

List of Resources/Resource Inventory  
Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route  
in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations

**Note:** This Resource Inventory and Site Survey for the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route (W3R) in the State of Rhode Island focuses on two areas:

- 1) The City of Newport, landing point of Rochambeau's troops in July 1780, and site of the winter quarters of his infantry in 1780/81, and starting point of the W3R.
- 2) The City of Providence, site of hospitals, stores, and depots from 1780-82, site of the first camp of the 1781 march, and site of the last extended camp of the French infantry in November and December 1782 before departure for Boston.
- 3) In 1780/82, East Providence and Eastern Pawtucket did not yet belong to Rhode Island. The areas did not become part of the State until 1863, when they were exchanged with Massachusetts for Fall River. Overland routes from Newport to Providence took French officers such as Rochambeau, Chastellux or de Ternay as well as American officers such as General Washington through Massachusetts.

Public Law No. 106-473, an "Act to require the Secretary of the Interior to complete a resource study of the 600-mile route through Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Virginia, used by George Washington and General Rochambeau during the American Revolutionary War," assumed that the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route would begin with the departure of French forces from Newport in June 1781, rather than with their arrival there in June 1780. For the purposes of this architectural and historical resource inventory and site survey, however, it is assumed that the route begins with the landing of French forces under General *comte* de Rochambeau in July 1780.

**Scope:** This means that sites and routes connected with the winter quarters of Rochambeau's forces in Rhode Island are **included** in this survey. It ends with their departure from Providence for Boston in December 1782.

Also **included** in this resource inventory and site survey are sites and resources connected with the route of the *comte* de Rochambeau to the conference with General George Washington in Hartford in October 1780 and to the Conference at Wethersfield in May 1781.

Also **included** are sites and resources connected with the visit of General Washington to Newport in March 1781.

Also **included** are sites connected with the route of the *comte* de Rochambeau from Providence to Newburgh, New York in December 1782 that form part of *comte* de Rochambeau's route to Baltimore and eventually to France.

Also **included** is the route of the hussars serving as express riders from Newport to Westerly and Hartford, from where Sheldon's cavalry took over the task of maintaining communication with Washington in Newburgh. By this route much of the livestock from Connecticut reached French forces in Newport.

**NOT included** are sites and resources connected with Rochambeau's travels to inspect hospitals (Providence, August 1780), to reconnoitre possible winter quarters for a Second Division of French forces (which never arrived) or his various journeys such as to Providence in August 1780, or to Boston in December 1780. Also excluded are travels of French officers such as the *chevalier* de Chastellux in the winter of 1780/81, though a visit by such officers is mentioned whenever such a resource also forms part of the W3R.

**NOT included** are (with very few specific exceptions) sites that are only connected with the presence of the French Navy in Newport. This inventory focuses on the land forces and their movements in Rhode Island.

**NOT included** are sites connected with French participation in the American War which pre-date the arrival of Rochambeau's forces, e.g., Admiral d'Estaing's forces that participated in the Battle of Rhode Island in 1778.

**NOT included** are sites such as temporary earthen works on various islands in the harbor or along the coast line since the form neither part of the march nor of winter quarters. They are however mentioned at the appropriate places in the text.

Since no specifics are known about the route from Boston to Providence taken by French reinforcements that arrived in Boston in June 1781, their march is **NOT included** as a separate route. It is assumed that they followed the route taken by the 350 men of the Bourbonnois Regiment, whose transport, the *Isle de France*, had put into Boston in July 1780, and who marched to Newport via Providence, and/or that of French infantry on their return march to Boston in December 1782.

**NOT included** for the same reason is also the subsequent sea or land route from Providence to Newport of those soldiers among the reinforcements who were too sick to participate in the march. These troop movements are however mentioned at the appropriate places in the text of this survey.

**NOT included** is the march of those men who had remained behind in Newport under Major DePrez of the Royal Deux-Ponts after the departure of Admiral Barras for the Chesapeake in August 1781. These troops relocated to Providence in August 1781 after Admiral Barras had left for Virginia. In early April 1782, De Prez took his contingent, about 100 men, from Providence to Philadelphia. Their movements are mentioned at the appropriate places in this survey, and their routes covered as part of other routes surveyed in this inventory.

Resources are first listed geographically and then chronologically within a given area in the sequence in which they were visited rather than in a strictly chronological sequence which would have necessitated beginning the inventory with University Hall in Providence rather than the landing sites in Newport.

Within the framework outlined above there are a total of seven land routes and one water route of French forces that can be identified in Rhode Island from their arrival in July 1780 to their departure in June 1781.

For the return march of French forces through Rhode Island in December 1782, and the journey of Rochambeau from Providence to Newburgh two land routes have been identified.

The routes and related sites and resources have been listed as much as possible in the approximate chronological order in which they were visited. All resources are given only one number in this inventory even if they were occupied and/or visited more than once between June 1780 and December 1782.

The Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route in the State of Rhode Island therefore consists of the following eleven routes:

- 1) the land route from Newport to Providence and on to Lebanon used by Lauzun's hussars between November 1780 and June 1781
- 2) the land route and stations of the express riders from Newport to Hartford provided by the hussars of Lauzun's Legion
- 3) the land route of the *comte* de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay to the Conference at Hartford in September 1780
- 4) the land route of General George Washington on his visit to the *comte* de Rochambeau in Newport in March 1781
- 5) the land route of *comte* de Rochambeau and the *chevalier* de Chastellux to the Conference at Wethersfield in May 1781
- 6) the march of Lauzun's infantry to Lebanon, Connecticut, in June 1781, where it joined the cavalry that had wintered there
- 7a) the sea route of Rochambeau's infantry from Newport to Providence in June 1781 at the start of the march to White Plains and Yorktown
- 7b) the land route of Rochambeau and the French wagon train from Newport to Providence in June 1781, at the start of the march to White Plains and Yorktown
- 8) the land route of Rochambeau's infantry from Providence to Connecticut and New York in June 1781
- 9) the return route of Rochambeau's forces from Connecticut to Providence in November and the march to Boston in December 1782
- 10) the land route of *comte* de Rochambeau from Providence to Newburgh, New York, in December 1782

## **Part I: Quarters of Rochambeau's Forces in Newport, June 1780 to July 1781**

**Note:** There are two organizations/groups involved in historic preservation in Newport. Together they restored over 150 colonial homes, many, but not all, of which are on the National Register. Some homes may have two plaques on them, one for the NRH/NHL designation and one for either of the two groups. Some have neither.

The oldest of these groups is *Operation Clapboard*, a local grassroots organization that was especially active during the 1960s. The ca. 60 homes restored and saved under their guidance are identified with white signs that say "OC" with an acorn motif. These homes remain privately owned.

About 90 homes have a green and white sign with the initials "NRF" for "Newport Restoration Foundation", a non-profit organization created by tobacco heiress Doris Duke in 1968. Duke bought and restored these properties, which are owned by the foundation and rented to tenants.

Approx. 50 historic homes were restored privately by their owners.

Altogether there are about 300 houses still standing in Newport that date to 1782 and before and which could have been visited by, or occupied by, French officers and men in 1780 and 1781. The following list of resources contains only those houses where there is a documented presence of French personnel during the time-period 1780/81. It is based on the LIST OF QUARTERS OCCUPIED IN THE TOWN OF NEWPORT BY THE ARMY UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU, DURING THE WINTER QUARTERS OF 1780-81 published by Alan and Mary M. Simpson in "A New Look at How Rochambeau quartered his Army in Newport (1780-1781)." *Newport History* (Spring 1983), pp.30-67.

This listing follows the sequence of properties as they are listed in the above article. In all cases the modern street names, rather than those of the eighteenth century as used in the Simpson's article, have been used.

The houses on this official quartering list provided lodging for only 91 officers, incl. naval officers. Rochambeau alone however had more than 350 officers who were quartered during the winter with private families across Newport. No document identifying the quarters of these officers and/or of the troops has yet been found.

All properties listed in this "List of Resources" have been positively identified in the files of the State Historic Preservation Office in Providence kindly provided by Mr. Jeff Emidy, and are all National Historic Landmarks or on the National Register of Historic Places.

## HEADQUARTERS STAFF

Resource 1: **William Vernon House** (c. 1708)

46 Clark Street  
Newport, RI

The Vernon House, built ca. 1708, provided headquarters for Rochambeau while in Newport between July 1780 and June 1781, as well as that of his son, the *vicomte* de Rochambeau. Here Washington was a guest from 6 to 13 March 1781.

A plaque on the outside wall of the house commemorates Rochambeau's stay.

The *Memoirs of the Marshal Count de Rochambeau, Relative to the War of Independence of the United States* M.W.E. Wright, ed., (New York, 1971; orig. 1838) provide Rochambeau's own remembrances of the war.

Resource 2: **Charles Tillinghast House**

243-245 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

The Charles Tillinghast house, built in 1715, provided quarters for French Intendant Benoît Joseph de Tarlé. *Commissaire des guerres* (Commissary of War) Jacques Pierre Orillard, *comte* de Villemanzuy stayed there as well. The original building was demolished in 1972 or 1973

Resource 3: **Joseph Wanton House**

25 Walnut Street  
Newport, RI

This ca. 1770 house served as quarters for Major General Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron* de Vioménil, Rochambeau's second in command, and of his brother Joseph Hyacinthe du Houx, *comte* de Vioménil. Also quartered there were *baron* de Vioménil's aides-de-camp de Pangé and Brisout de Barneville, whose "Journal de Guerre de Brisout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" was published in *The French-American Review* vol. 3, no. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278.

Resource 4: **Captain Mawdsley House**

228 Spring Street  
Newport, RI

During the winter of 1780-81, this was the home of French Major-General François *chevalier* Beauvoir de Chastellux, who was third in command of French forces in America. His *Travels in North America in Years 1780-81* Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed., 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, 1963) contain much invaluable information on the campaign in America.

Resource 5: **Jacob Rodriguez Riviera (Rathburn-Gardner-Riviera) House**  
8 Washington Square  
Newport, RI

Jacob Rodriguez Rivera (son of Abraham Riviera, uncle and father-in-law of Aaron Lopez) hailed from a "Marrano" family from Seville, Spain. He arrived in Newport via Curaçao in 1748 where he introduced the manufacture of spermaceti candle-making. Next to Aaron Lopez, Rivera occupied the highest position in the commercial, religious and social life of Newport's Jewish community. His daughter Sarah, married to Aaron Lopez, and his son Jacob owned the house at 8 Washington Square. During the winter of 1780-81, French Brigadier General Claude Gabriel de Choisy lodged here with an aide-de-camp identified with the name "Saumann". No such officer identified in Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance* (Château de Vincennes, 1982).

#### ARMY STAFF

Resource 6: **Moses Levy and Moses Seixas House**  
29 Touro Street  
Newport, RI

The Moses Levi house provided winter quarters to Pierre François de Bévillie, Rochambeau's *maréchal général des logis*, which translates as "Quartermaster General", who stayed here while in Newport from July 1780 to June 1781. In today's military, a quartermaster performs the functions of a French *commissaire de guerre* of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The *Quartermaster* staffs of the armies of eighteenth-century Continental Europe are the roots of the modern General Staff and performed General Staff duties. This house is listed as the Buliod-Perry House (pre-1757) in NHR files.

#### ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTERS GENERAL

There are three AQMGs on the quartering list. The *vicomte* de Rochambeau stayed with his father in the Vernon House and Charles de Bévillie de Pont stayed with his father François de Bévillie in the Levi - Seixas House, as did François de Bévillie's other son, 22-year-old Jacques de Bévillie, who served as an aide-de-camp to his father. The journal of Rochambeau's son was published by 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).

### Resource 7: **Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House**

17 Broadway  
Newport, RI

The oldest restored house in Newport (possibly dating to 1675), has been the home of Colonial governors, Tories, patriots, Supreme Court Justices, and site of the Stamp Act riot of 1765. John Wanton purchased the house at public auction. His daughter, Polly, was well known among the French officers of the day, as attested to by the window pane that bears the inscription "charming Polly Wanton." Lieutenant Colonel George Henry Victor Collot, an *aide-de-camp* to Rochambeau, lodged here from July 1780 to June 1781 while in Newport. Governor of Guadeloupe in 1792, he came to the US as a British prisoner of war after the surrender of the island in April 1794. Paroled in Philadelphia in 1796, he was approached by Pierre Adet, the French minister to the United States, to survey the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and investigate how they could be claimed for France. Having completed his journey along the Ohio and Mississippi, he returned to Paris from Louisiana in December 1796. Based partly on Collot's information, Napoleon acquired the Louisiana Territory from Spain on October 1, 1800, but sold it to the United States 2 1/2 years later.

### **BRIGADE MAJORS**

There were three Brigade Majors with Rochambeau's troops. The *comte* de Ménonville stayed with "Captain George" at 90 Spring Street, and Denis Jean Florimond de Langlois, *marquis* du Bouchet quartered with "Captain Storey" on 265 Thames Street. Both houses do not exist any more. Du Bouchet described his experiences in his *Journal d'un Emigré* which is located in the Division of Rare and Manuscripts Collections at Cornell University. See also my "A French Volunteer who lived to rue America's Revolution: Denis Jean Florimond de Langlois, Marquis du Bouchet" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* vol. 21, no. 3, June/July 1999, pp. 16-25. The third Brigade Major, Jean Josse de Tarlé, was quartered with his brother Benoît de Tarlé in the home of Charles Tillinghast.

### **CORPS OF ENGINEERS**

*Colonel commandant* Jean Nicolas Desandrouins of the engineers, quartered with Colonel John Malbone, whose house stood on 28 Thames Street in Newport. It is no longer standing.

### Resource 8: **Francis Malbone House**

392 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

Lieutenant Colonel Guillaume Querenet de la Combe, second in command of Rochambeau's engineers, lodged there while in Newport, July 1780 to June 1781.

Resource 9: **John Tillinghast House** (c. 1758)  
142 Mill Street  
Newport, RI

Built in 1760, the John Tillinghast House (identified as Pardon Tillinghast property on the 1781 list), provided winter quarters to Captain Croublier d'Opterre and Captain Marie Louis Thomas, *marquis* de Gazarac, who served as aide-de-camp to his cousin the *baron* de Vioménil.

The quarters of the remaining artillery officers, i.e., Major de Palys (Mrs Gidley), Captain de Doyré (Henry Ward), Captain de Turpin and Lieutenant de Plancher (William Coggeshall) have not been identified. Louis Alexandre Berthier “lodged near the Comte de Saint-Maîme,” colonel of the Soissonnois Regiment. Saint-Maîme quartered in High (=Division) Street at the house of “Miss Coles”. Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns* vol. 1, p. 235 fn 29 write: “the exact location of her house has not been determined.”

### ARTILLERY

The lodging of Colonel d'Aboville, commanding officer of the artillery, who stayed with John Overing, is no longer standing.

Resource 10: **William Giles House**  
30 Golden Hill Street  
Newport, RI

Built pre-1777, it was home to Guillaume Cairol de Laziers, *major d'équipage*, the waggonmaster of Rochambeau's artillery and of Thomas Antoine de Mauduit du Plessis, *aide-major* of the artillery. Mauduit Du Plessis had served as a lieutenant colonel in the Continental artillery between 1777 and 1779 and distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth.

### COMMISSARIAT

Rochambeau's commissariat consisted of four officers. Chief commissary Claude Blanchard stayed with Mrs Cozzens on Thames Street; the home is no longer standing. *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), forms an important source for studying the presence of French forces in America.

Resource 11: **Simon Pease House** (c. 1700)  
32 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

The Simon Pease house was the lodgings of Commissary Ethis de Corny while in Newport. Commissary de Villemanzuy stayed with de Tarlé in the QMG office. The lodgings of Joseph François Gau de Voves, Commissary of War and Artillery, who lodged with Rebecca Rider, have not been identified.

## MINOR ARMY STAFF

The only officer listed under this category is Captain Thomas Mullins of the guides, who stayed with Mrs Mumford on Congress Street, today's north side of Washington Square. The house has not been identified.

## PROVOST

Resource 12: **Town Prison** (c. 1722)  
13 Marlborough Street  
Newport, RI

Rochambeau's provost de Ronchamp stayed with John Honeyman in Plum Street, today's Pelham Street, close to the town prison, also on Plum Street.

## AIDES-DE-CAMP OF THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

**Note:** All six of these aides either kept diaries or wrote long letters (some still unpublished) to correspondents in Europe, which provide important information on the French stay in America from 1780 to 1783.

Resource 13: **Robert Stevens House**  
31 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

The Robert Stevens House, built 1742-55, provided quarters to Rochambeau's aides the *comte* de Fersen and the *marquis* de Damas.

There is a plaque commemorating the stay on the house. See F. U. Wrangel, ed., *Lettres d'Axel de Fersen a son père pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance d'amérique* (Paris, 1929).

Resource 14: **Henry Potter House**  
39 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

The Henry Potter House provided quarters to the *comte* de Lauberdière and Baron Closen whose diary was published by Evelyn Acomb, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958). On Lauberdière see my "Lauberdière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* vol. 18 no. 1 (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37, and "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière" *American Heritage* vol. 48 no. 1 (February 1997), pp. 101-106. This house is identified as Melville House (c. 1730-1755) in NHR files.

The home of Rochambeau's other aides-de-camp, the *chevalier* de Lameth and Mathieu Dumas with Joseph Anthony in Spring Street is no longer standing. On Dumas see Mathieu Dumas, *Memoirs of his Own Time* 2 vols., (London, 1839).

#### **AIDES-DE-CAMP OF BARON DE VIOMÉNIL**

Of the winter quarters of the seven aides-de-camp of *baron* de Vioménil, only one is known, that of Brissout de Barneville and de Pangé, who lodged with the *baron*.

The winter quarters of Colonel *baron* d'Angely (Adam Ferguson), the *chevalier* de Vioménil, i.e., the baron's nephew, and of *vicomte* Amand (Gould Marsh), and de Chabannes and Brintaneau (John Freebody) have not been identified.

#### **AIDES-DE-CAMP OF THE CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX**

The lodgings of Chastellux' aides Lynch and Montesquieu with Madame MacKay have not been identified. The letters by Montesquieu were published by Octave Beuve, "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu. Soldat de l'Indépendance Américaine (d'après des documents inédits)" *Revue historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire* vol. 5 (January-June 1914), pp. 233-263. See also Raymond Céleste, "Un Petit-Fils de Montesquieu en Amérique (1780-1783)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* vol. 5 no. 12 (December 1902), pp. 529-556, and Raymond Céleste, "Charles-Louis de Montesquieu a l'Armée (1772-1782)" *Revue Philomathique de Bordeaux et du Sud-Ouest* vol. 6 no. 11 (November 1904), pp. 505-524.

#### **AIDES-DE-CAMP OF THE COMTE DE VIOMÉNIL**

The winter quarters of Vioménil's three aides, the brothers d'Olonne (Edward Hazard) and Stack (William Almy) have not been identified.

#### **AIDES-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY**

Choisy's aide-de-camp Saumann lodged with Choisy in the Riviera home.

#### **AIDE-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BÉVILLE**

Béville's aide-de-camp was his son Jacques who stayed with him in the Levi House.

#### **PAYMASTER**

French Paymaster de Baulny was quartered in the Levy-Seixas home.

## SUPPLIES

Resource 15: **Robert Lillibridge House** (Pitt's Head Tavern, c. 1726)  
77 Bridge Street  
Newport, RI

The Robert Lillibridge House provided lodging for Supply Inspector Duval.

Resource 16: **Dr. Nicholas Tillinghast House** (c. 1750)  
134-136 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

An administrative officer by the name of "Morion", identified as "Cashier" in the quartering list, quartered with Dr. Tillinghast. No such person is identified in Bodinier's dictionary.

The quarters of Manager Daure (William Coggeshall) and Director Bourgneuf (William Gibbs) have not been identified.

## HOSPITALS

None of the lodgings for the hospital staff, Manager De Mars (James Taylor), Chief Physician de Coste (William Lyndon), Chief Surgeon Robillard (James Senter) or Abbé de Glesnon, Chaplain (Widow Brayton) have been identified.

## BUTCHER'S MEAT

The lodgings of Manager Buret de Blegier (Johetas Gibbs) have not been identified.

## FORAGE

The lodgings of Manager Louis with Gideon Sisson have not been identified.

## CLOTHING AND ACCOUTREMENTS

Resource 17: **Constant Tabor House** (c. 1750)  
47 John Street  
Newport, RI

Constant Tabor provided lodging for Storekeeper Martin during 1780/81.

## REGIMENTS QUARTERED IN TOWN COLONELS AND SUPERIOR OFFICERS

### **Bourbonnois Regiment**

The *vicomte* de Rochambeau, second colonel of the regiment, stayed with his father in the Vernon House; the lodgings of marquis de Laval, colonel of the regiment, and Major de Gambs (Robinson) and Lieutenant Colonel de Bresolles (Joseph Clarke) have not been identified.

### **Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment**

None of the quarters of the officers of the Royal Deux-Ponts, Christian de Deux-Ponts (George Scott), William de Deux-Ponts (Nathaniel Mumford), Baron Esebeck (William Still) and Major Desprez (Thomas Vernon) have been identified. The account of the war by William de Deux-Ponts, *My Campaigns in America* Samuel Abbot Green, ed. (Boston, 1868), contains much valuable information though it ends after the siege of Yorktown.

George Scott's daughter Polly fell in love with Christian de Deux-Ponts.

### **Soissonnois Regiment**

The lodgings of *comte* de St. Maisme ("Miss Coles"), colonel of the regiment, have not been identified.

Resource 18: **Thomas Robinson House** (pre-1756)  
64 Washington Street  
Newport, RI

The ca. 1736/1760 Robinson House provided quarters for the *vicomte* de Noailles, second colonel of the regiment.

Resource 19: **Huntington Crandall House**  
59 Poplar Street  
Newport, RI

This pre-1758 house provided quarters for the servants of the *vicomte* de Noailles.

Resource 20: **William Cozzens House**  
57-59 Farewell Street  
Newport, RI

This ca. 1760 house provided quarters to Joseph d'Anselme, Lieutenant Colonel of the Soissonnois regiment.

The Robert Lawton House at the corner of Spring and Touro Streets, which provided quarters to Major d'Espeyron of the Soissonnois Regiment, is no longer standing. Robert Lawton's daughter Polly is mentioned in numerous accounts by French officers.

Mrs Richard Jackson Barker, "The Daughters of Liberty." *The American Historical Register and Monthly Gazette of the Patriotic-Hereditary Societies of the United States of America* (September 1894-February 1895) vol. 1 (1895), pp. 29-36, pp. 30-31.

### **Saintonge Regiment**

None of the quarters of the officers of the Saintonge regiment, i.e., Colonel de Custine (Joseph Durfey), *comte* de Charlus (Major Martin), Lieutenant Colonel de la Valette (John Oldfield) and Major de Fleury (Jeremiah Clarke) have been identified. Fleury had served in the Continental Army and distinguished himself at Stony Point.

### **ARTILLERY PARK**

Resource 21: **Captain James Carpenter House** (c. 1765)  
406-410 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

The Carpenter House provided quarters for Lieutenant Colonel Nadal, director of the artillery park.

### **ROYAL ARTILLERY, SECOND BATTALION, AUXONNE REGIMENT**

Resource 22: **Joseph Tweedy House** (c. 1709-1720)  
69 Touro Street  
Newport, RI

The Tweedy House provided quarters to Chef de Brigade de Buzelet.

The quarters of Lieutenant Colonel de la Tour (William Lee) have not been identified.

### **MINERS**

The quarters of Chef de Brigade de Chazelles (Major Fairchilds) have not been identified.

### **WORKMEN**

The quarters of Second Captain de la Chaise (Abraham Redwood) have not been identified.

## VOLONTAIRES-ETRANGERS DE LAUZUN

The quarters of the *duc* de Lauzun, colonel of Lauzun's Legion with Deborah Hunter, the widow of Dr. William Hunter, on the north side of Mary Street at Thames, are no longer standing. It should be noted, however, that Lauzun spent November and December 1780 with the hussars in Lebanon, Connecticut, where he quartered with David Trumbull.

Resource 23: Peter Harrington House/Leamington Farm  
Harrison Avenue/Brenton Cove  
Newport, RI

The quarters of Captain Sheldon (Alley Place) have not been identified.

**NOTE:** This inventory focuses on the land forces and their movements in Rhode Island. Sites that are only connected with the French Navy such as the Naval Artillery Park or the homes of naval captains, though identifiable, are, with few specific exceptions listed here, not included in this survey. For some of these houses see Hattendorf, *Newport, the French Navy*, pp. 71-73.

## THE NAVY

Resource 24: **Governor Joseph Wanton Jr. (Hunter) House**  
54 Washington Street  
Newport, RI

This house, one of the finest examples of colonial residential architecture in America, was built in 1748 for Jonathan Nichols, later deputy governor of Rhode Island. Governor Joseph Wanton Jr. lived here as well. In 1780, it served as head-quarters for Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, *chevalier* de Ternay, commanding officer of the French naval force. The admiral, already sick when he arrived in Newport, died here and was buried in Trinity churchyard.

Two of his aides who served as officers on his flagship, the *duc de Bourgogne*, i.e., his *major d'escadre* de Grandchain, Ternay's chief administrative officer, and *aide-major d'escadre* Lieutenant *comte* de Capellis, Grandchain's chief assistant, were lodged in the house, which served as the Naval Office to the French fleet.

Resource 25: **William and Abraham Redwood House**  
69 Spring Street  
Newport, RI

In 1780/81, this 1759 house was the quarters of Captain Destouches who succeeded Admiral Ternay and was in command of the French fleet in Newport until the arrival of Admiral Barras.

**Note:** Downing and Scully, *Architectural Heritage*, p. 98, state that the William Redwood House on Bridge Street, home to Destouches, is no longer standing.

Resource 26: **John Townshend House**

19 Second Street  
Newport, RI

This 1773-77 house was home to Captain de la Vicomte.

**Supplementary sites connected with French forces in Newport:**

Resource 27: **Friends Meeting House**

30 Marlborough Street  
Newport, RI

This is the oldest religious structure in Newport. Quakers were the dominant religious group for the first 100 years of the Colony's history; and as late as 1730, over half of the people in Newport were members of the society. The meeting house was used as a hospital by French forces following their arrival in Newport in July 1780.

Resource 28: **Trinity Church**

141 Spring Street  
Newport, RI

Admiral de Ternay, head of the French fleet, died on 10 December 1780, was given a funeral with full military honors and laid to rest in the cemetery of Trinity Church.

Resource 29: **Tomb Marker for Admiral Ternay in Trinity Church (1785)**

Inside Trinity Church  
Newport, RI

When the original marble tomb cover of 1785, was removed to inside Trinity Church in 1872, the French government replaced it with a granite block in 1873.

Resource 30: **Tomb Marker for Admiral Ternay in Cemetery (1873)**

Trinity Church Cemetery  
Newport, RI

When the original marble tomb cover of 1785, was removed to inside Trinity Church in 1872, the French government replaced it with a granite block in 1873.

Resource 31: **Redwood Library**  
50 Bellevue Avenue  
Newport, RI

Built in 1758 with Peter Harrison as architect, this is one of the oldest continuously used libraries in the United States. Although not documented, it is more than likely that some of the French officers visited it and used its resources.

Resource 32: **Old Colony House** (1739-41)  
Washington Square  
Newport, RI

Designed by Richard Munday and built in 1739-41 to house the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, it served as a center for public meetings and religious and social functions. During the Revolutionary War it served as a hospital for British and French forces quartered in Newport. In 1781, when George Washington came to Newport to visit the French Army, a banquet was held in the great hall on the first floor. Tradition has it that the first Roman Catholic Masses in Rhode Island were celebrated here in 1780-81 by the Abbé de Glesnon, French Army chaplain under *comte* de Rochambeau. The Nation's second oldest capitol building, it was used for the General Assembly's Newport sessions until 1900.

Resource 33: **Second Congregational Church**  
13 and 15 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

This church was built in 1735. Dr. Ezra Stiles ministered here from 1755 until the British occupation in December 1776; he lived across the street at the Stiles House, (or Henderson House). In 1780-81, the church was used as a hospital.

Resource 34: **Stiles House** (also known as Henderson Home, c. 1756-1765)  
14 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

The famous minister of Newport, RI's Congregational Church, Dr. Ezra Stiles lived here while he ministered across the street from 1755 until the British occupation in December 1776.

Resource 35: **First Presbyterian Church**  
6 Everett Street  
Newport, RI

During 1780-81, the church was used as a hospital by the French navy.

Resource 36: **Brick Market** (1772)  
127 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

Designed by Peter Harrison, the Brick Market on the edge of the harbor was at the center of economic activity in Newport. Current thinking is that most of the purchasing by individual soldiers and officers for fresh fruit or meats or other such items would have taken place at and around the Market.

Resource 37: **White Horse Tavern** (1673)  
127 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

This is the oldest continuously operating tavern in America, and it is more than likely that French officers and men spent time in this tavern.

Resource 38: **Touro Synagogue** (1763)  
72 Touro Street  
Newport, RI

Touro Synagogue is the oldest synagogue on the North American continent. Designed by Peter Harrison, it stands as a symbol of religious freedom throughout the world. When the Jewish community declined after the war of independence, the sacred scrolls were lodged for safe-keeping in a private home (1800). In 1822, Moses Lopez, the last Jew in Newport, moved to New York; the care of the synagogue was taken over by Nathan Gould, a Christian. The synagogue later received a bequest for its upkeep of \$10,000 by Judah Touro, son of the former minister, who lived in New Orleans. His brother Abraham also endowed the building. The ownership of the synagogue devolved on the Shearith Israel Congregation in New York. It was officially re-consecrated in 1883.

Resource 39: **Rochambeau Plaza**  
Wellington Avenue  
Newport, RI

The statue marks the site of the landing of Rochambeau's forces. There are numerous plaques as well as the original stone placed at the site in 1907 attached to, or integrated into, the sides of the cairn. They are listed as part of Resource 41.

Resource 40: **French campsites, July 1780-November 1780**  
Newport, RI

"The camp ran from east to west from present-day Spring Street, where at the west end it overlooked a marsh and the squadron anchorage. On the east end, it overlooked

Easton's Beach." The infantry regiments camped on the east side, the artillery "on the camp's west end close to Spring Street. The area across Spring Street and stretching down to Thames Street was laid out as the French Army's artillery park."<sup>1</sup> Lauzun's Legion took up positions at Castle Hill.

No archaeological search has as yet been done to determine the exact locations of the various campsites.

## **Part II: Routes Prior to the March to Yorktown**

### **Route 1: The route from Newport to Providence and Lebanon used by Lauzun's hussars between November 1780 and June 1781**

In November 1780, Rochambeau decided to quarter Lauzun's hussars in Lebanon, Connecticut. While still in Newport, the hussars received orders on 8 November 1780, to supply themselves with bread for the next two days. On the 10<sup>th</sup> they were to receive their bread rations for the 12<sup>th</sup> through the 15<sup>th</sup> in Providence as well as an eight-day ration of rice for those four days. "Much snow fell and it was very cold" when the hussars began their land march from Newport to Providence in the morning of 9 November 1780. Despite the inclement weather Lauzun gave a ball in Hacker Hall. After two days of rest (10 and 11 November 1780) they left Providence for Windham on 12 November. Here they stayed for a week, but on Monday, 20 November, Lauzun and his hussars rode into Lebanon.

**Route description:** assuming that they assembled in the Harbor/Long Wharf area, the hussars left Newport on Broadway, which becomes RI-SR 114, until they reached Bristol Ferry. Having crossed over to the mainland, they continued on RI-SR 114, alternately called Ferry Road, Hope Street and Main Street, through Bristol to Warren, where they crossed the Warren Rivers on the Warren Ferry and continued the journey on Nayatt Road (RI-SR 103), which becomes Veteran's Memorial Parkway into East Providence.<sup>2</sup>



Map details from Charles Blaskowitz, *A topographical Chart of the Bay of Narragansett* (London: Engraved & printed for Wm. Faden, 1777)

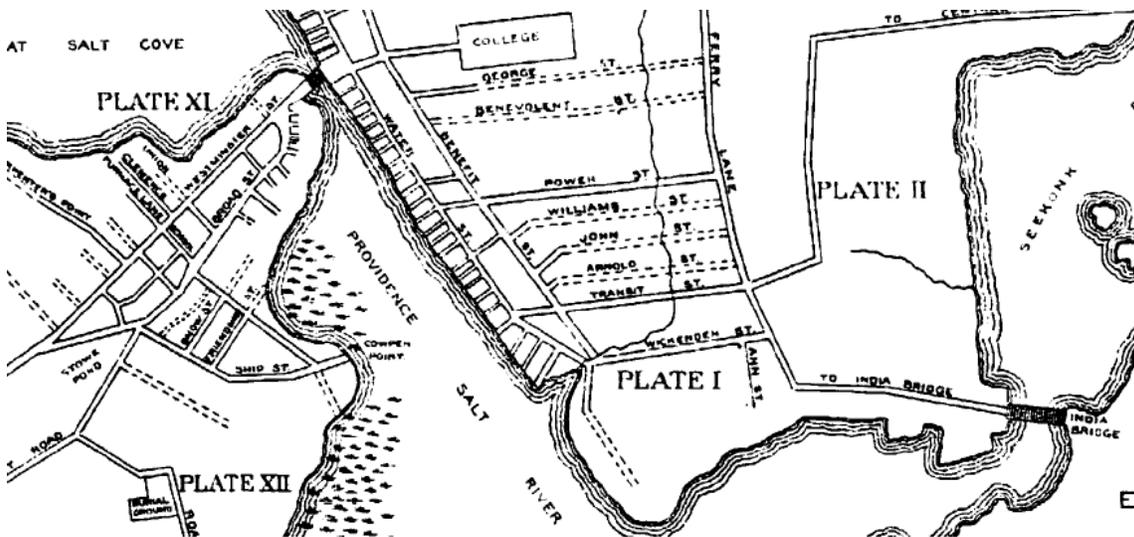
<sup>1</sup> John B. Hattendorf, *Newport, the French Navy, and American Independence*, (Newport, 2005), p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> In the Proceedings of the Council of War (RISA, Providence) ferry prices were set on 4 October 1780 for transporting one soldier over Narragansett and Conanicut ferries at s 6, Bristol Ferry s 4, Warren and Fullers, s 2, Slades Ferry 2/6. The same price was charged for ferrying a horse.

Turning left on what is today Mauran Avenue they would have reached India Bridge, which they took across the Seekonk River onto India Street, which they followed until they turned right onto Ferry Lane (or Ferry Road), re-named Hope Street in 1806. This connection is today cut off by I-95. On Hope they turned left onto Wickenden Street to either Benefit Street, called Back Street in the eighteenth century, or more likely to Water Street, called Towne Street in the eighteenth century, which they took to the Parade or Market Place and entered their lodgings in the Market House.



