dancing and singing as well with the soldiers as with the officers who had fun with the English girls. After that we went to sleep in our tents, but the girls went home all sad.

On the 29th we broke camp again and marched 13 miles to Break Neck, a little town in the mountains in a most beautiful area where the entertainments were even greater what with dancing and frolicking with the lovely beautiful American girls who lived there. All these entertainments took place in the open air.

On the 30th we broke camp again and marched 13 miles until Newtown, a little town; along the way we encountered a nice hamlet called Gutbahr,⁷⁵ about 2 English miles long. We set up our camp quite close to Newtown and had rest days there, which caused us especially great joy to have time to have fun with the beautiful girls.

On July 3 we broke camp again and marched 16 miles to Ridgebury; along the way we passed through a hamlet called Danbury. We set our camp up near Ridgebury, a beautiful Gentleman's manor; there we had numerous visits again.

On the 4th again 10 miles to Bedford, quite close to the North River and New York.

On the 5th we made 7 miles to North Castle."

With the arrival in North Castle, the regiment had crossed over into New York.

Flohr's account of the march through Connecticut is singular in that it was written by an enlisted man: needs to be compared with, and supplemented by, the accounts of officers. The most useful are those of Baron Cloisen and Cromot du Bourg, both aides-de-camp to Rochambeau, of Lieutenant Clermont-Crèveceur, who marched with the

⁷⁴ From here on Flohr's timetable for the march is off by a day until the departure again from White Plains; he left Hartford on June 26, not June 27, 1781.

⁷⁵ Guthbar has not been identified, I assume he is talking about Southbury.

artillery in the first division, Captain Berthier, the Assistant Quarter-Master General guide of the 4th division, and of comte de Lauberdière.⁷⁶

In the early morning of June 19, the first division crossed into Connecticut (**SITE 1**), "one of the most productive in cattle, wheat, and every kind of commodity," so Clermont-Crèveœur. "It is unquestionably the most fertile province in America, for its soil yields everything necessary to life. The pasture is so good here that the cattle are of truly excellent quality. The beef is exceptionally good. The poultry and game are exquisite." A few lines farther down, the young lieutenant called Connecticut "one of America's best provinces. ... You would think yourself in Europe when you cast your eyes over the orchards, the apple trees, and the fields. The landscape is the same. This country has a very healthy and salubrious climate. We have seen old people here of both sexes who enjoy perfect health at a very advanced age. Their old age is gay and amiable, and not at all burdened with the infirmities that are our lot in our declining years. The people of this province are very hard-working, but they do not labor to excess, as our peasants do. They cultivate only for their physical needs. The sweat of their brow is not expended on satisfying the extravagant desires of the rich and luxury loving; they limit themselves to enjoying what is truly necessary. Foreigners are cordially welcomed by these good people. You find a whole family bustling about to make you happy. Such are the general characteristics of the people of Connecticut."(3) Young comte de Lauberdière voiced even stronger emotions in a stream-of-consciousness description of Connecticut in which he laments the end of innocence of this earthly paradise: "A charming simplicity of manners reigns throughout this land. The war is a scourge, of which they feel the full weight, but within their families nothing can trouble them, they display a happy air about them. ... New Englanders ... quietly work their fields" without seeking unnecessary comforts. "Their charming daughters ... truly meet the concept that people have formed of shepherdesses and which one does not encounter in Europe any more outside pastoral plays and in poems. ... Happiness seemed to be the destiny of these lands before the war, but: O Europeans! You have discovered this vast continent, and you have soiled it with your transgressions. You have established colonies here the laws, the morals of which are supposed to provide happiness. You will change the one and tarnish the other. Already emigrants from all nations abound ... they will introduce the caprice, the morals of Europe ... (sic) but I will stop here and quit an image that hurts me to trace and which I will never finish."⁷⁷

All journals agree that Plainfield, their first stop, was but "a collection of about thirty houses around its *meeting-house*" (1), which was reached "on very bad roads. The

⁷⁶ In order to identify the quotes but also to keep the footnotes to a minimum, all quotes from the Closen journal in this section are identified as (1), Cromot du Bourg as (2), Clermont-Crèveœur as (3), Berthier as (4), and Lauberdière as (5). Since both the route as well as the campsites proper are the topic of separate reports within the current "Rochambeau in Connecticut" project, they are not covered here in any detail.

⁷⁷ An analysis of the criticism of French aristocratic society, and its implication for the French Revolution of 1789, outlined in this description of the unspoiled society found in New England society, (a description *cum* criticism found in many journals and letters but which is not included in descriptions of southern states such as Virginia), might be very rewarding, since the comte de Clermont-Crèveœur was among the "rich and luxury-loving" whose "extravagant desires" were satisfied with "the sweat of the[ir] brow" of the French peasantry, but unfortunately such a task goes beyond the scope of the current study.

artillery and supply wagons arrived very late," though the late arrival was partly due to the troops not being used to marching after almost a year in Newport. (3) The campsite was located beyond Plainfield, "on the right bordered by a forest and on the left by the road to Cantorbery (sic)." (5) (SITE 2) Rochambeau and some of his officers stayed with Captain Eleazar Cady (SITE 3); others were put up in the Eaton Tavern (SITE 4).⁷⁸

By the time the fourth division reached Plainfield, word had spread about the French music and "[a]ll the people in the neighborhood came to visit our camps. We furnished the music and they danced. Each day there was a new party." (4) "It should be remarked," so Clermont-Crèveœur, "that on our arrival in each camp crowds of natives from the vicinity came running up to watch us pass but especially to listen to the music of our regimental bands. Enchanted to find charming young ladies in our midst, our generals and colonels had the musicians play each evening and invited the girls to dance. Thus we relaxed from the fatigues of the day." (3) But the natives did not just come to party: they came to sell their produce as well. "We lived very well during our passage through this province. The poultry here is excellent and quite cheap. The Americans crowded round, not only to hear the bands, but also loaded with every sort of produce, so that the camp was a continual market, offering the most delicious wares." (3)

While the troops simply passed through Canterbury on their way from Plainfield to Windham, the comte de Lauberdière "spent the afternoon most pleasantly with a *country squire* (sic)" in this community of eight or ten houses. The gentleman, possibly a Tory, "had come to this place to see the French army" pass by, but had apparently arrived too late. "He has such an idea of the French" that Lauberdière had to "assure him that I really was one, he didn't want to believe me, and said to me that I had to be Scottish, that I was too white (i.e., light-skinned) for a Frenchman." The squire also thought that Lauberdière was too nice to be French: he knew that "people from that country were neither that polite nor that well mannered." Sitting most likely in what is today known as the Francis Homestead, young comte Lauberdière did his best to convince the gentleman that "all my compatriots use the same honesty toward all the world, even toward the English once they became our prisoners." The Connecticut Tory was pleased to hear that "since he was about to return to his neighbors and he could undeceive them as far as we were concerned, that he was delighted to have been given the opportunity to do us justice and that he would forever forget the false prejudices with which he had been filled (by the English) against us. We parted as the best of friends." (SITE 5)

From Plainfield to Windham they marched past the birthplace of Samuel Huntington, a signer of the Declaration of Independence,⁷⁹ and on to Scotland, "a small emerging place where nature is still quite wild."⁸⁰ (5) Shortly before Windham the troops passed

⁷⁸ Crofut, *Guide*, Vol. 2, p. 853; Forbes and Chapman, *France and New England* Vol. 1, p. 139. See also Marian D. Terry, *Old Inns of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1937), pp. 235-237.

⁷⁹ The Huntington Homestead is a National Historic Landmark. Samuel, Governor from 1786 to 1796, had moved to Norwich in 1760, and was no longer living in the house when the French marched past in 1781.

⁸⁰ I have been unable to locate the "fourteen *Wells*, (sic) dug in 1781 to provide water for Rochambeau's troops during their encampment here" mentioned in WPA *Guide*, p. 547, as being located about 0.7 miles east of the "Frog Pond" and about 2.1 miles west of the Huntington Homestead.

the Frog Pond, (SITE 6) scene of the Battle of the Frogs of June 1754.⁸¹ Local lore has it that French soldiers, perhaps tired of poultry and beef, "hunted for frogs as soon as they had pitched their tents, and according to the stories we heard it would seem as if the army lived on little else."⁸²

Windham was reached around 10 a.m., since "the roads were better." Baron Closen found Windham "a charming market town, where, incidentally, there were many pretty women at whose homes we passed the afternoon very agreeably. ... As we are still far from the enemy we occupy camps only for convenience, and the distribution of forage, bread, meat, and wood ordinarily is made in front of the camp." (1) Others too found the situation of the little town "of 100 to 150 homes "most agreeable. A mile away is a beautiful river (the Shetucket) with a fine wooden bridge. We camped on its banks very comfortably, though hardly militarily." (3) (SITE 7) About "an hour after our arrival, a fire broke out in the woods on the left of the camp. We employed three hundred men, in trying to put it out, but did not succeed. The fire burnt only the brush and did not attack the large trees. This accident," so William de Deux-Ponts of the Royal Deux-Ponts, "appalling in every other country, caused no excitement among the Americans, whose country is full of forests. Sometimes they are even glad, because it saves them the trouble of cutting down the trees to clear the land."⁸³

On their way to Bolton the following day, the army marched through Columbia, part of Lebanon until 1804, and called Lebanon Crank in the eighteenth century. Located at the intersection of U.S. Routes 87 and 66, Columbia boasted a number of inns at the time of the American Revolutionary War, most importantly Mrs. Hill's "Lebanon Crank Inn," where the marquis de Chastellux had stayed overnight in November 1780.⁸⁴ (SITE 8)

From Windham to Bolton, "a very small town," of maybe ten or twelve houses and a church, "the roads were frightful, with mountains and very steep grades." Describing the camp in Bolton, Clermont-Crèvecoeur adds "that often we have great difficulty finding a level spot on which to pitch a camp." (SITE 9) Baron Closen recorded in his journal that "[w]e reached Bolton with the greatest difficulty, since all the roads were terrible. ... Part of [Bolton] is half-way up a hill, at the foot of which we camped."⁸⁵ (SITE 10)

The officers above company grade who did not camp with the troops stayed either at Oliver "White's Tavern" across from the campsite at the south-east corner of Brandy

⁸¹ Lillian Marsh Higbee, *A Mystery of 1754. An Account of the Batrachian Battle. The Tale of Deflated Greenbacks* (Willimantic, n.d.). I am grateful to Mrs. Marge Hoskins for providing me a copy of this delightful pamphlet published by the Windham Historical Society.

⁸² Forbes, "Marches," p. 271. A note to the "Plan for Marching the Army from Providence to King's Ferry" in Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 11, states that "At Windham the troops will draw bread from the bakeries at Lebanon."

⁸³ Deux-Ponts, *Campaigns*, p. 113.

⁸⁴ The building is today known as The Landmark. The Rice-Soracchi House, which today houses the library, also used to be an inn, but it is dated at circa 1800 and there is no evidence that officers stayed there. Chastellux' description can be found in Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782* Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed. 2 Vols., (Chapel Hill, 1963), Vol. 1, p. 71.

⁸⁵ Closen was marching the first few days with his regiment rather than as an aide to Rochambeau, which explains why he is at Bolton with the Royal Deux-Ponts, a day's march behind the first division.

Street and Bolton Center Road (**SITE 11**) or at Daniel "White's Tavern at the sign of the Black Horse" on Hutchinson Road.⁸⁶ (**SITE 12**) Rochambeau himself spent the night in the home of the Rev. George Colton,⁸⁷ on whose land the troops camped.⁸⁸ (**SITE 13**)

Bolton, a community of maybe 10 or 12 houses centered around a Presbyterian church (5), provided by all accounts an exciting campground. On June 15, 1781, just six days before the first French troops were to camp there, Jeremiah Wadsworth "urged" the inhabitants "to some exertions" in his need for forage. The letter, one of many in Wadsworth's papers relating to the purchase of supplies for the French Army, sheds light on the mixture of threats and flattery Wadsworth had to employ to accomplish his goal. He appealed to their sense of duty and the profits to be made: "Never let it be told that Twenty Ton of hay could not be found for hard money in the Town of Bolton for the French Army. Our Enemies will believe we are not in earnest to oppose them; our Friends will have reason to complain." "I have offered a generous price in hard Money for it," Wadsworth wrote, but "I have no prospect of success." The alternative was seizure, and in a thinly veiled threat he reminded the patriotic citizens of Bolton that that was a possibility as well, though he was "certain the Command. General of the French Army would be exceedingly distressed to be reduced to the necessity of supplying his army by force."⁸⁹ We do not know whether the hay was delivered in time.

