

THE ROBBERY OF THE FRENCH TREASURY, 18 MARCH 1783

Some seven weeks after the departure of Lauzun's Legion from Philadelphia began a long-awaited postlude to their presence in Wilmington. At the Thursday, 26 June 1783, session of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, Gunning Bedford Jr. presented a widely watched case to the jury.⁵⁵¹ In his complaint, the State Attorney General alleged that around 8 p.m. on 18 March 1783, Richard Dowdle and John Clark of Newcastle County "feloniously and burglariously did break and enter" into the home of Peter Brodelet. Once inside they stole "ten thousand pieces of Silver Coin commonly called French Crowns of the Value of £ 4,168/13/4 lawful Money of the Delaware State," thereby acting "against the Peace and Dignity of the Delaware State."⁵⁵² The case had created quite a stir, it had in fact been so spectacular that it was even considered newsworthy in near-by Philadelphia. On 11 June, *the Pennsylvania Journal* had printed a letter from a correspondent in Wilmington outlining the case.

Wilmington, April 5, 1783

Sir,

Agreeable to my promise, I have sat down to give you a full account of the robbery committed last spring on the French Treasury in this town -- the taking up of the villains, and recovery of great part of the money, two days since; and the little circumstances that fortunately lead to the discovery.

The morning after the fact (sic) was perpetrated, Martin Delaney, who occupied the house, in then cellar of which the money was lodged,⁵⁵³ Richard Dowdle, store keeper, of Christiana Bridge,⁵⁵⁴ and one Clark, near Bush Town in Maryland, were immediately suspected by every person who knew them; Delaney and Dowdle were apprehended, and very strictly examined. Both obstinately denied any knowledge of the crime. Delaney's conduct in particular preceding the theft, was so artfully covered, and he gave such plausible reasons for every part of it, that the most embittered suspicion seemed to give up the charge. Dowdle's was rather thin to prevent doubts. His examination would scarcely bear a rehearsal. His answers were weak and embarrassed. However, the

⁵⁵¹ The following account is based on "French Treasury Robbery" General Reference No. 590.1, DEPA.

⁵⁵² On 28 June 28, Robert Bryan, Treasurer of Newcastle County, was directed by William Killen and David Finney to pay Margaret Bail £ 32/14 "for our expenses at her house while holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer" plus 4 sh "for the Shff and sub Shff's Breakfast."

⁵⁵³ In her *Reminiscences*, Montgomery wrote that the robbery of the French treasury took place in the home of Abijah Dawes at 606 Market Street. (p. 287) Dawes (1748-1816) was a Philadelphia merchant who owned property in Wilmington. According to Montgomery, the owners of the house after Dawes were Gunning Bedford Jr., Thomas Massey, and Louis McLane. Charles E. Green, *History of the M.W. Grand Lodge of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1956), pp. 19-27, includes a short biography of Bedford (1747-1812), stating that in 1781, Bedford, a 1771 graduate of Princeton and cousin of Delaware governor Gunning Bedford Sr., lived in a house on East Side of Market Street between 6th and 7th Streets, i.e., 606 Market. In 1783, Bedford became a member of Congress for Delaware. (p. 24) The circumstance of the case suggest that Delaney rented the property, and due to his many obligations in Dover, Bedford may well have rented it out. Rochambeau reportedly stayed there in September 1781.

⁵⁵⁴ Dowdle seems to have kept a tavern as well. Having arrived in Christiana on Friday, 5 October 1781, Lieutenant Reeves recorded that "At night the most of the company kept it up (sic) at Doudles, where we sup'd and stay'd all night, and breakfasted next morning." Reeves, "Letter-Books," p. 239.

Justices and Burgesses⁵⁵⁵ thought it necessary to bind them over to the last May court. They then appeared, and the Judges continued to them bound over with new sureties until August next. From a few days after they were first apprehended, until Saturday last, suspicion seemed to have taken an (illegible), and a charge of guilt no more attended too, than the tedious rehearsal of an idle dream.⁵⁵⁶