In 1781, Westminster Street, Main Street, and Weybosset Street would have been considered "on the harbor" of Providence. There were docks on the southerly side of Weybosset Street for smaller craft, including one called the Muddy Dock, because it was covered with water at high tide and muddy at low tide. There was a bridge across from Main Street and Market Square (The Parade), to Westminster, but there were also wharves and warehouses on the northern side of Westminster. On the East side of the Providence harbor was South Main Street. Back or Benefit Street was, and still is, up the hill. The only street on the harbor was Main Street.



Map detail from Henry R. Chace, *Maps of Providence, R.I.: 1650, 1765, 1770.* (Providence, 1912)



Charles Blaskowitz, A topographical Chart of the Bay of Narragansett (London: Engraved & printed for Wm. Faden, 1777)

Resource 41: **Market House** (1773)

Market Sq. and S. Main St.  
Providence, RI

Planning for the Market House at the east end of Weybosset bridge was begun in 1758, but construction did not begin until 1773, when Nicholas Brown laid the first stone on 11 June. The building was of brick, 40 feet wide, 80 feet long, and two stories high. The lower story was used as a market, while the second story was divided into offices and occupied in part by the various officers of the town and in part by private tenants. In 1775, the Market House was the site of the “Providence Tea Party.” From 1832 to 1878, the Market served as Providence City Hall; the current City Hall was built in 1878.

On 12 June 1781, the First French Brigade, i.e., the regiments Bourbonnois and Royal Deux-Ponts, arrived by sea in Providence, their first stop on the march to White Plains and eventually on to Virginia. Some spent the night in the empty Market House on Market Square, where baggage and munitions not needed for the march were stored.

Hacker Hall was destroyed by a fire in January 1821.

## **Route 2: The route of the express riders provided by Lauzun's hussars from Newport to Hartford, 1780/1781**

Washington had established that chain of communication with Rochambeau in the summer of 1780, but lack of funds and the removal of Sheldon's dragoons to winter quarters in Massachusetts induced him to suspend it on 17 December 1780. When it became obvious that a direct line of communication was indispensable, Washington re-established the service on 30 January 1781. Lauzun's hussars were responsible for the route to Hartford, Sheldon's riders carried the mail from Hartford to Litchfield, where riders from the Continental Quartermaster General's department took over.

**Route description:** From Newport the hussars crossed on the Conanicut Ferry to Jamestown, crossed the island on Ferry Road (Narragansett Avenue) and took the Narragansett Ferry to Saunterstown. Here they followed Ferry Road/Boston Neck Road (RI-SR 1A) south to Bridgetown Road/Mooresfield Road (RI-SR 138) to Kingston. Here they turned south on Kingstown Road (RI-SR 108) to Peace Dale and Wakefeld, where they entered the Old Post Road to Perryville. In Perryville, the Old Post Road becomes RI-SR 1A, which weaves north and south across US Route 1 through Charleston until it becomes the Ocean Scenic Highway to Westerly. In Westerly they took what is today CT-SR 2 to Stonington.

The first stop on the route was in a tavern run by Colonel Thomas Potter in Little Rest, where according to a review of 15 March 1781, three hussars were quartered. The next station was at an unknown location in Westerly, where also three hussars were stationed. Two more were in Stonington, and one in Norwich; then came the main quarters of the hussars in Lebanon.

The number of hussars stationed along the route varied according to need. When Baron von Clozen stopped at Little Rest on 5 March 1781, on his way to Newport to announce the arrival of General Washington, he found eight hussars stationed there, whom he admonished to guard Washington "carefully during the night, as there were many Tories in the neighborhood."

Little Rest (soldiers were said to have rested there in 1675 on their way to fight Native Americans) at the crossroads of the Pequot Indian Trail and the road to Tower Hill is now part of Kingston. Known as Little Rest until 1825, Kingston boasted five taverns during the eighteenth century.

### **Route 3: The route of *comte de Rochambeau* and *Admiral de Ternay* to the Conference at Hartford, 18 - 24 September 1780**

On September 8, Washington asked Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay to meet him in Hartford. On the 18<sup>th</sup>, Rochambeau and Ternay, accompanied by a small staff, set out for Hartford.

**Route description:** assuming that the party assembled in the Harbor/Long Wharf area, Rochambeau and Ternay with their suites left Newport on Broadway, which becomes RI-SR 114, until they reached Bristol Ferry. Having crossed over to the mainland, they continued on RI-SR 114, alternately called Ferry Road, Hope Street and Main Street, through Bristol to Warren, where they crossed the Warren Rivers on the Warren Ferry and continued their journey on Nayatt Road (RI-SR 103) which becomes Veteran's Memorial Parkway into East Providence. Turning left on what is today Mauran Avenue they would have reached India Bridge, which they took across the Seekonk River onto India Street, which they followed until they turned right onto Ferry Lane or Ferry Road, re-named Hope Street in 1806. This connection is today cut off by I-195. On Hope they turned left onto Wickenden Street to either Benefit Street, called Back Street in the eighteenth century, or more likely to Water Street, called Towne Street in the eighteenth century, which they took to the Parade or Market Place and entered their lodgings possibly with Deputy Governor Ephraim Bowen. His house stood on Market Square, but was torn down in 1850.

From there they continued the next morning on Westminster Street to Cranston Street which they followed to Knightsville, then west on Phoenix Avenue (RI-SR 12). They remained on RI-SR 12 to Scituate Avenue along the Scituate Reservoir, which covers part of the old Scituate Road, until they turned left on Matteson Road and the right onto Maple Valley Road (which becomes Waterman Hill Road west of RI-SR 102) past Waterman's Tavern to Plainfield Pike (RI-SR 14), which took them into Connecticut.

#### **Route 4: The route of General Washington on his visit to *comte de Rochambeau* in Newport in March 1781**

**Route description:** On his way to Newport, Washington stopped in Hartford for a meeting with Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, spent the night of 4/5 March in Lebanon, Connecticut. Traveling on to Norwich, Washington, who was in a hurry to get to Newport, hired a guide who took the party due east (on CT-SR 165?) to Preston, Connecticut, past Voluntown and possibly onto CT-SR 138/RI-SR 138 through Hope Valley and Usquepaug on the old Kingstown Road to Little Rest, where he spent the night of 5/6 March 1781 in Potter's Tavern.

**Note:** this itinerary is based on Washington's expense account for the journey, which indicates that Washington hired guides in Preston and again in Kenyon. In the parlance of the eighteenth century this indicates more a general area than the town itself, which lies about five miles south of Usquepaug and the Kingstown Road. In the absence of any other primary source, this routing is tentative.<sup>3</sup>



On 6 March, Washington entered Newport in triumph. Rochambeau ordered that "As the town is illuminating this evening to celebrate the arrival of His Excellency General Washington, officers will have lampions or candles placed in the windows of the houses they occupy; the same will apply to windows of enlisted men's quarters, where feasible, and expenses are to be reimbursed."<sup>4</sup>

Washington stayed for week in the Vernon House with Washington and watched the departure on 8 March 1781, of the French fleet under Charles René Dominique Gochet *chevalier* Destouches with 1,500 French troops under the *baron* de Vioménil for the Chesapeake. Following talks with Rochambeau concerning the campaign, Washington departed again on 13 March for Providence. He possibly spent the night of 13/14 at the home of Shubael Burr, postmaster of Warren, and the night of 14/15 March at an unknown location in Providence, possibly with Deputy Governor Bowen.

<sup>3</sup> See French E. Chadwick, "The Visit of General Washington to Newport in 1781." *Bulletin of the Newport Historical Society* 6 (February 1913), pp. 1- 19.

<sup>4</sup> Entry for 6 March 1781 in Rochambeau's *Livre d'Ordre*.

Early in the morning of Thursday, 15 March, Washington and his military family left Providence on Westminster Avenue to Cranston Street and Waterman's Tavern for Connecticut.

Upon arrival in Providence, Washington was greeted by the firing of cannon, a popular parade, grand illumination in the evening, dinner at the state house on the day following and a ball in the evening. The address presented to him states how the citizens "beg leave to assure your excellency, that we will manifest our attachment to your excellency, and the great cause in which we are engaged, by exerting the utmost of our abilities in enlisting and supporting such a force, as with the aid of our generous allies, will be sufficient to bring the war to a happy issue. ... That your excellency may be the glorious instrument of effecting this most desirable event, which will deliver your name to posterity with a fame equal to that of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity; and that you may long enjoy the honors that will be paid you, is the sincere prayer of your excellency's most obedient and most humble servants."

#### **Route 5: The route of *comte de Rochambeau* and the *chevalier de Chastellux* to the Conference at Wethersfield, 19 - 26 May 1781**

**Route description:** Following the route he had taken to Hartford in September 1780, Rochambeau and Chastellux set out for Connecticut on Saturday, 19 May 1781. The location of the overnight in Providence on the way to Wethersfield and on the way back to Newport is unknown but it was probably with Gov. Bowen.

#### **Route 6: The march of Lauzun's infantry to Lebanon, Connecticut, in June 1781, to join the hussars that had wintered there**

**Route description:** The route is geographically the same as that of Rochambeau's infantry but as it is different chronologically it is listed as a separate route.

On 5 June 1781, the infantry and artillery of Lauzun's Legion with its four four-pounders received orders to embark at 6:00 a.m. the next day for Providence, where they were to wait for the arrival of the wagons to transport their equipment to Lebanon. From Providence they were to march via Waterman's to Plainfield and Windham, and on the fourth day of the march they were to arrive in Lebanon. The hussars still in Newport, except two express riders who remained behind, were to spend the night of 6/7 June in the barracks at Poppasquash and join the infantry at Providence on the 7th where they would receive a four-day supply of meat and corn meal for bread. While in Providence, parts of Lauzun's infantry and artillery lodged again in the Brick Market, others occupied the site laid out for the infantry that was to follow a few days later.

The wait for the wagons took almost a week and it was already 13 June when the infantry received orders to depart for Lebanon on 14 June, where they arrived on 16 June. That same day, 13 June, Lieutenant-Colonel Hugau received orders to march to Lebanon on Saturday, 16 June, with the 31 healthy replacements for the Legion from the Royal

Barrois that were due to arrive that day from Boston where they had arrived on 7 June and debarked on 15 June. The 17 replacements who were sick would have to remain behind. Since it took four days to get to Lebanon from Newport, it was already Tuesday, 19 June 1781, when the whole Legion was gathered in Lebanon.

Since the replacements under Hugau took the same route that the infantry had taken a few days earlier it is not listed as a separate route. The route of these replacements from Boston to Providence is unknown but most likely identical with the route taken by Rochambeau's infantry from Providence to Boston in December 1782.

Resource 42: **Site of the barracks/hospital at Poppasquash**  
Poppasquash Road  
Bristol, RI

The barracks at Poppasquash were used as hospitals. The exact location of these barracks in 1781, possibly along Poppasquash Road in, or south of, Colt State Park in Bristol, is unknown. On 4 July 1780, Ethis de Corny informed de la Luzerne, French minister in Philadelphia, that he had established a hospital as "a second auxiliary hospital (*hôpital de provision*) between Providence and Newport at Poppasquash. This is strictly speaking an *entrepôt*, or summer hospital built of wood. Dr. Craig had this mediocre establishment built thinking, as did General Heath that it could take the place of the one that had been refused him at Providence, but aside from the nature of these barracks, they will accommodate scarcely 250 or 300 sick."<sup>5</sup> Corny's letter implies that the buildings were not useable during the winter months and seem to have been empty at the time of the arrival of Lauzun's hussars. The hospital was shut down in early August 1780 and the sick were transferred to Providence.

They were moved frequently, viz. the request by Nathaniel Frayle, President of the Town Council of Bristol, in Minutes of 21 November 1781, in which he asked "for the Loan of one of the Publick Barracks at Poppasquash to use as a Work House for the Poor of said Town." Frayle agreed to take the barrack back to the same place he took it from when and if the state needed it again. He received permission to move the barrack.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Bouvet, *Service de santé*, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> RISA, Minutes of the Council of War, 21 November 1781.

### **Part III: The March to Yorktown, June 1781**

#### **Route 7a: The sea route of Rochambeau's infantry from Newport to Providence in June 1781**

**Route description:** Around 5:00 a.m. in the morning of 10 June 1781, the first Brigade of French forces began to embark on waiting for them in the harbor of Newport to take them to Providence. Some of the troops had to spend the night on the water, and all arrived too late in the evening, around 9:00 p.m., of 11 June to set up camp. Those that reached Providence spent the night in the Market House, others in the Old Work House on the west bank of the Moshassuk River just north of Smith Street. From there they marched the next morning to their campsite, which Berthier described as “a mile and a half out of town on the road to Hartford,” i.e., Westminster Avenue. “Its right flank rested on this road and its left on the Providence River. ... Providence is a small city of the second category, well built and thickly settled. In peacetime it carries on a thriving commerce because of its situation, since frigates can come up to its docks.”<sup>7</sup>

On 14 June, Rochambeau arrived with his staff and the wagon train, which had taken the land route via Bristol, Warren, and East Providence. Since he still had to wait for the arrival of some of his wagons and of his replacements from France, who had just landed in Boston, Rochambeau moved into the home of Deputy Governor Bowen.

#### **Route 7b: The land route of Rochambeau and the wagons from Newport to Providence in June 1781**

Assuming that they assembled in the Harbor/Long Wharf area, Rochambeau as well as the wagons he had asked Governor Greene to impress left Newport on 13 (or 14; the wagons may not have been able to make the journey to Providence in a single day) June on Broadway, which becomes RI-SR 114, until they reached Bristol Ferry. Having crossed over to the mainland, they continued on RI-SR 114, alternately called Ferry Road, Hope Street and Main Street, through Bristol to Warren, where they crossed the Warren Rivers on the Warren Ferry and continued their journey on Nayatt Road (RI-SR 103) which becomes Veteran's Memorial Parkway into East Providence. Turning left on what is today Mauran Avenue they would have reached a crossing that took them across the Seekonk River onto India Street, which they followed until they turned right onto Ferry Lane, re-named Hope Street in 1806. This connection is today cut off by I-195.

Assuming that the wagons joined the infantry at their campsite, they turned left on Hope onto Wickenden Street to either Benefit Street, called Back Street in the eighteenth century, or more likely to Water Street, called Towne Street in the eighteenth century, which they took to the Parade or Market Place. Here they turned left onto Westminster Street and crossed the Providence River on the Weybosset Bridge (or Great Bridge) and marched to their camp located between Cranston and Broad Streets. This route can not be completely retraced since Westminster Street is cut off by I-95.

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<sup>7</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 246.

The arrival of Rochambeau's forces more than doubled the population of Providence of about 4,000 whites and 300 African-Americans and Native Americans.

**Note:** Highway construction in the 1950s and 1960s destroyed most of what was left of the eighteenth-century core of Providence. A list of eighteenth-century houses in Providence that are on the National Register of Historic Places kindly provided by Mr Emidy contains only about 35 sites that pre-date 1783.

Of the sites identified in the *Etat des logements marques dans la Ville de Providence pour l'Armee aux ordres de M le Comte de Rochambeau* as having housed French officers in June 1781 and again in November 1782, only a very few are still standing.<sup>8</sup> One version of the list was compiled in preparation of the arrival of French forces in June 1781, the other in anticipation of the return of these same forces in November 1782. At its October 1782 session, the General Assembly voted to appoint Colonel Daniel Tillinghast and Major John Whipple to assist the Town Council to meet "the request of the said Comte de Rochambeau that suitable quarters may be provided for the officers while they remain in Providence." Having fulfilled their task, "the gentlemen wait on Monsieur Beville, at Waterman's Tavern in Coventry, and inform him of the quarters."<sup>9</sup>

Resource 43: **Joseph Russell House** (c. 1772)

118 North Main  
Providence, RI

The Russell House was quarters of Major-General François *chevalier* Beauvoir de Chastellux in June 1781.

Resource 44: **Joseph Brown House** (c. 1774)

50 South Main Street  
Providence, RI

In 1781 and 1782, the John Brown House served as quarters for *baron* de Vioménil and his aides.

Resource 45: **Nicholas Brown House**

27-31 South Main Street  
Providence, RI

In 1781 and 1782, the Nicholas Brown House served as quarters for Rochambeau's aides, esp. Axel von Fersen and Damas. The house itself is no longer standing; at the address 31 South Main Street is now a 1982 office tower.

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<sup>8</sup> RIHS Manuscripts XV, folder 361. For a discussion of the origins of this list see Simpson and Simpson, "Quartering Rochambeau's Troops," pp. 50/51, and Preston, "Rochambeau and the French troops in Providence," p.

<sup>9</sup> *Colonial Records* vol. 9, p. 603.

Resource 46: **Benjamin Cushing Jr. House** (c. 1772)  
38 North Court Street  
Providence, RI

Benjamin Cushing Jr. provided quarters to the aides of the *chevalier* de Chastellux.

Resource 47: **Governor Stephen Hopkins House** (c. 1707)  
15 Hopkins Street (corner of Benefit Street)  
Providence, RI

Hopkins was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Washington stayed at the Hopkins House a few times, though not on his way to visit Rochambeau in Newport in March 1781. Relocated from 9 Hopkins Street in 1927. A state-owned property, the Governor Hopkins House is managed by the Rhode Island Chapter of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America.

Resource 48: **Campground of the French forces**  
Between Cranston and Broad Streets  
Providence, RI

French forces camped here from 12 to 22 June 1781 on their way to New York and eventually to Virginia. On the return march of 1782, French artillery was encamped here from 9 until 16 November when it departed for Boston. French infantry arrived on 10 and 11 November but moved to a new camp along North Main Street two days later.

Resource 49: **Powder House** (pre-1776)  
27 Cushing Street  
Providence, RI

On 21 March 1781, the General Assembly resolved that William Perkins should “repair the Powder House in Providence, and the Store upon Knight Dexter’s farm in Such a manner that they will be suited to store powder in as said Building (sic) are to be appropriated for the use and Service of the french army.”<sup>10</sup>

### **Supplementary Sites connected with French forces in Providence:**

Resource 50: **Monument in North Burial Ground**  
Intersection of North Main Street (Route 1) and Branch Avenue  
Providence, RI

The monument commemorates the French soldiers and sailors who died in the hospitals of Providence from 1780 to 1783.

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<sup>10</sup> RIHS Mss 9001 P, William Perkins Papers.

Resource 51: **University Hall** (c. 1770)  
Brown University  
Providence, RI

University Hall on the Brown University campus was used as a hospital by the French between from 25 June 1780 until 27 May 1782.

Resource 52: **French Army Marker**  
University Hall, Brown University  
Providence, RI

Resource 53: **Old State House** (c. 1760-1762)  
150 Benefit Street  
Providence, RI

### **Route 8: The land route of Rochambeau's infantry from Providence to Connecticut and New York in June 1781**

**Route description:** in the early morning hours of 18 June 1781, the Bourbonnois regiment broke camp and began its march southwest on Cranston Street, which they followed to Knightsville, where they turned west on Phenix Avenue (RI-SR 12). The troops remained on RI-SR 12 to Scituate Avenue along the Scituate Reservoir, which covers part of the old Scituate Road, until they turned onto Matteson Road and then right onto Maple Valley Road to Waterman's Tavern and their first camp some 15 miles from Providence on the march to White Plains. Over the next three days the remainder of the French forces used the same site as their campground.

Clermont-Crèvecoeur was one of many officers who recorded that “the roads were very poor, and the artillery did not arrive until eleven o’clock at night. The troops did not march well, as frequently happens on the first day’s march.”<sup>11</sup>

Resource 54: **Joy Homestead** (c. 1770)  
156 Scituate Avenue  
Cranston, RI

Resource 55: **Nathan Wescott House** (c. 1770)  
150 Scituate Avenue  
Cranston, RI

Resource 56: **Nicholas Sheldon House** (c. 1728)  
458 Scituate Avenue  
Cranston, RI

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<sup>11</sup> Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 1, p. 28.

Resource 57: **Waterman's Tavern** (c. 1744)  
Maple Valley Road  
Coventry, RI

Though there is no documentary evidence it seems fair to assume that Rochambeau, who was traveling with the troops, spent the night of 18/19 June 1781 in this tavern.

Resource 58: **Campground Plaque at Waterman's Tavern**  
Maple Valley Road  
Coventry, RI

The following morning Rochambeau and the Bourbonnois regiment resumed their march on Maple Valley Road (which becomes Waterman Hill Road west of RI-SR 102) to Plainfield Pike (RI-SR 14), which took them to the next campsite in Connecticut.

Resource 59: **French Campground at Waterman's Tavern**  
Maple Valley Road  
Coventry, RI

French forces camped here from 18 to 22 June 1781 and again on their return from Yorktown from 9/10 (artillery) and 10/12 November 1782 (infantry).

#### **Part IV: The Return March of French Forces**

##### **Route 9: The land route of Rochambeau's infantry through Rhode Island to Massachusetts in November 1782**

**Route description:** retracing their steps of the previous June, the men of the First French Brigade entered Rhode Island on CT-SR 14 on 9 November 1782 and encamped at Waterman's Tavern. The following day, they continued their march into Providence where they set up their tents on the campsite they had used the previous year.

Unable to use it for an extended stay, the infantry on 13 November 1782, marched on Westminster into Providence, crossed the Providence River and turned onto North Main Street (US-Route 44 North), which they follow to the North Burial Ground and their new campsite on the hill overlook the cemetery.

Resource 60: **French campsite**  
Between Rochambeau Avenue, East Ave and Pawtucket Turnpike  
Providence, RI

French forces encamped here from 13 November until 1 December, when the infantry began its march for Boston in regimental columns, beginning with the Bourbonnois on 1 December and ending with the Royal Deux-Ponts. The stay in Providence had been

necessitated because the vessels of Admiral Vaudreuil in Boston harbor were not yet ready to receive them.

Resource 61: **Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse**

957 North Main Street  
Corner of North Main Street and Rochambeau Avenue  
Providence, RI

The Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse (1754), at the corner of North Main Street and Rochambeau Avenue, is the only eighteenth-century structure still standing in this area. The house is on the edge of the encampment of the infantry parts of Rochambeau's army in November 1782, which was on the hill toward Summit Avenue and Brewster Street.

Resource 62: **Rochambeau Army Marker**

Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse  
Corner of North Main Street and Rochambeau Avenue  
Providence, RI

The marker commemorated the encampment of French forces in November 1782.

Resource 63: **French Campsite Marker (1907)**

near the Y corner of Summit Street and Brewster Street  
Providence, RI

The marker commemorates the French camp of November 1782.

Resource 64: **Old Pidge or Sayles Tavern**

North Main Street  
Providence, RI

Located just to the north of the French campsite of November 1782, the tavern must have seen repeated visits by French officers and enlisted men.

**Note:** The Rochambeau Branch Library in Providence opened on 6 July 1915 in the Rochambeau Avenue School as the Elodie Farnum Memorial Library Children's Collection. Rochambeau Avenue School, which stood at the corner of Rochambeau Avenue and Hope Street, no longer exists; the present library building at 708 Hope Street opened in 1930 as the Rochambeau Branch Library.

Beginning on 1 December with the Bourbonnois regiment, French forces most likely marched north on Main Street (today's US Route 1) to Pidge Avenue. Here they veered to the right/continued on Main Street to George Street to Broad Street (RI-SR 114 North; be careful - modern traffic patterns turned Broad Street into a one-way street south here!). From RI-SR 114 they continued on RI-SR 121 into Massachusetts (just south of Sheldonville), and marched through Sheldonville on West Street to Wampum Corner. From there they continued on South Street into Wrentham and on north Dedham Street to their camp in Dedham.

Resource 65: **General Nathanael Greene Homestead** (c. 1774)  
50 Taft Street  
Coventry, RI

Greene, Washington's second in command, designed and built his residence from 1774 to 1783. Commissary Blanchard, Captain Haacke of the Royal Deux-Ponts, and "the chaplain of the hospital" visited there on 28 November 1780.

Blanchard described Mrs Greene as "amiable, genteel and rather pretty. As there was no bread in her house, some was hastily made; it was of meal and water mixed together; which was the toasted at the fire; small slices of it were served up to us. It is not much for a Frenchman. As for the Americans, they eat very little bread. Besides, the dinner was long; we remained to sleep there."<sup>12</sup>

**Route 10: The land route of Rochambeau from Providence to Newburgh,  
New York, 1 to 6 December 1782**

**Route description:** leaving Providence on Cranston Avenue, Rochambeau and his entourage on 1 December opted to take the route past Angell's Tavern to Connecticut.<sup>13</sup> Jeremiah Angell's tavern and parts of Plainfield Pike (RI-SR 14) taken by Rochambeau and his party were inundated when the Scituate Reservoir was built in the 1920s.

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<sup>12</sup> Blanchard, *Journal*, p. 81. There were two brothers Haacke, both captains, in the Royal Deux-Ponts. The chaplain has not been identified.

<sup>13</sup> The *Journal de guerre* of the *comte* de Lauberdière contains a day-by-day description of Rochambeau's journey to Newburgh, Philadelphia and the point of departure in Annapolis in January 1783.

## Resource 1

Name: William Vernon House (c. 1708)

Location: 46 Clark Street  
Newport, RI 02903

Historical Significance:

The Vernon House, built in 1758, was headquarters for Rochambeau while his army was in Newport, July 1780 to June 1781, as well as that of his son, the *vicomte* de Rochambeau. Here Washington was a guest from 6 to 13 March 1781.



The Vernon House was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 24 November 1968, #68000005.

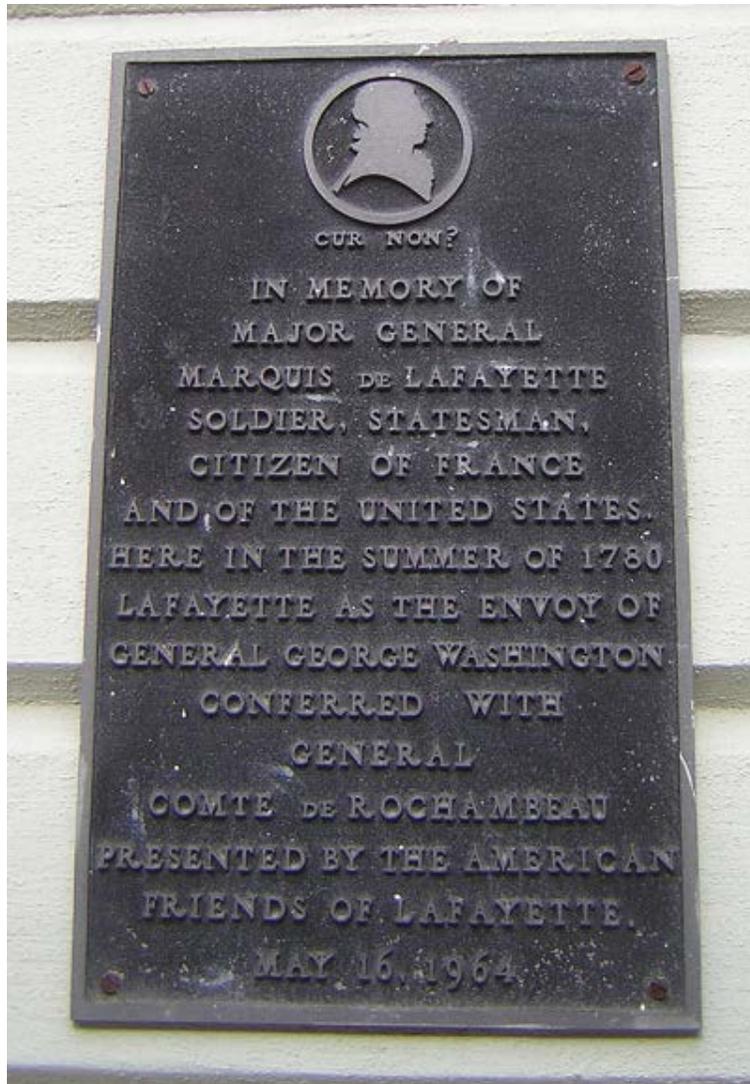


A plaque on the outside wall of the house commemorates Rochambeau's stay. It measure 36 inches high and 24 inches wide at the widest spot.

On 12 February 1781, Major Samuel Shaw wrote to W. Sargent, from New Windsor

*On our return to this place, the General (Knox?) and myself made a detour to Newport, where we passed a couple of days in a most agreeable manner. Nothing could exceed the politeness and attention of our good allies – they shewed us everything – and we on our part were pleased with everything – this you will say was very civil – but seriously everything as far as I was competent to judge appeared in the most perfect order. The flower of the British Army when in Boston did not shew a parade any way superior to what is every day exhibited in Newport. The officers are a set of the likeliest and most genteel men I ever saw. I am in love with an institution of Count Rochambeaus. He has a large room, perhaps 80 feet long and half the width, which is kept open from 9 o'clock in the morning till 11 at night. Here all the officers of the army assemble, together with such gentlemen of the town as please, and amuse themselves with cards, back gammon, chess, checkers and news papers, of all which articles there is ample supply. The old Count himself passes a good deal of time with them – plays cards with one – throws the dice with another, and converses with a third. This institution, at the same time it endears the General to his officers, (for it is by no means an established custom) has a happy tendency in promoting harmony and good fellowship. By this friendly collision the asperities and acute angles, as Yorick somewhere terms them, of human nature are wor away, and make room for the mutual intercourse of politeness and good offices.”<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Society Misc. Collection.



The plaque measures 19 1/2 inches high and is 12 inches wide.

## Resource 2

**Name:** Site of Charles Tillinghast House

**Location:** 243-245 Thames Street  
Newport, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

The Charles Tillinghast house, built in 1715, provided quarters for French Intendant Benoît Joseph de Tarlé. *Commissaire des guerres* (Commissary of War) Jacques Pierre Orillard, *comte* de Villemazy stayed there as well. It was demolished in 1972 or 1973.

### Resource 3

**Name:** Joseph Wanton House

**Location:** 25 Walnut Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

This ca. 1770 house served as quarters for Major General Antoine Charles du Houx, *baron de Vioménil*, Rochambeau's second in command, and of his brother Joseph Hyacinthe du Houx, *comte de Vioménil*. Also quartered there were *baron de Vioménil's* aides-de-camp de Pangé and Brisout de Barneville, whose "Journal de Guerre de Brisout de Barneville. Mai 1780-Octobre 1781" was published in *The French-American Review* Vol. 3, No. 4, (October 1950), pp. 217-278.



The Wanton House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 4

**Name:** Captain Mawdsley House

**Location:** 228 Spring Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

During the winter of 1780-81, this was the home of French Major-General François *chevalier* Beauvoir de Chastellux, who was third in command of French forces. His *Travels in North America in Years 1780-81* Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed., 2 vols., (Chapel Hill, 1963) contain much valuable information on the American campaigns.



The Mawdsley House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.



## Resource 5

**Name:** Jacob Rodriguez Riviera (Rathburn-Gardner-Riviera) House

**Location:** 8 Washington Square  
Newport, RI 02903

### Historical Significance:

Jacob Rodriguez Riviera (son of Abraham Riviera, uncle and father-in-law of Aaron Lopez) hailed from a "Marrano" family from Seville, Spain. He arrived in Newport via Curaçao in 1748 where he introduced the manufacture of spermaceti candle-making. Next to Aaron Lopez, Rivera occupied the highest position in the commercial, religious and social life of Newport's Jewish community. His daughter Sarah, married to Aaron Lopez, and his son Jacob owned the house at 8 Washington Square. During the winter of 1780-81, French Brigadier General Claude Gabriel de Choisy lodged here with an aide-de-camp identified with the name "Saumann". No such officer identified in Gilbert Bodinier, *Dictionnaire des officiers de l'armée royale qui ont combattu aux États-Unis pendant la guerre d'Indépendance* (Château de Vincennes, 1982).



The Rathburn-Gardner-Riviera House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 6

**Name:** Moses Levy and Moses Seixas House

**Location:** 29 Touro Street  
Newport, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

The Moses Levi house provided winter quarters to Pierre François de Bévillé, Rochambeau's *maréchal général des logis*, which translates as "Quartermaster General", who stayed here while in Newport from July 1780 to June 1781. In today's military, a quartermaster performs the functions of a French *commissaire de guerre* of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The *Quartermaster* staffs of the armies of eighteenth-century Continental Europe are the roots of the modern General Staff and performed General Staff duties.

The house is listed as Peter Buliod-Oliver Hazard Perry House (pre-1757) in NHR files. The Newport Restoration Foundation acquired the building in 1973 from the Salvation Army which had bought the property in 1914. It is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.



## Resource 7

**Name:** John Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House

**Location:** 17 Broadway  
Newport, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

The oldest restored house in Newport (1675), has been the home of Colonial governors, Tories, patriots, Supreme Court Justices, and site of the Stamp Act riot of 1765. John Wanton purchased the house at public auction. His daughter, Polly, was well known among the French officers of the day, as attested to by the window pane that bears the inscription "charming Polly Wanton." Lieutenant Colonel George Henry Victor Collot, an *aide-de-camp* to Rochambeau, lodged here from July 1780 to June 1781 while in Newport. Governor of Guadeloupe in 1792, he came to the US as a British prisoner of war after the surrender of the island in April 1794. Paroled in Philadelphia in 1796, he was approached by Pierre Adet, the French minister to the United States, to survey the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains and investigate how they could be claimed for France. Having completed his journey along the Ohio and Mississippi, he returned to Paris from Louisiana in December 1796. Based in part on Collot's information, Napoleon acquired the Louisiana Territory from Spain on October 1, 1800, but sold it to the United States 2 1/2 years later.



The John Wanton Lyman Hazard House was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 9 October 1960, #66000016.

## Resource 8

**Name:** Francis Malbone House

**Location:** 392 Thames Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

Lieutenant Colonel Guillaume Querenet de la Combe, second in command of Rochambeau's engineers, lodged there while in Newport, July 1780 to June 1781.



The Francis Malbone House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 9

**Name:** John Tillinghast House (c. 1758)

**Location:** 142 Mill Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

Built in 1760, the John Tillinghast House (identified as Pardon Tillinghast property on the 1781 list), provided winter quarters to Captain Croublier d'Opterre and Captain Marie Louis Thomas, *marquis* de Gazarac, who served as aide-de-camp to his cousin the *baron* de Vioménil.



The John Tillinghast House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 10

**Name:** William Giles House

**Location:** 30 Golden Hill Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

Built pre-1777, it was home to Guillaume Cairol de Laziers, *major d'équipage*, the waggonmaster of Rochambeau's artillery and of Thomas Antoine de Mauduit du Plessis, *aide-major* of the artillery. Mauduit Du Plessis had served as a lieutenant colonel in the Continental artillery between 1777 and 1779 and distinguished himself at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth.