On June 22, the 2nd division arrived in Bolton. In the afternoon Colonel Christian de Deux-Ponts ordered the band of his regiment to play as had become customary. For some reason, however, he had failed to ask the permission of baron de Vioménil, the commanding officer of the division. According to Gabriel-Gaspard baron de Gallatin, a *sous-lieutenant* in the Royal Deux-Ponts, a row between the two officers ensued and Christian ordered the band to cease playing. But as the daily concert had apparently become a source of revenue for the musicians of the band, Vioménil, who dared not order

⁸⁶ Rochambeau and Admiral Ternay had dined at the "Black Horse Tavern" on September 20, 1780, while on their way to Hartford to meet Washington and again on their way back. He also dined there in May 1781 on his way to and from the Wethersfield meeting with Washington. Since Ternay had died in December 1780, Rochambeau was accompanied by the marquis de Chastellux on that occasion.

⁸⁷ That is how I interpret Cromot du Bourg's line: "The host of M. de Rochambeau was a minister at least six feet three inches in height." *Magazine of American History* 4 (April 1880), pp. 293-308, p. 293.

⁸⁸ Baron Clozen wrote that "Part of [Bolton] is half-way up a hill, *at the foot of which* we camped." This line (my emphasis) seems to indicate that only the Bourbonnais and the first division, which included Clermont-Crèveœur, camped on Rev. Colton's property, today's Rose Farm, while the other divisions, both on their way to Yorktown as well as on their way back, camped at the foot of the hill close to where the Andover Bicentennial Commission unveiled a plaque on July 4, 1976 (**Site 10**). See Philip D. Brass, *The History of Andover, Connecticut* (Andover Historical Society, 1991), pp. 56-58, argues that way. Crofut, *History*, Vol. 2, p. 786, also wants "to locate the fifth camp as about two miles beyond the meetinghouse." That would follow Clozen, since the Meeting House stood right next to the campsite. But then she places the camp for the return march "two miles east of the former camp in the northwest corner of the present Andover County (then Coventry), and just before reaching the Skunkamaug River" along present U.S. Route 6. Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, pp. 133/190, assume that all troops camped on the Rose Farm property in June 1781 but at a different campsite along the Hop River in November 1782. Andover was incorporated from parts of Coventry and Hebron in 1848.

⁸⁹ Connecticut Historical Society, Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers, Box 153, Letter Book D, Page 33. I am very grateful to Mark Sutcliffe for bringing this letter to my attention.

the band to strike up again, gave them "a *louis*" (24 livres) to make up for the lost income.⁹⁰ That left each musician with 1 livre 12 sous, almost a week's wages.⁹¹

While all this was happening on the campground, Reverend Colton, the "Presbyterian minister, in this town, a large, fleshy man, very prosperous, married, but childless, suggested to the wife of the grenadier, (Adam) *Gabel* (sic), of the Royal Deux-Ponts, that she leave him one of her daughters. He would adopt the four-year-old as his own child, in return for some 30 louis to ease the campaign for her. The grenadier and his wife, who were very much attached to this child of four, steadily refused M. *Coleban's* (sic) offer, and thus proved their fine character and disinterest. This proposed sale was published in all the gazettes, even in France." (1) Cromot du Bourg, Closen's fellow aide-de-camp, remembered the incident as well: "We came to Bolton with the greatest difficulty imaginable, so frightful were the roads. The host of M. de Rochambeau was a minister at least six feet three inches in height.⁹² ... This man, whose name was Cotton (sic), offered the wife of a grenadier to adopt her child, to secure his fortune and to give her for herself thirty Louis in money. She repeatedly refused."⁹³ Traveling through Bolton a few days later, Lauberdière too seems to have encountered the Rev. Colton as well. While describing Bolton he wrote that in Connecticut ministers are "highly considered, highly respected, they are always dressed in black, and in order to give them-selves even more importance, they wear enormous whigs of very frizzy blue hair."

The next stop was in East Hartford for a few days of rest. (**SITE 14**) The Bourbonnais occupied the campsite near the Connecticut River from June 22 through June 24; the Saintonge used the site from June 25 through the 27th. The Royal Deux-Ponts camped beside them from June 23 through June 25, while the Soissonnais camped along the road from Bolton from June 24 to June 26 on today's Silver Lane. (**SITES 15 and 16**).

Goodwin reports that "Rochambeau was quartered at Squire Eliza Pitkin's (**SITE 17**), not far from the old meeting house, which was used as a hospital during the sojourn of the army. ... Other French officers stayed at both private and public houses," such as Richard Pitkin's Tavern (**SITE 18**), "and stories of the dances, barbecues, and cattle roasts were told locally for many years. The Abbé Robin, a Catholic priest with the French army, reported that during this encampment he said the first Catholic Mass in the State of Connecticut, which would have been most likely on Sunday, June 24, 1781."⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Rudolf Karl Tröss, "Die Regimentsmusik von Royal-Deux-Ponts vor Yorktown" in Tröss, *Royal-Deux-Ponts*, pp. 70-76, p. 70, gives the strength of the regimental band as 15 musicians.

⁹¹ Warrington Dawson, "Un Garde suisse de Louis XVI au service de l'Amérique" *Le correspondant* Vol. 324, Nr. 1655, (September 10, 1931), pp. 672-692, p. 675.

⁹² Colton, the "High Priest of Bolton," was 6' 8" tall. He purchased the property known as the "Minister's Farm" from the heirs of the Rev. Thomas White in 1764 and lived there until his death in 1817.

⁹³ Information on Gabel, a thirty-year-old veteran with eleven years of service, can be found in the *contrôles*, the enlistment records of the regiment in Archives de Guerre, 1 YC 869, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, France. I am very grateful to Sam Scott who generously loaned me microfilm copies of the *contrôles* of all of Rochambeau's regiments in his possession.

⁹⁴ See Forbes and Chapman, *France in New England* Vol. 1, p. 142, where the date is given as June 26. Research on Lauzun's Legion and its winter quarters in Lebanon in 1780/81 during Phase II of this project may well show that the first Catholic mass in Connecticut was said in Lebanon for Lauzun's hussars.

After being stored in the house of James S. Forbes⁹⁵ on Forbes Street (**SITE 19**), kegs of silver were opened at the French encampment to pay soldiers and officers, presumably giving the name of "'Silver Lane' to that locality."⁹⁶ These lines show how local lore had mixed with history by the time Goodwin wrote his history of East Hartford in 1879.⁹⁷

As already noted, the sign on **Site 15**, commemorating "the officers || and men of the French Army ... who camped near this spot in 1781," identifies Camp 6 of the Regiment Soissonnais only; the other three regiments camped nearer the river as indicated in contemporary maps.⁹⁸ Silver Lane, according to Hughes and Allen's study of *Connecticut Place Names*, may well have received its name from a silversmith who resided there almost 20 years before the first French troops marched down that road.⁹⁹ That does not mean, however, that Rochambeau's troops were not paid while in Hartford with money stored in Mr. Forbes' house. Rochambeau carted large amounts of cash with him: Admiral Barras had brought about 1.2 million livres in silver with him, part of a total of 6.6 million made available to Rochambeau, when he came ashore in Boston on May 6, 1781. French troops were paid on time, so punctually, in fact, that Sturgill states that "to my knowledge the Crown did not miss paying a single unit or officer on time during the eighteenth century."¹⁰⁰ The troops were so accustomed to getting paid that not a single primary source mentions this, or any other, payday! French troops were paid monthly in advance; they were quartered in Hartford between June 22 and June 27, and since they were on a march, it is quite possible that they were paid earlier than usual.¹⁰¹

The journals have surprisingly little to say about Hartford where general headquarters were located: "a large town, divided in two by the river that is named after the province. It is quite well built with some pretty houses, but the streets are not paved,"(3) "quite a considerable place divided by a river of the same name,"(2) "the capital of the province of Connecticut, is situated on the west bank of the river of that name ... large, well-built, with a fine state house and some very wealthy inhabitants" (4) are typical comments. The comte de Lauberdière described Hartford as a town of "three to four hundred houses, the streets are not paved, they are quite wide, the *Court House* (sic. **SITES 20 and 21**) where the general assembly of the state meets is very large and beautiful."¹⁰² ... The province of Connecticut abounds with pasturage; the animals here are of the greatest beauty. They also grow wheat here of which they ship the flour to the Antilles."(5)

⁹⁵ Since payment was in silver the troops were paid in livres, since the Spanish Pieces of Eight were made of gold. James S. Forbes owned the house in the 1870s when Goodwin wrote his history; in 1781 its owner was Timothy Forbes, who is said to have driven a wagon loaded with silver to White Plains.

⁹⁶ Crofut, *Guide*, Vol. 1, p. 188. I could not find the *Exercises at the unveiling of a tablet to commemorate the camping of the French army under Count de Rochambeau, on Silver Lane in 1781 & in 1782, East Hartford, Connecticut, June 17, 1928* (Hartford, 1928) listed as held by the Connecticut State Library.

⁹⁷ Joseph O. Goodwin, *East Hartford: Its History and Traditions* (Hartford, 1879), pp. 88-91.

⁹⁸ Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, maps 19 and 32.

⁹⁹ Arthur H. Huges and Morse S. Allen, *Connecticut Place Names* (Hartford, 1976), p. 140.

¹⁰⁰ Sturgill, "Money", p. 18. There is no indication that the troops were paid closer to the end of the month when they were encamped in Newtown or Ridgebury.

¹⁰¹ All budgets ran on a calendar year of 12 months of 30 days each. "The Crown usually did not pay for the other five or six days per year. Why? No reason is ever given." Ibid.

¹⁰² The present State House was built only in 1796; the French troops saw an earlier edifice.

On afternoon of the 23rd, Baron Closen rode to Wethersfield, "a charming village 4 miles below Hartford; from the church tower I saw an extremely beautiful view, as in a panorama." The next day, "in the afternoon" Cromot du Bourg went to Wethersfield as well (as did apparently Clermont-Crèveœur). He too "went up into the steeple of the church and saw the richest country I had yet seen in America." (2) The soldiers may not have been able to get a birds-eye view of the country, but their superiors worried about them nevertheless. Closen wrote that his regiment "by that time had lost three men, and the Soissonnais, 9; it is to be hoped that desertion will not increase, since all Germans find it attractive in the interior of the country to become farmers or *field-servants*." (1) The next day, the 25th, the first division crossed the ferry into Hartford¹⁰³ and marched on to Farmington via West Hartford, where a field hospital had been established by Blanchard. Blanchard had arrived in Hartford on June 18; "on the 19th, I was particularly busy with a hospital which we were establishing at Hartford," near the Second Meeting House.¹⁰⁴ (SITES 22 and 23) West Hartford is described as consisting of "a few houses (which) form this place, the quality of its soil and its agriculture make it remarkable."(5)"

"The road" to Farmington and the seventh camp was "fine enough," (2) "the village, tucked into the bottom of a pleasant valley, very pretty."(3) Farmington was "a very sizeable village" where "much woolen cloth is manufactured."¹⁰⁵ Rochambeau and some of his officers boarded at Phinehas Lewis' Elm Tree Inn, (SITES 24 and 25) others stayed at Peter Curtis' Tavern, while the troops camped on the plains south of Farmington along the road to Asa Barnes' Tavern, their next destination.

The march to Barnes' Tavern and camp 8 (SITE 26) "was not fatiguing; the roads were very fine," so Closen. Most of the troops put up tents in that part of Southington called Marion at the foot of what is still known as French Hill¹⁰⁶ and where Barnes's

¹⁰³ The Hartford ferries consisted of two large flat-bottomed boats, capable of carrying two wagons and several horses at a time, and two smaller boats that could carry nine to ten horses at a time, propelled by oars. Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 2, p. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Crofut, *Guide* Vol. 1, p. 71. The site of a second hospital for soldiers with contagious diseases, if it ever existed, has not been located, but it was not near Reservoir Six on the east slope of Talcott Mountain in West Hartford. I am grateful to Connecticut Historical Commission staff archaeologist Dr. David A. Poirier for granting me access to a restricted file dealing with this issue.

¹⁰⁵ See *Exercises to commemorate the visit of GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU during the Revolutionary War and to DEDICATE A TABLET in his honor* (Hartford, 1926) as well as *Hartford Daily Times*, October 2, 1926: "Rochambeau's Farmington Camp Will Have Its Memory Burnished." See also Christopher P. Bickford, *Farmington in Connecticut* (Canaan, 1982), pp. 185-187. I am grateful to Mrs. Ann J. Arcari, Farmington Room Librarian at the Farmington Public Library for information on the Elm Tree Inn.