On Saturday morning then, a man who has latterly been deservedly neglected by his former acquaintances, on account of his intolerable appetite for liquor, waited upon his friend to request a small favour -- it was granted -- they sat down, and the conversation directly began about the robbery. He was particularly acquainted with Delany: he knew him well. As it continued, the laugh acted a principle part; and the superior skill of Delany to manage a point of such magnitude; the ingenuity he could make use of to cover the crime; and, the daring impudence with which he would brave it out, were, tolerably well painted. He consistently mentioned Lallor (who was then in Wilmington) as the person, who changed the money for them. He had carefully watched their movements for some time, and, was fully convinced he was right. That little Negro girl of Delany's could give such information as would unravel the whole, if well managed. That Delany had, that morning, taken a lock from one of the closets in the upper chamber, and put it on the box of a chair, which, he said, Lallor had made him a present of. That he intended setting out early next morning (Sunday) with his wife, for his plantation near Cantwell's Bridge; and had filed the chair-box with *good old spirits* to treat his friends when they came to visit him; and that he had (Delany's own expressions) "a dam'd good brace of pistols, well loaded a long time, family pieces, and he would take them with him.

Jacob Broom, who is one of the Burgesses of the town, and deserves the thanks of the community for his exertions in behalf of the public, soon had all this account laid before him; and, very judicially, concluded, that some of the transformed crowns would take an airing next day with the happy couple; and, accordingly, called a consultation of George Craghead, John Lea, and Thomas Kean, Esquires, stated the matter to them, and advised way-laying Delany at the Red Lyon, on his way down: This had not, for some reason, the desired effect, and the matter here rested until Tuesday morning, when Mr. Craighead and Broom accidentally met in the street near to Capt. O'Flinn.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁵ In the 1780s, Wilmington's city government consisted of 2 Burgesses, 6 Assistants, 1 High Constable, 1 Petit Constable, 1 Town Clerk, 1 Treasurer, and 1 Assessor. Elections for city offices took place on the second Monday in September; candidates came from a small group of families that had a firm grip on these offices. On 8 September 1781 and 9 September 1782, Joseph Stedham and Thomas Kean were re-elected as Chief Burgess and Burgess, while Jacob Broom was re-elected Assessor. On 8 September 1783, Jacob Broom became chief burgess and assessor. Joseph Shallcross Sr. was elected Treasurer, Joseph Shallcross Jr. became Town Clerk. See Wilmington Mss Folder 1, HSD, which includes the "Wilmington Borough, Treasurer's Account, 6 September 1769 to 30 October 1817, the "Book of Ordinances," and the "Borough Ordinances," which record the election results. On the functioning of city government see John Cunningham, *History of the Government of Wilmington* (typescript, Wilmington 1939) in HSD.

⁵⁵⁶ "Saturday last" was 29 March 1783.

⁵⁵⁷ Patrick O'Flinn was a Revolutionary War veteran who later ran the "Foul Anchor" or "Sign of the Ship" Tavern, later known as the "Happy Retreat" and again renamed LaFayette Hotel after the marquis' visit in 1824. Washington was a frequent visitor there. See Washington, *Diaries*, vol. 3, p. 215.

That something ought to be done, that night, was warmly urged by Mr. Broom, and cheerfully agreed to by Mestrs Craighead, Kean, and Lea; and accordingly six persons were carefully selected, and orders given them to watch for that night. These persons, with an ingenious and meritorious address, secreted themselves about ten at night near Delany's house. Expectation lengthened the time; but, take trust, servants of public virtue, they bore up against all the prevailing powers of sleep, till dawn of day, when they decried a man coming down the street in a sulkey -- saw him alight - hitch his horse to a fence, and walk to Delany's house - taking up the latch of the door and letting it fall three times. Saw Mrs Delany open the door, with a candle in her hand, and let him in. Waited about fifteen minutes, and see Mrs Delany again open the door, and let him out; upon which the guard started up, ran, and seized Mr. Lallor. They forced him back to Mr. Craighead's, and, in the presence of the Justices, found a pair of saddle bags across his right shoulder, the two ends curiously tyed round his waist, and his great coat on as common. Capt. Lea, one of the Justices, anxious to know the contents of the saddle bags, perhaps too hastily, thurst in his hand, and all besh-t (sic) his fingers; but, with his usual happiness of expression, humourously recounted the old adage, that shit-n luck was good luck. Nine hundred and ninety crowns were found in the saddle bags, and, from the filth about them, no one doubted but they were brought out of the little-house. Lallor denied having any knowledge of them, and only said, he got about five hundred of them of Delany, and the rest he brought from Philadelphia to speck with. He was directly committed to prison. A guard was immediately placed over Delany, messengers dispatched for Dowdle, and search took place in the little-house.⁵⁵⁸ The people crowded to the place, and a little time produced twenty-two bags, containing 4400. Whilst this work was going forward, Dowdle was brought in, and both him and Delany had an opportunity of seeing the money produced from amongst the dirt. Dowdle still denied, asserted his innocence, and told them if he was guilty he deserved no mercy. Delany, when he understood Dowdle was undergoing a severe examination, seeing the money lay scattered before him; and, afraid Dowdle might take the lead and speak first, as the facts spoke for themselves, his spirits began to fail, his resolution gave way, and in agony cryed out for Capt. Lea, to whom he made confession; that Dowdle, himself, and Clark was the only person concerned; that his wife was in the secret; that Clark and Dowdle took as many as they could carry away the night of the robbery, and that Lollar was to change them in Philadelphia for dollars or gold, having for his trouble a generous commission. Dowdle and Delany were committed to goal, and are now in irons. Clark is not yet come to hand, though hourly expected and much wished for."