The William Giles House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 11

**Name:** Simon Pease House (c. 1700)

**Location:** 32 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

The Simon Pease house provided lodgings for Commissary Ethis de Corny when in Newport. When in Providence, Corny lodged in a house owned by Major Nathaniel Greene of Woodstock, CT “on the north side of Westminster Street, east of Exchange Street”. In July 1780, Abimeleck Riggs was living in the house but since Riggs had “a very small family, who may be easily accommodated in some other house”, Ephraim Bowen was instructed “to find a convenient place” for Riggs and to “remove his family.”



The Simon Pease House was purchased by NRF in 1969 and restored in 1971. It is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 12

**Name:** Town Prison (c. 1722)

**Location:** 13 Marlborough Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

Rochambeau's provost de Ronchamp stayed with John Honeyman in Plum Street, today's Pelham Street, close to the town prison, also on Plum Street.



The Town Prison is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 13

Name: Robert Stevens House

Location: 31 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI 02903

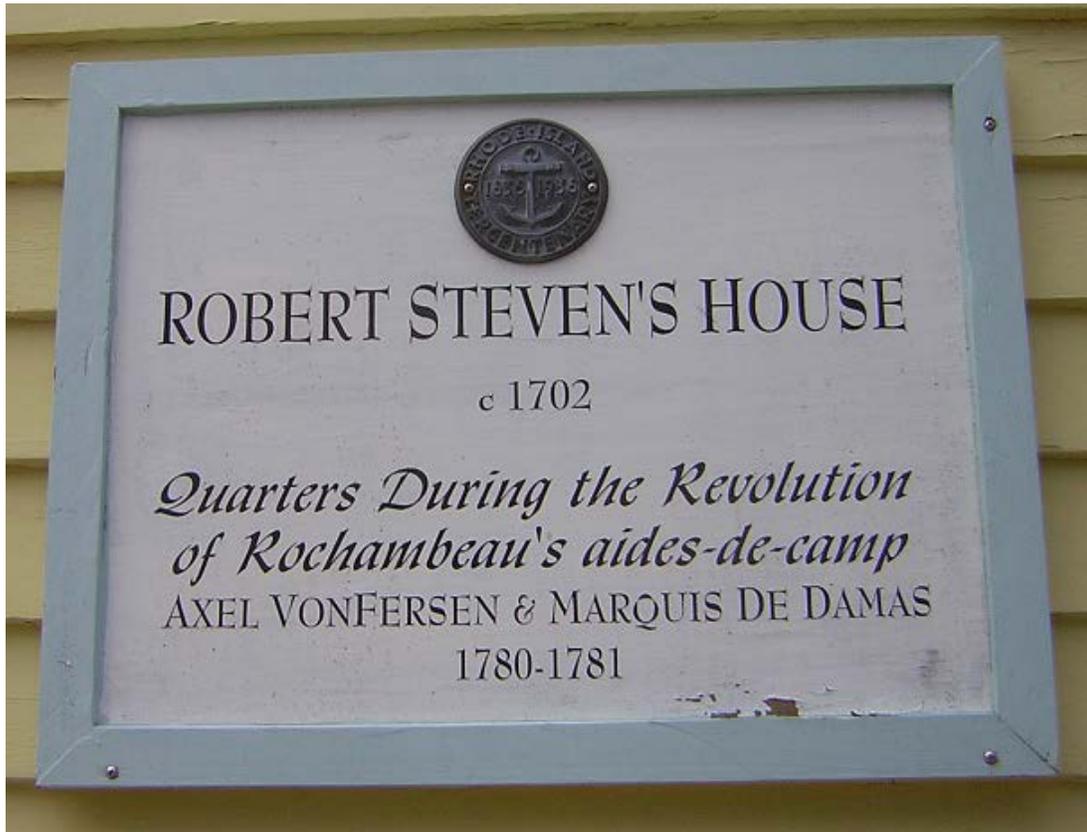
Historical Significance:

The Robert Stevens House, built 1742-55, provided quarters to Rochambeau's aides the *comte de Fersen* and the *marquis de Damas*.

There is a plaque commemorating the stay on the house. See F. U. Wrangel, ed., *Lettres d'Axel de Fersen a son père pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance d'amérique* (Paris, 1929).



The Robert Stevens House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.



The wooden plaque measures 26 inches wide and 20 inches high.

The home of Rochambeau's other aides-de-camp, the *chevalier* de Lameth and Mathieu Dumas with Joseph Anthony in Spring Street is no longer standing.

On Dumas see Mathieu Dumas, *Memoirs of his Own Time* 2 vols., (London, 1839).

## Resource 14

**Name:** Henry Potter House

**Location:** 39 Clark Street  
Newport, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

The Henry Potter House provided quarters to the *comte* de Lauberdière and Baron Closen whose diary was published by Evelyn Acomb, ed. *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, 1958). On Lauberdière see my "Lauberdière's Journal. The Revolutionary War Journal of Louis François Bertrand d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière" *Colonial Williamsburg. The Journal of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* Vol. 18 No. 1 (Autumn 1995), pp. 33-37, and "America the Ungrateful: The Not-So-Fond Remembrances of Louis François Dupont d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdière" *American Heritage* Vol. 48 No. 1 (February 1997), pp. 101-106.

This house is identified as Melville House (c. 1730-1755) in NHR files.



The Melville House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 15

**Name:** Robert Lillibridge House (Pitt's Head Tavern, c. 1726)

**Location:** 77 Bridge Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The Robert Lillibridge House provided lodging for Supply Inspector Duval.



The Robert Lillibridge House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 16

**Name:** Dr. Nicholas Tillinghast House (c. 1750)

**Location:** 134-136 Thames Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

An administrative officer by the name of "Morion", identified as "Cashier" in the quartering list, quartered with Dr. Tillinghast. No such person is identified in Bodinier's dictionary.



The Dr. Nicholas Tillinghast House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 17

**Name:** Constant Tabor House (c. 1750)

**Location:** 47 John Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

Constant Tabor provided lodging for Storekeeper Martin during 1780/81.



The Constant Tabor House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

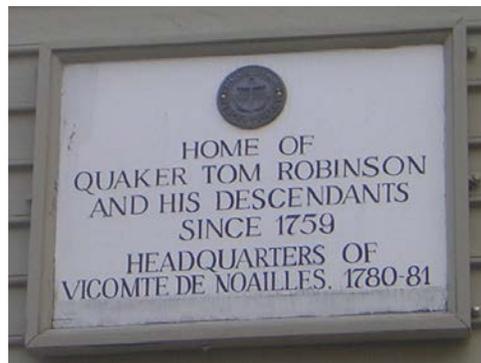
## Resource 18

**Name:** Thomas Robinson House (pre-1756)

**Location:** 64 Washington Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The ca. 1736/1760 Robinson House provided quarters for the *vicomte* de Noailles, second colonel of the regiment.



The Thomas Robinson House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 19

**Name:** Huntington Crandall House

**Location:** 59 Poplar Street  
Newport, RI 02903

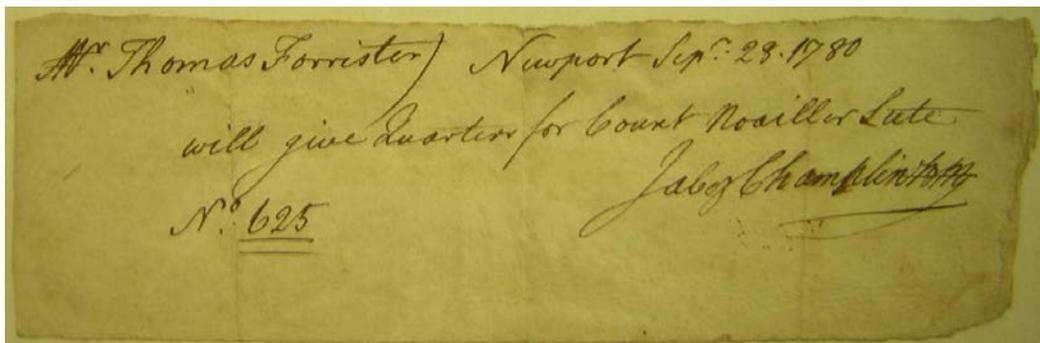
### Historical Significance:

This pre-1758 house, owned by Thomas Forrester in 1781, provided quarters for the servants of the *vicomte* de Noailles.



The Huntington Crandall House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

The identification as the home for the servants of Noailles is based on Alan and Mary M. Simpson, "A new look at how Rochambeau quartered his army in Newport (1780-1781)." *Newport History* (Spring 1983), pp.30-67, p. 65, fn. 31.



Robinson Papers Box 12, Newport Historical Society

## Resource 20

**Name:** William Cozzens House

**Location:** 57-59 Farewell Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

This ca. 1760 house provided quarters to Joseph d'Anselme, Lieutenant Colonel of the Soissonais regiment.



William Cozzens House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 21

**Name:** Captain James Carpenter House (c. 1765)

**Location:** 406-410 Thames Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The Carpenter House provided quarters for Lieutenant Colonel Nadal, director of the artillery park.



The Captain James Carpenter House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 22

**Name:** Joseph Tweedy House (c. 1709-1720)

**Location:** 69 Touro Street  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The Tweedy House provided quarters to Chef de Brigade de Buzolet.



The Joseph Tweedy House is listed on the NHR as part of the Newport Historic District.

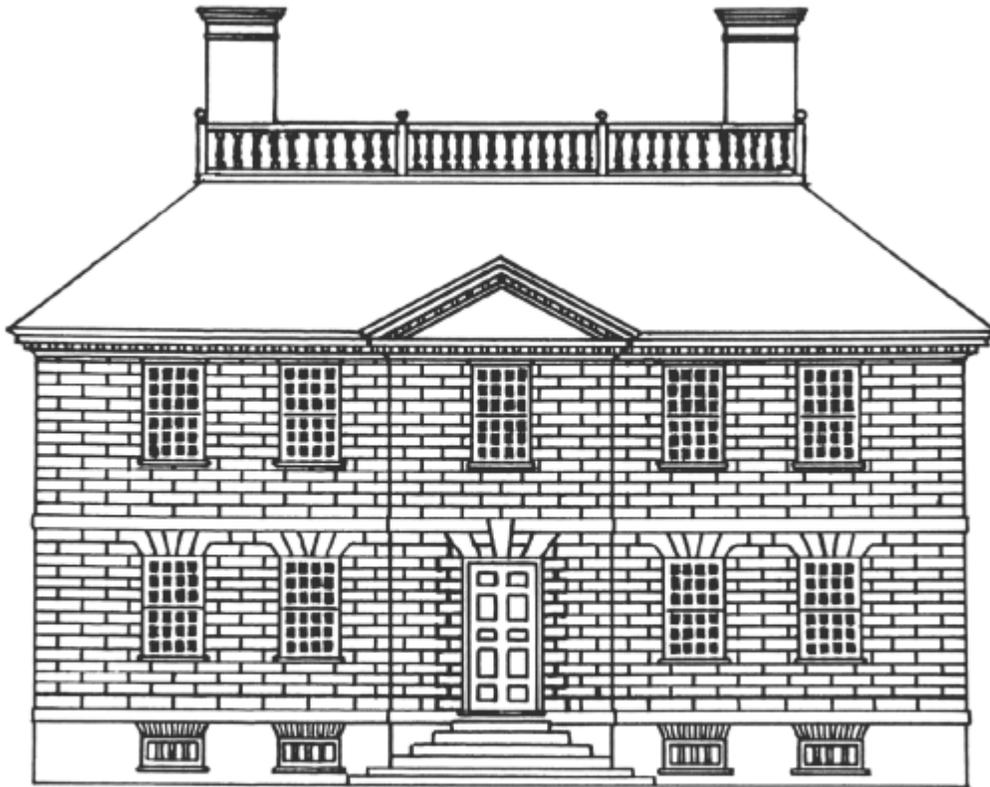
## Resource 23

**Name:** Peter Harrington House/Leamington Farm

**Location:** Harrison Avenue/Brenton Cove  
Newport, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

Famous architect Peter Harrison's former home provided quarters for Lieutenant-Colonel Hugau. Harrison inherited the plantation through marriage in 1746 to Elizabeth Pelham, daughter of Edward Pelham. Harrison died in 1775; his wife died in May 1784. The greatly altered house is still standing (not on its original foundations) on Harrison Avenue. On the site stands today “Bonniecrest”, a mansion built by John Russell Pope.



*Leamington Farm (Peter Harrison House), Newport, Rhode Island, 1747; altered and moved. Note wooden rusticated siding. Documented as a Harrison design.*

John Fitzhugh Millar, *The Buildings of Peter Harrison. Cataloguing the work of the First Global Architect, 1716-1775* (Jefferson, NC 2014). p.104.

## Resource 24

**Name:** Governor Joseph Wanton Jr. (Hunter) House

**Location:** 54 Washington Street  
Newport, RI 02903

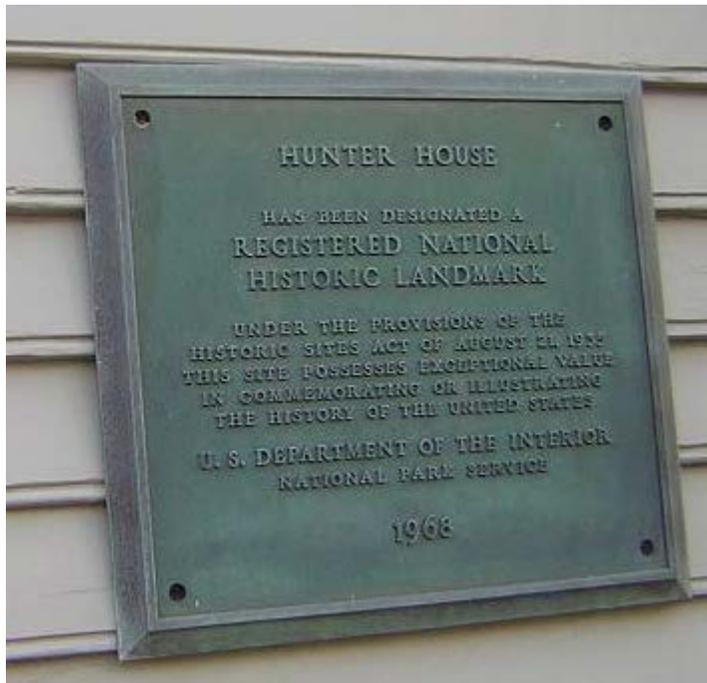
### **Historical Significance:**

This house, one of the finest examples of colonial residential architecture in America, was built in 1748 for Jonathan Nichols, later deputy governor of Rhode Island. Governor Joseph Wanton Jr. lived here as well. In 1780, it served as head-quarters for Admiral Charles Louis d'Arsac, *chevalier* de Ternay, commanding officer of the French naval force. The admiral, already sick when he arrived in Newport, died here and was buried in Trinity churchyard.

Two of his aides who served as officers on his flagship, the *duc de Bourgogne*, i.e., his *major d'escadre* de Grandchain, Ternay's chief administrative officer, and *aide-major d'escadre* Lieutenant comte de Capellis, Grandchain's chief assistant, were lodged in the house, which served as the Naval Office to the French fleet.



The Hunter House was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 24 November 1968, #68000003.



## Resource 25

**Name:** William and Abraham Redwood House

**Location:** 69 Spring Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

In 1780/81, this 1759 house was the quarters of Captain Destouches who succeeded Admiral Ternay and was in command of the French fleet in Newport until the arrival of Admiral Barras.

**Note:** Downing and Scully, *Architectural Heritage*, p. 90, state that the William Redwood House on Bridge Street, home to Destouches, is no longer standing.

## Resource 26

**Name:** John Townshend House

**Location:** 19 Second Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

This 1773-77 house was home to Captain de la Vicomte.



The John Townshend House is part of the Newport Historic District.

## Resource 27

**Name:** Friends Meeting House

**Location:** 30 Marlborough Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

This is the oldest religious structure in Newport. Quakers were the dominant religious group for the first 100 years of the Colony's history; and as late as 1730, over half of the people in Newport were members of the society. The meeting house was used as a hospital by French forces following their arrival in Newport in July 1780.



The Friends Meeting House is listed on the NHR.

## Resource 28

**Name:** Trinity Church

**Location:** 141 Spring Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

Admiral de Ternay, head of the French fleet, died on 10 December 1780, was given a funeral with full military honors and laid to rest in the cemetery of Trinity Church.



Trinity Church was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 24 November 1968, #68000004.

## Resource 29

**Name:** Tomb Marker for Admiral Ternay (1785)

**Location:** Inside Trinity Church  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

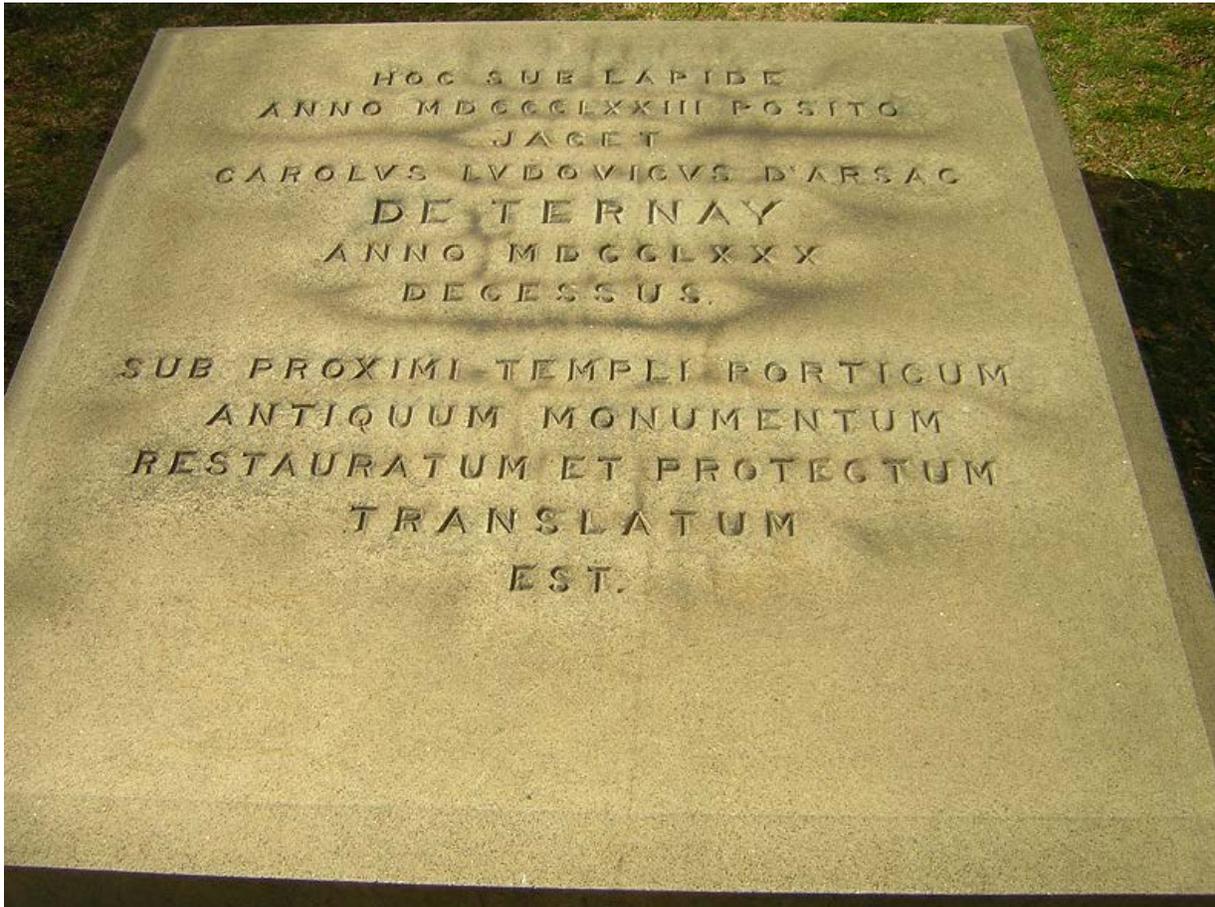
When the original marble tomb cover of 1785, was removed to inside Trinity Church in 1872, the French government replaced it with a granite block in 1873.

### Resource 30

Name: **Tomb Marker for Admiral Ternay (1873)**

Trinity Church Cemetery  
Newport, RI

When the original marble tomb cover of 1785, was removed to inside Trinity Church in 1872, the French government replaced it with a granite block in 1873.



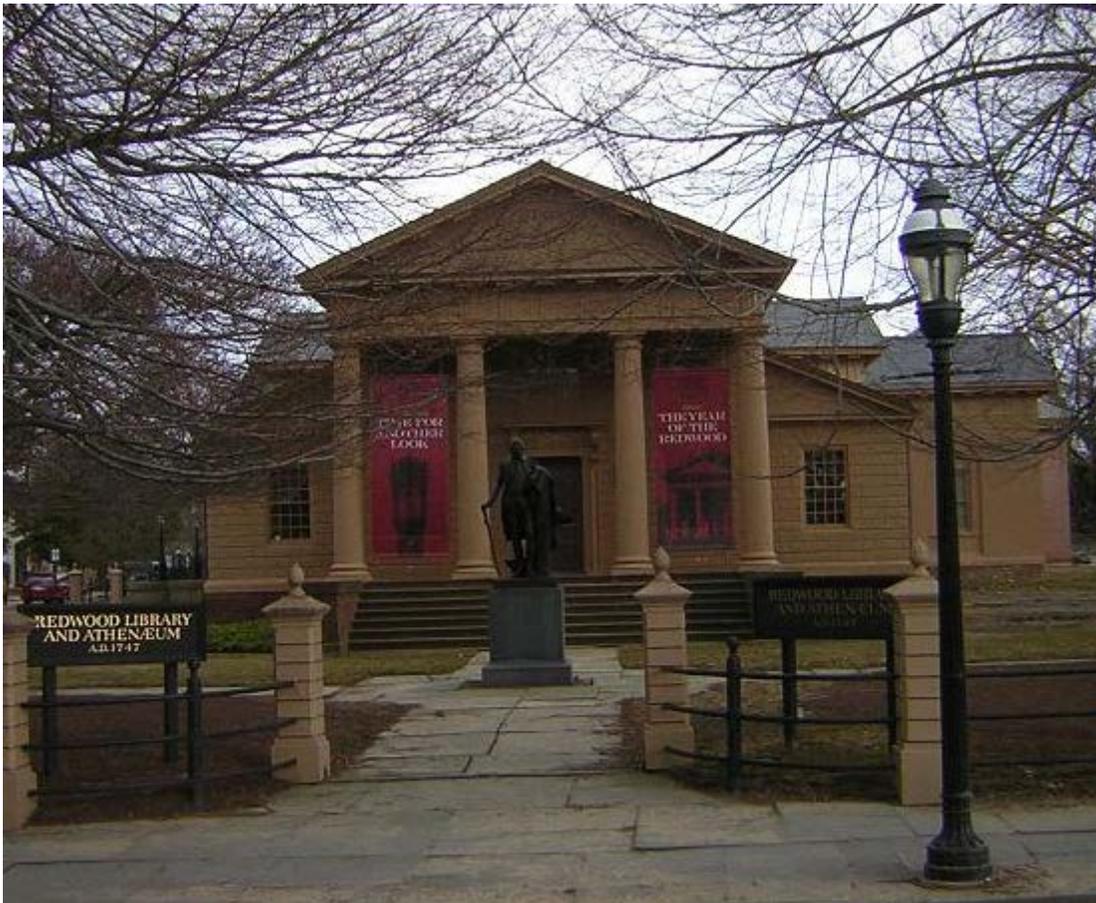
## Resource 31

**Name:** Redwood Library

**Location:** 50 Bellevue Avenue  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

Built in 1758 with Peter Harrison as architect, this is one of the oldest continuously used libraries in the United States. Although not documented, it is more than likely that some of the French officers visited it and used its resources.



The Redwood Library was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 9 October 1960, #66000015.

## Resource 32

**Name:** Old Colony House (1739-41)

**Location:** Washington Square  
Newport, RI

### **Historical Significance:**

Designed by Richard Munday and built in 1739-41 to house the General Assembly of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, it also served as a center for public meetings and religious and social functions. During the Revolution the State House served as a hospital for British and later French forces quartered in Newport. In 1781, when George Washington came to Newport to visit the French Army, a banquet was held in the great hall on the first floor.

The Nation's second oldest capitol building, it was used for the General Assembly's Newport sessions until 1900. Tradition has it that the first Roman Catholic Masses in Rhode Island were celebrated here in 1780-81 by the Abbé de Glesnon, French Army chaplain under *comte* de Rochambeau. It was also used as a French hospital.



The Old Colony House was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 9 October 1960, #66000014.

## Resource 33

**Name:** Second Congregational Church

**Location:** 13 and 15 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

This church was built in 1735. Dr. Ezra Stiles ministered here from 1755 until the British occupation in December 1776; he lived across the street at the Stiles House, (or Henderson House). While visiting Newport in October 1780, Stiles wrote in his diary: “My Meeting-house and three others taken up for Hospitals.”



The Second Congregational Church is listed on the NHR.

## Resource 34

**Name:** Stiles House (also known as Henderson Home, c. 1756-1765)

**Location:** 14 Clarke Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The famous minister of Newport, RI's Congregational Church, Dr. Ezra Stiles lived here while he ministered across the street from 1755 until the British occupation in December 1776.



The Henderson Home is listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

## Resource 35

**Name:** First Presbyterian Church

**Location:** 6 Everett Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

During 1780-81, the church was used as a hospital by the French navy.



## Resource 36

**Name:** Brick Market (1772)

**Location:** 127 Thames Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

Designed by Peter Harrison, the Brick Market on the edge of the harbor was at the center of economic activity in Newport. Current thinking is that most of the purchasing by individual soldiers and officers for fresh fruit or meats or other such items would have taken place at and around the Market.



The Brick Market was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 9 October 1960, #66000019.

## Resource 37

**Name:** White Horse Tavern (1673)

**Location:** 26 Marlborough Street  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

Constructed before 1673, this is the oldest continuously operating tavern in America, and it is more than likely that French officers and men spent time in this tavern.



The White Horse Tavern is listed on the NHR and a contributing Property to the National Historic Landmark District.

## Resource 38

**Name:** Touro Synagogue (1763)

**Location:** 72 Touro Street  
Newport, RI

### **Historical Significance:**

Touro Synagogue is the oldest synagogue on the North American continent. Designed by Peter Harrison, it stands as a symbol of religious freedom throughout the world. When the Jewish community declined after the war of independence, the sacred scrolls were lodged for safe-keeping in a private home (1800). In 1822, Moses Lopez, the last Jew in Newport, moved to New York; the care of the synagogue was taken over by Nathan Gould, a Christian. The synagogue later received a bequest for its upkeep of \$10,000 by Judah Touro, son of the former minister, who lived in New Orleans. His brother Abraham also endowed the building. The ownership of the synagogue devolved on the Shearith Israel Congregation in New York. It was officially re-consecrated in 1883.



The Touro Synagogue was designated a National Historic Site in 1946.

## Resource 39

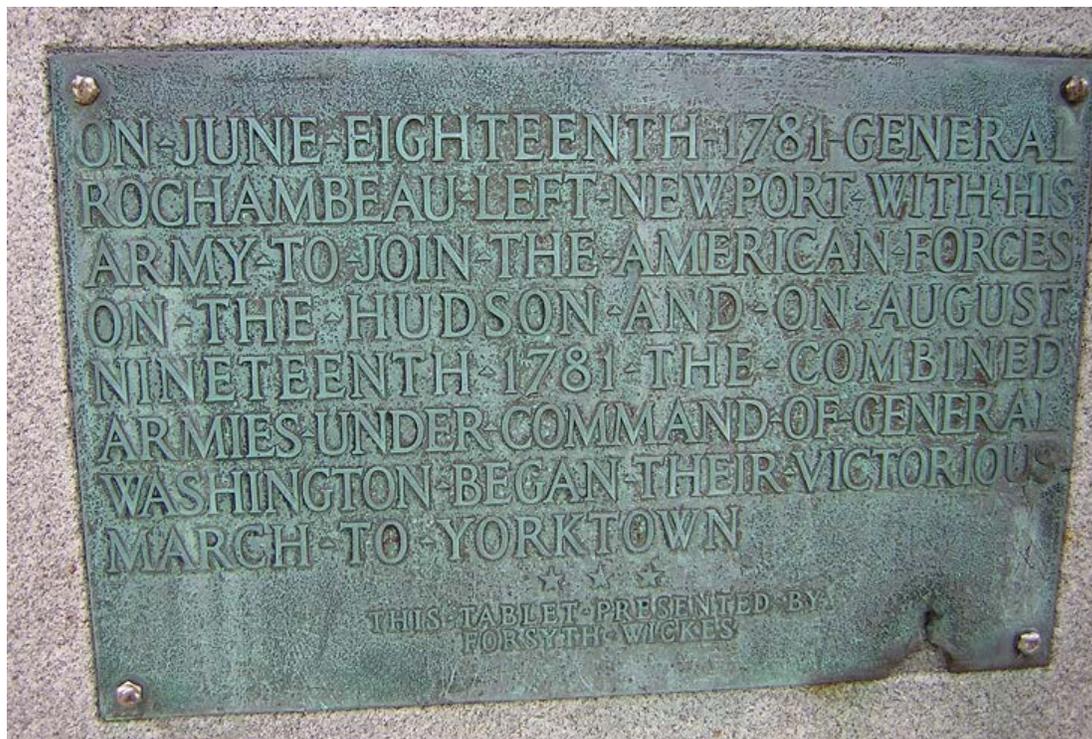
**Name:** Rochambeau Plaza

**Location:** Wellington Avenue  
Newport, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The statue marks the site of the landing of Rochambeau's forces. There are numerous plaques as well as the original stone placed at the site in 1907 attached to, or integrated into, the sides of the cairn.