¹⁰⁶ General Federation of Women's Clubs-Southington Woman's Club, Inc., *Southington's Sculpture and other Interesting Legacies* (Southington, n.d., circa 1990s), p. 49, Site 19: French Hill, "A component of the Rochambeau army was an Irish Brigade" is incorrect. The story has been perpetuated ever since the Rochambeau Monument was put up by the Irish Historical Society in 1912. The Irish Brigade in the French army of the *ancien régime* - Dillon, Berwick, and Walsh -- was nowhere near Connecticut in the summer of 1781. Dillon was stationed in Martinique from March 1779 to September 1783. Walsh was there from April 1778 to March 1784, and Berwick arrived in Martinique in September 1782. A month after Yorktown the grenadiers and chasseurs of Walsh and Dillon participated in the conquest of St. Eustatius under General de Bouillé. The story may have its origins in the fact that the three brothers François, Guillaume, and Robert Dillon served as officers in Lauzun's Legion, Robert as *colonel-en-second* until he took over the legion after the siege of Yorktown. But they were all French-born officers of Irish descent. Among the

Tavern is located. (**SITE 27**) Some of the officers stayed at Barnes', others "at an inn on Queen Street," i.e., Deming's Tavern 6 miles away on the other side of town and at Daniel Allen's Tavern half-way in-between.¹⁰⁷ The troops arrived at the site early, Berthier' fourth division started setting up camp at 8:00 a.m., and after a good days' rest, they were ready for some fun. Private Flohr, as we have seen, entered into his diary: "On the 28th (i.e., 27th) we marched 13 miles to Barnes' Tavern, an inn along the road. We set up our camp very close to it. We again had very numerous visits from the American maidens who circled the camp on horseback and who appeared just like English horsemen. This afternoon our MM generals gave a ball on the open field in front of our camp and invited the American maidens to it. This lasted into the dark night. All joy could be seen there what with dancing and singing as well with the soldiers as with the officers who had fun with the English girls. After that we went to sleep in our tents, but the girls went home all sad."¹⁰⁸

The commanding generals and colonels seemed to vie with each other for the biggest entertainment: when Berthier got to Asa Barnes' Tavern on the 29th, "we found many Americans and some pretty women in our camp. The comte de Charlus gave a big dinner for the prettiest ones, followed by a ball that lasted all night." Local lore has it that Mr. Barnes retired soon thereafter with the profits he made in four nights of entertainment.¹⁰⁹

From Barnes' Tavern the route went across "le mad river," so called, according to Lauberdière, because of the rocks and stones to Waterbury, a "village of 50-some houses" (**SITES 28 and 29**). As the French army was approaching New York, the hired drivers began to abandon the service and Rochambeau was forced to hire new men, seven of them in Waterbury alone.¹¹⁰

Five miles beyond the "Waterbury River" lay Breakneck, an assemblage of "two or three houses."¹¹¹ The roads were "détestables," and the first division reached Breakneck (in Middlebury) on June 27 only with "the greatest difficulty. ... the village is frightful and without resources." (2) If we believe the French officers, *Breakneck* justly deserved its name. "On ... the 28th, we were very weary before we got to *Breakneck*. It is rightly named, *casse-col*, for the stony roads and the endless mountains intersecting this area

officers of the legion was a single Irish-born officer, and among the enlisted men of the Legion were but two Irishmen, the Royal Deux-Ponts had another two Irishmen in its ranks, and there were a handful more in Rochambeau's remaining units.

¹⁰⁷ Heman R. Timlow, *Ecclesiastical and other Sketches of Southington, CT.* (Hartford, 1875), pp. 415/562.

¹⁰⁸ Luciannah Smith remembered those days into her old age. See Susan E. M. Jocelyn, "An Anecdote of Count Rochambeau in Connecticut" *Connecticut Magazine* Vol. 11, Nr. 3, (1907), pp. 425-428, and "America's tribute to France; Ode to Comte de Rochambeau" *ibid.*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (1907), pp. 262-62.

¹⁰⁹ The story of Barnes' retirement is told, among others, in Mabel S. Hurlburt, *Farmington Town Clerks and their Times* (Farmington and Hartford, 1943), p. 98, as well as in *Honor and Glory to the Brave and Chivalrous: Count Rochambeau, Commander of the French and Irish Allies encamped at Southington, June 1781* (Southington, n.d., 1912?), p. 3.

¹¹⁰ See Forbes and Chapman, *France and New England*, Vol. 1, p. 149, and Henry Bronson, *The History of Waterbury* (Waterbury, 1858), p. 359. In Ridgebury, at young man named Thomas Boughton is said to have joined up as a teamster for Rochambeau, marching all the way to Yorktown and back the next year.

¹¹¹ Breakneck is part of the present town of Middlebury, which was incorporated as a separate town long after the war in 1807.

make it very disagreeable for travelers," so Baron Closen. Clermont-Crèveœur's detachment of artillery in the first division did not reach the camp at "Break Neck or, in French, 'casse-cou,' a most appropriate name indeed ...until after three in the morning" on the 28th, just as the infantry was getting ready for the next day's march! "Our horses could do no more, so we had to commandeer all the oxen we passed and go far afield to find others in order to reach camp with our guns. Many of our wagons broke down. We never had a worse day, considering the fatigues and misfortunes we endured. The village contains few houses. These are widely scattered and very ugly."(3) Apparently the only sight worth mentioning in all journals seem to have been sawmills which could saw ten planks at a time. **(SITES 30 and 31)**

But even the bad roads did not stop the entertainments: Private Flohr remembered Breakneck as "a little town in the mountains in a most beautiful area where the entertainments were even greater what with dancing and frolicking with the lovely beautiful American girls who lived there." Baron Closen too remembered the "Two very pretty young ladies whom we found in M. de Vioménil's quarters (and who) seemed to have fallen from the clouds to receive us and console us a little for the fatigues of the day. Our artillery and wagons arrived only at nine o'clock in the evening, piece by piece."(1) One of the two "beautiful maidens," which Laubardière thought "looked very much like the queen of France," may well have been Esther, the daughter of Josiah Bronson, who kept a tavern at the foot of Breakneck Hill, and who is reported to have locked her up for fear she would elope with a French officer. **(SITE 32)**

After a few hours rest, Clermont-Crèveœur and his artillery marched on to Newtown via Woodbury and Southbury **(SITE 33)**. They crossed the Housatonic River, called the "Stratford" or "Little Stratford" river by the French, **(SITE 34)** "on a bridge which is rather remarkably constructed, in that all the timber-work is supported, without pillars, by the thrusts of 3 intersecting arches." (1) The bridge was presumably built in late 1778 when "his Excellency Gen^l Washington sent a part of his army and Built a Bridge across the great river between s^d Towns (i.e. Woodbury and Newtown) at Hinman's Ferry for the benefit of the army on their March."¹¹² The bridge called "Carleton's Bridge," sat on piers made of framed boxes filled with pebbles.¹¹³

Upon arrival in Newtown, the staff officers boarded in Caleb Baldwin's Tavern **(SITE 36)**, while the tents of the soldiers stretched all the way back to today's Church Hill Road.¹¹⁴ **(SITES 35)**, Jeremiah Wadsworth and his agents had waiting for them in Newtown 2.520 bushel of corn, 316 1/2 bushels of oats, 62 tons 5 cwt of hay, 19 tons of straw, 22 1/2 cords of wood, and 20 head of beef cattle.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Taken from a memorial of October 7, 1780, to the General Assembly of Connecticut by the towns of Woodbury and Newtown. Quoted in Crofut, *Guide*, Vol. 1, p. 456.

¹¹³ The bridge is clearly visible on the map of the route reproduced in Rice and Brown, eds., *Rochambeau's Army*, Vol. 2, map 22.

¹¹⁴ Blanchard had once again preceded the troops and arrived in Newtown "a hundred houses with two temples" on June 23, a Saturday, and lodged near one of the "temples," most likely Baldwin's Tavern, which sits near the Trinity Church. On Sunday "I was rejoined at Newtown, where I spent the whole day, by M. de Sançon, my secretary, and some surgeons and apothecaries. I pointed out to them the site which I had selected for the hospital." Blanchard, *Journal*, pp. 111/12. The site of the hospital has not been located.

¹¹⁵ All figures from Destler, "Newtown," p. 18.

Newtown was "full of Tories." The "troops suffered much hardship there, since they camped in a very stony field infested with snakes and adders. One soldier was bitten on the right arm and disabled by it."(1) For the first time the soldiers "saw much poverty there among the inhabitants as well as ruined fields and houses. This is the capital of the Tory country, and as you may well imagine, we took great precautions to protect ourselves from their acts of cruelty. They usually strike by night, when they go out in bands, attack a post, then retire to the woods where they bury their arms. ... These people are very difficult to identify, since an honest man and a scoundrel can look alike." (3)

The first division had rested at Newtown from the 28th through the 30th of June; Flohr and the second division arrived on the 29th and rested on the 30th. The Americans had already opened the campaigns, and Washington asked Rochambeau on the 30th "to put your first Brigade under march tomorrow Morning, the remaining Troops to follow as quick as possible, and endeavor to reach Bedford by the evening of the 2d. of July."¹¹⁶ As the French army was getting close to New York, Rochambeau re-organized his troops into brigades, the Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts forming the first brigade, the Soissonais and Saintonge forming the second, before setting out with the first brigade for Ridgebury via Danbury, a community of maybe 80 houses on July 1, Rochambeau's 56th birthday. In the evening, he received Washington's letter of June 30 and redirected his troops to North Castle the following day. The order to form brigades reached the 4th division around 10:00 p.m. on July 1, 1781, as it was resting in Newtown. "Without stopping here to rest, my (i.e., the 4th) division joined that of the comte de Vioménil (i.e., the 3rd) to form a brigade commanded by the latter and led by M. Collot. Our dances ceased and our camps became more military." (4) The next day "the Second Brigade left Newtown and marched 15 miles to Ridgebury, where it arrived at eleven o'clock. It was preceded on its march to the camp by an advance detachment of grenadiers and chasseurs. I was ordered to lead them and to choose a good position for them a mile ahead of the brigade on the road to New York, where they camped after stationing sentries at all points leading in from enemy territory."(4) The main body of the troops camped close to the Congregational Church (camp 11) along the road to Danbury, the advance guard about one mile south at the intersection of Old Stagecoach Road and Ridgebury Road. During the evening, soldiers of the advance guard raided the springs behind the tannery of Captain Henry Whiney: "The springs were dipped out, and the soldiers procured a very large quantity of frogs and were thus able to gratify their natural taste for this delicacy."¹¹⁷ The officers stayed at Samuel Keeler's tavern on Main Street.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 31, note 31.

¹¹⁷ See Silvio A. Bedini, *Ridgefield in Review* (Ridgefield, 1958), pp. 133-139, and George L. Rockwell, *The History of Ridgefield, Connecticut* (Ridgefield, 1927) p. 135.

¹¹⁸ "The building is no longer in existence, having been destroyed or removed at some time in the 19th century." Bedini, *Ridgefield*, p. 202. Local lore has identified a house as the Samuel Keeler tavern but there is no documentary evidence for that nor that any of Rochambeau's officers staid at Nehemiah or Timothy Keeler's tavern, which is today operated as the Keeler Tavern Museum. Nehemiah was a brother of Samuel.

Almost 75 years ago, local historian George Rockwell wrote that "There are no signs of the French Camps in Ridgebury at the present time. The land has been plowed and cultivated for over a century and all traces have disappeared."¹¹⁹

At midnight the second brigade received orders to proceed to North Castle, 22 miles away, where it where it arrived around 1:00 on July 3. Three days later Rochambeau's army joined the Continental Army at White Plains. Two days after his arrival at White Plains, Rochambeau wrote to the marquis de Ségur, minister of war: "We have covered 220 miles in eleven days of marching. There are not four provinces in France where we could have traveled with more order and economy and without lacking anything. ... there was not a single regimental officer, more than half of whom marched on foot, who wasn't fed by the general or superior officers, with rough food, without their being obliged to procure their own mess."¹²⁰ Cromot du Bourg thought that "it is impossible to march better than (the second brigade) has done the entire distance, or to show greater willingness; it is true that Messieurs de Custine and the vicomte de Noailles set the example by marching the entire distance on foot at the head of their regiments." Lauzun expressed similar sentiments: "The French army marched through America in perfect order and with perfect discipline, setting an example which neither the English nor the American army had ever furnished." Even if we admit for a dose of self-serving praise, there can be no doubt that the march to White Plains had been a major logistical achievement.

As the French troops were crossing into New York, the *Connecticut Courant* of July 3 reported that "A Finer body of men were never in arms, and no army was ever better furnished with every thing necessary for a campaign. The exact discipline of the troops, and the attention of the officers to prevent any injury to individuals, have made the march of this army through the country very agreeable to the inhabitants, and it is with pleasure we assure our readers that not a single disagreeable circumstance has taken place." That too may have been stretching the truth, but there can be no doubt that the French had behaved better than either British or American troops. More importantly, personal contact between Frenchmen and Americans had, if not changed, at least modified some of the age-old prejudices that the two nations had harbored about each other.