The investigation following the arrests brought more detail to light. The accused, while not rich, did not come from among the very poor either. Martin Delany, who was married with two sons and a daughter under 18 (in 1782), the alleged ringleader, had property with a taxable value of 25 pounds as well as an estate valued at £ 40, which is quite high.⁵⁵⁹ So is Richard Dowdle's tax assessment in White Clay Creek Hundred at £ 16: most tax assessments are under £ 10!⁵⁶⁰

⁵⁵⁸ The "little-house" is the privy or outhouse.

⁵⁵⁹ Information on the accused is derived from Ralph D. Nelson et al., *Delaware - 1782. Tax Assessment and Census Lists* (Wilmington, 1994) and Harold B. Hancock, *The Reconstructed Delaware State Census*

As indicated in the newspaper account, they had been suspects from the beginning. The day after the robbery, on 19 March 1783, the first plaintiffs had appeared before John Lea, one of the Justices of the Peace⁵⁶¹ and Thomas Kean and Jacob Broom, Burgesses for Wilmington, to place bonds for appearance at the next court session. Richard Dowdle of White Clay Creek Hundred, accused by Brodelet under oath of having stolen the money, and Daniel W Lowler of New Castle (possibly a relative of Henry Lollar) placed bonds of £ 500 and £ 2500 each. Martin Delaney posted £ 5,000; and Alexander Montgomery £ 2,500. Peter Stonemetz and John Fowler, both of the Borough of Wilmington, placed bonds of £ 100 and £ 50 resp. offering to testify against Martin Delaney, whom Peter Brodelet had also charged as participating in the theft. But it took until the events in the early morning of 30 March before they could be arrested and charged.

Preparations for the trial began in early June, and Delaney was the first to be interrogated on the 4th. Delaney stuck to his account and blamed the robbery on Dowdle and Clark, who had promised him 1/3 of the loot if he let them rob the house. Confirming his initial confession, he insisted that Dowdle and Clark had taken about 2,600 crowns with them the night of the robbery and thrown the rest down his privy. A few days later the two returned for two more casks of coin, with Clark receiving "Six bagg and Some Loose Cash." By the time he was arrested, Clark had spent about £ 7 (25 écus) and buried the rest in the banks of the Bush River near Otter Point where Sheriff Osborne recovered 1,125 crowns. Besides that he had in his possession

31 French crowns (=écus)
2 (Spanish) dollars (=Pieces of Eight)
4 French guineas (=gold Louis d'or)
1 English guinea
"Broken money to the amount of £ 2/11/9"⁵⁶²

The next witness, Robert Hamilton, one of the posse that captured Lollar, testified on 5 June that he had heard that a certain Henry Lollar was to carry away a large amount of money from Delaney's house. Informed by Mr. Joseph Lawson, Innkeeper at the Cross Keys Tavern in Wilmington,⁵⁶³ at daybreak on the morning of 4 June that Lollar was getting his carriage ready, he and Mr John Hill went out and watched what Lolar was doing. They observed him going into Delaney's house. After 15 or 18 minutes came back with a coat on and then he and five other men seized Lollar and found a saddlebag full of money under the coat with 982 crowns and took Lolar to Craighead. On the way there, Lollar had insisted that the money in the saddle was money Delaney had owed him.