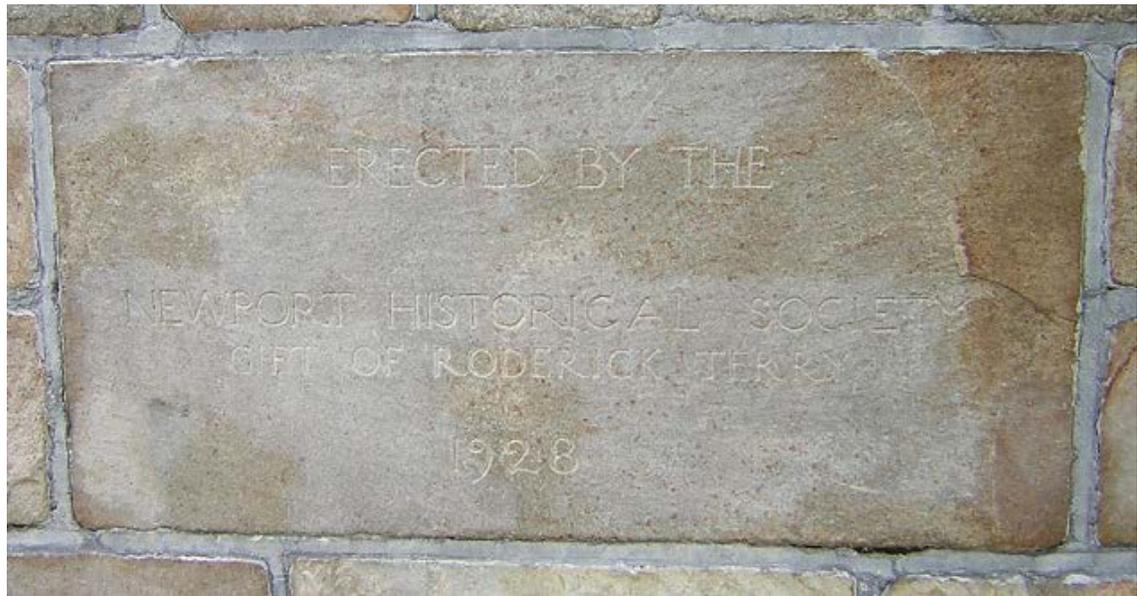
1778 · A LA MÉMOIRE · 1783  
DES COMBATTANTS FRANÇAIS DE LA  
GUERRE DE L'INDEPENDANCE AMÉRICAINNE

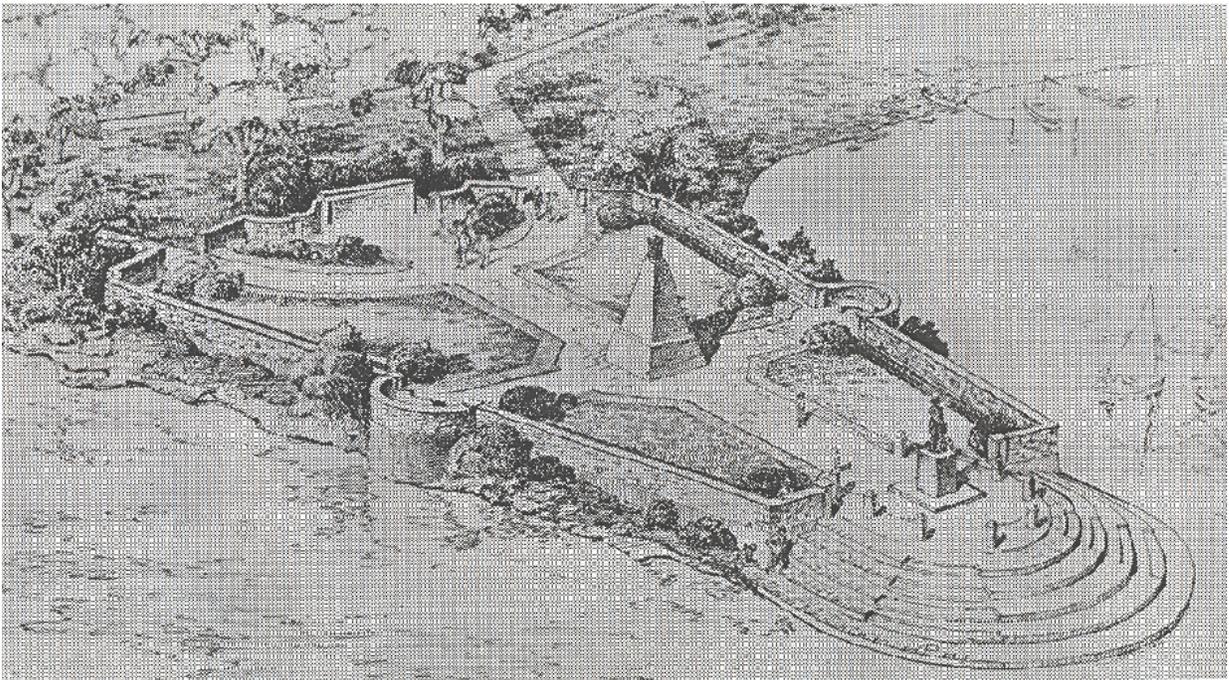
LA FAYETTE,  
MAJOR-GENERAL DE L'ARMÉE AMÉRICAINE

CORPS EXPÉDITIONNAIRE FRANÇAIS

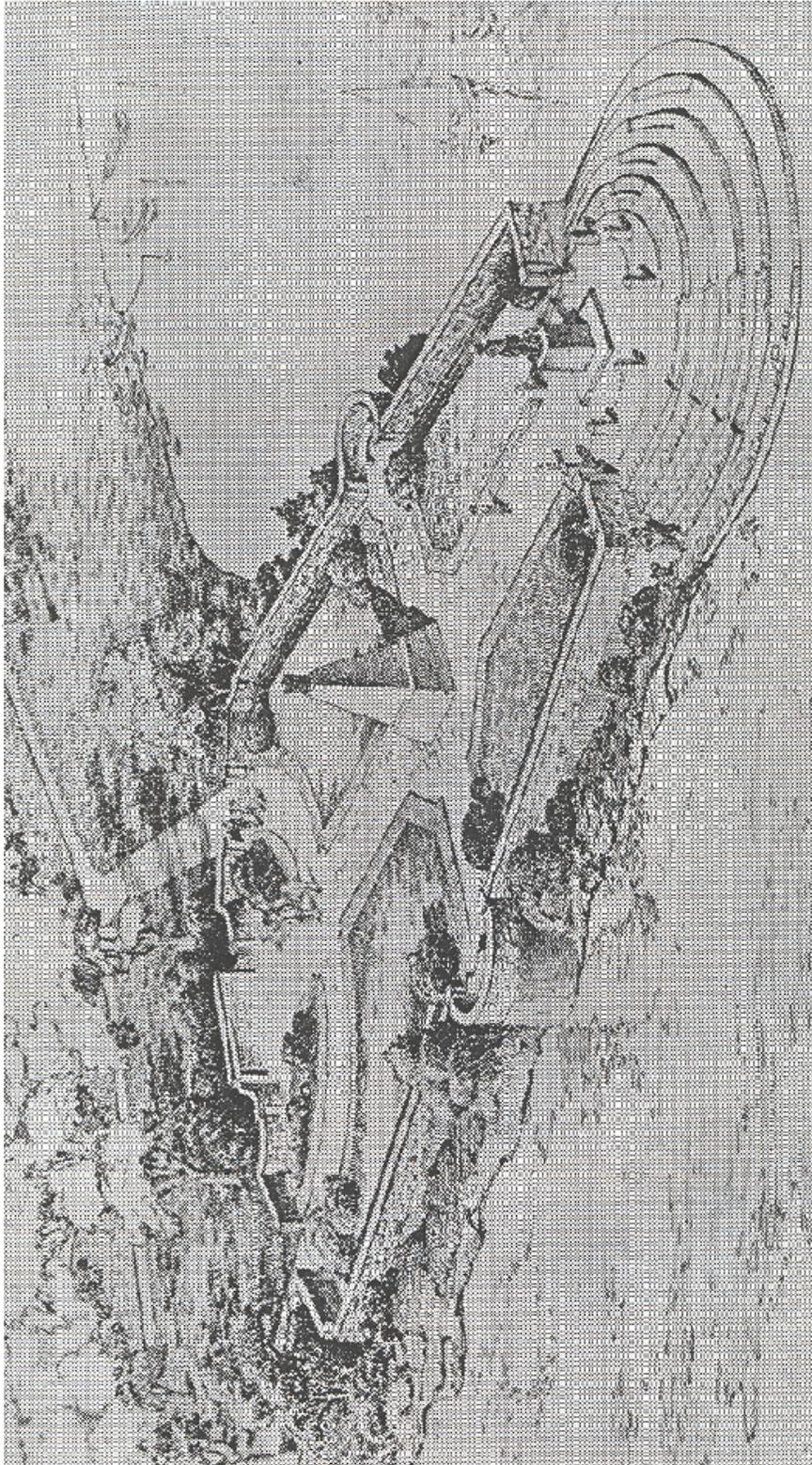
MARINE	ARMÉE DE TERRE
D'ESTAING	ROCHAMBEAU
DE GRASSE	DE VIOMENIL
DE TERNAY	DE CHASTELLUX
DESTOUCHES	DE CHOISY
DE BARRAS	D'ABOVILLE
DE GUICHEN	DESANDROUINS
DE LA MOTTE-PICQUET	DE LAUZUN
DE SUFFREN	DE SAINT-SIMON

	UNITÉS	ÉQUIPAGES	PERTES	RÉGIMENTS	EFFECTIFS	PERTES
ESCADRE DU COMTE D'ESTAING	LANGUEDOC	873	80	ARMÉE DE ROCHAMBEAU		
	LE ZÉLE	314	27	DE BOURBONNAIS	1220	179
	LE FANTASQUE	462	31	DE SOISSONNAIS	1250	110
	LE MAGNIFIQUE	377	29	DE SAINTONGE	1322	129
	LE TONNANT	662	29	DE ROYAL DEUX-PONTS	1163	INCONNUES
	LE PROTÉCTEUR	410	15	D'AUXONNE	601	81
	LE FIER	457	61	DE METZ	351	INCONNUES
	LA PROVENCE	429	35	LÉGION DE LAUZUN	310	INCONNUES
	L'ARTESIEEN	642	107	HUSSARDS	310	INCONNUES
	LE GUERRIER	346	15	DE GRENOBLE	65	INCONNUES
	L'AMPHION	354	24	ARMÉE DE SAINT-SIMON		
	LE MARSEILLAIS	731	48	D'AGÉNOIS	1166	7
	LE CÉSAR	555	45	DE GATINAIS	1061	429
	LE VENGEUR	690	124	DE TOURAINE	1297	200
	L'ANNIBAL	1581	98	ARMÉE TERRESTRE D'ESTAING		
	LA PRUDENTE	322	21	DE DILLON	1164	INCONNUES
	LA CONCORDE	209	38	DE WALSH	532	INCONNUES
	LA CHIMÈRE	307	21	D'HAINAUT	511	200
L'ALCÈNE	205	8	DE FOIX	357	82	
L'ÉTOURDIE	171	11	MARINE			
L'AIMABLE	141	0	ÉQUIPAGES	PERTES		
L'ANDROMAQUE	334	14	31497	3520		
LA BLANCHE	294	16	ARMÉE DE TERRE			
LE PENDANT	151	295	EFFECTIFS	PERTES		
L'ALÈRE	69	0	12680	1520		
ESCADRE DU COMTE DE GRASSE	LA VILLE DE PARIS	1165	110	TOTAL		
	L'ENGAGEANTE	217	2	FORCES	PERTES	
	LA CONCORDE	227	7	44177	5040	
	LE MAGNANIME	580	92			
	L'AIGRETTE	75	15			
	LE DIADÈME	1020	160			
	L'IVELLY	248	53			
	LE NORTHUMBERLAND	800	105			
	LE SCIPION	590	83			
	LE SUFFRE	923	112			
	LA COURONNE-LE PLUTON	906	76			
	LA BOURGOGNE	459	59			
	LE GLOIREUX	655	80			
	LE CATON	654	74			
	L'AUGUSTE	1026	74			
	L'HECTOR	650	62			
	LE SAGITTAIRE	389	25			
	LE SERPENT	142	6			
LA DILIGENTE	129	17				
LE ST ESPRIT	760	93				
L'AMAZONE	316	25				
L'EXPÉRIENT	457	31				
ESCADRE DES COMTES DE GUICHEN & DE GRASSE	L'INDIEN	768	69			
	LE MARSEILLAIS	630	33			
	LE CITOYEN	802	47			
	L'ACTIONNAIRE	824	131			
	LE SOUVERAIN	311	40			
ESCADRE DU COMTE DE TERNAY (ARMÉE DE ROCHAMBEAU)	L'HERCULE	310	81			
	LE DUC DE BOURGOGNE	640	134			
	LE JASON	136	65			
	LE JASON	391	35			
	LA PROVENCE	404	228			
	L'ÉVÉILLE	484	65			
LE CONQUÉRANT	731	118				
LE ARGENT	704	87				
LE NEPTUNE	620	70				





Rochambeau Plaza, in King Park, Newport, R.I., where the statue of Marshal Count de Rochambeau, Commander in Chief of the French Army sent to help the American Colonists during the Revolution was erected — Behind is the Pyramid marking the very location of the landing in 1780 of the first convoy of 6000 French soldiers with guns, ammunitions, food and medical supplies.



Rochambeau Plaza, in King Park, Newport, R.I., where the statue of Marshal Count de Rochambeau, Commander in Chief of the French Army sent to help the American Colonists during the Revolution was erected — Behind is the Pyramid marking the very location of the landing in 1780 of the first convoy of 6000 French soldiers with guns, ammunitions, food and medical supplies.

Vault A, Box A-16, NHS. This box contains much valuable information on the 1931 commemoration as well as the events of 13 July 1934 and of 4 July 1940.

## Resource 40

**Name:** French campsites, July 1780-November 1780

**Location:** Newport, RI

### Historical Significance:

"The camp ran from east to west from present-day Spring Street, where at the west end it overlooked a marsh and the squadron anchorage. On the east end, it overlooked Easton's Beach." The infantry regiments camped on the east side, the artillery "on the camp's west end close to Spring Street. The area across Spring Street and stretching down to Thames Street was laid out as the French Army's artillery park."<sup>1</sup> Lauzun's Legion took up positions at Castle Hill.

No archaeological search has as yet been done to determine the exact locations of the various campsites.



42: Artillery Park

43: Auxonne Artillery

44: Bourbonnois

45: Royal Deux-Ponts

46: Soissonnois

47: Saintonge

48: Lauzun's Legion quartered at Castle Hill

<sup>1</sup> John B. Hattendorf, *Newport, the French Navy, and American Independence*, (Newport, 2005), p. 62.

## Resource 41

**Name:** Market House (1773)

**Location:** Market Sq. and S. Main St.  
Providence, RI

### **Historical Significance:**

Planning for the Market House at the east end of Weybosset Bridge was begun in 1758, but construction did not begin until 1773, when Nicholas Brown laid the first stone on 11 June. The building was of brick, 40 feet wide, 80 feet long, and two stories high. The lower story was used as a market, while the second story was divided into offices and occupied in part by the various officers of the town and in part by private tenants. In 1775, the Market House was the site of the “Providence Tea Party.” From 1832 to 1878, the Market served as Providence City Hall; the current City Hall was built in 1878.

On 12 June 1781, the First French Brigade, i.e., the regiments Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, arrived by sea in Providence, their first stop on the march to White Plains and eventually on to Virginia. Some spent the night in the empty Market House on Market Square, where baggage and munitions not needed for the march were stored. Hacker Hall was destroyed by a fire in January 1821.



The Market House is listed on the NHR.

## Resource 42

**Name:** Site of the barracks/hospital at Poppasquash

**Location:** Poppasquash Road  
Bristol, RI

### Historical Significance:

The barracks at Poppasquash were used as hospitals. Their exact location in 1781, possibly along Poppasquash Road in, or south of, Colt State Park in Bristol, is unknown. On 4 July 1780, Ethis de Corny informed de la Luzerne, French minister in Philadelphia, that he had established a hospital as "a second auxiliary hospital (*hôpital de provision*) between Providence and Newport at Poppasquash. This is strictly speaking an *entrepôt*, or summer hospital built of wood. Dr. Craig had this mediocre establishment built thinking, as did General Heath, that it could take the place of the one that had been refused him at Providence, but aside from the nature of these barracks, they will accommodate scarcely 250 or 300 sick."<sup>2</sup> Corny's letter implies that the buildings were not useable during the winter months. The hospital was shut down in early August 1780 and the sick were transferred to Providence.



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<sup>2</sup> Bouvet, *Service de santé*, p. 56.

## Resource 43

**Name:** Joseph Russell House (c. 1774)

**Location:** 118 North Main  
Providence, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The Russell House was quarters of Major-General François *chevalier* Beauvoir de Chastellux in June 1781.



The Joseph Russell House is listed on the NHR as part of the College Hill Historic District.

## Resource 44

**Name:** Joseph Brown House (1774)

**Location:** 50 South Main Street  
Providence, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The John Brown House served as quarters for *baron* de Vioménil and his aides.



The Joseph Brown House is listed on the NHR as part of the College Hill Historic District.

## Resource 45

**Name:** Site of the Nicholas Brown House

**Location:** 27-31 South Main Street  
Providence, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

The Nicholas Brown House served as quarters for Rochambeau's aides, esp. Axel von Fersen and Damas. The structure at 31 South Main Street is a 1982 office tower.

## Resource 46

**Name:** Benjamin Cushing Jr. House (c. 1737)

**Location:** 38 ½ North Court Street  
Providence, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

In 1781 and 1782, Benjamin Cushing Jr. provided quarters to the aides of the chevalier de Chastellux.



The property was moved here from its original location on North Mains Street and North Court ca. 1869.

## Resource 47

**Name:** Governor Stephen Hopkins House (c. 1707)

**Location:** 15 Hopkins Streets (corner of Benefit Street)  
Providence, RI 02903

### **Historical Significance:**

Hopkins was a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Washington stayed at the Hopkins House a few times, though not on his way to visit Rochambeau in Newport in March 1781. Relocated from 9 Hopkins Street in 1927. A state-owned property, the Governor Hopkins House is managed by the Rhode Island Chapter of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America.



The Governor Stephen Hopkins House was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 11 November 1971, #70000022.

STEPHEN HOPKINS

1707 — 1785

MERCHANT AND SHIP BUILDER  
TEN TIMES GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND  
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT  
CHANCELLOR OF BROWN UNIVERSITY  
MEMBER OF THE COLONIAL CONGRESS  
SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE  
LIVED IN THIS HOUSE 1743-1785  
WASHINGTON WAS HERE A GUEST APRIL 6, 1776

THIS BUILDING ERECTED  
AT THE CORNER OF SOUTH MAIN ST. ABOUT 1743  
WAS REMOVED TO ITS  
PRESENT SITE IN 1927

## Resource 48

**Name:** Campground of the French forces

**Location:** Between Cranston and Broad Streets  
Providence, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

French forces camped here from 12 to 22 June 1781 on their way to New York and eventually to Virginia. On the return march of 1782, French artillery was encamped here from 9 until 16 November when it departed for Boston. French infantry arrived on 10 and 11 November but moved to a new camp along North Main Street two days later on 13 November.



For a map of the encampment see Appendix 3: Roadmaps and Campsite Maps.

## Resource 49

Name: **Powder House** (pre-1776)

Location: 27 Cushing Street  
Providence, RI 02903

Historical Significance:

On 21 March 1781, the General Assembly resolved that William Perkins should “repair the Powder House in Providence, and the Store upon Knight Dexter’s farm in Such a manner that they will be suited to store powder in as said Building (sic) are to be appropriated for the use and Service of the french army.”<sup>3</sup>



“The Providence Powder House, built circa 1765, stood on Powder House Lane (now South Court Street) on the northwest corner of Prospect and Old Goal Lane.”

Matthew Thomas, *Historic Powder Houses of New England: Arsenals of American Independence* (Charleston, SC 2013), p. 169.

## Resource 50

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<sup>3</sup> RIHS Mss 9001 P, William Perkins Papers.

**Name:** Monument in North Burial Ground

**Location:** Intersection of North Main Street (Route 1) and Branch Avenue  
Providence, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The monument commemorates the French soldiers and sailors who died in the hospitals of Providence from 1780 to 1783



**Resource 51**

**Name:** University Hall (c. 1770)

**Location:** Brown University  
Providence, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

University Hall on the Brown University campus was used as a hospital by the French after 1780.



University Hall was listed as a National Historic Landmark on 13 June 1962,  
#66000003

**Resource 52**



**Name:** Old State House (c. 1760-1762)

**Location:** 150 Benefit Street  
Providence, RI 02903

**Historical Significance:**

“Providence's first County House, a two-story wooden structure, was built in 1730-1731 on Meeting Street, on the lot now occupied by the Brick Schoolhouse. A fire destroyed the building on Christmas Eve, 1758. [...] The following February the General Assembly ordered the construction of a new brick courthouse. The building committee selected a new site north of the previous one. The long, narrow lot extending from North Main to the newly completed Benefit Street provided a grand axial approach to the building. Work began in 1760 and was largely completed by 1762, but funds for finishing the interior were appropriated as late as 1771. Here on May 4, 1776, the General Assembly repealed a previous act of allegiance to the crown. The date is now celebrated as Rhode Island Independence Day. While meeting here in 1784, the Assembly passed the first act in the United States providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves. In 1781, George Washington attended a dinner and ball given here in his honor. He returned as President in 1790 to attend a banquet commemorating Rhode Island's ratification of the federal Constitution.”

[http://www.preservation.ri.gov/about/old\\_state\\_house.php](http://www.preservation.ri.gov/about/old_state_house.php)



The Old State House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970.

## Resource 54

**Name:** Joy Homestead (c. 1770)

**Location:** 156 Scituate Avenue  
Cranston, RI 02921

**Historical Significance:**

In 1781, the Joy Homestead was the home of Job Joy and Rachel Westcott, who raised their ten children in this house. It is among the few eighteenth-century homes between Providence and the Connecticut State Line that are still standing.



The Joy Homestead is listed on the NHR.

## Resource 55

**Name:** Nathan Wescott House (c. 1770)

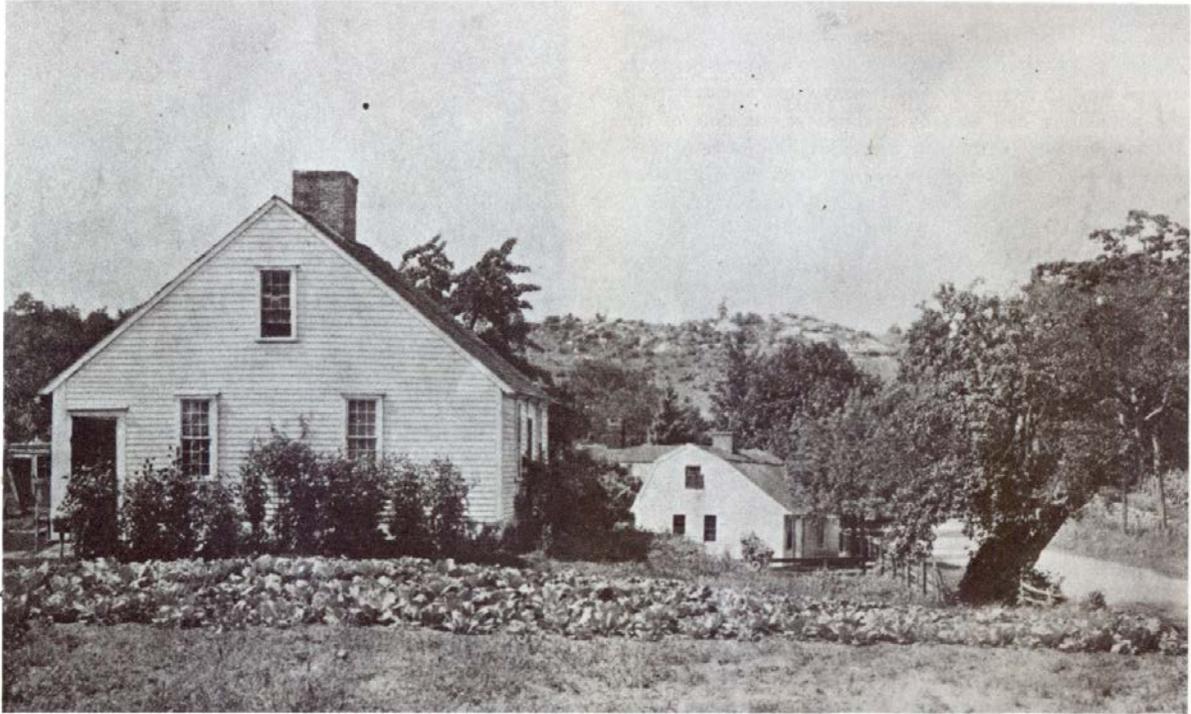
**Location:** 150 Scituate Avenue  
Cranston, RI 02921

### **Historical Significance:**

In 1781, the Joy Homestead was the home of Nathan Wescott. It is among the few eighteenth-century homes between Providence and the Connecticut State Line that are still standing.



The Nathan Wescott House is listed on the NHR.



Scituate Avenue; Knightsville Corner; photograph, 1910. A late 19th-century view of two of the houses that still remain along Rochambeau's march route. The two most popular building types from the early- and mid-18th-century are illustrated: a broad-pitched gable-roofed house in the foreground and the gambrel-roofed Nathan Westcott House beyond it. Just behind the Westcott House is the roof of the Joy Homestead. These houses were among the collection of 18th-century houses that came to be known as Joytown.

## Resource 56

**Name:** Nicholas Sheldon House (c. 1728)

**Location:** 458 Scituate Avenue  
Cranston, RI 02921

### **Historical Significance:**

In 1781, the Nicholas Sheldon Homestead was the home of Nicholas Sheldon III, who had inherited the property in 1764. It is among the few eighteenth-century homes between Providence and the Connecticut State Line that are still standing.

The Nicholas Sheldon House is listed on the NHR

## Resource 57

**Name:** Waterman's Tavern (c. 1744)

**Location:** Maple Valley Road  
Coventry, RI

### **Historical Significance:**

Though there is no documentary evidence for this, it seems fair to assume that Rochambeau, who was traveling with the troops, spent the night of 18/19 June 1781 in Waterman's Tavern.



Waterman's Tavern is listed on the NHR.

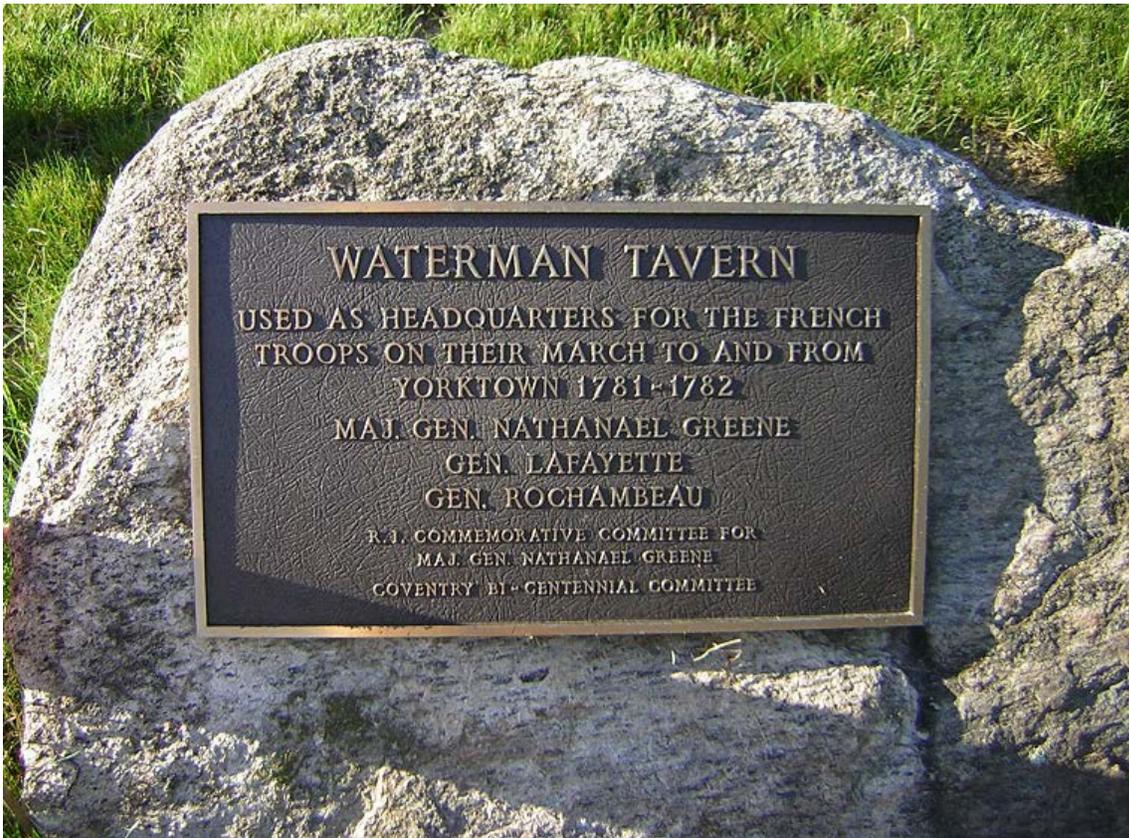
## Resource 58

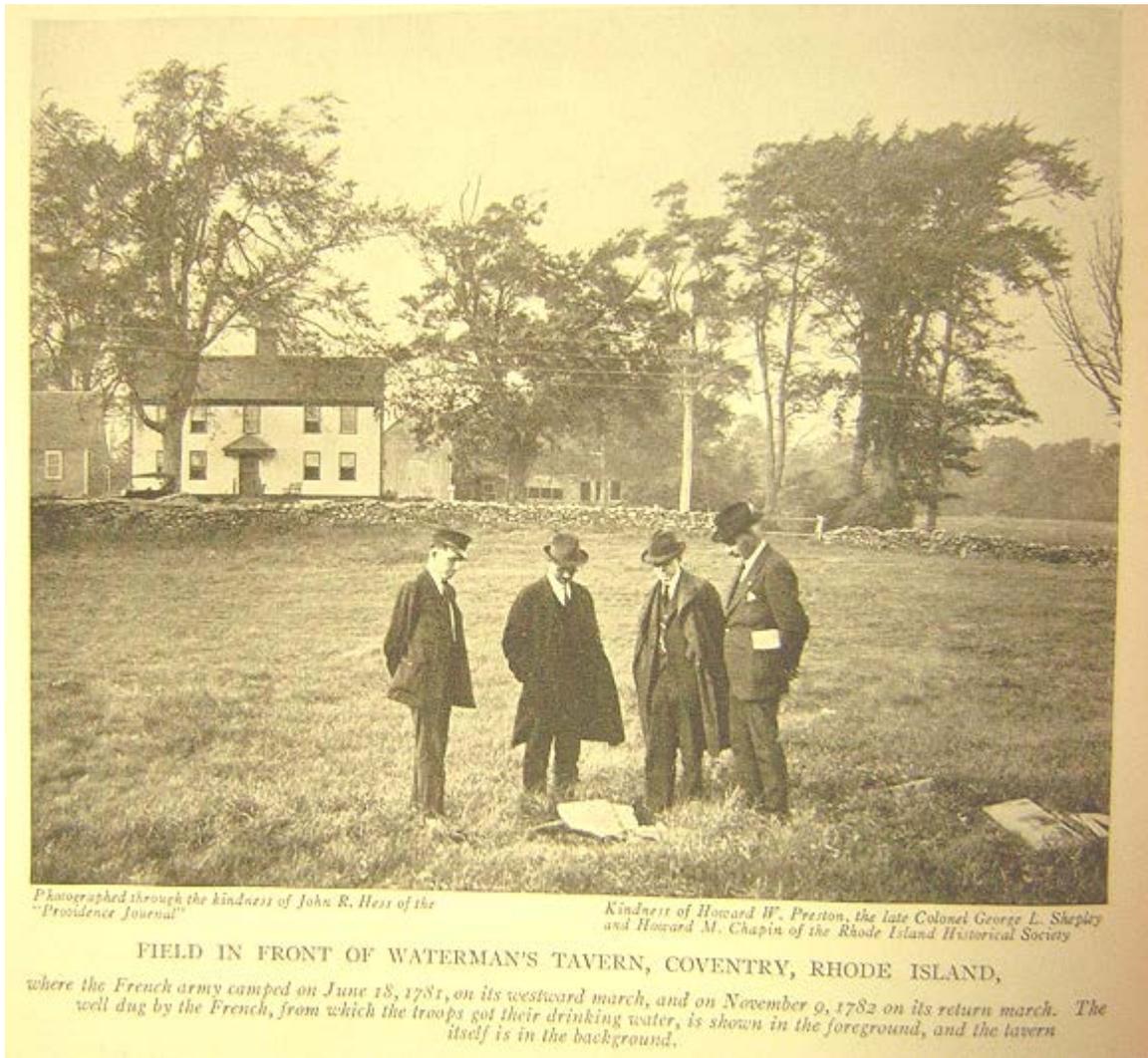
**Name:** Campground Plaque at Waterman's Tavern

**Location:** Maple Valley Road  
Coventry, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The following morning Rochambeau and the Bourbonnais regiment resumed their march on Maple Valley Road (which becomes Waterman Hill Road west of RI-SR 102) to Plainfield Pike (RI-SR 14), which took them to the next campsite in Connecticut.





## Resource 59

**Name:** French Campground at Waterman's Tavern

**Location:** Maple Valley Road  
Coventry, RI

**Historical Significance:**

French forces camped here from 18 to 22 June 1781 and again on their return from Yorktown from 9/10 (artillery) and 10/12 November 1782 (infantry).

For a map of the encampment see Appendix 3: Roadmaps and Campsite Maps.

## Resource 60

**Name:** French campsite

**Location:** Between Rochambeau Avenue, East Ave and Pawtucket Turnpike  
Providence, RI

### **Historical Significance:**

French forces encamped here from 13 November until 1 December, when the infantry began its march for Boston in regimental columns, beginning with the Bourbonnais on 1 December and ending with the Royal Deux-Ponts. The stay in Providence had been necessitated because the vessels of Admiral Vaudreuil in Boston harbor were not yet ready to receive them.



## Resource 61

**Name:** Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse

**Location:** 957 North Main Street  
Corner of North Main Street and Rochambeau Avenue  
Providence, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse (1754), at the corner of North Main Street and Rochambeau Avenue, is the only eighteenth-century structure still standing in this area. The house is on the edge of the encampment of the infantry parts of Rochambeau's army in November 1782, which was on the hill toward Summit Avenue and Brewster Street.



The Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse is listed on the NHR and has served as the headquarters of Preserve Rhode Island since 2001.

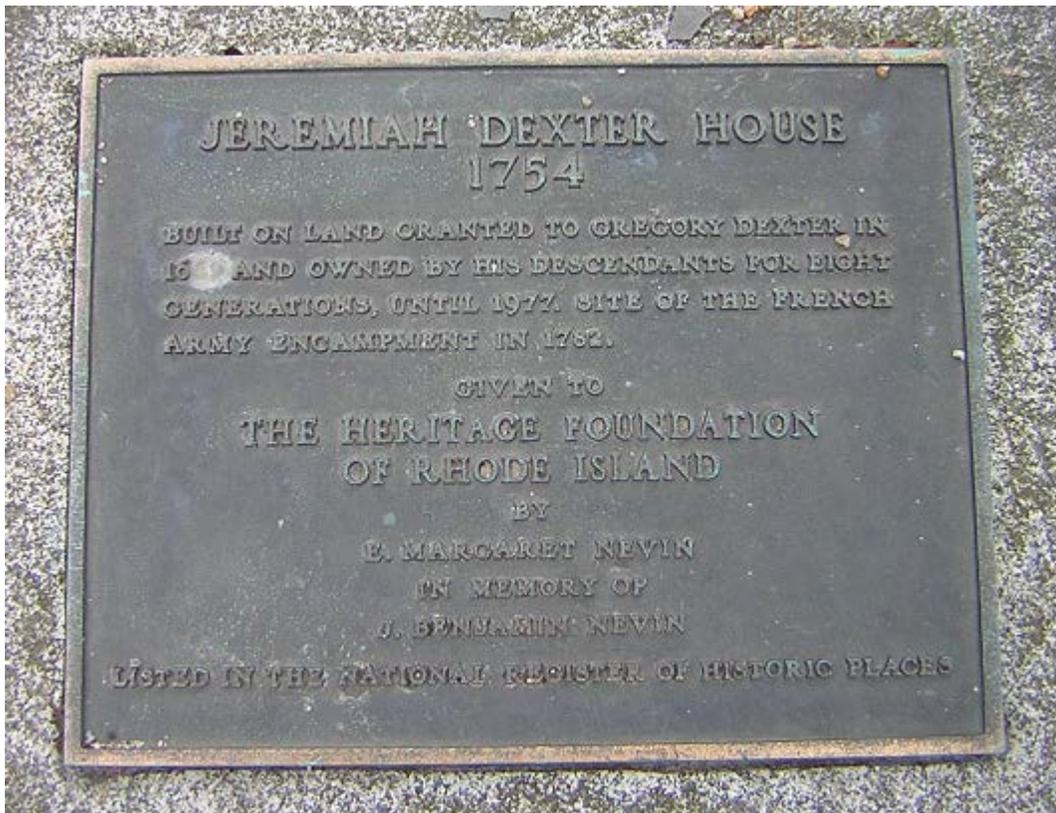
## Resource 62

**Name:** Rochambeau Army Marker

**Location:** Jeremiah Dexter Farmhouse  
Corner of North Main Street and Rochambeau Avenue  
Providence, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The marker commemorated the encampment of French forces in November 1782.



## Resource 63

**Name:** French Campsite Marker (1907)

**Location:** near the Y corner of Summit Street and Brewster Street  
Providence, RI

**Historical Significance:**

The marker commemorates the French camp of November 1782.



For a map of the encampment see Appendix 3: Roadmaps and Campsite Maps.

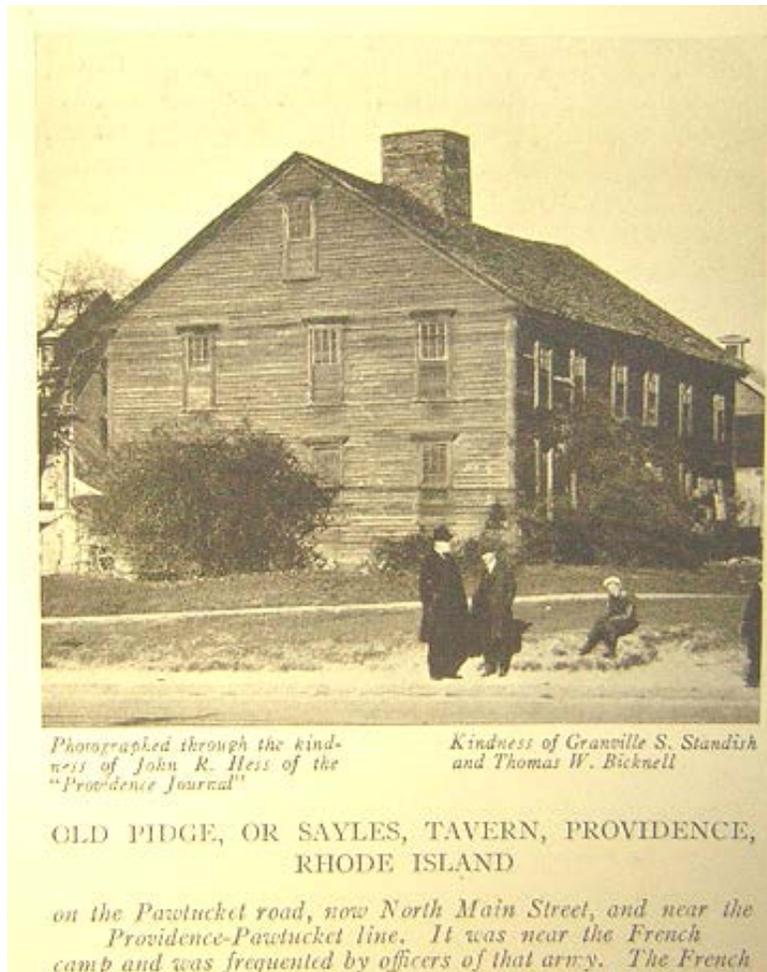
## Resource 64

**Name:** Old Pidge or Sayles Tavern

**Location:** North Main Street  
Providence, RI

**Historical Significance:**

Located just to the north of the French campsite of November 1782, the tavern must have seen repeated visits by French officers and enlisted men.