At White Plains, the French got to meet their American allies for the first time. Clermont-Crèvecœur and his fellow officers were in for a surprise: "In beholding this army I was struck, not by its smart appearance, but by its destitution: the men were without uniforms and covered with rags; most of them were barefoot. They were of all sizes, down to children who could not have been over fourteen. There were many negroes, mulattoes, etc." Baron Cloisen expressed similar emotions: "I had a chance to see the American army, man for man. It was really painful to see these brave men, almost naked with only some trousers and little linen jackets, most of them without stockings, but, would you believe it? Very cheerful and healthy in appearance. A quarter of them were negroes, merry, confident, and sturdy. ... Three quarters of the Rhode Island regiment consists of negroes, and that regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in its manœuvres (sic)." To Cromot du Bourg, the Continental

¹¹⁹ Rockwell, *Ridgefield*, p. 136.

¹²⁰ Quoted in Rice and Brown, eds., *American Campaigns*, Vol. 1, p. 33, n. 34.

Army seemed "to be in as good order as possible for an army composed of men without uniforms and with narrow resources." He too, like all observers, singled out the 1st Rhode Island Regiment for praise: "The Rhode Island Regiment, among others, is extremely fine," though it provided but a few hundred of the "great number of negroes in the army," whose total strength he estimated at "four thousand and some hundred men at the most."

The Americans may have been ragged and barefoot, but after six weeks rest at White Plains, and some French silver, they set out for Virginia together with their French allies. As the French forces marched through Philadelphia in early September 1781, the *Freeman's Journal* of September 5 reported that "the appearance of these troops far exceeds any thing of the kind seen on this continent, and presages the happiest success to the cause of America." That success came six weeks later before Yorktown where the Continental Army in close cooperation with their French allies on land and on sea forced Lord Cornwallis to surrender on October 21, 1781, the 3rd anniversary of Saratoga, the victory that had convinced France that the American rebellion was viable. The surrender of Cornwallis and his British and Germans troops meant the victory of that rebellion. Washington and his army did not tarry at Yorktown but the French spent the winter and spring of 1781/ 82 in and around Williamsburg. Ten months after their arrival, on July 1, 1782, Rochambeau's forces broke camp and began their march back to New England.

7.3 The Return March through Connecticut, October-November 1782

Organization and schedule of the march was almost identical to that of the previous year. The infantry marched again in four divisions a day apart:

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

This time, the siege artillery and 150 men of the Auxonne artillery remained at West Point, Virginia, as did 400 men, 100 each from each regiment as a garrison at Yorktown and of course the sick. Because of the excessive July heat, the troops began their march at 1:00 a.m., marching through the night.(1) Baltimore was reached on July 24, a week later the first units marched into Philadelphia. On September 17, the French joined the American army at Peekskill. A review that day gave the following strength:¹²¹

REGIMENT	PRESENT OFFICERS AND MEN	ABSENTEES	TOTAL
Bourbonnais	758	214	972
Soissonnais	768	228	996

¹²¹ These data again based on Keim, *Commemoration*. Of the absentees 477 were on special assignments, i.e., the artillery, and 631 in the hospital. Since the 700 men ship garrison as well as the 660 men reinforcements had joined Rochambeau's forces at Yorktown, the troop contingent is about 1,000 men larger than on the march south the previous year, where the strength of the army had stood at about 3,400 officers and men. Since neither the siege artillery nor the sick nor Lauzun's Legion made the return march, Rochambeau left Crompond with about 3,700 men, slightly more than had made the march in 1781.

Saintonge	799	195	994
Royal Deux-Ponts	798	172	970
Auxonne Artillery	312	190	502
Mineurs	0	22	22
Ouvriers	476	80	556

	3,911	1,101	5,012

On the 20th the army passed in review before General Washington before marching on to Hurst Tavern. Following a one-month rest at Crompond, New York, Rochambeau re-organized his troops into brigades. In the last week of October the 1st brigade, consisting of the Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, crossed into Connecticut. According to Flohr,

"On the 23rd of October we broke camp again and marched 15 miles to Danbury, a little town in the mountains in an agreeable area. We set up camp quite close to it. This is where the Province of New England begins.

On the 24th we broke camp again and marched 10 miles until Newtown, a pretty little town in the mountains. We set up camp quite close to it and had a rest day.

On the 26th we broke camp and marched 18 miles until Break Neck. Along the way we passed a town named Gutbahr 3 English miles long. We set up camp near Break Neck.

On the 27th we broke camp again and marched 15 miles until Barne's Tavern, an inn where we set our camp up in a forest. Toward the evening one saw all kinds of entertainments in our camp of dancing and frolicking of the officers and soldiers with the beautiful American maidens; these entertainments lasted into the dark night. After that they went home happily and we soldiers went into tents to get a little sleep.

On the 28th we marched 12 miles to Farmington, a little town in the mountains in a pleasant area. We set our camp up at the foot of a little hill completely surrounded by fruit trees.

On the 29th again 11 miles until Hartford, a pretty town of considerable size on a navigable river, which is also a very active trade center. This river divides the city into two parts; we set up our camp on the other side of the river about 1/2 mile from the town and had rest there for a while until November 4, when we broke camp again and marched 14 miles until Bolton where we set up our camp.

On the 5th until Windham, a little town, 13 miles; there we had a rest day.

On the 7th we broke camp and marched 10 miles until Plainfield but we kept on marching until Wallentown, a little town near very low mountains in a darling and agreeable area; we set up camp very close to the little town in the plains.

On November 9 we departed again and marched 14 miles until Waterman's house, a very beautiful Gentleman's manor.

With that, Flohr had entered Rhode Island on his way to Boston, from where he sailed to the Caribbean on Christmas Day and back to France in the summer of 1783.

As Flohr was trudging toward Danbury, Rochambeau "stopped to lunch with the minister" of Ridgebury, presumably a Dr. Atwater, "his host of the previous year." Atwater "gave us the best that he had in the house." (1) Rather than camp in Ridgebury as

they had the previous year, however, the army marched on to Danbury, where it camped near the intersection of Center and South Streets, their 40th camp on the way back from Yorktown. Some of the officers, including Rochambeau, were entertained by Colonel Joseph P. Cooke.¹²²

The following day, the 24th, the troops marched on to Newtown, where they occupied the same campsite as the previous year (**SITE 37**). Verger noted that at Newtown "we repaired the army wagons, which were by then in very bad condition." Those officers who could renewed acquaintances from the previous year: Desandrouins, for example, lodged with a man named John "Trobrige, a very good man but poor."¹²³ On the 25th, the Second Brigade joined the first brigade at Newtown, which crossed the Stratford River on "Carleton's Bridge" on the 26th and marched on through Woodbury. The 42nd camp at Breakneck was on the same spot where the army had camped the previous year. It was reached "in frightful weather; it rained in torrents ... Never have the troops suffered so much during three campaigns as they did that day." (1) Verger agreed: "We left very early in the morning and had scarcely begun our march when it began to rain in torrents. This was the worst thing that could have happened to us, for during our whole journey we had never found so bad a road. ... The continual rain, added to the cold, caused us inexpressible suffering." (**SITE 38**)

"On the 27th," so Closen, "we re-crossed the same Stratford River on a wooden bridge, like Carleton's, 7 miles from Breakneck. You next enter the village of Waterbury, which is very long and contains several pretty houses." (1) At Barnes' Tavern (camp 43) the troops occupied the same campsite as the previous year, and, so Flohr, had their first ball in Connecticut (**SITE 39**). On the 28th it was on to Farmington (camp 44), where campsite lay more toward the center of the village as compared to the previous year. It is here that Verger too mentions the first entertainment: "A large number of visitors came to see us, and we danced in front of the camp." (**SITE 40**) On 29th, the First Brigade arrived in East Hartford (**SITE 41**), to be joined by the second brigade the next day. Their campsite (camp 45) was that which only the Soissonnais had occupied the previous year. The troops remained here from October 30 through November 4, and most likely were paid once again after they had lined up for their few livres along Silver Lane.

It was here at East Hartford that Rochambeau announced to the troops that they were to march to Boston and embark for the West Indies while he himself would return to France. To accelerate the march "the artillery obtained permission to march, from now on, one day in advance of the 1st Brigade, for convenience, and set out early on its way" on October 30. (1) The artillery was halfway through its march when a courier from Admiral de Vaudreuil informed Rochambeau that the ships would not be ready for embarkation by November 15, and the artillery returned to East Hartford. Lieutenant

¹²² A portrait of Cooke, a Yale graduate, is reproduced in Susan Benedict Hill, *History of Danbury, Conn. 1684-1896* (New York, 1896), p. 130. The Cooke house was located at 342 Main St. It is presently the site of the Social Services Department. I am grateful to Mr. John O'Donnell, Reference Librarian at the Danbury Public Library, for this information. I have been unable to locate any sites relating to camp 40.

¹²³ Gabriel, *Desandrouins*, p. 356. At Newtown he too staid with a family he had lodged with the previous year. The family insisted on providing lodging and showed him gratitude and "toutes sortes d'amitiés," a clear sign of grass-roots friendship that had developed via personal contact the previous year.

Verger, who had not made the march in June 1781, met Connecticutians for the first time, but thought that "The inhabitants of Connecticut are the best people in the United States, without any doubt. They have a lively curiosity and examined our troops and all our actions with evident astonishment. When they visited our camp (in East Hartford), the girls came without their mothers and entered our tents with the greatest confidence."

By now the weather was turning cold, and many soldiers had hoped that they would enter winter quarters in Hartford. But after "four days in Hartford," the artillery left for Bolton on November 3, 1782. On November 4, it was followed by the First Brigade, whose camp was laid out 2 miles beyond the meeting house at the bottom of the hill where they had camped the previous year.¹²⁴ (**SITES 42 and 43**) That night, Dr. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale University, recorded in his diary: "Lodged at Bolton, where we saw the first Division of the French Army march for Providence. There were counted 170 Waggons of Artillery, filling the Rode fr. The Meeting house to & which is one Mile, besides those we passed yesterday: there were as supposed above 100, so that the Baggage Waggons & Artillery judged 300. Gen. Rochambeau visited us in Eveng at Rev. Mr. Coltons." The next day Stiles "Met & passed the 2d Div. of French Army, probably 1500 men. The whole sd. to be 4000, I judge 3000. We stopt our chaise near half an hour in passing the Troops, & afterwards above half an hour in passing 2 Divisions of Wagons, I judge 200. Some of them sd. they had 500 Waggons for whole Army."¹²⁵

Camp 47 from November 5-7 at Windham lay east of town. The two brigades joined "in frightful weather." (1) (**SITE 44**) In the morning of the 7th, Rochambeau, anxious to reach Newport, rode ahead. After "breakfast at Canterbury," so Closen, possibly at the Francis Homestead (**SITE 45**) where Lauberdière passed an interesting afternoon some 15 months earlier,¹²⁶ they pushed on through Plainfield "to dine at Voluntown, where we found the artillery already parked. We did not go any further that day. ... The state of Rhode Island begins 3 miles from Voluntown." Voluntown is present day Sterling Hill; Rochambeau had his last dinner in Connecticut at Samuel Dorrance' Inn (**SITE 48**).

The First Brigade, now commanded by baron de Vioménil, broke camp in Windham, and marched to its next camp, camp 48, in Canterbury. (**SITE 46**). Here Desandrouins fell victim to a robbery during the night of November 7/8. "A trunk from which he had the habit of getting money, imprudently, every day in the presence of his wagoners" was stolen and pried open and 7,195 livres were stolen, incl. 101 livres that belonged to his servant Charles. Fortunately his papers etc were recovered, together with a little bag of some 50 louis d'or, over 1,200 livres, which the robbers had overlooked. Desandrouins suspected his American wagoner, who disappeared at the same time, to have been the thief.¹²⁷ Desandrouins misfortune may be at the root of the story of a French paymaster who had stopped at an inn, albeit in Farmington on the other side of Hartford as far as the

¹²⁴ For a discussion as to the campsite see above, p. 66 and footnote 181.

¹²⁵ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Franklin B. Dexter, ed., 3 vols., (New York, 1901), Vol. 3, p. 45. See also the information on the site form for this site.

¹²⁶ Pending additional research, solid proof for this claim is as yet missing: the Francis Homestead did serve as an inn, though Crofut, *Guide*, Vol. 2, p. 841, says the "The inn burned some years ago."

¹²⁷ Gabriel, *Desandrouins*, p. 359.

story goes, while on his way to Albany. In the story the robber(s) deprived the paymaster of head and payroll; Desandrouins (fortunately) only lost part of his money.