The next witness was Patrick Murdock, a lodger in the house of Delaney who had been teaching mill-owner Thomas Lea some French and who had served as an interpreter most of the

of 1782 (Wilmington, 1983), Dowdle on p. 91. Unfortunately the census taker did not break his census down into age groups or gender; he simply listed the names of the male heads of households.

Martin Delaney's household consisted of 1 woman under 18, 0 at 18, 1 over 18, 3 men under 18, 0 at 18 and 2 over 18. *Ibid.*, p. 36. The Delaware census of 1790 lists only the estate of Elizabeth Dowdle in Newcastle County. Also listed are the estates of Mathew and Michael Delaney, but no Martin Delaney. Mathew and Michael may have been the sons of Martin.

⁵⁶⁰ No information is available on John Clark of Harford County, Maryland.

⁵⁶¹ The other Justice of the Peace was James Craighead.

⁵⁶² Since they were minted of gold or silver, coins had a value in themselves irrespective of where they were minted or whose portrait or coat of arms they wore. In order to create smaller denominations, it was customary to cut them in halves, quarters, or even eighths, one-eighth of a coin being called a "bit." "Broken money" were the "bits and pieces" of coins that were weighed to determine their value.

⁵⁶³ The Cross Keys Tavern stood near the south-west corner of Brandywine Cemetery at the junction of the Old King's Road and Kennett Turnpike.

time. On 7 June 1783, Murdock testified that the plaintiff Peter Brodelet⁵⁶⁴ had been a clerk to de Baulay, Paymaster General of the French forces in Wilmington. Brodelet was a fellow boarder, but so were a M "Braçoigné, a person enjoying some office in the French hospital, who also lodged and boarded in the house of the said Martin" Delaney,⁵⁶⁵ and a M de l'Orme. Murdock remembered how for weeks Delaney had kept talking about how easy it would be to steal the money stored in the basement. One evening, Dr. Nicholas Way had come to the house and informed Delaney that he had a house for sale.⁵⁶⁶ Delaney immediately expressed an interest in the property, indicating that he would pay for it with money he would get from the sale of land his wife owned in the Jerseys.

On the day before the robbery, Dowdle had been visiting, and Clarke might have been there as well. On the evening of the day that the robbery was to occur, Delaney had told his lodgers that he would go to the Jerseys the next day to sell his wife's property. Almost as a farewell, Delaney then invited them all to play a game of cards -- in one of the upper rooms of the house rather than downstairs where they usually played. Looking back, Murdock now realized that the noise of the game, the freely flowing liquor, and the location on an upper floor, provided a perfect cover for the execution of the crime.

On 9 June, the interrogation report of John Clark the Sheriff of Harford County, Maryland, arrived in Wilmington with an apology for the delay: the delinquent had escaped and had to be recapture before he could be interrogated.⁵⁶⁷ Clark claimed that it had all been Dowdle's idea, hatched some time in January 1783 when the two of them were together at Dowdle's home in Christiana. The next day the two of them had gotten together with Delaney who had outlined the plan, but told them that he needed some help to carry it out. To seal the agreement the three took an oath of secrecy and then they set a time for the enterprise. In his defense Clarke claimed that even after the oath he continued to refuse cooperation, but about six weeks later Delaney sent for him and Dowdle and together they went to Wilmington to Delaney's house to investigate the locale. The next day the robbery took place.

Much to the surprise of Bedford, one would assume, the jury acquitted the accused. But Bedford would not, could not, let the case rest and appealed the verdict. At a General Quarter Session of 18 August 1783, a new jury found Dowdle and Clark guilty of felony and burglary. But Henry Lollar, who had placed a bond of £ 4000 on 27 June 1783, following his first acquittal, was again acquitted upon payment of fees. The punishment for Dowdle and Clark was severe. The court ordered them to restore 15,616 crowns, i.e., double the amount of money that had been stolen but recovered, plus 9,768 crowns, four times what had been stolen but not recovered. The court had to be aware of the fact that the restoration of 25,384 crowns or 142,304 livres -- almost exactly the amount Washington had borrowed from Rochambeau to pay his army at Head of Elk - - went far beyond the financial means of the two criminals.

⁵⁶⁴ Peter Brodelet is not listed in Bodinier's *Dictionnaire*. Low-level administrators or doctors did not hold officer rank.

⁵⁶⁵ A hospital guard "Braconnier" is mentioned as having departed from Philadelphia on board the *duc de Lauzun* on 15 May 1783. See Bouvet, *Le Service de Santé*, p. 105.