The tavern, located at 586 Pawtucket Avenue, is “supposed to have been built by the Sayles family in 1640. If true, this legend makes it the oldest house in” Rhode Island. “Two-and-a-half stories high, it is rectangular in plan with a red-brick chimney, off-center, straddling the roof ridge. It is supposed that the tavern had previously been square with a stone chimney, and that in 1767 it was lengthened to its present dimensions.”

## Resource 65

**Name:** General Nathanael Greene Homestead (c. 1774)

**Location:** 50 Taft Street  
Coventry, RI

**Historical Significance:**

Greene, Washington's second in command, designed and built his residence from 1774 to 1783. Commissary Blanchard, Captain Haacke of the Royal Deux-Ponts, and "the chaplain of the hospital" visited there on 28 November 1780.

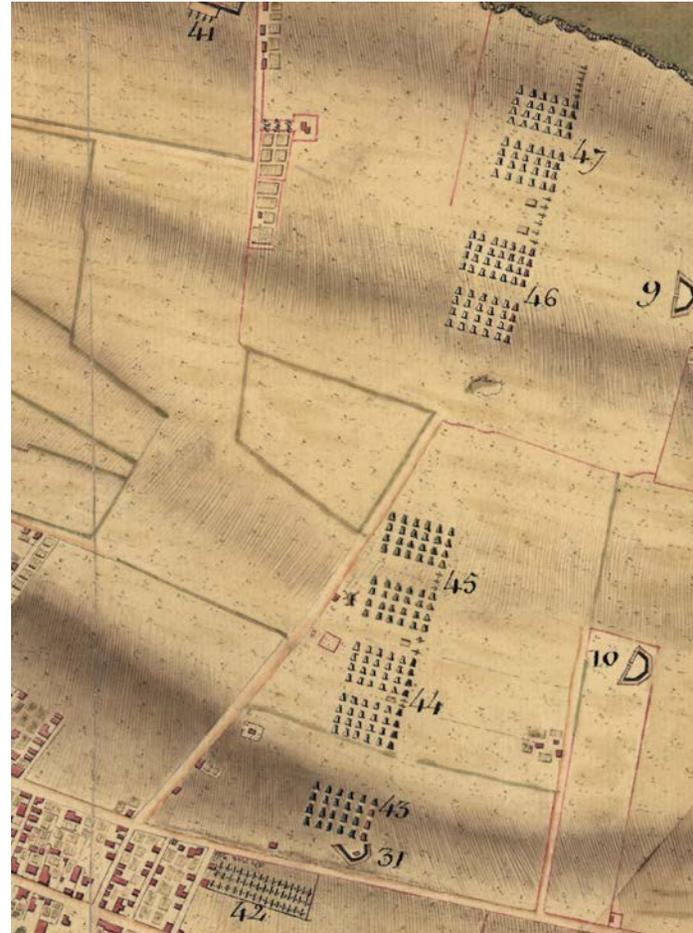
Blanchard described Mrs Greene as "amiable, genteel and rather pretty. As there was no bread in her house, some was hastily made; it was of meal and water mixed together; which was the toasted at the fire; small slices of it were served up to us. It is not much for a Frenchman. As for the Americans, they eat very little bread. Besides, the dinner was long; we remained to sleep there."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Blanchard, *Journal*, p. 81. There were two brothers Haacke, both captains, in the Royal Deux-Ponts. The chaplain has not been identified.

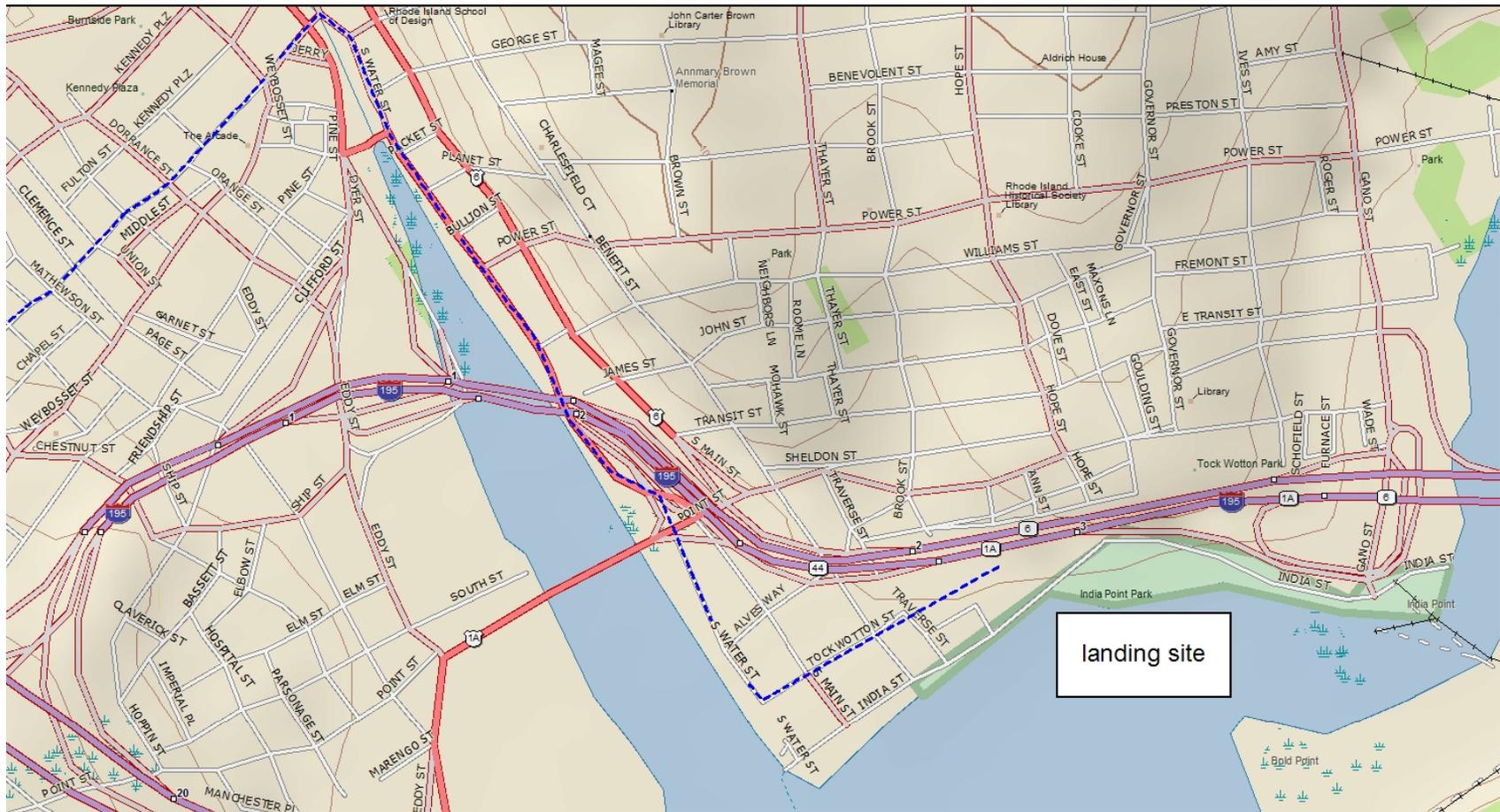
## Roadmaps and Campsite Maps

- 42: Artillery Park
- 43: Auxonne Artillery
- 44: Bourbonnois
- 45: Royal Deux-Ponts
- 46: Soissonnois
- 47: Saintonge



Map 1: French Encampment in Newport, July to November 1780

Detail from « Plan de la position de l'armée française autour de Newport et du mouillage de l'escadre dans la rade de cette ville (1780). » Rochambeau Map Collection, Library of Congress.

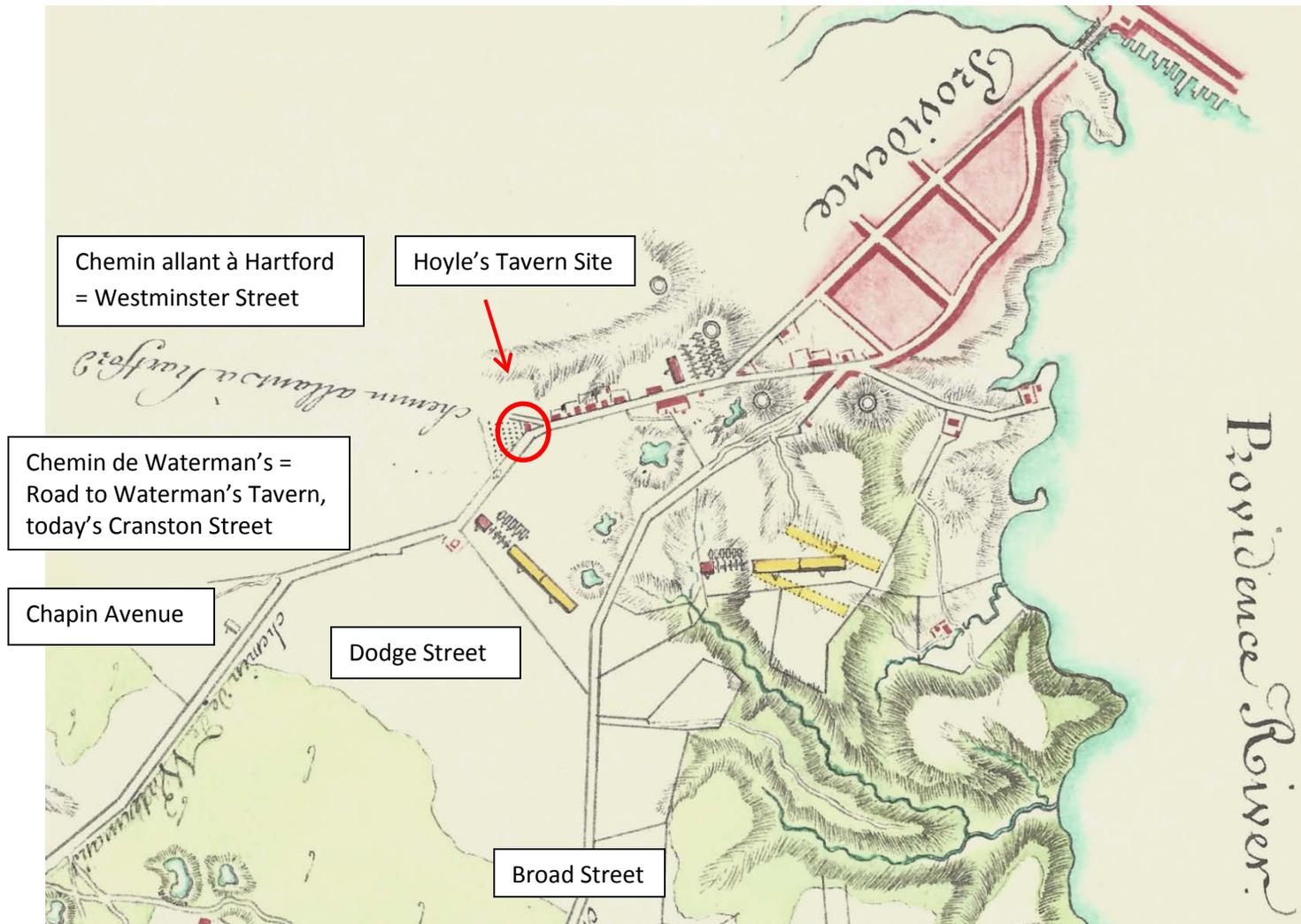


Map 2: March route of French forces from the landing site in Providence to their camp, 10 to 12 June 1781

In June 1781, French forces traveled from Newport to Providence by boat.



Landing Site at India Point Park



Map 3: French Campsite in Providence, June 1781

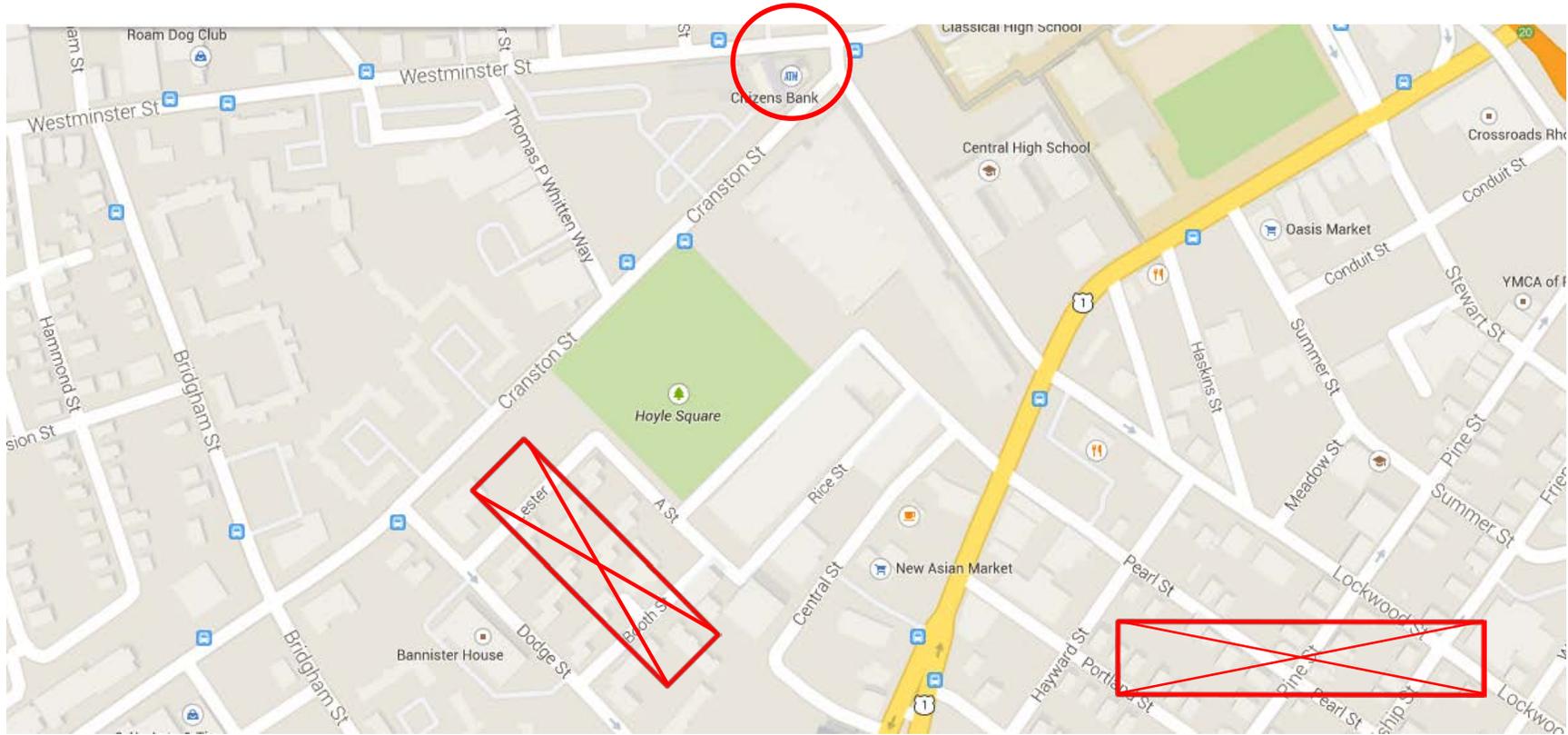
Reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, Map 27 (detail).

“Hoyle’s Tavern” was started by Obadiah Brown, a blacksmith, ca.1739/40. Joseph Hoyle purchased the site on 22 April 1783.

Road description from Preston, Howard W. "Rochambeau and the French Troops in Providence in 1780-81-82." *Rhode Island Historical Society Collections* vol. 17 No. 1 (January 1924), pp. 1-23, pp. 14/15.

Judging from the maps in the Rochambeau Collection and the early maps of Providence, the French army, on leaving the camp ground between Broad and Plane Streets, passed through the present Stewart Street to High Street, and west along this to the junction (Hoyle Tavern), where, leaving on their right the road to Hartford, they took the road to the left, then called the Monkey Town road, now Cranston Street, and followed this to Monkeytown, now Knightsville. The army here turned to the right following the old Scituate road over Dugaway hill by the late Pippin Orchard School house, over Apple House hill and Bald hill, crossing the Pawtuxet at the village of Kent and on to Waterman's Tavern, fifteen miles, the end of the first day's march and the first camp. Waterman's Tavern is still standing in good condition near Potterville on the old Scituate road a mile or so north of the new state highway. It is now the home of Mr. Elmer A. Havens, who shows two wells of small diameter neatly stoned, that are said to have been dug by the French troops that camped here, both on the march to Yorktown and on the return march. The instructions for the march say: "The camp is in quite a good position although in the midst of woods, having a brook in front, and behind, the tavern and the main road from Providence to Watermans much better than that by Angells tavern. The accommodations for divisional headquarters are not abundant but more than at Angell's tavern or Whipple house." On June 19, the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts set out for the camp at Waterman's, followed on the 20th by the regiment of Soissonnais and on the 21st by Saintonge. With the departure of this last regiment, there were left in Providence a guard for the baggage and munitions stored in the Old Market House, and the surgeons and attendants at the hospital in University Hall.

Hoyle's Tavern

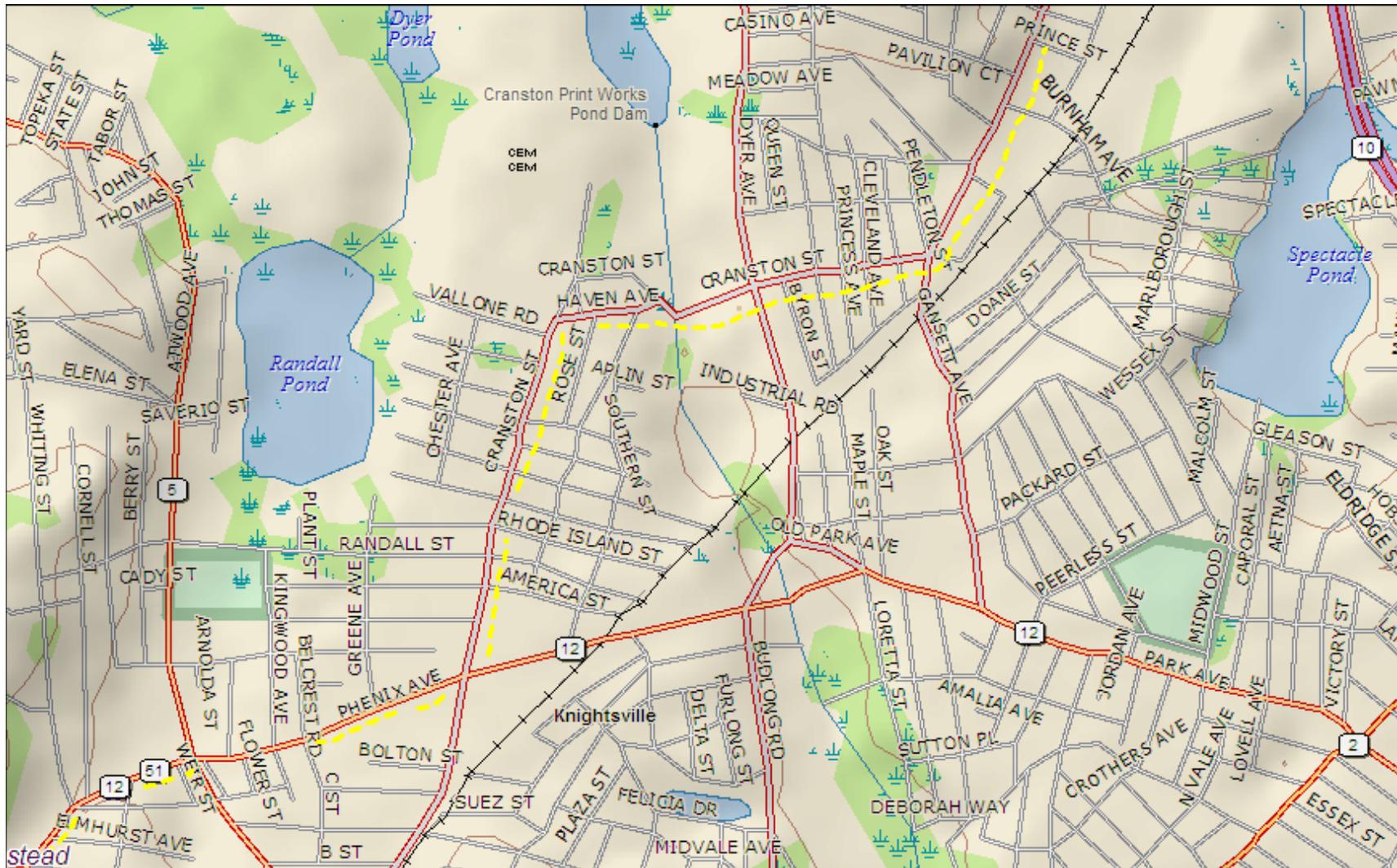


Map 4: French Campsite in Providence, June 1781



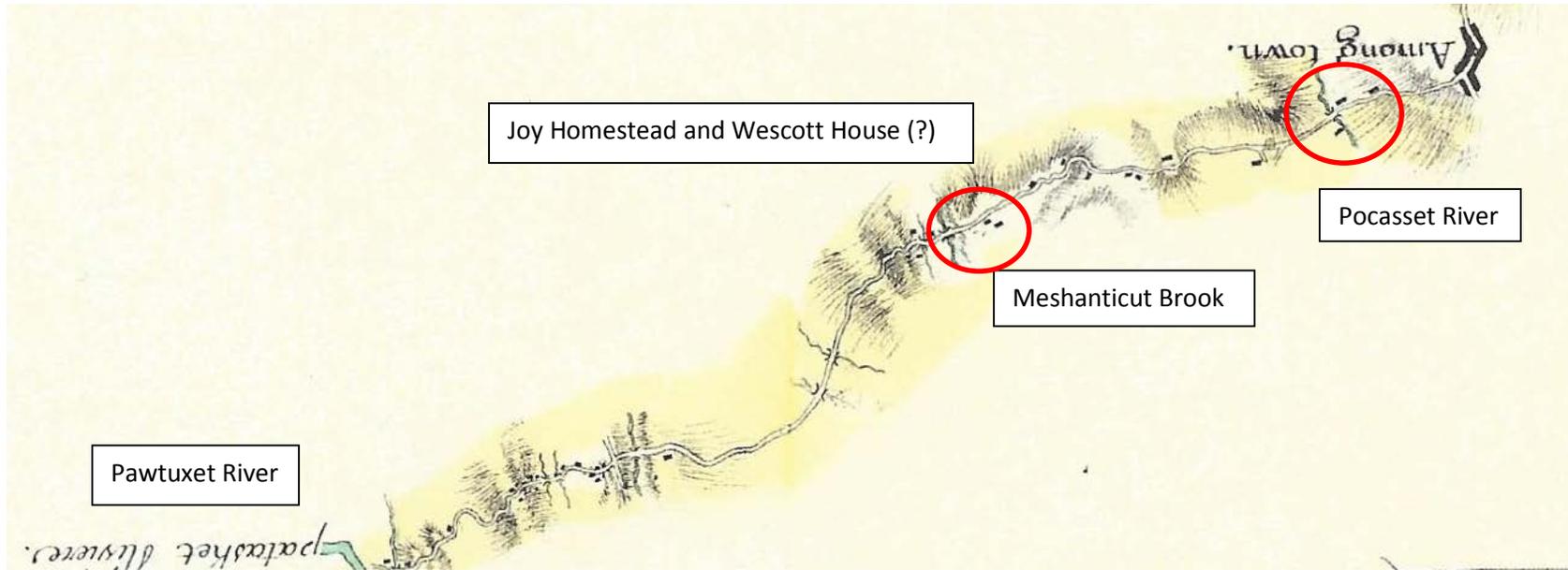
Map 5: French March Route from Providence to Monkeytown (“Among town”), today’s Knightsville

Reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, Map 14 (detail)



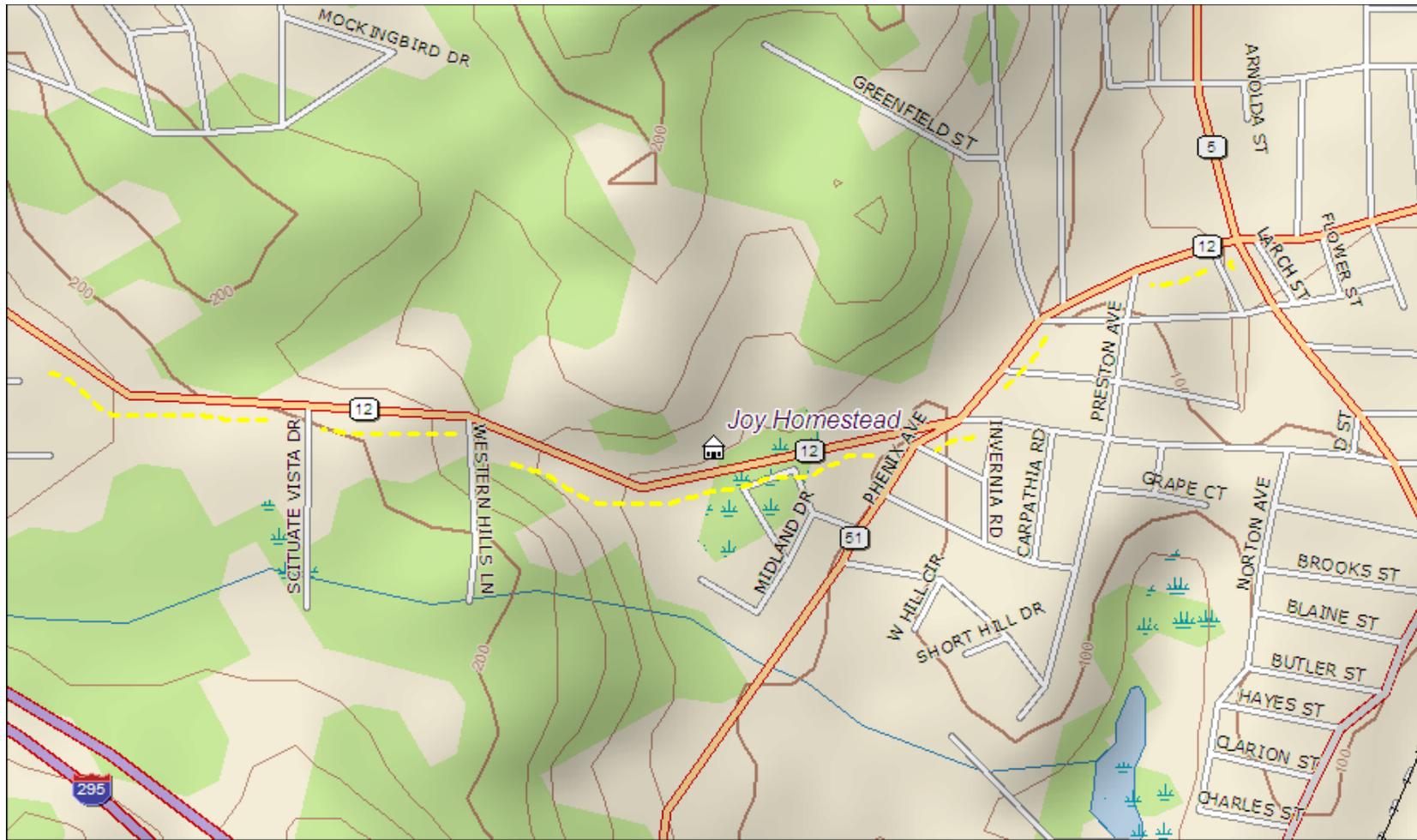
Map 6: March route from the campsite in Providence on Cranston Street to Waterman's Tavern.

Cranston Street becomes Route 12 after the intersection with Route 5.



Map 7: French March Route from Monkeytown (“Among town”), today’s Knightsville to the Pawtuxet

Reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, Map 14 (detail)



Map 8: March route from the campsite in Providence through Cranston to Waterman's Tavern.

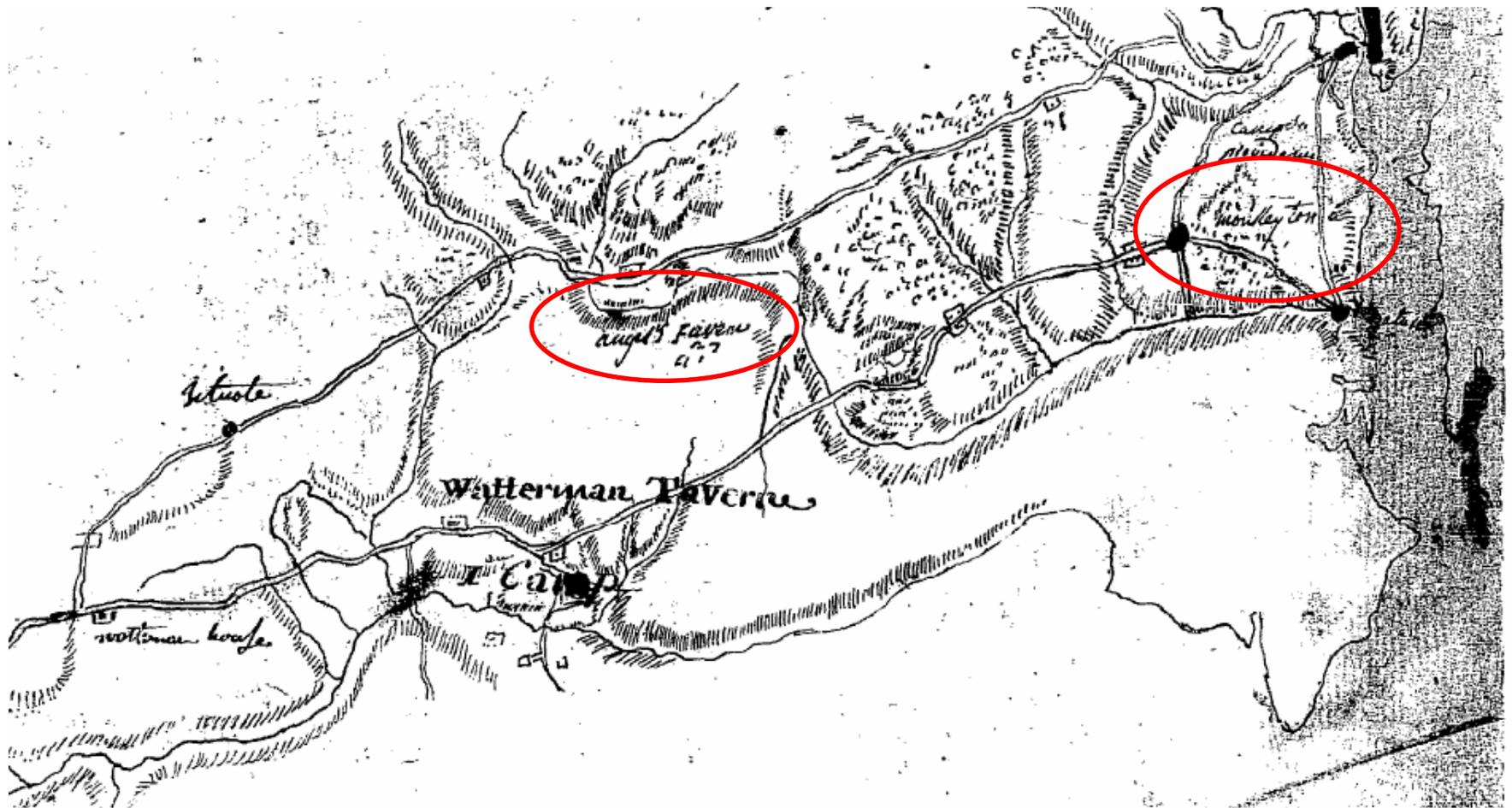
The Pawtuxet River is to the left of the map.



Map 9: March route from the campsite in Providence to Waterman's Tavern.

Rochambeau Map Collection, Library of Congress

"Monk Town" or "Monkey Town" is today's Knightsville. Note the location of Angell's Tavern.