By now it was early November, and winter was upon New England. Clermont-Crèveœur could not "express how uncomfortable we were while camping in a country where the cold was already very intense. We were frozen in our tents. And the tents were frozen so stiff that, after the pegs and poles were removed to take them down, they stood alone. So you can judge how cold it was." Not surprisingly, sickness and disease, including smallpox, broke out. Those afflicted with the disease had to be quarantined; one of the quarantine camps was apparently established in Coventry. Sometime during the winter of 1782, seven men are reported to have died. They were buried on a site at the foot of Springdale Avenue on the shores of Lake Wangumbaug.¹²⁸ (SITE 49)

On November 8/9, 1782, Rochambeau's troops pitched their tents for the last time in Connecticut in the 49th camp in the fields east of Dorrance Tavern on the north side of the road to Rhode Island. (SITE 47). Over the next two days, the infantry brigades followed the artillery into Rhode Island where they reached Providence on November 10 and 11. Closen, who had always spoken highly of Connecticut, summed up his experiences thus: "We have, on the whole, been treated wonderfully well wherever the army has marched."

Six weeks later, on Christmas Eve 1782, the bulk of Rochambeau's army sailed out of Boston harbor for the Caribbean. Though they did not know it, Preliminaries of Peace had already been signed in Paris on November 30, 1782, in which "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States ... to be free Sovereign and independent States."

¹²⁸ See Joseph Hetzel, "The French Cemetery" in: *Coventry, Connecticut 1712-1987. 275th Anniversary Official Souvenir Program*. Shirley Glenney, comp. (Coventry, 1987), no pagination.

CONCLUSION

"When you're working on the Revolutionary War, as I'm doing now, you realize what the French did for us. We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for them," McCullough claimed in his recent interview with *American Heritage*. And though it is usually fruitless to speculate about "what if's," a look at the facts shows that French support was indeed vital for the success of the American Revolutionary War.

In February 1762, French foreign minister Choiseul had declared that he had "only one foreign policy, a fraternal union with Spain; only one foreign policy for war, and that is England."¹ He thought that war might come within five years. It took thirteen years, but the shots fired at Lexington and Concord had hardly been heard in Paris when French financial and military aid began flowing to the rebellious colonies via Beaumarchais. Almost 100 volunteers, some more useful than others, provided crucial expertise for American artillery, engineering, and map-making. The victory at Saratoga was won with French guns and French powder. A few months later, in February 1778, France became the first foreign country to recognize the United States as an independent nation; military action beginning later that year occupied British forces from Gibraltar to India and from Senegal to the Caribbean, keeping them from the American theatre of war. In the spring of 1780, the comte de Rochambeau brought over 5,000 officers and men across the ocean and forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis fifteen months later. Yet the presence of Rochambeau's forces on the American mainland had consequences well beyond its small numbers. By the time most of them departed from Boston in December 1782, they had decided the outcome of the war.

In July 1780, Rochambeau had arrived with over 5,000 officers and men; the ships that left Boston on Christmas Eve 1782 carried about 1,000 fewer men. About 700 men remained behind, the last of which returned to France in November 1783. A few days later, on January 8, 1783, Rochambeau and a small entourage of officers sailed from Annapolis for France. A final transport of 85 sick soldiers left Baltimore on October 5, 1783. The *expédition particulière* had come to an end.² During the 30 months that the 492 officers and 6,038 men of the *expédition particulière* had been in, or on their way to and from America, about 600 men (including 70 in the six months following the return in 1783) died, though only about 75 of them from battle or battle-related wounds. Another seven were executed. Some 316 men, of whom only 26 were native Frenchmen, deserted, including 80 men recruited in America.³ 140, including 30 "American" recruits, were discharged. 31 officers, but only 14 enlisted men, retired with military pensions in the

¹ Quoted in Eccles, "French Alliance," p. 148.

² Noailles, *Marins*, pp. 407-408.

³ Some of these deserters seem to have found America not to their liking: In July 1785, French consul Martin Oster wrote from Virginia that he had granted passports to 13 of them to return to France under an amnesty granted by the king earlier that year. J. Rives Childs, "French Consul Martin Oster reports on Virginia, 1784-1796" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* Vol. 76, (1968), pp. 27-40, p. 37.

New World. To put these figures into perspective: within six months of returning to France, Rochambeau's units discharged 832 men whose enlistment had expired!⁴

Unlike German or German-speaking soldiers from Alsace or Lorraine, French soldiers rather risked the dangerous transatlantic voyage than stay in America. Despite officially fostered friendship and numerous addresses of gratitude -- *the Boston Gazette and Country Journal* claimed in its issue of December 9, 1782, that the "Behaviour of these Troops ... sufficiently contradicts the *infamous Falsehoods* and *Misrepresentations* usually imposed on the World by *perfidious Britons* -- Franco-American relations had always remained tenuous at best. The allies simply never trusted each other. Axel von Fersen informed his father in November 1782 that "the time we have passed with them (the Americans) has not taught us to love or esteem them." Even an enlisted man such as Flohr felt the mistrust in an alliance held together only by a common enemy. For mid-December 1782 he reported in his journal: "Since we continued to remain there (in Providence) for some additional time, the Americans never felt quite at ease but continued to believe that the French wanted to make continued use of that area (i.e. permanently occupy it) since they didn't seem to want to move on at all, and thanked us a second time for the aid we had provided." Such fears, as we know, were unfounded, but their continued existence even after the victory was won and after all that France had done in support of American independence, shows how deep-seated and long-living they were!

Because Rochambeau's troops were not the only French forces to fight in America before, or after, Yorktown. In fact they represent only a fractions of the total number of Frenchmen fighting for American Independence, which historians have estimated at 18,000 soldiers and 31,000 sailors. At Yorktown alone, some 14,000 Frenchmen, including 5,200 Marines in reserve, joined 5,800 American Continentals and 3,000 Virginia militias against 6,000 British and their German allies. It was French expertise in siege warfare, not to mention the French siege artillery brought by Rochambeau's forces, which eventually forced the surrender. The French contribution to American victory becomes even more obvious when we look at the role of the French navy. It was Admiral de Grasse' fleet which kept the Royal Navy from making contact with Cornwallis when it sailed out to meet the challenge in the Battle of the Capes in early September 1781. Without the French fleet, British Admiral Graves might just have succeeded in rescuing Cornwallis from Yorktown. The Continental Navy would have been unable to stop him: in 1781, the Royal Navy had about 140 ships of the line, the French had 67 capital ships, Spain had 58, the Dutch 19, and the United States had none.

French expenditures for the war were enormous: Robert D. Harris sets the total French cost for the war for the years 1776-1782 at 928.9 million livres (as opposed to 2,270.5 million livres for the British), with another 125.2 million to be added for the year 1783! At the same time the total ordinary income of the French crown stood at 377.5 million livres for the year 1776. More than half of the cost of the war had to be funded by loans, and by the end of 1782 the total constituted debt of the French monarchy had reached 4,538 million livres. Even if most historians agree today that these additional outlays for the war were not the primary cause of the French Revolution, there can be no doubt that

⁴ All figures are taken from the various articles published by Sam Scott cited above. More than 1/4 of all desertions in the French forces occurred during the last three months before departure.

an extra billion livres in expenditures, and annual expenditures of some 207 million livres just to service the debt, did nothing to enhance the financial situation of the French monarchy between 1783 and the outbreak of the revolution in 1789.⁵

Most of these funds were spent on the navy: the annual naval budget rose from 33 million livres in 1775 to 169 million in 1780 and peaked at almost 200 million livres in 1782.⁶ During these same years, however, the army budget increased only marginally from 93.5 million in 1775 to 95 million in 1783.⁷ Expenditures on the American war were minimal within the overall French war effort. According to Claude C. Sturgill, "all of the monies directly appropriated for the entire cost" of Rochambeau's little army amounted to exactly 12,730,760 livres or a little over 1% of the total cost of the war!⁸ In addition the American rebels received 18 million in loans, to be repaid after the war, as well as outright subsidies of about 9 million from the foreign affairs department and other aid for a total of about 48 million livres spent in support of the American Revolution.

For France, the American struggle for independence was never more than a side-show, a convenient "excuse" for resuming the century-old struggle against British supremacy in Europe and on the oceans of the world. But the financial figures are just one indication for the marginality of the *expédition particulière* within the French war effort. A look at the number of personnel involved also helps to place Rochambeau's army in perspective. In 1780, the budgeted strength of the French line infantry, cavalry, and light troops stood at some 130,000 officers and men: the 6,000 men of Rochambeau's troops formed but a small fraction of the total French military strength. In 1776, France had stationed 19 battalions of infantry in her Caribbean possessions; in the course of the war she sent another 29 battalions there for a total of 48 battalions. Rochambeau brought all of 8 infantry battalions with him in 1780. At Yorktown, Rochambeau suffered not even 200 casualties in dead and wounded: between March and December 1781, the French navy operating in the Caribbean suffered over 5,000 casualties, the equivalent of almost the entire force under Rochambeau's command. In the disastrous defeat in the Battle of the Saints in April 1782, Admiral de Grasse suffered over 3,000 casualties, more than fifteen times what Rochambeau had lost before Yorktown.

What did France have to show for all her exertions? The answer is: not much if anything, not least because of the actions of her American allies. Not that she had wanted any territorial gain: in article 6 of the alliance of February 6, 1778, Louis XVI had "renounce[d] for ever the possession of the Islands of Bermudas as well as of any part of the continent of North america which [had been French] before the treaty of Paris in 1763." Besides taking revenge on Britain for that treaty, Vergennes had wanted exclusive fishing rights off Newfoundland, or at the very least keep the British out. But when the time came to negotiate the peace settlement, he found out to his dismay that Franklin and his fellow commissioners had made peace without him in clear violation of article 8 of

⁵ All figures from Harris, "French Finances," pp. 233-258. For a refutation of claims that a transfer of the ideology of the American Revolution played a significant role in the French Revolution of 1789 see the articles by Samuel Scott cited above.

⁶ Dull, *Navy*, pp. 346/47.

⁷ Sturgill, "French War Budget," p. 182, and Sturgill, "Money," p. 24.

⁸ Sturgill, "Observations," p. 183.

their 1778 agreement. "Neither of the two Parties shall conclude either Truce or Peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other *first* (my emphasis) obtain'd."

But that was exactly what Franklin and his colleagues had done when they signed the Preliminaries of Peace in November 1782, thereby forcing the French hand. Franklin told Vergennes that his negotiations with Britain behind Vergennes' back were "a mere breach of etiquette," but the Frenchman was under no illusion that if he would not agree to end the war on British and American terms, the Americans would sign a separate peace treaty with Britain, leaving the French to continue the war by themselves. France did not even gain the exclusive fishing rights she had wanted. In article 3 of the preliminaries the United States and Great Britain had agreed "that the People of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the Right to take Fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland; Also in the Gulph of St Laurence, and at all other Places in the Sea where the Inhabitants of both Countries used at any time heretofore to fish." An embittered Vergennes wrote to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French representative in Philadelphia, that if "we can judge the future by what passes presently before our eyes we shall be paid badly for what we have done for the United States of America, and for having assured them of that title."⁹

In the short run it seemed as if Vergennes' prediction would come true. The alliance of 1778 had been an alliance of convenience, which had served its purpose once American independence had been won. In 1793, now President, Washington abrogated the 1778 treaties in light of the events of the French Revolution and the French declaration of war on Austria. The United States must not, and would not, get drawn into European affairs, the "foreign entanglements" of Washington's Farewell Address.

Seven years later, in December 1800, the United States rather unceremoniously cancelled the "Perpetual Alliance" of 1778 and subsequent agreements altogether since they were not "able to agree at present" as to what the treaties implied. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 reaffirmed American isolationism, and for the remainder of the century America looked west, to the Pacific Ocean, rather than east across the Atlantic.¹⁰

Events in Europe in the second decade of this century forced the United States to look to the Old World and to abandon her isolationist stance, at least temporarily. It was then that Vergennes too was proved wrong. In 1783, Count de Aranda, Spanish Ambassador to France, had written to Louis XVI that in America a "federal republic is born a pygmy but a day will come when it will be a giant, a colossus, formidable for this country."¹¹ That day came in 1917. Almost 135 years after France had helped ensure American

⁹ Quoted in Eccles, "French Alliance," p. 161.

¹⁰ During the 1860s because of the attempts by Emperor Napoleon III of France to place Maximilian on the throne of Mexico, France and the United States came to blows over the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine. It is one of the ironies of history that the French 99th Regiment of Infantry, the successor regiment to the Royal Deux-Ponts, whose standard then, as well as today, had the name "Yorktown" embroidered on it, would fight against American troops in Mexico in support of Emperor Maximilian of Habsburg.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

independence, America "paid her debt to Lafayette," first in 1917/18, and again in 1944, when American troops under General Dwight D. Eisenhower helped liberate France.¹²

France honored General Eisenhower and his men with a *Voie de la Liberté* tracing their route from the beaches of Normandy to Paris and victory. Maybe the time has come for America to honor the comte de Rochambeau and his men -- French, German, Irish, Dutch, Swiss and Swedish, Black and white -- with a *Voie de l'Indépendance* tracing their route from Newport across Connecticut to Yorktown and victory.