⁵⁶⁶ Dr. Nicholas Way, the son of Francis and Mary Way, was born in Wilmington in 1750. He graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School in 1771, was a delegate to the Ratification Convention in Dover in 1787, but gave up his practice in 1796 and moved to Philadelphia where he was appointed President of the Mint. He died on 7 September 1797 from Yellow Fever. Way, who lived on the corner of Third and Shipley owned a small farm on the borough line to the north-west of town, which he might have wanted to sell. Jeanette Eckman Papers Folder 29, HSD.

⁵⁶⁷ Apparently there had been a reward of £ 50 to solve the crime plus another 50 crowns for the capture of Clark plus expenses, all of which the Sheriff asked to be delivered to him in the return mail.

In addition, the court ordered

“that they be whipped at the public whipping Post of the County, on Thursday the twenty first Day of this present Month August between the Hours of one and three o’Clock in the Afternoon with twenty one lashes each, on their bare Backs, well laid on, that they respectively, wear a Roman T as a Mark or Badge of their Crime of a red Color not less than four inches in length and one in breadt, on the outer part of the left Arm between the Shoulders and the Elbow at all Times that they shall travel or appear from their Habitations for the Space of six Months, and that they be committed to the public Goal until Restitution is made, Punishment inflicted, and costs of Prosecution be paid.”⁵⁶⁸

Delaney was released upon payment of fees on a *Noli Prosequi* motion by Bedford⁵⁶⁹ and ordered to place a recognizance of £500 with one surety for his good behaviour within three weeks lest he be committed while his case was pending "a certioari" before the Supreme Court.⁵⁷⁰

After three months in prison, Dowdle and Clark petitioned the court on 17 November 1783, to be sold into indenture. Their punishment, the petition read, had been “to receive Corporal Punishment” and to pay restitution. They had received their whipping and the sheriff had sold “all their Property both Real and Personal.” They had restored all the money they ever had but they still owed thousands of livres. Pleading that continued imprisonment would be tantamount to a sentence of death while costing the state money. They asked to be sold into indenture for up to seven years and the money be used to cover cost of prosecution and restitution to French crown. On 23 December the court ordered Clark to be sold, but Dowdle's the petition was rejected.

A few months later on 3 Feb 1784, Dowdle renewed his petition, and this time he was successful. Acknowledging that he has been justly convicted of larceny he pleads for mercy for the sake of his children and asks to be sold for 7 years indenture, the punishment for an insolvent debtor unable to make any restitution. For the time being the court released him upon posting bond (the amount is blank) and the promise that he would testify at the next session of the court against Henry Lallor who was charged with receiving part of the stolen money. On 13 April 1784, Lallor was tried before the Supreme Court, found guilty of a felony, fined £ 375, and "committed 'till the same with the Costs of Prosecution be paid."⁵⁷¹ With the sentencing of Lallor more than a year after the robbery had been committed, one of Delaware's most interesting court cases of the Revolutionary War periods had come to an end.

Delaney got away free. On 13 April 1784, the court decided in "The Delaware State v Richard Dowdle: Hab. Corp. Writ returned. And now the Court, upon consideration, remand the Defendant into the Sheriff's Custody." The man who had instigated the whole robbery, was released from prison and sent home with instructions to the Sheriff to keep an eye on him.⁵⁷²

⁵⁶⁸ The story of Delaware's Red Hannah is told in Robert Graham Caldwell, *Red Hannah. Delaware's Whipping Post* (Philadelphia, 1947). There is a good overview of Delaware's penal code on pp. 10-13, incl. wearing of letter "T" for thief. Delaware used public whippings longer than any state in the Union. As of 31 December 1945 there were still 24 crimes punishable by whipping and Delaware was the only state with public whipping posts in each of the three counties. Between 1933 to 1944, 34 offenders were whipped in the Kent County Jail in Dover. It was not formally abolished and removed from the statutes until 1972.

⁵⁶⁹ *noli prosequi* is a legal term indicating that the prosecutor will drop all or part of a prosecution.

⁵⁷⁰ *a certioari* means that a higher court, in this case the Newcastle County Supreme Court, had requested a transcript of the proceedings of the case for review.

⁵⁷¹ DEPA RG 2830.001, Newcastle County Supreme Court Continuance Dockets, Reel 1, frame 218.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, frame 224.