Map 10: March Route from Providence to Waterman's Tavern

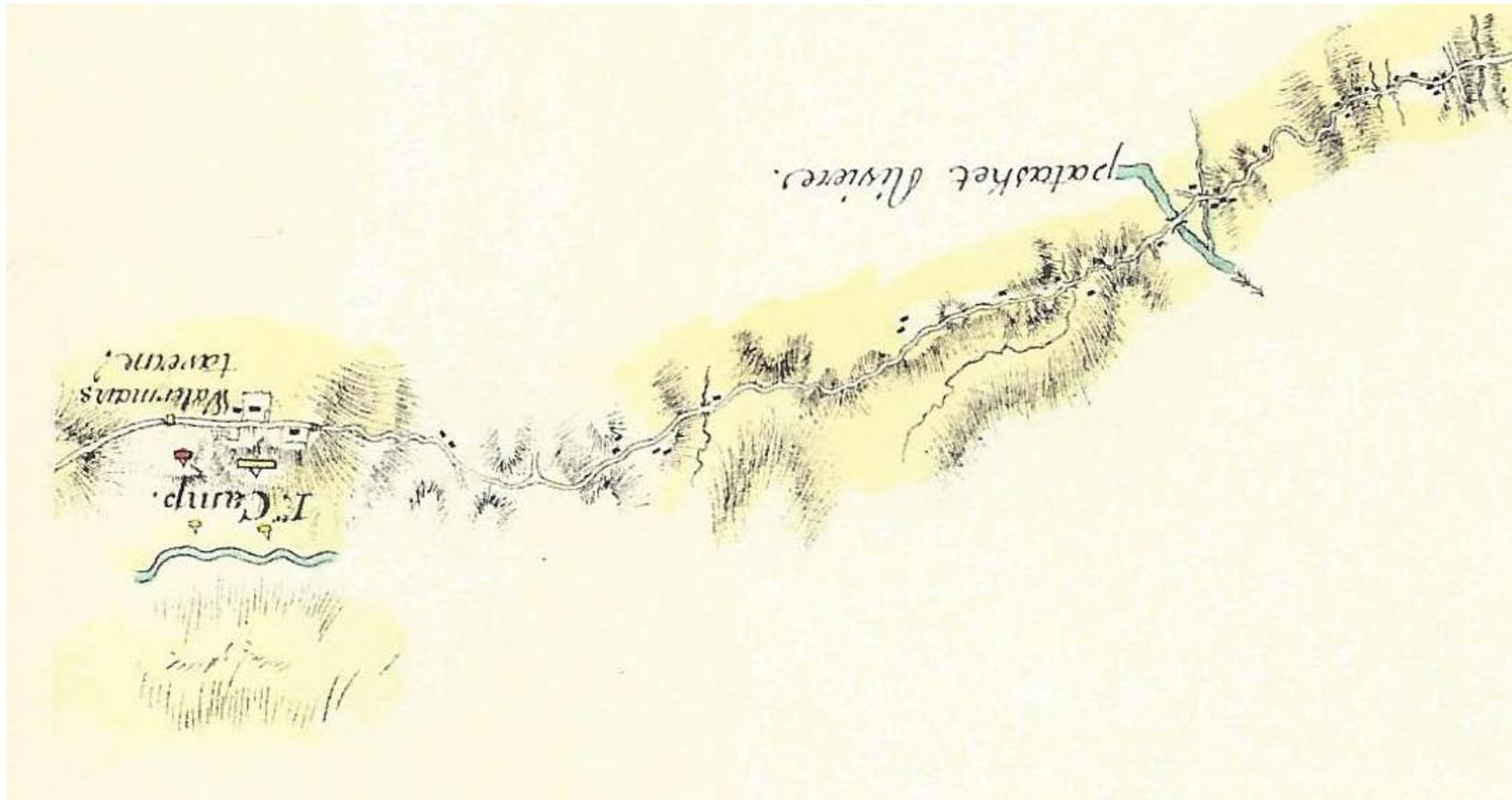
Louis François Bertrand Dupont d'Aubevoye, *comte de Lauberdière*, *Journal de l'Armée aux ordres de Monsieur de Comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 dans l'Amérique septentrionale*. Waterman Hill Road merges on the far left of the map onto Plainfield Pike (RI-SR 14). "Monkey Town", today's Knightsville, is on the far right of the map. Note the location of Angell's Tavern and the campsite.

Lauberdière was an aide-de-camp to Rochambeau; his map almost identical with a map in the Rochambeau Map Collection in the Library of Congress.



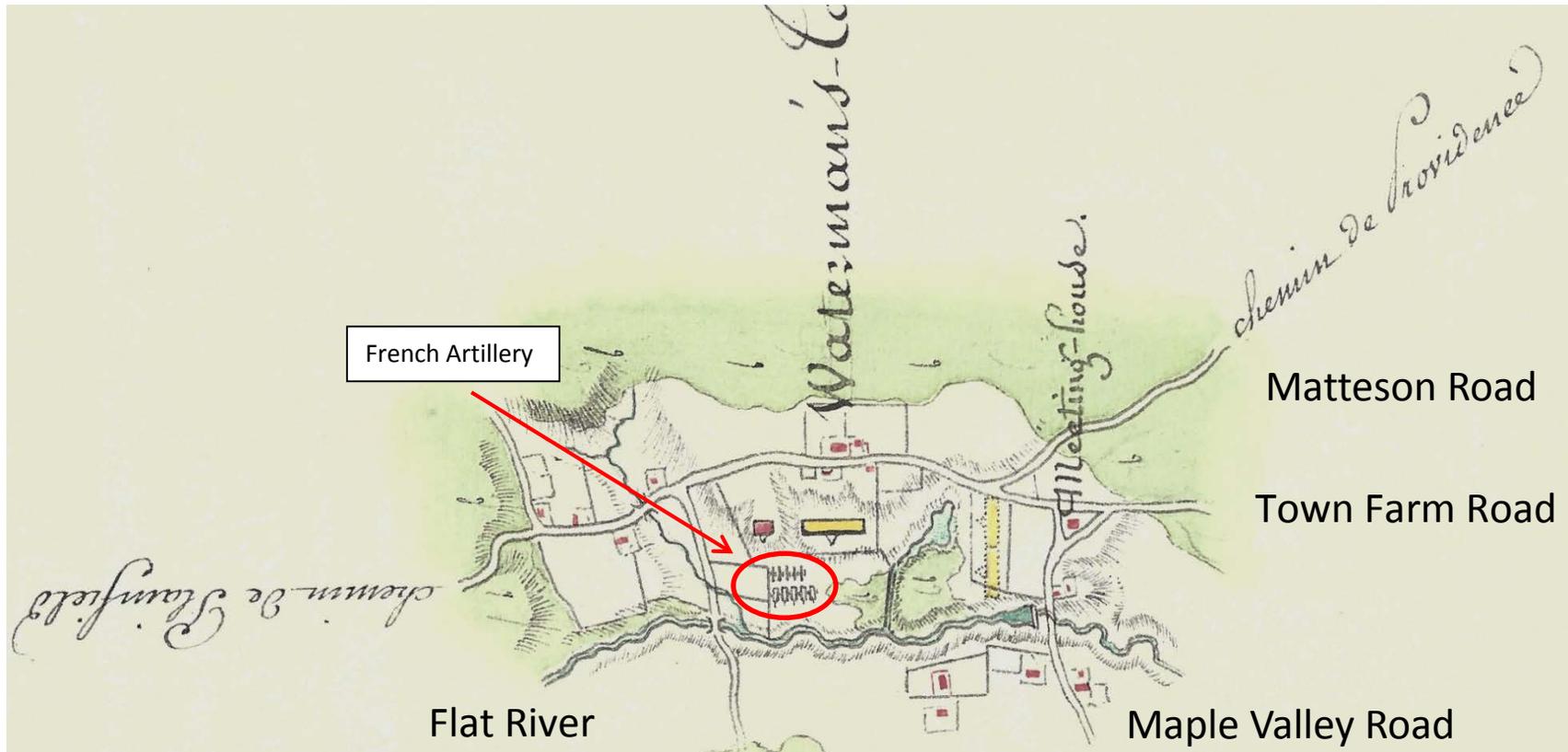
Map 11: A surviving section of Old Scituate Avenue along Scituate Reservoir shows how old roads have been straightened to meet the needs of modern traffic

Route 12 becomes Tunk Hill Road at the intersection with Howard Avenue. Matteson Road branches off to the left (south-west) about one mile afterwards after the intersection.



Map 12: French March Route from the Pawtuxet River to Waterman's Tavern.

Reproduced in Rice and Brown, *American Campaigns*, vol. 2, Map 14 (detail)



Map 13: French campsite at Waterman's Tavern.

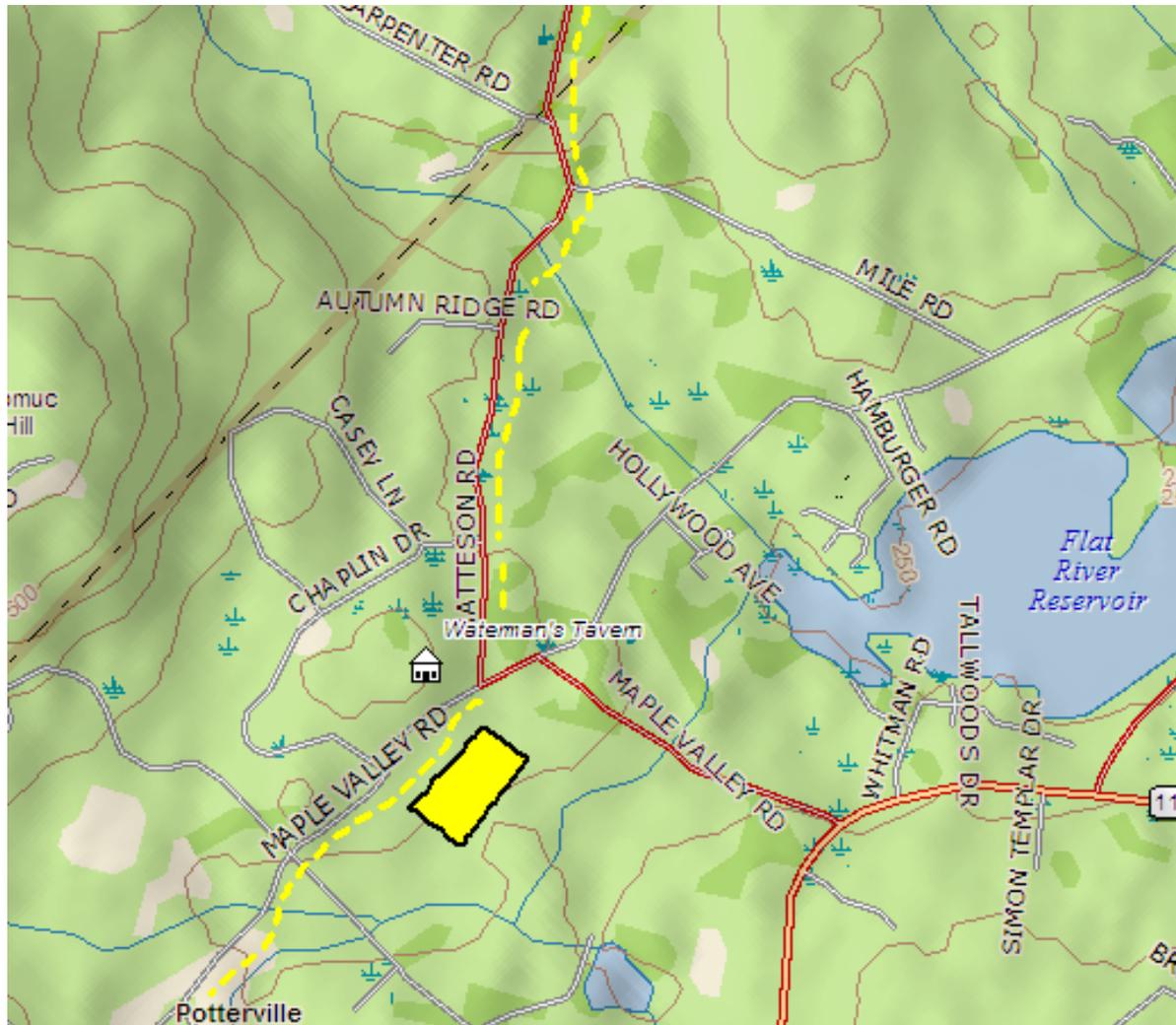
Reproduced in Rice and Brown, American Campaigns, vol. 2, Map 27 (detail).



Map 14: Camp 1 at Waterman's Tavern, 18 - 22 June 1781.

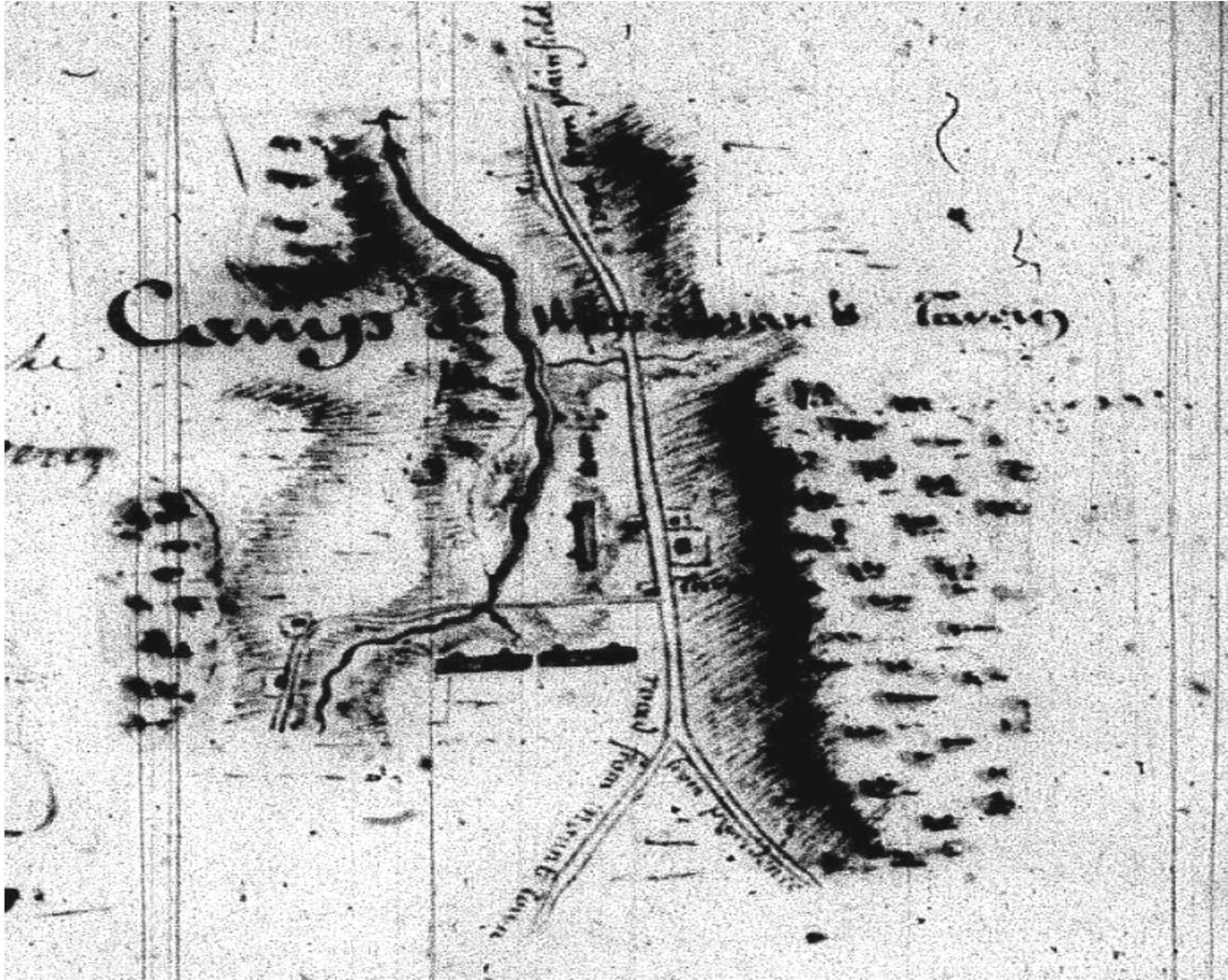
Rochambeau Map Collection, Library of Congress.

Again note the location of Angell's Tavern.



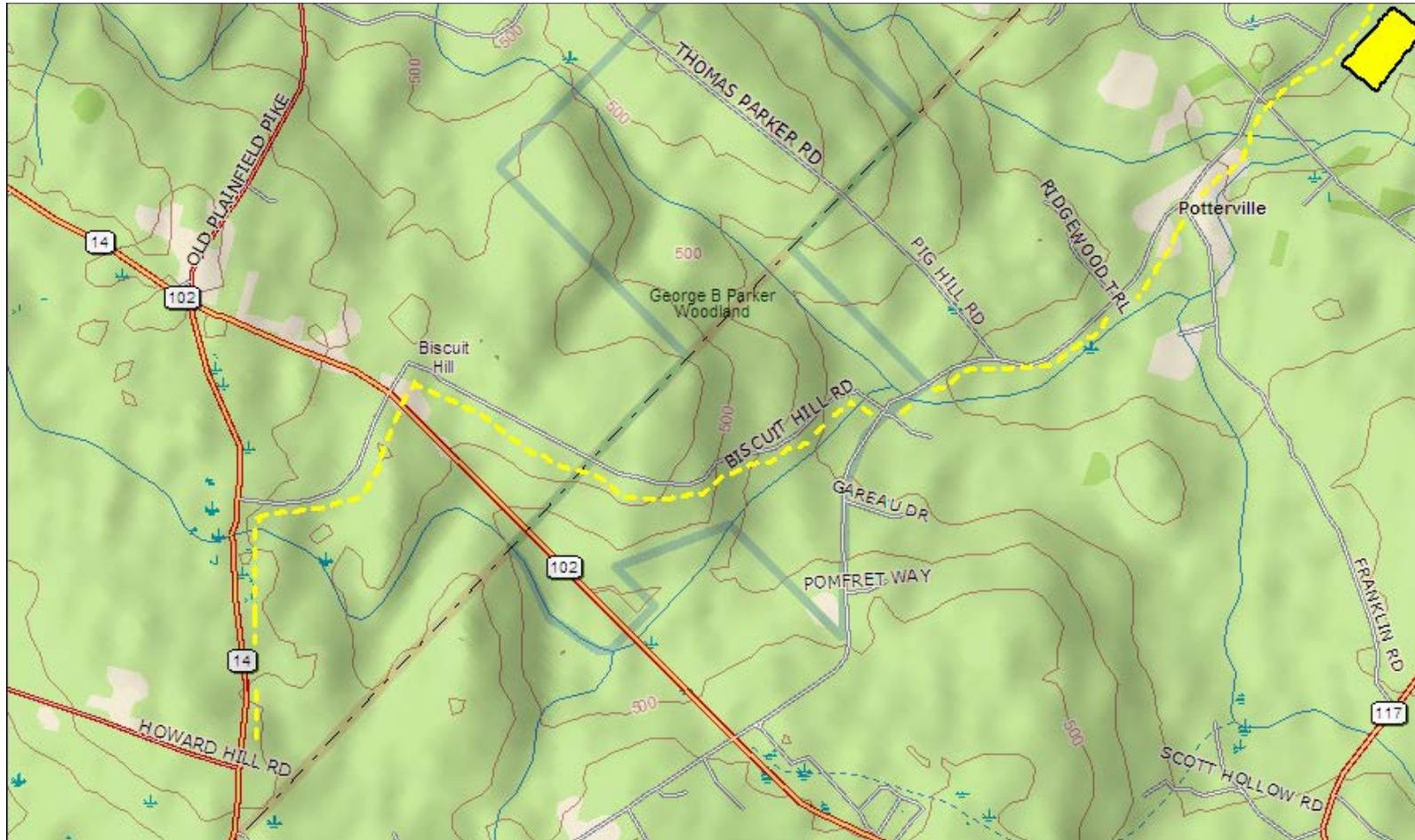
Map 15: Camp 1 at Waterman's Tavern, 18 - 22 June 1781

Route 12 becomes Matteson Road after the intersection with Tunk Hill Road



Map 16: Camp at Waterman's Tavern

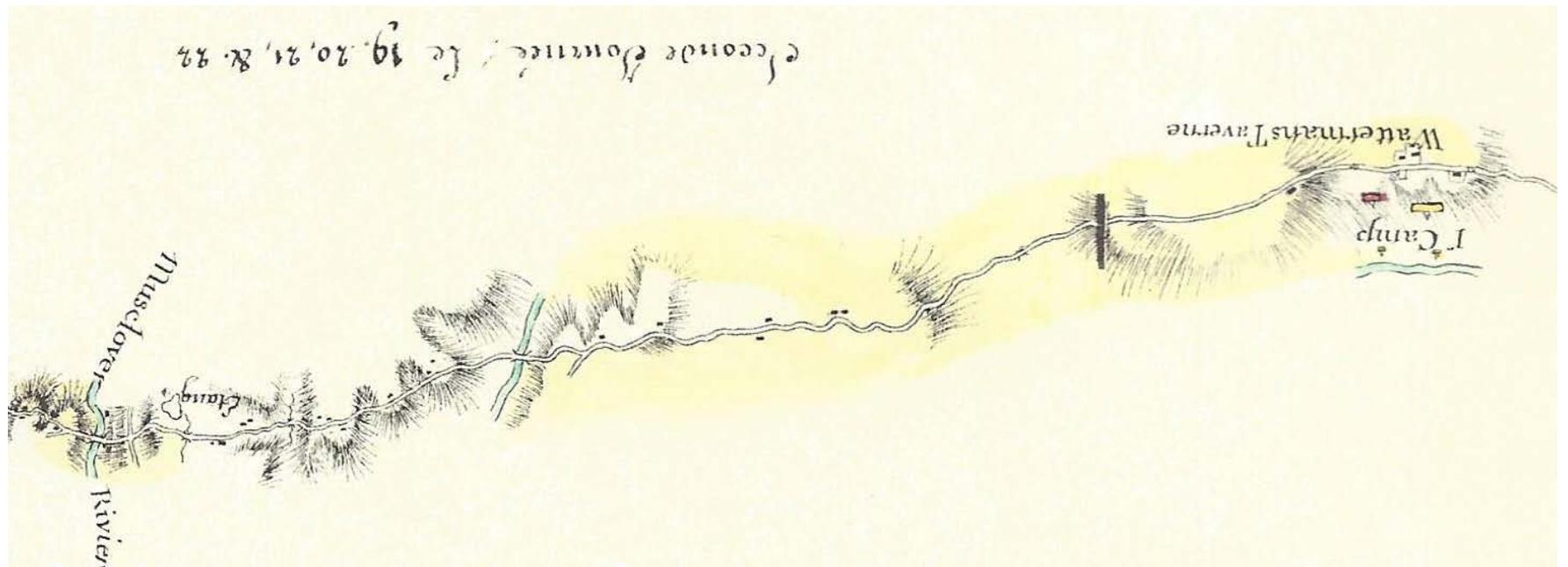
From manuscript HM 621 U8 B3, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.



Map 17: March Route from Waterman's Tavern over Biscuit Hill to Old Plainfield Pike.

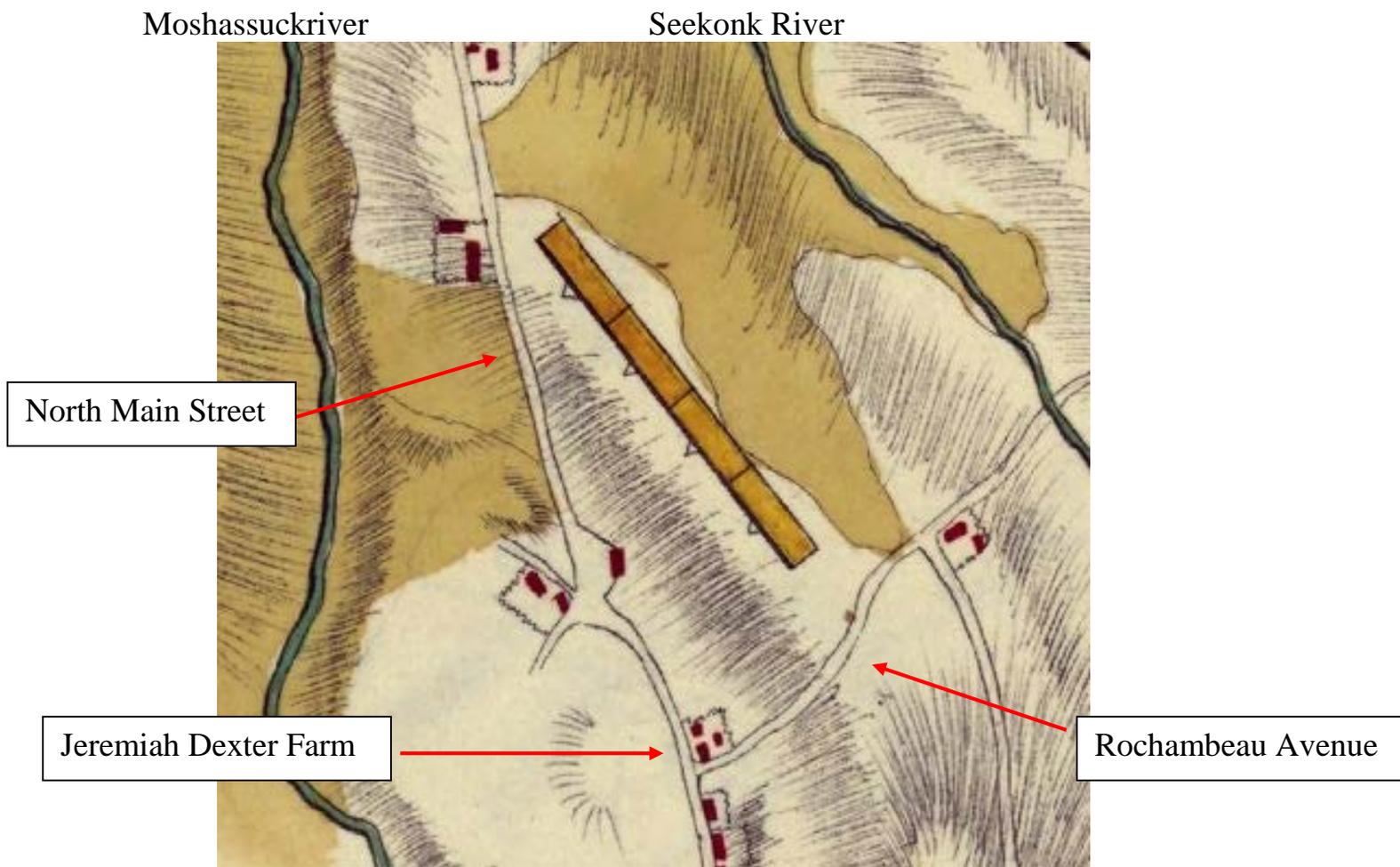
Today Biscuit Hill Road DOES NOT continue to Route 14

At the intersection of Biscuit Hill Road with Old Plainfield Pike (Route 14) French forces took Route 14 into Connecticut. Just across the State Line they continued on Old Plainfield Pike, now Route 14A, to their next camp in Plainfield, CT.



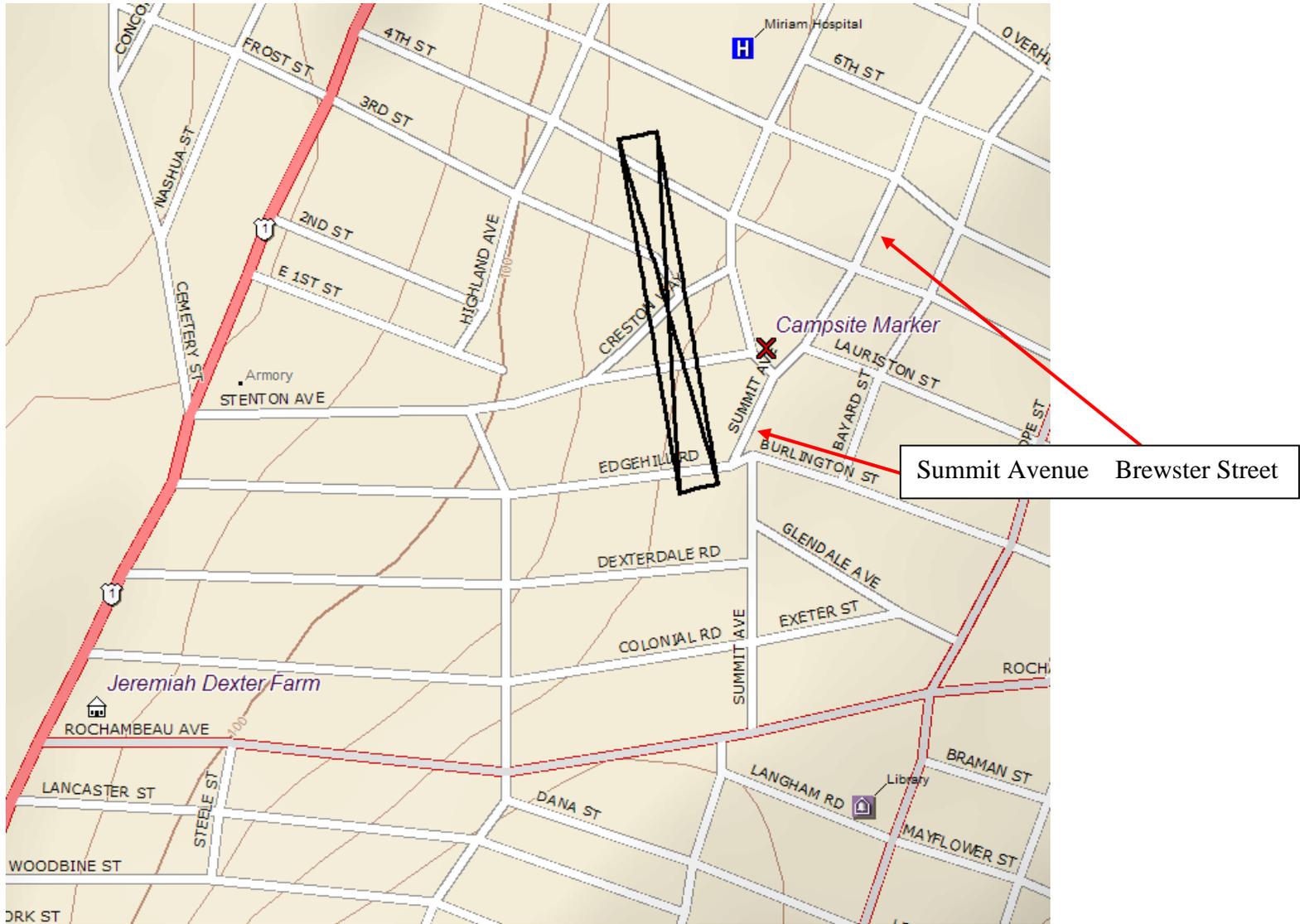
Map 18: French March Route from Waterman's Tavern to the Moosup ("Musclover") River.

Reproduced in Rice and Brown, American Campaigns, vol. 2, Map 14 (detail)



Map 19: Second French Campsite in Providence, November 1782. The initial campsite was on the location shown on Map 3.

Detail from "Amérique campagne. - Camp a Waterman's Tavern ... Camp a Providence ... Camp a Providence sur le chemin de Boston." Rochambeau Map Collection, Library of Congress.



Map 20: French Campsite in Providence, November 1782

## A Note Making Peace on a Global Scale

The "Preliminaries of Peace" ending the American War of Independence were signed in Paris on 30 November 1782, dispatched to Philadelphia and ratified by the Third Confederation Congress on 15 April 1783. On 11 April already Congress had issued a proclamation announcing the cessation of hostilities between the US and Great Britain on the territory of the United States. This news in hand, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay met privately with David Hartley, the official British Peace Commissioner in his rooms at the Hotel de York in Paris, now 53, rue Jacob, on 3 September 1783, and signed a treaty entitled "The Definitive Treaty of Peace between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America." The treaty, which declared the US "to be free Sovereign and independent States", was at once dispatched to the United States, since Article 10 required ratification and exchange of the ratified copies within six months.

Congress was scheduled to convene at the Maryland State House in Annapolis on 26 November 1783, and the treaty was duly laid before it on 13 December 1783. By 12 January 1784, however, delegates from only seven of the 13 states had arrived. Under the 1781 Articles of Confederation, a quorum required the presence of delegates from at least nine of the 13 states. On 13 January, the delegates from Connecticut arrived, but Congress was still one delegate short of a quorum. Only the arrival of Richard Beresford, a delegate from South Carolina who had been sick in Philadelphia, the next day, allowed Congress to declare on 14 January 1784 that "having seen and considered the definitive articles aforesaid have approved, ratified and confirmed and by these presents do approve, ratify and confirm the said articles and every part and clause thereof." Once it was signed by Thomas Mifflin, *President of the United States in Congress Assembled*, Congress "Resolved, That the said ratification be transmitted with all possible despatch, under the care of a faithful person, to our ministers in France ... to be exchanged." Once news of the ratification of the treaty by Congress had arrived in London, the House of Commons ratified the treaty on 9 April 1784 as well. The exchange of the ratified treaties took place on 12 May 1784, and the process of making peace was completed with the deposition of the treaties in the diplomatic archives of the warring parties shortly thereafter.

A "Declaration Signed in Paris by the American Commissioners" delivered to Benjamin Franklin and John Adams at the office of *comte de Vergennes* at Versailles in the morning of 20 January 1783, which also covered France, Spain, and the Netherlands, stipulated that "That such Vessels 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.”

The declaration was postdated to 3 February 1783, which meant that all combat activity on the territory of the United States ended *de jure* at midnight of 4/5 April 1783, two months or 60 days after 3 February 1783. The pre-dating to 3 February was not accidental: the “phasing in” of the cessation of hostilities gave the warring parties not only until midnight 3/4 July 1783, to inform their forces word-wide of the armistice, but it also meant that on 4 July, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, arms would rest everywhere.



# The Brigade Dispatch

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## Global Implications of the Peace of Paris, 3 September 1783

Robert A. Selig  
Royal Deux-Ponts Regiment

On 3 September 1783, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, representing the United States, and David Hartley, a member of the British Parliament representing King George III, signed a treaty of peace between the United States of America and the British crown at the Hotel de York, now 56 Rue Jacob, in Paris.<sup>1</sup> Article 1 declared that "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." That same day, Britain signed separate agreements with France and Spain, thereby ending what had been a world-wide war. Preliminaries of Peace with the Netherlands had been signed the previous day, 2 September 1783, though a final peace treaty with the Netherlands had to wait until 20 May 1784.<sup>2</sup>

This, the first of ten articles of the peace treaty between the United States and Britain, is the one that is of the most interest to Americans, since it gave the American rebels — or patriots, depending on your political persuasion — what they had fought for: independence and the right to pursue their own happiness within their own country. Article 2 defined the boundaries of that country<sup>3</sup> while the other

articles dealt with fishing rights off the coast of Newfoundland,<sup>4</sup> restitution of slaves,<sup>5</sup> etc. The document does not mention any other nation except Great Britain and the United States.<sup>6</sup> This makes one wonder whether this war had not indeed been the "family affair" Francis Bailey described in this anecdote in the Wednesday, 29 October 1781, issue of *The Freeman's Journal: or, the North American Intelligencer* published in Philadelphia:

At the breaking out of the present war with the French, and their joining the Americans, Sir Joseph Yorke meeting the French ambassador at the Hague, censured his [i.e., the French] court for interfering in the dispute, and taking so ungenerous a part; "you have been guilty of a dishonourable act, says he, that is unpardonable, no less than that of debauching our daughter." "I am sorry," replies the French ambassador, "that your excellency should put such a severe construction on the matter; she made the first advances, and absolutely threw herself into our arms; but rather than forfeit your friendship, if matrimony will make any atonement, we are ready to act honourably and marry her.

Like all good anecdotes, this one has more than a grain of truth in it. Columbia, i.e., the United States, was, and, in many ways, still is Britannia's daughter, even if she has out-grown the mother. And though she did indeed throw herself at France, France knew quite well why she did what she did and what she wanted to get out of the marriage.<sup>7</sup>

When seen within this context of eighteenth-century international relations, diplomacy and the balance of powers this means that, between the shots fired at Lexington and Concord on 19 April 1775, the shots "heard around the world", and the treaties signed in Paris in September 1783, Sir Joseph York's *family quarrel* had become a world-wide affair and that the treaty between Great Britain and the United States was but one in a series of treaties that established peace between Great Britain and France, Spain and the Netherlands as well — all countries who had tried to use the family quarrel to settle their own long-standing scores with Britain.<sup>8</sup> It places the war within the broader chronological and geographical context of a global, yet Europe-centered, Anglo-French-Spanish-Dutch rivalry that had started in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century (Armada, 1588) in the case of Spain, expanded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652-1654 to include the Netherlands, and became a Franco-English affair as well with the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-1697 or King William's War). It shows this war as another episode in a political, economic and military game of checkers that would continue for decades until Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815.