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¹² At least the United States did not forget the ill-fated Louis XVI. On bicentennial of the execution of the king in 1993 the United States' government layed a wreath at his tomb; the French government on the other hand very pointedly ignored the occasion.

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EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CURRENCIES AND EXCHANGE RATES

German Currency:

1 Gulden (= fl; gold, after circa 1500 silver) = 60 Kreuzer

1 fl rhein.	= 15 Batzen	= 60 Kreuzer	= 240 Denar	= 480 Heller
1 Albus	= 1 1/2 Batzen	= 6 Kreuzer	= 24 Denar	= 48 Heller
1 Batzen		= 4 Kreuzer	= 16 Denar	= 32 Heller
1 Groschen		= 3 Kreuzer	= 12 Denar	= 24 Heller
1 Kreuzer			= 4 Denar	= 8 Heller
1 Denar				= 2 Heller

1 Königstaler: 1 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.
1 Laubtaler: 2 fl 45 Kreuzer rhein.
1 Dukaten: 5 fl rhein. (since 1559)
1 Karolin: 11 fl

French Currency:

Louis (Gold)	= 20 livres (24 livres after 1726)	= 480 sous	= 7200 denier
Livre (Silver)		= 20 sous	= 300 denier
Sous (Copper)			= 15 denier
Denier (Copper)			

Ecu (silver) = 3 livres = 60 sous = 900 denier

Franc = 1 livre, an administrative unit only

English Currency:

Pound Sterling (silver)	= 20 Shillings	= 240 Pennies	= 480 Ha'pennies	= 960 Farthings
Shilling (Silver)		= 12 Pennies	= 24 Ha'pennies	= 48 Farthings
Groat (Silver)		= 4 Pennies	= 8 Ha'pennies	= 16 Farthings
Penny (Copper)			= 2 Ha'pennies	= 4 Farthings
Ha'penny (Copper)				= 2 Farthings
Farthing (Brass)				
Guinee (Gold)	= 21 shillings (after 1707)			
Crown (Silver)	= 5 shillings			

Sovereign = £ 1 Gold coin, introduced in 1817

In 1849, a silver florin was introduced, worth 2 shillings.

In the cash-starved colonies in North America, Spanish coinage was widely used.

Spanish Currency:

Doubloon (Gold) = 8 Escudos = 4 Pistols = 16 Pieces of Eight = 128 Reals
Pistol (Gold) = 2 Escudos = 4 Pieces of Eight = 32 Reals
Escudo (Gold) = 2 Pieces Of Eight = 16 Reals
Piece Of Eight (Gold) = 1 Peso = 8 Reals
Real (Silver) = 8 Copper Pesos
Peso (Copper)

Piaster (gold) = 8 Reales = 1 Piece of Eight = 1 Spanish Milled Dollar = 1 Peso

Portuguese Currency:

Johannes (Gold, 1722) = 1/2 Dobra = 1/2 Doubloon = 4 Escudos = 8 Pieces of Eight
= 64 Reals = 36s. sterling (called a *Half-Joe* in America)

The chief trade coin of the American colonies was the Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight and the Spanish Pistole worth 12s. 2.8 pence (=d). sterling.

There was a substantial difference in the trade value of these coins between England and her colonies. In England the Spanish milled dollar was worth anywhere between 4s. 3d. and 4s. 6d. st., up to 4 s 9 d. st. In New York, however, the Spanish milled dollar was rated by custom at 8s.; in Pennsylvania at 7s. 6d. in Delaware at 7s. 6d. and in Virginia the Spanish milled dollar was worth 6s. 8d. by 1764. Even English coins were valued higher in the colonies: the silver crown, worth 5s. in England, was rated at 6s. 3d. by the Virginia Act of 1727.

How did these currencies relate to each other? In 1764, Richard Wolters, British agent in Rotterdam, reckoned 1 Pistole at 17s. 2d.st., or 4s. 3.5d. st. per Piece of Eight.¹³ In a letter of May 1780, Axel von Fersen wrote that 1 Piastre/Piece of Eight/Peso was worth 6 livres = 62 pennies = 5 s 2 d in America. Since he only payed 5 livres 5 sous = 4 shilling 5 pence in Brest, he hoped to make a profit upon arrival in Newport. Georg Daniel Flohr gave the value of 1 Spanish dollar at 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein., and according to Harris, "the British pound sterling was equal to 23.17 *livres tournois*" during the 1780s.¹⁴ The Abbé Robin, a chaplain in one of Rochambeau's regiments in turn gave the value of a shilling

¹³ Frank Spencer, An Eighteenth-Century Account of German Emigration to the American Colonies. *The Journal of Modern History* 28 (March-December 1956), pp. 55-59, p. 58.

¹⁴ Robert D. Harris, "French Finances and the American War, 1777-1783" *Journal of Modern History* 48 (June 1976), pp. 233-258, p. 247, note 41.

in New England in the summer of 1781 as 22 sous 6 deniers or 22 livres 8 sous to the pound sterling.¹⁵

Based on the value of the Piece of Eight in England and contemporary sources as well as admitting for currency fluctuations we get the following exchange rates

1 £ Sterling = 23 livres 3 sous 6 deniers

1 £ Sterling ~ 4.5 Pieces of Eight

1 £ Sterling ~ 9 fl 30 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Piece of Eight = 4 shilling 5 pence

1 Piece of Eight = 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Piece of Eight = 5 livres 5 sous

1 Livre = 24 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Livre = 10 pence 1.4 farthing

1 Livre = 1 reales 1 copper peso

1 fl rhein. = 2 s 2d st.

1 fl rhein. = 2 livres 10 sous

1 fl rhein. = 4 reales

¹⁵ Abbé (Charles César) Robin, *New Travels through North-America: In a Series of Letters* (Philadelphia, 1783), p. 16.

DOCUMENTS

1) Treaty of Paris (February 10, 1763)

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannick Majesty, the Most Christian King, and the King of Spain. Concluded at Paris the 10th day of February, 1763. To which the King of Portugal acceded on the same day. In the Name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

Be it known to all those whom it shall, or may, in any manner, belong,

It has pleased the Most High to diffuse the spirit of union and concord among the Princes, whose divisions had spread troubles in the four parts of the world, and to inspire them with the inclination to cause the comforts of peace to succeed to the misfortunes of a long and bloody war, which having arisen between England and France during the reign of the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Second, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, of glorious memory, continued under the reign of the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Third, his successor, and, in its progress, communicated itself to Spain and Portugal: Consequently, the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, Arch Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Lewis the Fifteenth, by the grace of God, Most Christian King; and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Charles the Third, by the grace of God, King of Spain and of the Indies, after having laid the foundations of peace in the preliminaries signed at Fontainebleau the third of November last; and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince, Don Joseph the First, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, after having acceded thereto, determined to compleat, without delay, this great and important work. For this purpose, the high contracting parties have named and appointed their respective Ambassadors Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, viz. his Sacred Majesty the King of Great Britain, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, John Duke and Earl of Bedford, Marquis of Tavistock, &c. his Minister of State, Lieutenant General of his Armies, Keeper of his Privy Seal, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Christian King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Cæsar Gabriel de Choiseul, Duke of Praslin, Peer of France, Knight of his Orders, Lieutenant General of his Armies and of the province of Brittany, Counsellor of all his Counsils, and Minister and Secretary of State, and of his Commands and Finances: his Sacred Majesty the Catholick King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Don Jerome Grimaldi, Marquis de Grimaldi, Knight of the Most Christian King's Orders, Gentleman of his Catholick Majesty's Bedchamber in Employment, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his Most Christian Majesty; his Sacred Majesty the Most Faithful King, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord, Martin de Mello and Castro, Knight professed of the Order of Christ, of his Most Faithful Majesty's Council, and his Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Most Christian Majesty.

Who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers, in good form, copies whereof are transcribed at the end of the present treaty of peace, have agreed upon the articles, the tenor of which is as follows:

Article I. There shall be a Christian, universal, and perpetual peace, as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship shall be re established between their Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, and between their heirs and successors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, subjects, and vassals, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception of places or of persons: ...

Article II. ...

Article III. ...

Article IV. His Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretensions which he has heretofore formed or might have formed to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the King of Great Britain: Moreover, his Most Christian Majesty cedes and guaranties to his said Britannick Majesty, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, and in general, every thing that depends on the said countries, lands, islands, and coasts, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights acquired by treaty, or otherwise, which the Most Christian King and the Crown of France have had till now over the said countries, lands, islands, places, coasts, and their inhabitants, so that the Most Christian King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King, and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form, without restriction, and without any liberty to depart from the said cession and guaranty under any pretence, or to disturb Great Britain in the possessions above mentioned. His Britannick Majesty, on his side, agrees to grant the liberty of the Catholick religion to the inhabitants of Canada: he will, in consequence, give the most precise and most effectual orders, that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the French inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Most Christian King in Canada, may retire with all safety and freedom wherever they shall think proper, and may sell their estates, provided it be to the subjects of his Britannick Majesty, and bring away their effects as well as their persons, without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: The term limited for this emigration shall be fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

Article V. The subjects of France shall have the liberty of fishing and drying on a part of the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, ... and his Britannick Majesty consents to leave to the subjects of the Most Christian King the liberty of fishing in the gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition that the subjects of France do not exercise the said fishery but at the distance of three leagues from all the coasts belonging to Great Britain, as well those of the continent as those of the islands situated in the said gulph of St. Lawrence. And as to what relates to the fishery on the coasts of the island of Cape Breton, out of the said gulph, the subjects of the Most Christian King shall not be permitted to exercise the said

fishery but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton; and the fishery on the coasts of Nova Scotia or Acadia, and every where else out of the said gulph, shall remain on the foot of former treaties.

Article VI. The King of Great Britain cedes the islands of St. Pierre and Macquelon, in full right, to his Most Christian Majesty, to serve as a shelter to the French fishermen; and his said Most Christian Majesty engages not to fortify the said islands; to erect no buildings upon them but merely for the conveniency of the fishery; and to keep upon them a guard of fifty men only for the police.

Article VII. In order to reestablish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all subject of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America; it is agreed that for the future, the confines between the dominions of his Britannick Majesty and those of his Most Christian Majesty, in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain to the sea; and for this purpose, the Most Christian King cedes in full right, and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty the river and port of the Mobile, and every thing which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the river Mississippi, except the town of New Orleans and the island in which it is situated, which shall remain to France, provided that the navigation of the river Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole breadth and length, from its source to the sea, and expressly that part which is between the said island of New Orleans and the right bank of that river, as well as the passage both in and out of its mouth: It is farther stipulated, that the vessels belonging to the subjects of either nation shall not be stopped, visited, or subjected to the payment of any duty whatsoever. The stipulations inserted in the IVth article, in favour of the inhabitants of Canada shall also take place with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.

Article VIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the islands of Guadeloupe, of Marie Galante, of Desirade, of Martinico, and of Belleisle; and the fortresses of these islands shall be restored in the same condition they were in when they were conquered by the British arms, provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects, who shall have settled in the said islands, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there or in other places restored to France by the present treaty, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, to recover their debts, and to bring away their effects as well as their persons, on board vessels, which they shall be permitted to send to the said islands and other places restored as above, and which shall serve for this use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: and for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; but, as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Most Christian Majesty, that the number of English vessels which have leave to go to the said islands and places restored to France, shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of

each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time. It has been farther agreed, that his Most Christian Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that, for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two French clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said islands and places restored to France, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

Article IX. The Most Christian King cedes and guaranties to his Britannick Majesty, in full right, the islands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with the same stipulations in favor of the inhabitants of this colony, inserted in the Ivth article for those of Canada: And the partition of the islands called neutral, is agreed and fixed, so that those of St. Vincent, Dominico, and Tobago, shall remain in full right to Great Britain, and that of St. Lucia shall be delivered to France, to enjoy the same likewise in full right, and the high contracting parties guaranty the partition so stipulated.

Article X. His Britannick Majesty shall restore to France the island of Goree in the condition it was in when conquered: and his Most Christian Majesty cedes, in full right, and guaranties to the King of Great Britain the river Senegal, with the forts and factories of St. Lewis, Podor, and Galam, and with all the rights and dependencies of the said river Senegal.