CONCLUSION

In an interview with *American Heritage* historian David McCullough declared: "We wouldn't have a country if it weren't for [the French]." And though historians do to speculate about "what if's," the facts show that French support was indeed vital to the success of the Revolutionary War.

In February 1762, French foreign minister Choiseul had declared that he had "only one foreign policy, a fraternal union with Spain; only one foreign policy for war, and that is England." The shots fired at Lexington and Concord had hardly been heard in Paris when French financial and military aid began flowing to the rebellious colonies. Almost 100 volunteers provided crucial expertise for American artillery, engineering, and map-making. The victory at Saratoga was won with French guns and French powder. In February 1778, France became the first foreign country to recognize the United States as an independent nation. In the spring of 1780, the comte de Rochambeau brought over 5,000 officers and men across the ocean and forced the surrender of Lord Cornwallis fifteen months later. Yet the presence of Rochambeau's forces on the American mainland had consequences well beyond its small numbers: they decided the outcome of the war.

In July 1780, Rochambeau arrived in Newport with over 5,000 officers and men; the ships that left Boston on Christmas Eve 1782 carried about 1,000 fewer men. About 700 men remained behind, the last of whom returned to France in November 1783. A final transport of 85 sick soldiers left Baltimore on 5 October 1783.⁵⁷³ During the 30 months that the 492 officers and 6,038 men of the *expédition particulière* had been in, or on their way to and from America, about 600 men (including 70 in the six months following the return in 1783) died, though only about 75 of them from battle or battle-related wounds. Seven were executed, 316 men, of whom only 26 were native, French-speaking, soldiers, deserted. So did 80 men recruited in America. 140, including 30 "American" recruits, were discharged. Thirty-one officers and 14 enlisted men retired with military pensions in the New World. To put these figures into perspective: within six months of returning to France, Rochambeau's units discharged 832 men whose enlistment had expired!⁵⁷⁴

Rochambeau's troops were not the only French forces to fight in America before, or after, Yorktown. In fact, they represent only a fraction of the total number of Frenchmen fighting for American Independence, which historians have estimated at 18,000 soldiers and 31,000 sailors. In 1776, France had stationed 19 battalions of infantry in her Caribbean possessions; in the course of the war she sent another 29 battalions there for a total of 48 battalions. Rochambeau brought all of 8 infantry battalions with him in 1780. At Yorktown, Rochambeau suffered not even 200 casualties in dead and wounded. Between March and December 1781, the French navy operating in the Caribbean suffered over 5,000 casualties, the equivalent of almost the entire force under Rochambeau's command. In the disastrous defeat in the Battle of the Saints in April 1782, de Grasse suffered over 3,000 casualties, more than fifteen times those of Yorktown.

The French contribution to American victory becomes even more obvious when we look at the role of the French navy. It was Admiral de Grasse' fleet which kept the Royal Navy from making contact with Cornwallis when it sailed out to meet the challenge in the Battle of the Capes in early September 1781. Without the French fleet, British Admiral Graves might just have succeeded in rescuing Cornwallis from Yorktown. The Continental Navy would have been unable to stop him: in 1781, the Royal Navy had about 140 ships of the line of 74 guns or more, the French had 67 capital ships, Spain had 58, the Dutch 19, and the United States had none.

⁵⁷³ Amblard de Noailles. *Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique pendant la guerre de l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (Paris, 1903), pp. 407-408.

⁵⁷⁴ Over one fourth of all desertions in the French forces occurred in the last three months before departure.

French expenditures for the war were enormous: Robert D. Harris sets the cost of the war for the years 1776-1782 at 928.9 million livres (as opposed to 2,270.5 million livres for the British), with another 125.2 million to be added for the year 1783. At the same time, the total ordinary income of the French crown stood at 377.5 million livres for the year 1776. 91 per cent of the cost of the war was funded by loans, and by the end of 1782, the total constituted debt of the French monarchy had reached 4,538 million livres. Even if the outlays for the war were not the primary cause of the French Revolution, there can be no doubt that an extra billion livres in debt and annual expenditures of some 207 million livres just to service the debt, did nothing to enhance the financial situation of the monarchy between 1783 and the outbreak of the revolution in 1789.⁵⁷⁵

But within the overall French war effort expenditures on the American war were minimal. According to Claude C. Sturgill, "all of the monies directly appropriated for the entire cost" of Rochambeau's forces amounted to exactly 12,730,760 livres or a little over 1 per cent of the total cost of the war!⁵⁷⁶ In addition the American rebels received 18 million in loans, to be repaid after the war, as well as outright subsidies of about 9 million from the foreign affairs department and other aid for a total of about 48 million livres spent in support of the American Revolution.