Seen within this broader context, it should come as no surprise that the fate and future of the newly created United States of America was only of secondary importance for most contemporaries,

except for Americans, in 1783. That includes Great Britain, for which the independence of her colonies eventually became probably the least significant issue of the war as well.

The war — and the peace that ended it — was a means to an end for all nations involved. This means that we need to go back a bit in time from our vantage point of September 1783 and look at why these nations decided to join the Americans, directly in the case of France, indirectly in the case of Spain and the Netherlands, in their struggle against King George III. In doing so, we can leave the Americans aside for the moment. No one believes any more that the main purpose of the uprising of the colonists was to rid themselves of a tyrannical and cruel British colonial regime. This is simply not true, or at least not the whole truth. For the most part, the inhabitants of the colonies took pride in calling themselves Englishmen and enjoyed rights and privileges that would have been exceptional anywhere else in the 18<sup>th</sup> -century world. They wanted to be masters in their own house, and, metaphorically speaking, their War of Independence was their process of constructing and furnishing their house along a plan laid out in 1776 in the Declaration of Independence and completed in the Constitution.

The alliance which France and the United States had entered into in February 1778 was an alliance born of mutual interests rather than of shared values: King Louis XVI did not support the colonies in their rebellion because he was a freedom-loving republican. In fact, the King had told his Foreign Minister Charles Gravier, *comte de Vergennes* in March 1776, how much he "disliked the precedent of one monarchy giving support to a republican insurrection against a legitimate monarchy."<sup>9</sup> French policy was guided,

rather, by a set of long-standing principles of international relations which determined her position during peace negotiations in 1783 as well.

The French world-view was Europe-centered; and the most important principle of her foreign policy postulated that peace in Europe, and, by implication, also around the globe, was best preserved by a more or less equitable balance of the great powers which the (First) Peace of Paris of 1763 had altered in favor of Britain. France's chief ministers from César Gabriel de Choiseul-Chevigny, *duc de Praslin* (Foreign Minister 1761-1766) onward were convinced that the most effective way to restore that equilibrium was to deprive Britain of her American colonies, not so much because these colonies were her most valuable asset — they were not (The sugar islands in the Caribbean were much more valuable.), but because they distracted Britain from Europe.<sup>10</sup> For a foreign policy of challenging Britain overseas, France could count on the benevolent neutrality, if not tacit support, of her European neighbors.<sup>11</sup> They too wanted to see Britain's influence diminished though they would never consent to the equally undesirable prospect of crippling Britain so that she would no longer be able to play her part in the concert of Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Vergennes's Europe-centered system of Great Powers depended on a strong Britain that was integrated into and involved in European affairs. The war was fought primarily for that purpose. Vergennes, who became French foreign minister in July 1774 (to February 1787), was a member of the *secret du roi*, the "Secret of the King", a group of foreign policy advisors that was primarily eastward looking and which saw an expansive Russia as France's, and thus Western Europe's, greatest threat.<sup>13</sup> Vergennes

argued that, once detached from her American colonies, Britain would not only focus her attention again on Europe but also assist France in her policy of containment of Tsarist Russia through strengthening the Baltic States, Poland, Hungary and the Ottoman Empire. Vergennes, like many French statesmen before and after him, wanted Britain to look "East" rather than "West".<sup>14</sup>

Conversely France did not want to replace Britain as the major colonial power in America or around the globe. She wanted to regain some of the territories lost in 1763, primarily in the Caribbean and in India. She had no interest in regaining those "quelques arpents de neige," those "few acres of snow" as Voltaire had derisively called Canada. Britain, not surprisingly, did not want to be detached from her colonies in North America or anywhere else. This is why, between 1778 and 1783, American and French forces march and float on the roads and waterways between Boston and Savannah and the world over.

On 6 February 1778, Conrad Alexandre Gérard and Silas Deane, Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee signed a "Treaty of Amity and Commerce" and a secret "Treaty of Alliance" in Versailles, outlining their goals for the war and the peace that followed. In Article 8, the two parties agreed that "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."

American independence was the first and most important goal of the war spelled out in the agreement. If Article 8 tied any peace to the consent of the other, it also

implicitly tied America to French war aims and vice versa. If France should decide that she wanted to regain India, for example, America was obligated to continue the fight long after her own war aims were achieved.<sup>15</sup> This, of course, was America's great fear. This fear seems justified, at first glance — since French forces quickly spread the war into the four corners of the world, to the Caribbean, the Jersey Islands, Senegal and India, to name but a few. Britain, by necessity, followed. Few Americans today are aware that by the Spring of 1782, some 2,000 Hanoverian troops were fighting for their duke (King George III) in India.<sup>16</sup>

Yet when France signed Preliminary Articles of Peace with Britain on 20 January 1783, its stipulations came as a shock to many Frenchmen. In the peace treaty with Britain, signed by George Montagu, duke of Manchester and the comte de Vergennes in September, the British Crown retained Newfoundland and all adjacent islands, except St. Pierre and Miquelon (still French today), and saw her fishing rights off the coast of Newfoundland severely curtailed.<sup>17</sup>

In the West Indies, Britain returned St. Lucia and Tobago to France in exchange for Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's (St. Kitts), Montserrat and Nevis — all islands that she had captured during the war. In Africa, King George surrendered to France the Senegal river area (captured by the *duc* de Lauzun in 1779), and returned to France the island of Gorée. France guaranteed, to the British Crown, possession of the Gambia river area and Fort James. In India, Britain returned to France all settlements she had held in 1778 as well as Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahé and Surat, which had been French before the war.<sup>18</sup>

For the most part, this treaty restored the territorial situation which existed

before France entered the war, a disappointment for Vergennes who wrote to the French ambassador, the chevalier de la Luzerne, 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."<sup>19</sup> France, which had been fairly successful in reversing the territorial losses in those parts of the world that she was interested in, i.e., the Caribbean, Africa, and India, all perfectly legitimate under the treaty of alliance with the U.S., gave up all of here gains. Why? There are three reasons for this:

- 1) American Independence had been the primary war aim of the treaty, and France had really only begun to focus on her own interests AFTER the 1781 victory at Yorktown.
- 2) The Americans had signed their Preliminaries of Peace on 30 November 1782, behind Vergennes's back, in contradiction to the treaty of Alliance. Abandoned by her American ally, she could not continue the war by herself.
- 3) The war aims of her allies, Spain and the Netherlands.

In Article 10 of the Franco-American Treaty of 1778, the two powers had agreed "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." The most important other party admitted was Spain which entered the war in the secret Convention of Aranjuez of 12 April 1779 -- but only as an ally of France, not the U.S. The first article of the

Convention declared the intention of the king of Spain, in the event that King George would reject the ultimatum of 3 April offering Spain's offer to mediate in the war, of making common cause with France against Great Britain.

The third article reiterated the stipulation of the Bourbon Family Compact that neither party should make peace without the consent of the other. The fourth article declared that since the king of France had "proposed and demanded that the Catholic king (Carlos III of Spain) should from the day when war should be declared against England recognize the independence and sovereignty of the United States and offer not to lay down his arms until that independence should be obtained," the King of Spain reserved to himself the right to conclude a treaty with the Americans to govern "their reciprocal interests," the sole condition being that, to any treaty made by Spain with or affecting the United States, Louis XVI should also be a party.

The fifth article concerned additional objectives of a successful war of interest to France, such as the restoration of France's right to build such works at Dunkirk as she chose<sup>20</sup> and the expulsion of the English from Newfoundland. The sixth article pledged France, in case she should regain Newfoundland, to admit Spanish subjects to the fisheries there. The seventh and eight articles concerned Spanish war aims such as the restitution of Gibraltar, Minorca, Pensacola, which she had lost in 1763, Mobile, Honduras and Jamaica..<sup>21</sup>

Article 9, the final article of the convention, reconfirmed and reiterated the war aims of both parties: Their Catholic and Most Christian Majesties promise to make every effort to procure and acquire for themselves all the advantages above enumerated and to continue their efforts until they have obtained the end which

they propose to one another, mutually pledging themselves not to lay down their arms nor to make any treaty of peace, truce, or suspension of hostilities with out having at least obtained . . . the restitution of Gibraltar and the abolition of the treaties relative to the fortification of Dunkirk, or in default of this last some other object to the taste of His Most Christian Majesty.<sup>22</sup>

But Spain had already been deeply involved in this war since before the Declaration of Independence. If France had made substantial military supplies available in April 1776, the marquis de Grimaldi told the condé de Aranda on 20 June 1776, that King Carlos III found the "actions of the French Court well suited to the common interests of Spain and of France, and is resolved that, since they both share this common desire to keep the rebellion alive, it is only right and proper that they should both share the cost of supporting it."<sup>23</sup>

It is important to remember, in all of this, however, that Spain not only did not subscribe to the ideas that "all men are created equal" but also that unlike France she had not committed to fight for American Independence either. The convention only stated that France had "proposed and demanded that the Catholic king should from the day when war should be declared against England recognize the independence and sovereignty of the United States and offer not to lay down his arms until that independence should be obtained". It does NOT say that Spain had agreed to that proposal and demand. Rather she needed to protect her colonial empire in America from British i.e., American penetration, which is why she reserved to herself the right to come to an agreement with the Americans on the basis of "their reciprocal interests".<sup>24</sup>

More importantly, her most important war aim, as spelled out at Aranjuez, did not

even lie in the New World. It was the conquest of the island of Minorca and of Gibraltar, which she had lost to Britain in 1713. The methods by which these goals were achieved did not matter to Spain — whether by offering neutrality to the British or through war as an ally of France, as outlined in the first article of the Convention of 1779. Only when Britain rejected Spain's offer of neutrality in return for Gibraltar, Florida, Jamaica, and Minorca did she sign the alliance with France in April 1779. Because of Article 8 of the Franco-American alliance of 1778, however, no peace "without the formal consent of the other first obtain'd", America's fate now seemed to be tied to that of Gibraltar!<sup>25</sup>

Neither the conquest of Gibraltar for Spain nor that of India for France or the defense of their island possessions in the West Indies was in the American interest. This explains why Franklin decided to sign Preliminaries of Peace in December 1782 without telling the French about it. This becomes even more important in view of Article 6 where France "renounce[d] for ever the possession 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 Britain. This is the single most important global implication of the peace: never again would France be a power on the American continent or, like Britain, stand in the way of westward expansion of an independent U.S.

After 1783, that role fell to an incomparably weaker Spain, but France could hardly give up Spanish claims in her alliance with the Americans.<sup>26</sup> Here also lies the reason why Spain did so well in her treaty with Great Britain. In Article 4, Britain surrendered Minorca to Spain, and Spain received East and West Florida from Britain in Article 5. These territories did

not go to France. France had no interest in replacing Britain as a major colonial power in America. All that Britain received in return were the Bahamas. At war's end, only the United States, by winning their independence, were more successful than Spain, which achieved all of her territorial goals except for Jamaica and Gibraltar.<sup>27</sup>

Lastly, a look at the Dutch Republic. The Netherlands too had been involved in this war from the very beginning as a conduit of European supplies via the island of St. Eustatius. She had always insisted on their neutrality and the right to trade with all nations, even in times of war. On 20 December 1780, King George III declared war against Holland to keep her from joining the League of Armed Neutrality proposed by Tsarina Catherine the Great, ostensibly because a copy of a proposed alliance between the U.S. and the Netherlands was found among the papers of Henry Laurens who was on his way to The Hague. Britain wasted no time in raiding Dutch possessions around the globe, especially the island of St. Eustatius.<sup>28</sup> It was only on 19 April 1782, seven years to the day after Lexington and Concord, that John Adams was officially acknowledged as U.S. Ambassador at The Hague. On 8 October 1782, the United States signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the States General of the United Netherlands which made the Dutch Republic only the second country after France to enter into formal relations with the United States.<sup>29</sup>

The Preliminary Articles of Peace, signed at Paris on 2 September 1783, formed the basis for the final peace treaty signed at Paris on 20 May 1784 and restored the *status quo ante* for the Dutch Republic. The treaty is remarkable primarily because, 1) the Dutch had only been saved by France, which recovered nearly all Dutch territory captured by the

British in the Far East. 2) It contained the most far-reaching implication of any of the treaties. Article 6 stated "The States General promise not to obstruct the navigation of British subjects in the Eastern Seas." This allowed British ships to navigate freely in the seas to the south-east of India, crucial for the development of British colonies such as Singapore and Australia. Beyond that, the war ended the last Dutch pretence of being a global power.<sup>30</sup>

What then were the global implications of the peace treaties of Paris in 1783? In the short run, the global balance of powers remained unchanged. France's calculations did not work out. Britain lost her political ties to her colonies but kept the much more important mercantile connections. The first foreign vessel that sailed into Philadelphia harbor on 29 April 1783, months before the signing of the Treaty of Peace, flew Britain's flag. It was enmity, not friendship with France, which made Britain focus on the European continent during the Napoleonic Wars a few years later. France, forced to end the war before her goals were achieved, emerged more or less empty-handed from the conflict. Spain, having contributed relatively little to the victory, acquired the Floridas but was already too weak to be more than a stumbling block in the westward expansion of the United States. For well over a century the U.S. itself had no global ambitions, but when she finally accepted her global role, reluctantly in 1917 and then for good in 1945, she did so with a mission. It was only then that the full extent of Condé de Aranda's prediction of 1783 to King Louis XVI became apparent: in America a "federal republic [was] born a pygmy but a day will come when it will be a giant, a colossus, formidable to your country" and to the world.<sup>31</sup>

## Appendices

### **Treaty of Alliance between the United States and France (6 February 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 rendering 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 Gouvernement 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 Enemy, 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 5<sup>th</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> 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.

**Act Separate and Secret (6 February 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 empower'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 empower'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.

**Preliminaries of Peace (30 November 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 Cataraguay;

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, untill 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 northern-most 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]

[The following appears on the page of the original text after the above signatures. The brackets appear 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.

**Declarations for Suspension of Arms and Cessation of Hostilities (20 January 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 Benefit 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), pp. 108-110.

**Declaration Signed in Paris by the American Commissioners (20 February 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 tend 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), pp. 113-114.

### **Treaty of Paris (3 September 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 30<sup>th</sup> 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 Brittanic 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.; from the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz., that angle which is formed 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. Lawrence, 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 forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraguy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake until 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 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 and 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 northwesternmost 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 until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first 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 thirty-one 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 straight to the head of Saint Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of Saint Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean; east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Saint 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 Saint Lawrence; 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 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 Brittanic 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.

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 bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

#### Article 5.

It is agreed that 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 on 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 endeavors 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 mentioned persons shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession the bona 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 6.

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 7.

There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Brittanic 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 Brittanic 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.

In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain or to the United States should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other before the arrival of the said Provisional Articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty and without requiring any compensation.

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), pp. 115-121.

The form of the treaty occasioned this correspondence between Charles James Fox, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Hartley. On 21 August 1783, Fox wrote to Hartley:

One thing only I must remind you of in point of form. When a treaty is signed between two Crowned Heads in order to prevent disputes about precedence, the name of the one stands first in one instrument and that of the other in the other but when the Treaty is between a crowned Head and a Republic, the name of the Monarch is mentioned first in each instrument. I believe if you will inquire upon this subject among the Corps Diplomatique, you will find this to have been the constant practice.

Hartley replied on 1 September:

The treaties are drawn out for signature as you have expressed it viz: giving precedence to the Crowned Head. The American Ministers never had a thought of disputing the priority or equality of rank & therefore I have had no occasion to mention the subject.<sup>32</sup>

**Journals of the Continental Congress,  
Wednesday, 14 January 1784<sup>33</sup>**

Congress assembled: Present, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina; Mr. [Richard] Beresford having this day taken his seat; and from the State of New Hampshire, Mr. [Abiel] Foster, and from New Jersey Mr. [John] Beatty.

On the report of a committee, consisting of Mr. [Thomas] Jefferson, Mr. [Elbridge] Gerry, Mr. [William] Ellery, Mr. [Jacob] Read and Mr. [Benjamin] Hawkins, to whom were referred the definitive treaty of peace between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty, and the joint letter of the 10 September, from Mr. Adams, Mr. Franklin and Mr. Jay,

Resolved, unanimously, nine states being present, that the said definitive treaty be, and the same is hereby ratified by the United States in Congress assembled, in the form following:

**THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS  
ASSEMBLED,**

To all persons to whom these presents shall come greeting:

Whereas definitive articles of peace and friendship between the United States of America and his Britannic majesty, were concluded and signed at Paris on the 3d day of September, 1783, by the plenipotentiaries of the said United States, and of his said Britannic Majesty, duly and respectively authorized for that purpose; which definitive articles are in the words following: [here follows the text of the treaty]

Now know ye that we the United States in Congress assembled having seen and

considered the definitive articles aforesaid have approved, ratified and confirmed and by these presents do approve, ratify and confirm the said articles and every part and clause thereof, engaging and promising, that we will sincerely and faithfully perform and observe the same, and never suffer them to be violated by any one or transgressed in any manner as far as lies in our power.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Witness his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, president, this fourteenth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty four and in the eighth year of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America.

On the question to agree to this, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. [David] Howell, So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Resolved, That the said ratification be transmitted with all possible despatch, under the care of a faithful person, to our ministers in France, who have negotiated the treaty, to be exchanged.

Resolved, That Colonel Josiah Harmar be appointed to carry the said ratification.

Ordered, That the Superintendent of Finance furnish Colonel Harmar with money to defray his necessary expences.

Resolved, That a proclamation be immediately issued, notifying the said definitive treaty and ratification to the several states of the union, and requiring their observance thereof in the form following:

By the United States in Congress assembled,

## A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas definitive articles of peace and friendship between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty, were concluded and signed at Paris, on the third day of September, 1783, by the plenipotentiaries of the said United States and of his said Britannic Majesty, duly and respectively authorized for that purpose: which definitive articles are in the words following: [Here insert the treaty as above.]

And we, the United States in Congress assembled, having seen and duly considered the definitive articles aforesaid, did, by a certain act under the seal of the United States, bearing date this 14 day of January, 1784, approve, ratify and confirm the same, and every part and clause thereof, engaging and promising, that we would sincerely and faithfully perform and observe the same, and never suffer them to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as should be in our power; and being sincerely disposed to carry the said articles into execution, truly, honestly and with good faith, according to the intent and meaning thereof, we have thought proper by these presents, to notify the premises to all the good citizens of these United States, hereby requiring and enjoining all bodies of magistracy, legislative, executive and judiciary, all persons bearing office, civil or military, of whatever rank, degree or power, and all others the good citizens of these states, of every vocation and condition, that reverencing those stipulations entered into on their behalf, under the authority of that federal bond, by which their existence as an independent people is bound up together, and is known and acknowledged by the nations of the world, and with that good faith which is every man's surest guide, within their several offices, jurisdictions and vocations, they carry into

effect the said definitive articles, and every clause and sentence thereof, sincerely, strictly and completely.

Given under the seal of the United States. Witness his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, our president, at Annapolis, this 14 day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America the eighth.

Resolved, unanimously, nine states being present, That it be, and it is hereby earnestly recommended 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, which were in the possession of his Britannic Majesty's arms, at any time between the 30 day of November, 1782, and the 14 day of January, 1784, 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 it is also hereby earnestly recommended to the several states, to reconsider and revise all their 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 it is hereby also earnestly recommended to the several states, that the estates, rights and properties of such last mentioned persons should be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the bona 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.

Ordered, That a copy of the proclamation of this date, together with the recommendation, be transmitted to the several states by the secretary.

[Motion of Mr. Jacob Read]

That Congress do on Wednesday next [i.e., 21 January 1784] celebrate the final ratification of the Definitive Treaty of peace. And that a public entertainment be given on that day to the Executive and other respectable Citizens.

## Notes

1. The best introduction to American diplomacy during the War of Independence is still Jonathan R. Dull, *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1985). A frequently neglected aspect of the negotiations is covered in Gregg L. Lint, "The American Revolution and the Law of Nations, 1776–1789." *Diplomatic History*. 1:1 (June 2007), pp. 20-34.

In this context, it is important to remember that even though the (Fifth) Congress of the Confederation, the successor to the Second Continental Congress, assembled in Annapolis, ratified the peace treaty on 14 January 1784, ratification of the treaty was not the final step of making peace. That would come only with the ratification of the treaty by Parliament in London on 9 April 1784, the exchange of the ratified treaties on 12 May 1784, and their subsequent deposition in the diplomatic archives of Great Britain and the United States.

One "global implication" was, of course, that, as an independent nation, the United States could enter into treaties with other nations. On 7 May 1784, Congress authorized Benjamin Franklin, John Jay,

and John Adams, its representatives in Paris, to conclude treaties of amity and commerce with twenty of the most important foreign powers: Austria-Hungary, Denmark, Genoa, Great Britain, Hamburg, Naples, Portugal, Prussia, Rome, Russia, Sardinia, Saxony, Spain, Tuscany, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire as well as the Barbary States of Algiers, Morocco, Tripoli and Tunis. A few days later, commissions were given to Franklin, Jay, and Adams to negotiate these treaties. The first treaty by the United States with a foreign power was the Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the King of Prussia and the United States of America, signed on behalf of the United States in Passy by Franklin on 9 July 1785, in Paris by Thomas Jefferson on 28 July 1785, and in London by Adams on 5 August 1785. The Prussian representative signed at The Hague on 10 September 1785. Prussia ratified it on 24 September 1785, Congress on 17 May 1786. Ratifications were exchanged at The Hague on 8 August 1786. The second treaty was the Treaty of Friendship and Amity with Morocco, also known as the Treaty of Marrakech, sealed by Sultan Muhammad III on 23 June 1786, signed by Jefferson at Paris on 1 January 1787, and Adams at London on 25 January 1787. (Franklin had already returned to the US.) Congress ratified it on 18 July 1787. It was the first treaty between any Arab or Muslim state and the United States and is the longest unbroken treaty in U.S. history.

2. The text of the treaty is published in *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. Hunter Miller, Ed., vol. 2, Documents 1-40: 1776-1818 (Washington, DC, 1931). It is printed in the appendix to this article and is also accessible in electronic form at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/18th.htm>.

3. Boundary lines were drawn without a clear knowledge of geography, which led to numerous disputes during the 1780s and 1790s. While the treaty specified a southern boundary for the United States, the separate Anglo-Spanish peace treaty agreement which gave Spain control of the Floridas did not specify a northern boundary. The Spanish government assumed that the boundary was that of the First Peace of Paris of 1763, in which Britain had acquired the Floridas from Spain. The boundary dispute as well as questions of navigation on the Mississippi was only settled in the "Treaty of Friendship, Limits, and Navigation between Spain and the United States", known as (Thomas) Pinckney's Treaty, ratified by Congress on 7 March 1796, and by Spain on 25 April 1796.

In the Great Lakes area, the British interpreted relinquishing control "with all convenient speed" to mean that they would have as much time as they thought proper to negotiate treaties with the Indians. They only evacuated the area after the signing of the "Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation between his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America", i.e., Jay's Treaty, on 19 November 1794.

4. The Newfoundland fisheries had been fought over since the 17th centuries. A good overview of earlier hostilities is given in James K. Hiller, "Utrecht Revisited. The Origins of Fishing Rights in Newfoundland Waters." *Newfoundland Studies*. 7:1 (1991), pp. 23-39.

The fisheries were of enormous economic and military importance: 1) they brought the French to the New World and 2) sailing in the rough waters of the North Atlantic was the "school" for future seamen of the French navy.

5. See Ralph J. Lowry, "The Black question in Article Seven of the 1783 Peace Treaty." *Negro Historical Bulletin*. 38:5 (1975), pp. 415-418.

6. The single most important nation or nations not mentioned were the Native Americans who were abandoned by their British allies. See Collin G. Calloway, "Suspicion and Self-Interest: The British Indian Alliance and the Peace of Paris." *The Historian*. 48 (1985), pp. 41-60. For American-British relations following independence see Reginald Stuart, *United States Expansionism and British North America, 1775-1871* (Chapel Hill, 1988); and J. Leitch Wright, *Britain and the American Frontier 1783-1815* (Athens, GA, 1975). Wright is particularly useful as he brings together the interaction between the United States, Britain, France, Spain and the Indian nations from East Florida to the Northwest Territory. More recent is Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, 2001).

7. See in particular Gregg L. Lint, "Preparing for Peace. The Objectives of the United States, France, and Spain in the War of the American Revolution." in: *Peace and the Peacemakers. The Treaty of 1783*. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., (Charlottesville, 1986), pp. 30-51.

8. One of the few books that places the war in its global context is R. Ernest Dupuy, Gay Hammerman, and Grace P. Hayes. *The American Revolution : A Global War* (New York, 1977).

9. Quoted in General Fonteneau, "La période française de la guerre d'Indépendance (1776-1780)." *Revue historique des armées* 3:4 (1976), pp. 47-77, p. 48. The translation is mine. See also

Orville T. Murphy, "The View from Versailles. Charles Gravier Comte de Vergennes' Perceptions of the American Revolution." in: Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert, eds., *Diplomacy and Revolution: The Franco-American Alliance of 1778*. (Charlottesville, 1978), pp. 107-149.

10. In the 1780s, France found out that a common language, culture, history and legal system were among the intangible ties that bound Britain and the U.S., ties that exist long after political ties have been severed. For the immediate post-war years see Charles R. Ritcheson, *Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy toward the United States, 1783-1795* (Dallas, 1969).

11. For the role of the French navy in a policy of challenging Britain overseas see Jonathan R. Dull, *The French Navy and American Independence: A Study of Arms and Diplomacy, 1774-1787* (Princeton, 1975).

12. A thought-provoking discussion of this policy is Jonathan R. Dull, "Lafayette, Franklin, And the Coming of Rochambeau's Army." This lecture was presented to the Washington Association in Morristown in 1980 and can be accessed electronically at <http://njreporter.org>.

13. See Gilles Perrault, *Le Secret du roi*. vol. 3: *La revanche américaine* (Paris 1996).

14. See in this context Robert Rhodes Crout, "In search of a 'Just and Lasting Peace': the Treaty of 1783, Louis XVI, Vergennes and the Regeneration of the Realm." *International History Review*. 5: 3 (1983), pp. 364-398. Crout also argues that, in the peace settlement, Vergennes sought a curtailment of British ambitions

and a new coalition with Great Britain for the peace of Europe.

15. The text of the treaty is printed in *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). It is printed in the appendix to this article but also accessible in electronic form at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/18th.htm>.

16. Victor von Diebitsch, "Die kurhannoverschen Truppen in Ostindien 1782-1792." *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter*. 9-15 (1898), pp. 67-68, 74-75, 82-83, 90-92, 98-99, 106-108, 114-116, 128.

17. For the intricacies of negotiations in Versailles see Richard B. Morris, *Peacemakers: the Great Powers and American Independence* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) and more recently Richard B. Morris, "The Great Peace of 1783." *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*. 95 (1983), pp. 29-51.

The full text of the treaty with France is printed 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* (London, 1785) 3 vols., vol. 3: 1750-1784, pp. 334-374. It can be accessed on-line through a Google Book search.

18. The immediate impact of the peace in India is covered in L. S. Sutherland, "The East India Company and the Peace of Paris." *English Historical Review*. 62 (1947), pp. 179-190. For French goals in India see Philippe Haudrère, "La strategie militaire française dans l'ocean Indien au

XVIII siècle." *Revue Historique des Armées* 4 (1996), pp. 89-96, and S.P. Sen, *The French in India, 1763-1815* (Calcutta, 1958).

19. 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. 161.

Concerning real or perceived American ingratitude see Hill, Peter. "La Suite imprévu de l'alliance: l'ingratitude américaine, 1783-1798." in: *La Révolution Américaine et l'Europe. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique No. 577* (Paris, 1979), pp. 385-398.

20. The single most important irritant for French-British relations on the continent centered around the question of Dunkirk. Captured by Cromwell's forces in 1657, and was awarded to England in 1658. In October 1662, Charles II sold it back to France. A base for commerce raiders during the reign of Louis XIV, especially during the War of the Spanish Succession, Britain forced France, in the Peace of Utrecht (1713), to accept commissioners there in order to prevent the rebuilding of fortifications around the harbor. Though the commissioners were removed in 1783, Franco-British relations improved only after Waterloo but then very rapidly during the first half of the 19th century, laying the foundations for Franco-British cooperation in the 20th century.

21. There is still no satisfactory study on the role of Spain in the American War of Independence. Loliannette Emmanuelli, *Spanish Diplomatic Policy and Contribution to the United States Independence, 1775-1783*, (Ph.D. Diss.,

University of Massachusetts, 1990), was not written for publication to a wider audience and is difficult to find. Buchanan Parker Thomson, *Spain: Forgotten Ally of the American Revolution* (North Quincy, 1976), has many factual errors while Thomas A. Chávez, *Spain and the Independence of the United States. An Intrinsic Gift* (Albuquerque, 2002) does not mention Aranjuez in the index but covers it in Chapter 8, pp. 126-136. A good overview of recent historiography is given in Matthew Thomas Gaetano, "Spain and the American Revolution, 1776-1779." *Gaines Junction*. 3:1 (Spring 2005), pp. 101-129.

On Spanish-American relations up to the Louisiana Purchase, see Arthur P. Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1795: The Westward Movement and the Spanish Retreat in the Mississippi Valley* (Boston, 1927) and John F. McDermott, ed. *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804* (Urbana, IL, 1974).

22. Edward S. Corwin, *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778* (Princeton, 1916), pp. 190-194.

23. Quoted in Gaetano, "Spain", p. 122.

24. As late as March 1779, the court at Madrid let Vergennes know that Carlos III was fearful of the "example he would give his own possessions" and would therefore "not recognize the independence of the United States until the English themselves should be forced to do so by a treaty of peace." Quoted in Corwin, *French Policy*, p. 193.

25. René Chartrand, *Gibraltar 1779-1783. The Great Siege* (Osprey, 2006).

26. See David J. Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

27. The full text of the peace treaty with Spain is printed 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* (London, 1785) 3 vols., vol. 3: 1750-1784, pp. 375-409.

28. Jan Willem Schulte Nordholt, *The Dutch Republic and American Independence* (Chapel Hill, 1982). On St. Eustatius see my "The French Capture of St. Eustatius, 26 November 1781." *The Journal of Caribbean History*. 27:2, (1993), pp. 129-143.

29. On 3 April 1783, the United States signed a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Sweden. It was ratified by Congress on 25 September 1783. This made Sweden the third country after France and the

United Netherlands to acknowledge the United States as an independent nation. The text of the treaty is available online in the American Memory collection of the Library of Congress.

30. The text of the treaty with the Netherlands is printed 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* (London, 1785) 3 vols., vol. 3: 1750-1784, pp. 420-434.

31. Quoted in Eccles, "*French Alliance*", p. 162.

32. Quoted from <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/diplomacy/britain/parisno.htm>

33. Quoted from <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjc.html>



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## Eighteenth-Century Currencies

Robert Selig  
Royal Deux Ponts Regiment

One of the questions re-enactors are frequently asked concerns currencies, coins, money, and the closely related question of pay and what soldiers could buy with it. As is so often the case in the eighteenth century, the answer to a seemingly simple question becomes difficult once you try to address it. Not only is there a bewildering variety of

coinages circulating in the 13 states—as the rebellion spread Crown forces and their German allies as well as French and Spanish forces introduced their own currencies into the mix as well. The following essay is meant to provide an overview of currencies and coins in circulation during the War of Independence on this side of the

Atlantic and the difficulties caused by the lack of a uniform system of exchange.

### Origin of the European Currency System

The fundamental rules for the European—and by implication also the American - currency system (in force in the United Kingdom until 15 February 1971, “Decimal Day“), were laid down by Emperor Charlemagne. In 793/794 AD, Charlemagne decreed that one pound (=librum or lb; abbreviated as  $\text{℔}$  in Germany into the 20th century and still as £ in the United Kingdom) of silver should yield 240 denari<sup>1</sup> (=Pfennig, abbreviated as  $\text{℞}$  in Germany into the 20th century and as d in the UK).

1 fl rheinisch =	15 Batzen <sup>5</sup> =	60 Kreuzer =	240 Denar =	480 Heller <sup>6</sup>
1 Albus <sup>7</sup> =	1 1/2 Batzen =	6 Kreuzer =	24 Denar =	48 Heller
1 Batzen =		4 Kreuzer =	16 Denar =	32 Heller
1 Groschen <sup>8</sup> =		3 Kreuzer =	12 Denar =	24 Heller
1 Kreuzer =			4 Denar =	8 Heller
1 Denar (=Pfennig)			=	2 Heller

Large-denominated coins circulating in Germany were the

- 1 Königstaler: 1 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.
- 1 Laubtaler: 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.<sup>9</sup>
- 1 Dukaten: 5 fl rhein. (since 1559)
- 1 Karolin: 11 fl

In the Golden Bull of 1356, Emperor Charles VI granted the seven Electors<sup>2</sup> the right to mint their own gold and silver coins. Fearing a debasement of currency now that the emperor had given up his regulatory and supervisory functions, the Elector-Archbishops of Mainz, Trier and Cologne as well as Ruprecht III, the Elector Palatine, founded the *Rheinische Münzverein* with the *Rheinische Gulden* as its basic gold coin (hence the name *Gulden* from *gulden* = golden<sup>3</sup>). First minted in Florence in the 13th century, it was however abbreviated as “fl” (for *florin*). By the sixteenth century the *Gulden*, now coined in silver, had become the standard currency unit in the Empire and an Imperial ordinance of 1559 set its value at 60 *Kreuzer*.<sup>4</sup>

The *Gulden* had the following subdivisions:

### Most Frequently Circulating Coins

The most frequently circulating coins in the Holy Roman Empire of German Nations, some of which also made their way to the New World with Britain’s German allies, were the *Halber Gulden* of 30 *Kreuzer*, the *Kopfstück*, literally

the “Head-Piece” of 20 *Kreuzer*, the *Ort*<sup>10</sup> of 15 *Kreuzer*, the *Sechser* worth 6 *Kreuzer*, the *Halber Ort* of 7 ½ *Kreuzer*, the *Batzen* of 4 *Kreuzer*, the *Kaiser-Groschen* (=Imperial *Groschen*) of 3 *Kreuzer* or 12 *Pfennig*, the *Halber Batzen* of 2 *Kreuzer*, the *Kreuzer* and the *Pfennig* of 2 *Heller*. Besides the *Gute Groschen* or *Kaisergroschen*, worth 12 *Pfennig* or 1/24 of a *Reichstaler* there circulated also the *Schlechte* (=bad) *Groschen* called *Mariengroschen* of 8 *Pfennig*, 1/36 of a *Reichstaler* — but which *Reichstaler*?