Article XI. In the East Indies Great Britain shall restore to France, in the condition they are now in, the different factories which that Crown possessed, as well as on the coast of Coromandel and Orixas as on that of Malabar, as also in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749. And his Most Christian Majesty renounces all pretension to the acquisitions which he has made on the coast of Coromandel and Orixas since the said beginning of the year 1749. His Most Christian Majesty shall restore, on his side, all that he may have conquered from Great Britain in the East Indies during the present war; and will expressly cause Nattal and Tapanoully, in the island of Sumatra, to be restored; he engages farther, not to erect fortifications, or to keep troops in any part of the dominions of the Subah of Bengal. And in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixas, the English and French shall acknowledge Mahomet Ally Khan for lawful Nabob of the Carnatick, and Salabat Jing for lawful Subah of the Decan; and both parties shall renounce all demands and pretensions of satisfaction with which they might charge each other, or their Indian allies, for the depredations or pillage committed on the one side or on the other during the war.

Article XII. The island of Minorca shall be restored to his Britannick Majesty, as well as Fort St. Philip, in the same condition they were in when conquered by the arms of the Most Christian King; and with the artillery which was there when the said island and the said fort were taken.

Article XIII. ...

Article XIV. ...

Article XV. ...

Article XVI. ...

Article XVII. ...

Article XVIII. ...

Article XIX. The King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain all the territory which he has conquered in the island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havannah; and this fortress, as well as all the other fortresses of the said island, shall be restored in the same condition they were in when conquered by his Britannick Majesty's arms, provided that his Britannick Majesty's subjects who shall have settled in the said island, restored to Spain by the present treaty, or those who shall have any commercial affairs to settle there, shall have liberty to sell their lands and their estates, to settle their affairs, recover their debts, and to bring away their effects, as well as their persons, on board vessels which they shall be permitted to send to the said island restored as above, and which shall serve for that use only, without being restrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts or of criminal prosecutions: And for this purpose, the term of eighteen months is allowed to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty: but as the liberty granted to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, to bring away their persons and their effects, in vessels of their nation, may be liable to abuses if precautions were not taken to prevent them; it has been expressly agreed between his Britannick Majesty and his Catholick Majesty, that the number of English vessels which shall have leave to go to the said island restored to Spain shall be limited, as well as the number of tons of each one; that they shall go in ballast; shall set sail at a fixed time; and shall make one voyage only; all the effects belonging to the English being to be embarked at the same time: it has been farther agreed, that his Catholick Majesty shall cause the necessary passports to be given to the said vessels; that for the greater security, it shall be allowed to place two Spanish clerks or guards in each of the said vessels, which shall be visited in the landing places and ports of the said island restored to Spain, and that the merchandize which shall be found therein shall be confiscated.

Article XX. In consequence of the restitution stipulated in the preceding article, his Catholick Majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick Majesty, Florida, with Fort St. Augustin, and the Bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America, to the East or to the South East of the river Mississippi. And, in general, every thing that depends on the said countries and lands, with the sovereignty, property, possession, and all rights, acquired by treaties or otherwise, which the Catholick King and the Crown of Spain have had till now over the said countries, lands, places, and their inhabitants; so that the Catholick King cedes and makes over the whole to the said King and to the Crown of Great Britain, and that in the most ample manner and form. His Britannick Majesty agrees, on his side, to grant to the inhabitants of the countries above ceded, the liberty of the Catholick religion; he will, consequently, give the most express and the most effectual orders that his new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Romish church, as far as the laws of Great Britain permit. His Britannick Majesty farther agrees, that the Spanish inhabitants, or others who had been subjects of the Catholick King in the said countries, may retire, with all safety and freedom, wherever they think proper; and may

sell their estates, provided it be to his Britannick Majesty's subjects, and bring away their effects, as well as their persons. Without being restrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, or of criminal prosecutions: the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the space of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. It is moreover stipulated, that his Catholick Majesty shall have power to cause all the effects that may belong to him, to be brought away, whether it be artillery or other things.

Article XXI. The French and Spanish troops shall evacuate all the territories, lands, towns, places, and castles, of his Most faithful Majesty in Europe, without any reserve, which shall have been conquered by the armies of France and Spain, and shall restore them in the same condition they were in when conquered, with the same artillery and ammunition, which were found there: And with regard to the Portuguese Colonies in America, Africa, or in the East Indies, if any change shall have happened there, all things shall be restored on the same footing they were in, and conformably to the preceding treaties which subsisted between the Courts of France, Spain, and Portugal, before the present war.

Article XXII. All the papers, letters, documents, and archives, which were found in the countries, territories, towns and places that are restored, and those belonging to the countries ceded, shall be, respectively and bonâ fide, delivered, or furnished at the same time, if possible, that possession is taken, or, at latest, four months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, in whatever places the said papers or documents may be found.

Article XXIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been conquered, in whatsoever part of the world, by the arms of their Britannick and Most Faithful Majesties, as well as by those of their Most Christian and Catholick Majesties, which are not included in the present treaty, either under the title of cessions, or under the title of restitutions, shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensations.

Article XXIV. As it is necessary to assign a fixed epoch for the restitutions and the evacuations, to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the British and French troops shall compleat, before the 15th of March next, all that shall remain to be executed of the XIIth and XIIIth articles of the preliminaries, signed the 3d day of November last, with regard to the evacuation to be made in the Empire, or elsewhere. The island of Belleisle shall be evacuated six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Guadeloupe, Desirade, Mariegalante Martinico, and St. Lucia three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. Great Britain shall likewise, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter into possession of the river and port of the Mobile, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of Great Britain, on the side of the river Mississippi, as they are specified in the VIIth article. The island of Goree shall be evacuated by Great Britain, three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; and the island of Minorca by France, at the same epoch, or sooner if it can be done: And according to the conditions of the Vith article, France shall likewise enter into possession of the islands of St Peter, and of Miquelon, at the end of three months after the exchange

of the ratifications of the present treaty. The Factories in the East Indies shall be restored six months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. The fortress of the Havannah, with all that has been conquered in the island of Cuba, shall be restored three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done: And, at the same time, Great Britain shall enter into possession of the country ceded by Spain according to the XXth article. All the places and countries of his most Faithful Majesty, in Europe, shall be restored immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty: And the Portuguese colonies, which may have been conquered, shall be restored in the space of three months in the West Indies, and of six months in the East Indies, after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, or sooner if it can be done. All the fortresses, the restitution whereof is stipulated above, shall be restored with the artillery and ammunition, which were found there at the time of the conquest. In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships that shall carry them, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

Article XXV. His Britannick Majesty, as Elector of Brunswick Lunenbourg, as well for himself as for his heirs and successors, and all the dominions and possessions of his said Majesty in Germany, are included and guarantied by the present treaty of peace.

Article XXVI. Their sacred Britannick, Most Christian, Catholick, and Most Faithful Majesties, promise to observe sincerely and bonâ fide, all the articles contained and settled in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said high contracting parties, generally and reciprocally, guaranty to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

Article XXVII. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten their Ambassadors Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary, have signed with our hand, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present definitive treaty, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto. Done at Paris the tenth day of February, 1763.

Bedford, C.P.S. Choiseul, Duc de Praslin. El Marq. De Grimaldi.

(L.S.) (L.S.) (LS)

The English version of the Treaty of 1763 is reprinted as found in Charles Jenkinson, *A Collection of all the Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, Between Great-Britain and other Powers. From the Treaty signed at Munster in 1648, to the Treaties signed at Paris in 1783. By the Right Hon. Charles Jenkinson. In three Volumes.* The Treaty of 1763 in volume 3, pp. 177-197.

2) Treaty of Alliance between France and the United States (February 6, 1778)

The most Christian King and the United States of North America, to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, having this Day concluded a Treaty of amity and Commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their Subjects and Citizens have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements and of rendring them useful to the safety and tranquility of the two parties, particularly in case Great Britain in Resentment of that connection and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said Treaty, should break the Peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindring her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the Rights of Nations, and the Peace subsisting between the two Crowns; and his Majesty and the said united States having resolved in that Case to join their Councils and efforts against the Enterprises of their common Enemy, the respective Plenipotentiaries, impower'd to concert the Clauses & conditions proper to fulfil the said Intentions, have, after the most mature Deliberation, concluded and determined on the following Articles.

ARTICLE 1

If War should break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the present War between the United States and England, his Majesty and the said united States, shall make it a common cause, and aid each other mutually with their good Offices, their Counsels, and their forces, according to the exigence of Conjunctures as becomes good & faithful Allies.

ARTICLE 2

The essential and direct End of the present defensive alliance is to maintain effectually the liberty, Sovereignty, and independence absolute and unlimited of the said united States, as well in Matters of Gouvernment as of commerce.

ARTICLE 3

The two contracting Parties shall each on its own Part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in its Power, against their common Ennemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

ARTICLE 4

The contracting Parties agree that in case either of them should form any particular Enterprise in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, the Party whose concurrence is desired shall readily, and with good faith, join to act in concert for that Purpose, as far as circumstances and its own particular Situation will permit; and in that case, they shall regulate by a particular Convention the quantity and kind of Succour to be furnished, and the Time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its Compensation.

ARTICLE 5

If the united States should think fit to attempt the Reduction of the British Power remaining in the Northern Parts of America, or the Islands of Bermudas, those Countries or Islands in case of Success, shall be confederated with or dependent upon the said united States.

ARTICLE 6

The Most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the Islands of Bermudas as well as of any part of the continent of North america which before the treaty of Paris in 1763. Or in virtue of that Treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the Crown of Great Britain, or to the united States heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this Time or have lately been under the Power of The King and Crown of Great Britain.

ARTICLE 7

If his Most Christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the Islands situated in the Gulph of Mexico, or near that Gulph, which are at present under the Power of Great Britain, all the said Isles, in case of success, shall appertain to the Crown of France.

ARTICLE 8

Neither of the two Parties shall conclude either Truce or Peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtain'd; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the Independence of the united states shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the Treaty or Treaties that shall terminate the War.

ARTICLE 9

The contracting Parties declare, that being resolved to fulfil each on its own Part the clauses and conditions of the present Treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after claim of compensation on one side or the other whatever may be the event of the War.

ARTICLE 10

The Most Christian King and the United states, agree to invite or admit other Powers who may have received injuries from England to make common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to and settled between all the Parties.

ARTICLE 11

The two Parties guarantee mutually from the present time and forever, against all other powers, to wit, the united states to his most Christian Majesty the present Possessions of the Crown of France in America as well as those which it may acquire by the future Treaty of peace: and his most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the

united states, their liberty, Sovereignty, and Independence absolute, and unlimited, as well in Matters of Government as commerce and also their Possessions, and the additions or conquests that their Confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the Dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the 5th & 6th articles above written, the whole as their Possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States at the moment of the cessation of their present War with England.

ARTICLE 12

In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the Contracting Parties declare, that in case of rupture between France and England, the reciprocal Guarantee declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such War shall break out and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantee shall not commence, until the moment of the cessation of the present War between the united states and England shall have ascertained the Possessions.

ARTICLE 13

The present Treaty shall be ratified on both sides and the Ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months, sooner if possible.

In faith where of the respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit on the part of the most Christian King Conrad Alexander Gerard royal syndic of the City of Strasbourg & Secretary of his majestys Council of State and on the part of the United States Benjamin Franklin Deputy to the General Congress from the State of Pennsylvania and President of the Convention of the same state, Silas Deane heretofore Deputy from the State of Connecticut & Arthur Lee Councillor at Law have signed the above Articles both in the French and English Languages declaring Nevertheless that the present Treaty was originally composed and concluded in the French Language, and they have hereunto affixed their Seals

Done at Paris, this sixth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy eight.

C. A. GERARD

B FRANKLIN
SILAS DEANE
ARTHUR LEE

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 3 - 27.

3) Act Separate and Secret (February 6, 1778)

The most Christian King declares in consequence of the intimate union which subsists between him and the King of Spain, that in concluding with the united states of America this Treaty of amity and commerce, and that of eventual and defensive alliance, his Majesty hath intended and intends to reserve expressly, as he reserves by this present separate and secret act, to his said Catholick Majesty, the Power of acceding to the said Treatys, and to participate in their stipulations at such time as he shall judge proper.

It being well understood nevertheless, that if any of the Stipulations of the said Treatys are not agreeable to the King of Spain, his Catholick Majesty may propose other conditions analogous to the principal aim of the alliance and conformable to the Rules of equality, reciprocity & friendship.

The Deputies of the united states in the name of their constituents, accept the present Declaration in its full extent and the Deputy of the said states who is fully impower'd to treat with Spain, promises to sign on the first Requisition of his Catholic Majesty, the act or acts necessary to communicate to him the Stipulations of the Treaties above written; and the said Deputy shall endeavour in good faith the adjustment of the points in which the King of Spain may propose any alteration, conformable to the principles of equality, reciprocity and the most sincere and perfect amity; he the said Deputy not doubting but that the Person or Persons impower'd by his Catholic Majesty to treat with the United States will do the same with regard to any Alterations of the same kind that may be thought necessary by the said Plenipotentiary of the United States. In Faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present separate and secret Article, and affixed to the same their Seals.