The coin most frequently connected with Germany was the *Taler*. However, due to its high value, it circulated but rarely, not to mention that, like the *Reichstaler* or Imperial *Taler*, it varied greatly in value.

Since most accounts were kept in *Taler* or *Reichstaler*, a word on this extremely complicated situation may be in order—with the understanding that 10 different standards of alloy for the

required gold and silver content of coins were in force in the Empire in 1793. Determining the value of any given coin under that situation in relation to the standard set for and by the Empire is a mathematician’s dream and a merchant’s nightmare. First minted in silver, in Sankt Joachimstal in Bohemia, in 1515, it became known as the *Joachimstaler*. As a *Reichstaler* minted on the basis of the 1566 Imperial *Münzordnung*, and actually circulating in Europe, it was called a *Speciestaler* worth 24 *Groschen*, whereas as a *Reichstaler* as a currency unit for book-keeping purposes was fixed at ¾ of a *Speciestaler* and thus at 18 *Groschen* or 54 *Kreuzer*—a regulation bound to cause confusion. To address this issue, the Empire with Empress Maria Theresa of the House of Habsburg and Bavaria in the lead, in November 1753, introduced the *Konventionstaler* at 32 *Gute Groschen* or 96 *Kreuzer* at 4 *denar* each or 384 *denar*.<sup>11</sup>

1 Reichstaler (pre-1753) as an administrative unit =	54 Kreuzer = 18 Groschen
1 Speciestaler (pre-1753) minted =	72 Kreuzer = 24 Groschen
1 Konventionstaler (post-1753) =	32 Kreuzer = 96 Groschen

Since the silver content of the *Konventionstaler* changed as well, it was valued at 120 *Kreuzer* or two *Gulden*, which ended the era of the *Speciestaler*. The last *Konventionstaler* in Germany were minted in Saxony in 1838. The Habsburgs minted them until 1856. The introduction of the *Konventionstaler* did not bring an end to the confusion, however: Frederic II of the House of Hohenzollern, King in Prussia<sup>12</sup> and Austria’s competitor for leadership in

the Empire, refused to accede to the *Konvention* of 1750 and began to mint his own *Reichstaler* based on the pre-1750 *Speciestaler* worth 24 *Gute Groschen* at 12 *Pfennig* each. As the *Konventionstaler* spread in Southern Germany, the “Prussian” *Reichstaler* became the commonly used coin in northern Germany into the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup>

Britain’s German troops, i.e. Anhalt-Zerbst, Braunschweig-

Wolfenbüttel, Waldeck and Hanover (more or less) used the Prussian *Reichstaler* valued at 24 *Gute Groschen*, the *Groschen* worth 12 *Pfennig*. Ansbach-Bayreuth as a member state of the Franconian Circle (*Fränkischer Reichskreis*) and Hessen-Hanau followed the Imperial/Habsburg model with 1 *Taler* valued at 32 *Gute Groschen* while Hessen-Kassel switched toward the end of the war. Until 1782, it used the *Konventionstaler* at 32 *Groschen*, but in 1782, Landgrave Frederick converted to the (Prussian) *Reichstaler* valued at 24 *Gute Groschen*.

Louis (Gold)	=	24 livres =	480 sols <sup>15</sup> =	5760 deniers
Ecu (Silver)	=	6 livres =	120 sols =	1440 deniers
Livre (Silver) <sup>16</sup>	=		20 sols =	240 deniers
Sol (Copper)	=			12 deniers
Liard (Copper)	=			3 deniers

The most valuable French coin minted was the golden double *louis d'or* worth 48 *livres* followed by the *louis d'or* at 24 *livres* and the half-Louis or *demi-louis d'or* at 12 *livres*. The largest silver coin was the *écu* at 6 *livres* or 120 *sols*, followed by  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  and  $\frac{1}{8}$  *écu* worth 60, 30 and 15 *sols* respectively. The smaller copper coins minted were worth 1 and 2 *sols* as well as coins worth 6 and 3 *deniers*.<sup>17</sup>

The British currency system maintained its roots in the Carolingian system even longer, until 15 February 1971, "Decimal Day." It was based on the Pound Sterling (silver) valued at 20 Shillings = 240 Pennies = 480 Halfpennies = 960 Farthings.<sup>18</sup>

Shilling (Silver)	=	12 Pennies =	24 Halfpennies =	48 Farthings
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## French Currency System

The French currency system maintained its basis in the Carolingian system until the spring of 1795, when the revolutionaries (re-)introduced the *franc* worth 1 *livre* 3 *deniers*.<sup>14</sup> Within weeks, however, on 7 April 1795, France decimalized the *franc* at 100 *centimes*, making it only the third country (after Russia in 1704 and the United States in 1786) to have a currency based on the decimal system.

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

Groat (Silver)	=	4 Pennies =	8 Halfpennies =	16 Farthings
Penny (Copper)	=		2 Halfpennies =	4 Farthings
Halfpenny (Copper)	=			2 Farthings
Farthing (Brass) <sup>19</sup>				

As mentioned before, Spanish coinage was widely used in the cash-poor colonies in North America.

Double Doubloon	=	4 Pistoles =	8 Escudos =	16 Pieces of Eight =	128 Reales
Doubloon (Gold)	=	2 Pistoles =	4 Escudos =	8 Pieces of Eight =	64 Reales
Pistole (Gold)		= 2 Escudos	= 4 Pieces of Eight =	32 Reales	
Escudo (Gold)			= 2 Pieces of Eight =	16 Reales	
Piece of Eight (silver)				=	8 Reales
Real (Silver)	=	8 Copper Maravedies			
½ Real (Silver)	=	4 Copper Maravedies			

8, 4, 2, and 1 Maravedi Copper coins

Piaster (silver) = 8 Reales = 1 Piece of Eight = 1 Spanish Milled Dollar = 1 Peso<sup>20</sup>  
 A 1 Real piece was commonly called a "bit".

The Portuguese currency circulating in the New World during the American War of Independence was mostly the "Johannes" after King John V of Portugal (1689-1750), whose name

was inscribed on the coin. Most of the Portuguese coins circulating in the United States however were only ½ of a "Johannes" worth 4 Pieces of Eight, and called a *Half-Joe* in America.

Johannes (Gold) = 1 Dobra = 1/2 Doubloon = 4 Escudos = 8 Pieces of Eight = 64 Reales

The arrival of the Expeditionary Corps under the *comte* de Rochambeau in Rhode Island in July 1780 brought a huge influx of French (and Spanish) currency to the US. Altogether, there were nine shipments of specie to Rochambeau totaling about 10 million *livres* in French coin.<sup>21</sup> American historian Lee Kennett has estimated that between public and private funds, "French forces may well have disbursed 20 million *livres* in coin," possibly doubling the amount of specie circulating in the thirteen colonies.<sup>22</sup>

Even if the amount of specie shipped from Europe was closer to the estimate of Timothy R. Walton, who estimates that "on the eve of the American Revolution, about half the coins used in the British North American Colonies, some 4 million Pieces of Eight, [21 million *livres* worth], were pieces of eight from New Spain and Peru," an infusion of 20 million was bound to have had a major impact on the economy.<sup>23</sup> James A. Lewis estimates inter-governmental loans between France and Spain, e.g. when Admiral de Grasse

picked up 1.2 million *livres* in Spanish Pieces of Eight in Cuba in August 1781, at about 2 million peso. Loans arranged by private lenders added 3, possibly 4, million pesos for a minimum of some 26 million *livres* (at an exchange rate of 5 *livres 5 sols* per peso), which if added to Kennett's 20 million *livres*, more than matches Walton's estimate of 42 million *livres* worth of specie circulating in the colonies prior to 1776.<sup>24</sup>

The extensive trade with the French West Indies brought French colonial currency as well as Dutch and Portuguese specie into the colonies where they circulated freely and were accepted everywhere—even though only the Spanish coins had any denomination inscribed on them. Why? Because, in an age of specie coins, where the coin itself had an intrinsic and known value based on its silver and/or gold content, the place of origin and issue was much less important than today, where the \$20 bill has no material value as such.

A look at merchant ledgers shows the wide array of coins and currencies they dealt with on an almost daily basis. On 24 August 1781, “7 French guines” show up for the first time in the James Lea Mills Account Book of Brandywine Village. By early September, ½ Joes, pistoles, doubloons, and guineas have replaced Continental dollars as Lea, like most merchants, had reverted to the pre-war method of keeping a separate column with prices in specie in Pound Sterling rather than in Continental or State of Delaware-issued

paper dollars.<sup>25</sup> Which brings us to the next question:

### Currency Equivalents

How did these currencies relate to each other? In 1764, Richard Wolters, British agent in Rotterdam, reckoned 1 Pistole (4 Pieces of Eight) at 17s. 2d. st., or 4s. 3.5d. st. per Piece of Eight. In a letter of May 1780, Axel von Fersen wrote that 1 Piece of Eight was worth 6 *livres* in the New World. Since he only paid 5 *livres 5 sols* in Brest, he hoped to make a profit upon arrival in Newport, RI. 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*” during the 1780s.<sup>26</sup> Abbé Robin, a chaplain in one of Rochambeau's regiments gave the value of a shilling sterling in New England in the summer of 1781 as 22 *sols 6 deniers* or 22 *livres 8 sols* to the pound sterling. Lastly, stationed in Boston in the summer of 1775, Corporal Thomas Sullivan of the 49th Regiment gave the value of a Spanish milled dollar at 4s 6d.

Based on the value of the Piece of Eight in England and admitting for exchange fluctuations/devaluations based on the silver and/or gold content of the coins involved, the rise in the value of specie during time of war, and the location where currencies are exchanged, we get the following very *approximate* exchange rates:

1 £ Sterling = 23 livres 3 sols 6 deniers

1 £ Sterling = 4 Pieces of Eight

1 £ Sterling ~ 9 fl 30 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Piece of Eight = 5 shillings sterling

1 Piece of Eight = 2 fl 20 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Piece of Eight = 5 livres 5 sols

1 Livre = 24 Kreuzer rhein.

1 Livre = 11d 2 farthing

1 Livre = 1 real 1 maravedi

1 fl rhein. = 2s 2d

1 fl rhein. = 2 livres 10 sols (50 sols)

1 fl rhein. = 4 reales

Not only are these exchange rates approximate, once you enter the New World and the War of Independence, especially during its later stages, they completely fall apart. Since Continental Dollars, by 1781 at the latest, no longer had any value, the states returned to keeping their books based on *specie* money as they had kept them for decades before the war. This means that many accounts, including State accounts, used the dual entry system based on the British Pound Sterling and the Spanish Milled Dollar or Piece of Eight, which had been the most commonly circulating coin in the colonies for most of the eighteenth century. A little less than a troy ounce of British sterling silver (.925 fine silver, valued at 62d or 5s 2d), a Spanish dollar was worth 54d or 4s 6d toward the end of the seventeenth century. Since the demand for silver coinage always exceeded the available supply, silver coins traded at an ever

greater premium. The premium above the 54d level was termed the "crying up" of coinage. In order to limit this "crying up," Queen Anne issued a proclamation in 1704, passed into law by parliament in 1707, which specified that a full weight Spanish dollar would pass in the colonies at 72d or 6s, a third above the sterling rate. Since 5s were called a *Crown* in Britain (worth 5 shillings), the Piece of Eight was also known as a *Spanish Crown* while *écus* (worth 5.75 shillings) were known as *French Crowns* in the colonies.

During the Revolutionary War, New England, Virginia and the Carolinas adhered to this "Proclamation Rate" of a one third "up-crying" and currency issued at this rate was known as "Lawful Money" or "Current Money." The Middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland set the exchange rate for a Spanish dollar at 90d or 7s 6d, 66.66% over sterling. To distinguish it

from the "Proclamation Money," it was referred to as "Common Money" or "Pennsylvania Money," though "Lawful Money" appears in Delaware ledgers as

well. New York created its own rate of 96d or 8s to the Spanish dollar, a 78% increase over sterling. This means that:

4s 6d sterling = 6s Massachusetts = 7s 6d Pennsylvania = 8s New York

Or, expressed in terms of the value of a pound sterling the exchange rates were:

£1 (240d) sterling = £1 6s 8d (320d) MA = £1 13s 4d (400d) PA = £1 15s 7d (427d)NY<sup>27</sup>

This means that

1 £ Sterling ~ 2.5 to 3.5 Pieces of Eight depending on where it is exchanged

1 Piece of Eight ~ 6s to 8s State Currency, depending on where it is exchanged

In Wilmington in 1781, mill-owner James Lea converted "23 French crowns @ 8/4 = 9/11/8" and " 5 Spanish dollars @ 7/6 = 1/17/6", the official rate of "up-crying", as did Samuel Canby, also of Wilmington, who reckoned a Piece of Eight at 7s 6d, and one *écu* of 6 *livres* at 8s 4d, which made 1 Piece of Eight = 5 *livres* 8 sols, 1 ½ Pieces of Eight = 8 *livres* 2 sols. 2 Reales equalled 1 *livre* 7 sols or 1s 10½d, while by Canby's own reckoning 1½ Spanish Silver Dollars were the equivalent of 11s 3d Delaware currency. <sup>28</sup> Confusing? The fluctuating exchange rates, varying as they did from state to state, occasionally even confused people who dealt with coins and currencies on an everyday basis.

On 17 August 1781, George Washington had informed Robert Morris from Dobbs Ferry that he would have to pay the army at least one month

salary in specie.<sup>29</sup> On 27 August, he repeated his request from Chatham and again on 6 September, from Head of Elk.<sup>30</sup>

On 6 September 1781, Robert Morris asked the *comte* de Rochambeau for a loan of \$20,000 in specie—i.e. in French *écu*—to pay the troops, with the promise that he would return the money. Aware that de Grasse would bring 1.2 million *livres* specie worth of Pieces of Eight from Cuba, Rochambeau agreed to the loan, which depleted his treasury of more than one third of the 300,000 *livres* he had left. When Morris informed Washington of the loan, Washington responded on 7 September that "The Sum of 20,000 Dollars will fall much short of the Sum necessary."<sup>31</sup> Washington estimated that he needed at least \$30,000 to meet the demands of his troops. Rochambeau increased his loan to \$26,600. But

\$26,600 or 143,640 *livres* was all he could lend the Commander-in-Chief to satisfy the demands of the American troops.<sup>32</sup>

The effect of the French silver resonated for decades in the minds of the recipients. "This day," 8 September 1781, wrote Major William Popham, "will be famous in the annals of History for being the first in which the Troops of the United States received one month's Pay in Specie—all the civil and military staff are excluded."<sup>33</sup> For many a Continental soldier this was indeed the first and only time he ever received "real" money during his years of service. Private Joseph Martin remembered that "we each of us received a MONTH'S PAY, in specie, borrowed, as I was informed, by our French (sic) officers from the officers in the French army. This was the first that could be called money, which we had received as wages since the year '76, or that we ever did receive till the close of the war, or indeed, ever after, as wages."<sup>34</sup> Another enlisted man, John Hudson of the First New York Regiment who had celebrated his 13<sup>th</sup> birthday<sup>35</sup> on 12 June 1781, recalled that it was at Elkton that "I received the only pay that I ever drew for my services during the war, being six French crowns, which were a part of what Robert Morris borrowed on his own credit from the French commander to supply the most urgent necessities of

the soldiers. My comrades received the same amount."<sup>36</sup>

The problem arose when Morris wanted to repay the loan in February 1782. Which was the proper exchange rate? César Louis de Baulny, treasurer of the French army, converted the Milled Dollar at 7s 6d or 90d (=5 *livres 5 sols*), while Morris converted it at a premium rate of 8s 4d or 100d (=5 *livres 8 sols*). Baulny promptly tried to refund 4,935 *livres* to Morris that he thought he had paid beyond what he owed. At 5 *livres 8 sols* per Spanish Milled Dollar, \$26,600 converted to 143,640 *livres* or 23,940 *écus* rather than the 24,000 *écus* that Morris said the French had loaned him and which would have exchanged to 144,000 *livres* at 6 *livres* to the *écu*. Since he (rightly) felt that the Americans needed the money more than the French, Morris eventually kept the surplus.<sup>37</sup>

What is the answer, then, to the question of which currencies, coins or money were used by Continental Army soldiers during the war? Not Continental dollars, at least not if they could help it. But beyond that, anything that was made of gold or silver was welcome, be that English shillings, Spanish Pieces of Eight or French *écus*. The silhouette of the monarch on the coin was the least of the soldier's worries. If, like Joseph Plum Martin, you get paid in specie once in seven years, such niceties are easily dispensed with.

Samples of Eighteenth-Century Coins and Currency  
Mostly from the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg



1 Reichstaler (1763, silver)

The reverse of this Konventionstaler is shown on Table 2.



1 Kreuzer (1732, silver). The "LM" above the date stands for Landmünze, indicating that the silver content ("Münzfuss") was not that of the Imperial standard but that of the Franconian Circle



1 Heller (1766, copper)



1/2 Pfennig (ca. 1754, copper)



1 Groschen = 3 Kreuzer (1680, silver)



1 Groschen = 12 Pfennig = 3 Kreuzer (1763, silver)  
A "Dreier" - note the "3" in the circle at the bottom



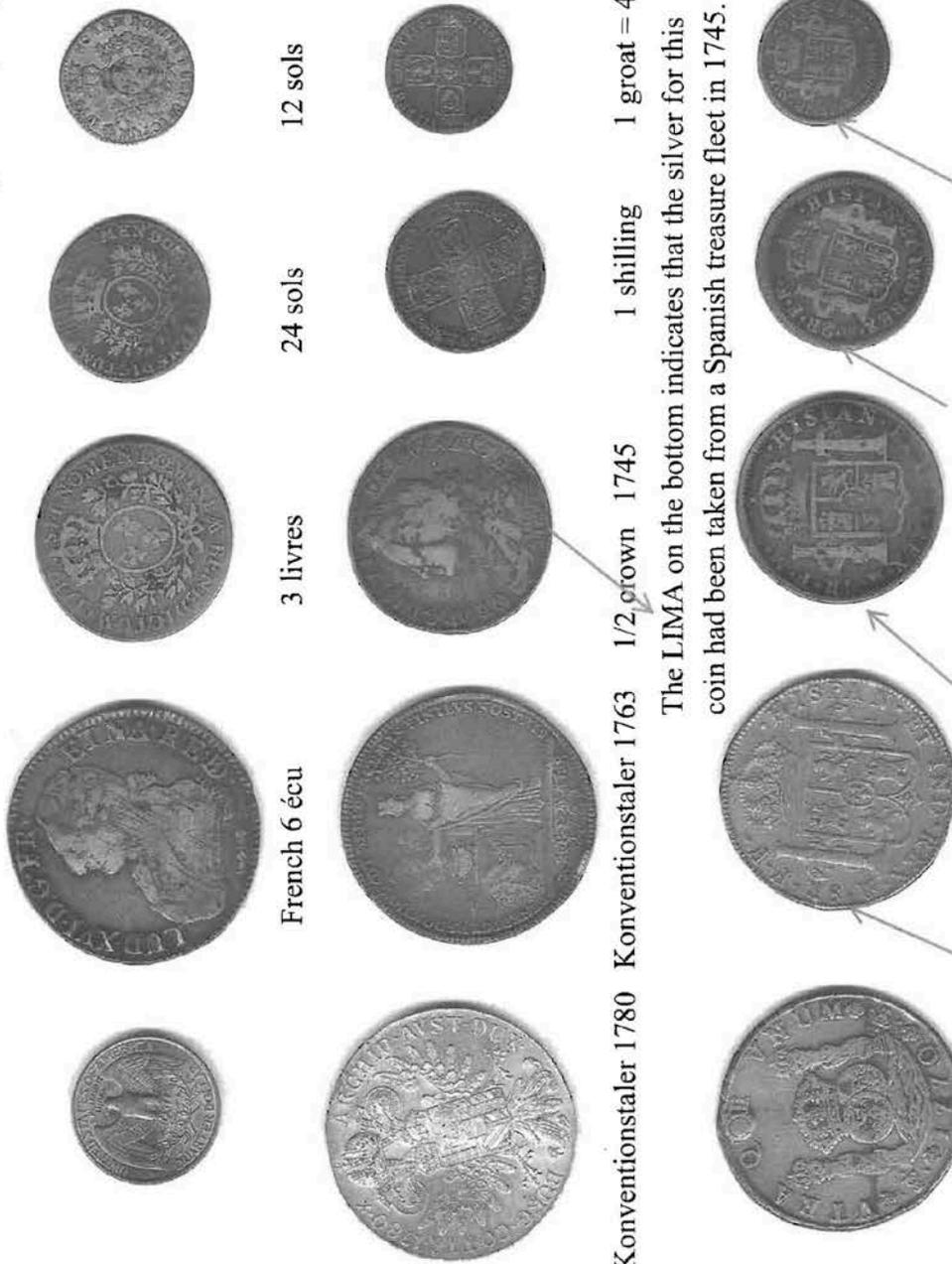
1/84 Taler = 1 Kreuzer (1715, silver)



Since the silver content determined the value of a coin, the lower denominated silver coins were very small and light: 1 US cent weighs 2.5 g, a silver Groschen as little as 1.5 g. Due to the difference in the intrinsic value of the material used in a given coin, the higher-denominated copper coins were larger than the lower-denominated silver coins; and copper coins were usually heavier than silver or gold coins

Table 1

Note how all standard coinage shows the same obverse and reverse irrespective of value. The exception to this rule here is the 1763 Konventionstaler minted to commemorate the Peace of Hubertusburg showing the goddess Minerva.



Konventionstaler 1780 Konventionstaler 1763 1/2 crown 1745 1 shilling 1 groat = 4 pennies

The LIMA on the bottom indicates that the silver for this coin had been taken from a Spanish treasure fleet in 1745.

Spanish "Pieces of Eight", four, two and one real(es). Spanish coins are among the few coins in the 18th century showing numbers that denote their value. Note how the Spanish Piece of Eight, the Konventionstaler and the French écu (as well as the British crown, not shown) are almost equal in size. British crowns for the era of the War of Independence are extremely rare as silver mines on the British Isles were exhausted by around 1745/50.

Table 2

Table 3

Examples of relative sizes and monetary values of silver and copper coins



It cost 2.4 cents to make one penny in 2011 and about 11.2 cents for each nickel.

In view of the cost of minting and the price/cost of the raw materials, "the Secretary of the Treasury has determined that, to protect the coinage of the United States, it is necessary to generally prohibit the exportation, melting, or treatment of 5-cent and one-cent coins minted and issued by the United States. The Secretary has made this determination because the values of the metal contents of 5-cent and one-cent coins are in excess of their respective face values, raising the likelihood that these coins will be the subject of recycling and speculation. The prohibitions contained in this final rule apply only to 5-cent and one-cent coins" in excess of \$25 US. This ruling, dated 10 April 2007 was published in the Federal Register of 16 April 2007 and is still in effect. See 31 CFR Ch. 1, § 82, Revised as of 1 July 2012, pp. 399-400.

## Notes

1. The *denarius* was a small silver coin first minted in Rome around 211 BC. Its continuing legacy is evident in words such as the Spanish *dinero*, the Italian *denaro* or the Serbian *dinar*.

2. The Golden Bull of 1356 established the Electoral College consisting of seven Electors or *Kurfürsten*: the Archbishops and Prince-Electors of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, the King of

Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg. The Duke of Bavaria gained the electoral dignity of the Palatinate in 1623, but it was recreated as the eighth electoral vote in 1648; and the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg became the ninth *Kurfürst* in 1692 as the Elector of Hanover. This made King George I and his son and grandson electors as well. In 1777, the number of electors was reduced to eight when the Elector Palatine inherited Bavaria. The Electors elected the "King

of the Romans” who became Emperor upon coronation by the Pope.

3. Other “Gulden“ existed as well, some as actual coins such as the “Mecklenburgische Gulden“ at 30 *Kreuzer*, or as administrative units only with varying values: e.g. the “fränkische Gulden“ was worth 90 *Kreuzer*.

The *Gulden* was minted in the German Confederation until 1857, when the *Deutsche Münzverein*, i.e., the German Currency Association consisting of Austria and the south-German states, introduced a *Gulden* at 20 *Silbergroschen* which circulated in southern Germany until 1871, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1892.

The “Guilder“ remained the currency in the Netherlands until the introduction of the Euro in Europe on 1 January 2002. Hungary re-introduced the florin (as the “forint”) as its currency in July 1946.

4. The *Kreuzer* (after the cross = *Kreuz* on the obverse) was first minted in the Tyrol around 1270. In 1551, it became an official coin of the Empire, but was mostly used in southern Germany. It was abolished in the German Empire in 1871, in Austria-Hungary in 1892.

5. The *Batzen* is a coin first minted in silver in Bern in Switzerland in the fifteenth century. Worth 4 *Kreuzer*, it derives its name from the bear (=Petz or Batz in Swiss German), the symbol of Bern that decorates the coin.

6. The *Heller* received its name from the royal mint of Hall in Swabia, where it was first minted around 1200 AD. In 1356, Emperor Charles IV decreed that 1 *Rheinischer Gulden* should weigh 1 *Pfund Heller* or 480 *Heller*. The smallest coin minted, the *Heller* survived in Austria-Hungary until the end of the monarchy in 1918.

7. The *Albus* was first minted in Trier in 1362 at 24 *Denar* or 1/10 of a *Gulden*.

8. The *Groschen* was first minted in Tours (France) in 1266 as *grossus turonus* at 12 *denar*, from where it spread all over Europe. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the value of a *Groschen* had dropped to 12 *denar* or 3 *Kreuzer*. It was minted into the 19th century, and my parents habitually called the 10 *Pfennig* piece a *Groschen*. In Austria the *Groschen* remained the smallest denomination until the introduction of the Euro.

9. *Laubtaler* is the term commonly used for the French *écu* of six *livres* (derived from the wreath of leaves = *Laub* in German around the *fleur de lis* on the reverse), which was widely circulating in German-speaking Europe.

10. Ort originally means a town quarter in German; relating to coins it denotes ¼ of a coin.

11. A *Konventionstaler* at 32 *Gute Groschen* or 384 *Pfennig* was used mostly in northern Germany. Minted with a higher silver content, the Habsburg *Konventionstaler* was valued

at 120 *Kreuzer* or 40 *Gute Groschen* (= 480 *Pfennig*). After 1759, 1 *Konventionstaler* was valued in the Electorate of Bavaria at 2 fl. 30 *Kreuzer* and 1 *Konventionsgulden* at 1 fl. 15 *Kreuzer*. By 1780 the Imperial *Münzfuß* valued:

1 schwerer or guter Pfennig = 3/2 leichte Pfennig

1 Reichstaler = 288 gute Pfennig = 432 leichte Pfennig = 3/2 Gulden

1 Gute Groschen = 12 gute Pfennig = 18 leichte Pfennig

1 Kaisergroschen = 8 gute Pfennig = 12 leichte Pfennig = 3 Kreuzer

1 Batzen = 1/15 Gulden = 12 1/5 gute Pfennig

A complete overview can be found in J. G. F. Hagen. *Conventions-Münzcabinet oder Beschreibung der Thaler, Gulden und kleinern Silbermünzen, welche nach dem 1753. Errichteten Conventionsmünzfuß bishero geprägt worden.* (Nürnberg, 1771).

Available online at

[http://books.google.de/books?id=g1BRAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.de/books?id=g1BRAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=de&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)

12. Like his father and grandfather, Frederick II was “King in Prussia”, i.e. in East (or ducal) Prussia, which lay outside the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire. In the First Partition Treaty of Poland signed on 22 September 1772, Frederick acquired what was known as “Royal Prussia,” territories that had formerly belonged to the Teutonic Knights. Though they had

become part of the Kingdom of Poland in 1466, the Polish kings still held them as fiefs from the Emperor and titled themselves Kings of Prussia until 1742, the end of the First Silesian War. Thirty years later, in 1772, Frederick not only acquired most of Royal Prussia (except the cities of Gdansk and Thorn) to establish a land link between East Prussia and the Electorate of Brandenburg via a new province called West Prussia, but on the basis of these Imperial fiefs changed his title to “King of Prussia” as well.

13. In the form of the 3 German *Mark* piece it circulated in the German Empire as late as 1907. *Mark* and *Pfennig* became the currency of the German Empire in 1873 only.

14. The *franc* had existed as a coin during the Middle Ages and again from 1577 to 1641, when Louis XIII replaced it with the *écu* of six *livres*. The first “new” 1 *franc* coin (in gold) was struck in 1803.

15. The term “sol” is derived from the Latin “solidus” and originally meant 1/20 of a pound. Used throughout the eighteenth century, the term mutated to “sous” during the French Revolution.

16. A 1 *livre* coin was only minted under the aegis of John law in 1720.

17. Independent of these coins France also minted coins for her colonies; during archaeological excavations at the Patterson Mansion and tenant houses at Christiana, Delaware, French colonial

coins were recovered. See <http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/French.intro.html>

18. In 1816 this guinea was recalled and reminted as the gold Sovereign at £1 in 1817.

19. Farthings ceased to be legal tender on 31 December 1960; halfpennies were no longer circulating after 31 July 1969.

20. "Peso" is Spanish for "Piece", i.e. "Peso de ocho" = "Piece of Eight." Spanish-speakers usually abbreviated that to "Peso." Piaster, meaning "thin metal plate" in Italian, is also a term frequently used for the Piece of Eight.

21. Just one example: when John Laurens sailed into Boston on the French frigate *Resolue* on 25 August 1781 with funds and supplies for Washington he also brought with him about 2.5 million livres or £100,000 (as reported by the *Freeman's Journal* on 7 November 1781). "Fourteen wagons hauled by fifty-six oxen and lead horses conveyed the specie to Philadelphia," where it arrived on 6 November. Robert Morris used more than half of the cash to establish the Bank of North America. Gregory D. Massey. *John Laurens and the American Revolution*. Columbia, 2000, pp. 190-191.

22. Lee Kennett. *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783*. Westport, 1977, p. 68. The remainder of Rochambeau's funds were in bills of exchange, which often lost one third or more of their value as opposed to specie due to

speculation. But since it cost 1 livre to bring 4 livres in specie to the New World, the French reluctantly accepted the loss.

23. Timothy R. Walton. *The Spanish Treasure Fleets*. Sarasota, 1994, p. 183. Spanish Milled Dollars and French écu and their smaller denominations remained legal tender in the United States until 1857.

24. 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.

25. "French Guines" are *Louis d'ors*, gold coins valued at 24 *livres* or 4 Pieces of Eight.

26. Robert D. Harris, "French Finances and the American War, 1777-1783" *Journal of Modern History* Vol. 48 (June 1976), pp. 233-258, p. 247, note 41. Exchange rates were widely published in almanacs as well as newspaper of the time. Merchants and modern researchers could/can easily research official exchange rates at any given time. See "Some Values of Coinage, from *Gaine's Register, 1776*" *The Brigade Dispatch* vol. 19 No. 1 (Spring 1987), p. 3.

Even though there are official and published exchange rates, the actual exchange does not always match the official rate. In other words, in 1781. Few people in Virginia cared much about the official exchange rate of a

silver Piece of Eight—it was a seller's market. Even in peace-time, exchange rates changed constantly, in part because the rulers changed the gold and silver content of their coins.

27. The preceding paragraphs are based on [www.coins.nd.edu/ColCurrency](http://www.coins.nd.edu/ColCurrency). The best book by far on this complicated subject is by John J. McCusker. *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: a Handbook*. Chapel Hill, N.C., Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

28. See Samuel Canby. *Accounts, 1773-1785*. Ms. 6603, Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington. the entry for 17 January 1782.

29. *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784*. E. James Ferguson, ed., vol. 2: August - September 1781. Pittsburg, 1975, p. 173.

30. "I must entreat you, if possible to procure one months pay in specie for the detachment which I have under my command; part of those troops have not been paid any thing for a long time past, and have upon several occasions shewn marks of great discontent. The service they are going upon is disagreeable to the Northern Regiments, but I make no doubt that a douceur of a little hard money would put them in proper temper." Quoted from the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress. Robert Morris wrote in his diary that "great S[y]mptoms of

discontent had Appeared on their passing through this City", i.e. Philadelphia. *Diary: September 1-5, 1781. The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784*. E. James Ferguson, ed., vol. 2: August - September 1781. Pittsburg, 1975, p. 173.

31. Quoted from the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress.

32. The amount is given in Morris to Benjamin Lincoln, 8 September 1781. *Papers of Robert Morris*, Vol. 2, p. 220. Morris supplied the last \$6,200, which brought the total to the \$32,800 that Washington needed. It was less than half the 375,000 *livres* Rochambeau spent on his troops in a single month.

33. Popham to Gov. Clinton of New York, 8 September 1781, quoted in Henry P. Johnston. *The Yorktown Campaign and the Surrender of Cornwallis 1781*. New York, 1881, repr. 1981, p. 173.

34. Joseph P. Martin, *Private Yankee Doodle*. Hallowell, ME, 1830; repr. Boston, 1962, pp. 222-23.

35. The beginning of John Hudson's account says:

I was born in Westchester, New York, on the 12th June 1768, and am now, of course, nearly seventy-eight years of age (he writes in 1846). In April, 1781, there was a levy raised for the defence of the state from domestic enemies, to enable the regular troops of the New York line to march to such

points as might be required. In this levy I enlisted, in what was then called King's district Albany county, and is now Canaan, in Columbia county, marched to Saratoga, where having been drilled one week as a soldier, I enlisted in the Continental service, in which I remained to the end of the War of Independence. Let me state the cause of my enlistment in the regular service.

The levies mounted guard with the regular troops, and one morning just after being relieved at the usual hour, I had gone into our quarters and was sitting on the ground with my gun between my knees, when it went off accidentally and apparently without cause, the ball passing out of the hovel, but injuring no one. However, it was an offence punishable with one hundred lashes, and the corporal of the quarter immediately came in with a file of men and took me to the guard house. Here a conversation took place between the sergeant major and quartermaster

sergeant, and one of them remarked with an oath, that it was a shame to give a boy like this an hundred lashes for what was notoriously an accident. This was said, purposely loud enough for me to hear. Then turning to me he added - "Come my lad, the best way for you to get out of this, will be to enlist - come along with us." I jumped up immediately, and had my name entered on the muster roll of the company, which was that of Captain Austin and now I was fairly entered for the campaign."

I remained at Saratoga until the middle of July, 1781, when Col. Van Schayck's regiment, to which I belonged, was directed to join the combined armies at Dobbs Ferry.

36. Hudson, "Reminiscences," *Cist's Advertiser*, 28 January 1846.

37. The correspondence can be found in the *Papers of Robert Morris*, vol. 4 (1978), pp. 304-5 and pp. 330-332.

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