Done at Paris, this sixth Day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

C. A. GERARD

B FRANKLIN
SILAS DEANE
ARTHUR LEE

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 29-34. .

1) Preliminaries of Peace (November 30, 1782)

Articles agreed upon, by and between Richard Oswald Esquire, the Commissioner of his Britannic Majesty, for treating of Peace with the Commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said Majesty, on the one part; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the Commissioners of the said States, for treating of Peace with the Commissioner of his said Majesty, on their Behalf, on the other part. To be inserted in, and to constitute the Treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded, between the Crown of Great Britain, and the said United States; but which Treaty is not to be concluded, untill Terms of a Peace shall be agreed upon, between Great Britain and France; and his Britannic Majesty shall be ready to conclude such Treaty accordingly.

Whereas reciprocal Advantages, and mutual Convenience are found by Experience, to form the only permanent foundation of Peace and Friendship between States; It is agreed to form the Articles of the proposed Treaty, on such Principles of liberal Equity, and Reciprocity, as that partial Advantages, (those Seeds of Discord!) being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory Intercourse between the two Countries, may be establish'd, as to promise and secure to both perpetual

ARTICLE 1st

His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, Viz New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free Sovereign and independent States; That he treats with them as such; And for himself, his Heirs and Successors, relinquishes all Claims to the Government, Propriety, and territorial Rights of the same, and every part thereof; and that all Disputes which might arise in future, on the Subject of the Boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, It is hereby agreed and declared that the following are, and shall be their Boundaries Viz

ARTICLE 2nd

From the north west Angle of Nova Scotia, Viz that Angle which is form'd by a Line drawn due north, from the Source of St. Croix River to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those Rivers that empty themselves into the River St Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwesternmost Head of Connecticut River; thence down along the middle of that River to the 45th Degree of North Latitude; from thence by a Line due West on said Latitude, untill it strikes the River Iroquois, or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said River into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said Lake, untill it strikes the Communication by Water between that Lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said Communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said Lake, until it arrives at the Water Communication between that Lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said Lake to the Water Communication between that Lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the

Isles Royal & Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water Communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods, thence through the said Lake to the most Northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west Course to the River Mississippi; thence by a Line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi, untill it shall intersect the northernmost part of the 31st Degree of North Latitude. South, by a Line to be drawn due East, from the Determination of the Line last mentioned, in the Latitude of 31 Degrees North of the Equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint River; thence strait to the Head of St. Mary's River, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a Line to be drawn along the middle of the River St Croix, from its Mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its Source; and from its Source directly North, to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the Rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean, from those which fall into the River Se Laurence; comprehending all Islands within twenty Leagues of any part of the Shores of the united States, and lying between Lines to be drawn due East from the points where the aforesaid Boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting such Islands as now are, or heretofore have been within the Limits of the said Province of Nova Scotia.

ARTICLE 3d

It is agreed, that the People of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the Right to take Fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland; Also in the Gulph of St Laurence, and at all other Places in the Sea where the Inhabitants of both Countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the Inhabitants of the united States shall have Liberty to take Fish of every kind on such part of the Coast of Newfoundland, as British Fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that Island,) and also on the Coasts, Bays, and Creeks of all other of his Britannic Majesty's Dominions in America, and that the American Fishermen shall have Liberty to dry and cure Fish in any of the unsettled Bays Harbours and Creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said Fishermen to dry or cure Fish at such Settlement, without a previous Agreement for that purpose with the Inhabitants Proprietors or Possessors of the Ground.

ARTICLE 4th

It is agreed that Creditors on either side, shall meet with no lawful Impediment to the Recovery of the full value in Sterling Money of all bond fide Debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE 5th

It is agreed that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the Legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the Restitution of all Estates, Rights, and Properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British Subjects; and also of the Estates Rights and Properties of Persons resident in Districts in the Possession of his Majesty's Arms; and who have not borne Arms against the said United States: And that Persons of

any other Description shall have free Liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their Endeavours to obtain the Restitution of such of their Estates, Rights and Properties as may have been confiscated; And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a Reconsideration and Revision of all Acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said Laws or Acts perfectly consistent not only with Justice and Equity, but with that spirit of Conciliation which on the Return of the Blessings of Peace should universally prevail. And that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the Estates Rights and Properties of such last mention'd Persons shall be restored to them; they refunding to any Persons who may be now in Possession the bond fide Price, (where any has been given,) which such Persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said Lands, Rights, or Properties since the Confiscation.

And it is agreed that all Persons who have any Interest in confiscated Lands, either by Debts, Marriage Settlements or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful Impediment in the prosecution of their just Rights.

ARTICLE 6th

That there shall be no future Confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any Person or Persons, for or by reason of the Part which he or they may have taken in the present War, and that no person shall on that account suffer any future Loss or Damage either in his Person, Liberty or Property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the Ratification of the Treaty in America, shall be immediately set at Liberty, and the Prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ARTICLE 7th

There shall be a firm and perpetual Peace, between his Britannic Majesty and the said States, and between the Subjects of the one and the Citizens of the other, Wherefore all Hostilities both by Sea and Land shall then immediately cease: All Prisoners on both sides shall be set at Liberty, & his Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, & without causing any Destruction or carrying away any Negroes, or other Property of the American Inhabitants withdraw all his Armies Garrisons and Fleets from the said United States, and from every Port, Place, and Harbour within the same; leaving in all Fortifications the American Artillery that may be therein: And shall also order and cause all Archives, Records, Deeds and Papers belonging to any of the said States, or their Citizens, which in the Course of the War may have fallen into the hands of his Officers to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE 8th

The Navigation of the River Mississippi from its Source to the Ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the Subjects of Great Britain and the Citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE 9th

In case it should so happen that any Place or Territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the Arms of either, from the other, before the Arrival of these Articles in America, It is agreed that the same shall be restored, without Difficulty, and without requiring any Compensation.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of November, in the year One thousand Seven hundred Eighty Two

RICHARD OSWALD [Seal]
JOHN ADAMS. [Seal]
B FRANKLIN [Seal]
JOHN JAY [Seal]
HENRY LAURENS. [Seal]

[On the page of the original next after the above signatures, is the following, the brackets being in the original.]

Witness

The Words [and Henry Laurens] between the fifth and sixth Lines of the first Page; and the Words [or carrying away any Negroes, or other Property of the American Inhabitants] between the seventh and eighth Lines of the eighth Page, being first interlined CALEB WHITEFOORD

Secretary to the British Commission.
W. T. FRANKLIN
Sec. to the American Commission

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931), pp. 96-100.

4) Declarations for Suspension of Arms and Cessation of Hostilities (January 20, 1783)

We the underwritten Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, having received from Mr Fitz-Herbert, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, a Declaration relative to a Suspension of Arms to be establish'd between his said Majesty and the said States, of which the following is a Copy. viz:

Whereas the Preliminary Articles agreed to and signed this Day between his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his most Christian Majesty on the one Part, and also between his said Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty on the other Part, stipulate a Cessation of Hostilities between those three Powers, which is to Commence upon the Exchange of the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles; And whereas by the Provisional Treaty signed the thirtieth of November last, between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of North America, it was stipulated that the said Treaty should have its Effect as soon as Peace between the said Crowns should be established; The under-written Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty declares in the Name, and by the express, Order of the King his Master, that the said United States of North America, their Subjects and their Possessions, shall be comprised in the suspension of Arms above-mentioned, And that they shall consequently enjoy the Benifit of the Cessation of Hostilities, at the same Periods and in the same Manner as the three Crowns aforesaid and their Subjects and Possessions respectively On Condition however, that on the Part and in the Name of the Said United States of North America, there shall be deliver'd a similar Declaration expressing the Assent to the present Suspension of Arms, and containing an Assurance of the most perfect Reciprocity on their Part.

In faith whereof, we, the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, have signed this present Declaration, and have thereto caused the Seal of our Arms to be affixed, at Versailles this twentieth Day of January One Thousand seven hundred & Eighty three.

(signed)

ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT
(LS.)

We have in the Name of the said United States of North America & in Virtue of the Powers we are vested with, received the above Declaration and do accept the same by these Presents, and we do reciprocally declare, that the said States shall cause to cease all Hostilities against his Britannic Majesty, his Subjects and Possessions at the Terms or Periods agreed to between his said Majesty the King of Great Britain, his Majesty the King of France, and his Majesty the King of Spain, in the same manner as is stipulated between these , three Crowns, and to have the same Effect.

In faith whereof, We Ministers Plenipotentiary from the United States of America, have signed the present Declaration and have hereunto affixed the Seals of our Arms. At Versailles the twentieth of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty three.

JOHN ADAMS. B FRANKLIN

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931)

6) Declaration Signed in Paris by the American Commissioners (February 20, 1783)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, for making Peace with Great Britain. A Declaration of the Cessation of Hostilities as well by Sea as Land, agreed upon between His Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and the United States of America.

Whereas Preliminary Articles were signed, at Paris, on the thirtieth Day of November last, between the Plenipotentiaries of his said Majesty the King of Great Britain, and of the said States, to be inserted in, and to constitute the Treaty of Peace to be concluded between his said Majesty, and the said United States when Terms of Peace should be agreed upon between his said Majesty and his most Christian Majesty: and Whereas Preliminaries for restoring Peace, between his said Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and his most Christian Majesty, were signed at Versailles, on the twentieth day of January last, by the respective Ministers of their said Majesties: and Whereas preliminaries for restoring Peace, between his said Majesty the King of Great Britain, and his Majesty the King of Spain, were also signed at Versailles, on the twentyeth Day of January last, by their respective Ministers: and Whereas, for putting an End to the Calamity of War, as soon and as far as possible, it hath been agreed, between the King of Great Britain, his most Christian Majesty, the King of Spain, the States General of the United Provinces and the United States of America as follows, that is to say.

That such Vessells and Effects, as should be taken, in the Channell and in the North Seas, after the Space of twelve Days, to be computed from the Ratification of the said Preliminary Articles should be restored on all Sides; that the Term should be one Month from the Channell and North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or the Mediterranean; two Months from the said Canary Islands, as far as the Equinoctial Line, or Equator, and lastly five Months in all other Parts of the World, without any Exception or any other more particular Description of Time or Place.

And Whereas the Ratifications of the said Preliminary Articles between his said Majesty, the King of Great Britain, and his most Christian Majesty, in due Form, were exchanged by their Ministers on the third day of this instant February, from which Day the several Terms abovementioned, of Twelve Days, of one Month, of two Months, and of five Months are to be computed, relative to all British and American Vessells and Effects

Now therefore, We, the Ministers Plenipotentiary, from the United States of America, for making Peace with Great Britain do notify to the People and Citizens, of the said United States of America that Hostilities, on their Part, against his Britannic Majesty, both by Sea and land are to cease, at the Expiration of the Terms herein before specified therefor, and which Terms are to be computed, from the third day of February instant. And We do, in the Name and by the Authority of the said United States, accordingly warn and enjoin all their Officers and Citizens, to forbear all Acts of Hostility, whatever, either by Land or by Sea against his said Majesty, the King of Great Britain, or his Subjects under the Penalty of incurring the highest Displeasure of the said United States.

Given at Paris the Twentieth Day of February, in the Year of our Lord, One Thousand, Seven hundred and Eighty Three, under our Hands and Seals

JOHN ADAMS [Seal
B FRANKLIN [Seal
JOHN JAY [Seal]

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931)

7) Treaty of Paris (September 3, 1783)

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent Prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunebourg, arch-treasurer and prince elector of the Holy Roman Empire etc., and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse, between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the Provisional Articles signed at Paris on the 30th of November 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and constitute the Treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded between the Crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France and his Britannic Majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the Provisional Articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say his Britannic Majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esqr., member of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esqr., late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esqr., late delegate in Congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; John Jay, Esqr., late president of Congress and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of

Madrid; to be plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles.

Article 1. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free sovereign and independent states, that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same and every part thereof.

Article 2. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. ...

Article 3. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and on all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that island) and also on the coasts, bays and creeks of all other of his Britannic Majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled, but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

Article 4. ...

Article 5. ...

Article 6. ...

Article 7. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease. All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic Majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any Negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the said United

States, and from every post, place, and harbor within the same; leaving in all fortifications, the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

Article 8. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Article 9. ...

Article 10 ...

The solemn ratifications of the present treaty expedited in good and due form shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signatures of the present treaty. In witness whereof we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

D. HARTLEY (SEAL)
JOHN ADAMS (SEAL)
B. FRANKLIN (SEAL)
JOHN JAY (SEAL)

Source: *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Edited by Hunter Miller, Vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931)