But whatever Royalist France did to support the America's struggle for Independence, nothing can alter the fact that it was American colonists who first challenged British authority. It was American colonists who first proclaimed that "All men are created equal." It was American colonists who risked their lives and their properties to fight for the "truths" which they, and after them the whole world, considered "to be self-evident." It was on their soil that the war was waged. It was they who suffered the devastation and hardships of the war. That no matter where their ancestors had come from in their search for freedom, they would stand together under the leadership of General George Washington and in the crucible of war create their own nation.

Every colony, large or small, from Massachusetts to Virginia, contributed to the success of this struggle. Delaware was one of the smallest colonies, but her geographic as the fastest land-route from Philadelphia to Baltimore placed her in a crucial position for the Yorktown campaign of 1781. She did not fail. Thousands of men and animals trod her roads in 1781 and 1782, and tens of thousands of bushels of grains and flour floated up the Christiana River on their way to Yorktown. Records in her archives bear testimony to the burdens her citizens carried to bring this war to a successful conclusion. In the winter of 1782/83, she played host to Lauzun's Legion, the last remaining French combat forces on the mainland. Delaware can be proud of her contribution to the success of the Yorktown campaign.

In 1917, almost 135 years after France had helped America in her fight for independence, America "paid her debt to Lafayette." It was repaid again in 1944, when American troops under General Dwight D. Eisenhower helped liberate France. France honored General Eisenhower and his men with a *Voie de la Liberté* tracing their route from the beaches of Normandy to Paris and to victory. The 225th anniversary of the American Revolutionary War is the time for America to honor the comte de Rochambeau and his men with the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route tracing their steps from Newport to Yorktown and victory. This study of the route through Delaware, funded jointly by the State of Delaware and by the Delaware Society, Sons of the American Revolution, the descendants of those who fought for America's independence between 1776 and 1783, is a vivid reminder that the Spirit of '76 is still very much alive. It shows the commitment of the citizens of Delaware to ensure that both, France's contributions to America's struggle for freedom, and the sufferings of her own ancestors, will always be remembered.

⁵⁷⁵ All figures from Harris, "French Finances," pp. 233-258.

⁵⁷⁶ Sturgill, "Observations," p. 183.

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APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTS

1) 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 rendring them useful to the safety and tranquility of the two parties, particularly in case Great Britain in Resentment of that connection and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said Treaty, should break the Peace with France, either by direct hostilities, or by hindring her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the Rights of Nations, and the Peace subsisting between the two Crowns; and his Majesty and the said united States having resolved in that Case to join their Councils and efforts against the Enterprises of their common Enemy, the respective Plenipotentiaries, impower'd to concert the Clauses & conditions proper to fulfil the said Intentions, have, after the most mature Deliberation, concluded and determined on the following Articles.

ARTICLE 1

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

ARTICLE 2

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

ARTICLE 3

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

ARTICLE 4

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

ARTICLE 5

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

ARTICLE 6

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

ARTICLE 7

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

ARTICLE 8

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

ARTICLE 9

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

ARTICLE 10

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

ARTICLE 11

The two Parties guarantee mutually from the present time and forever, against all other powers, to wit, the united states to his most Christian Majesty the present Possessions of the Crown of France in America as well as those which it may acquire by the future Treaty of peace: and his most Christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the united states, their liberty, Sovereignty, and Independence absolute, and unlimited, as well in Matters of Government as commerce and also their Possessions, and the additions or conquests that their Confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the Dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America, conformable to the 5th & 6th articles above written, the whole as their Possessions shall be fixed and assured to the said States at the moment of the cessation of their present War with England.

ARTICLE 12

In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the Contracting Parties declare, that in case of rupture between France and England, the reciprocal

Guarantee declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such War shall break out and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the said guarantee shall not commence, until the moment of the cessation of the present War between the united states and England shall have ascertained the Possessions.

ARTICLE 13

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

In faith where of the respective Plenipotentiaries, to wit on the part of the most Christian King Conrad Alexander Gerard royal syndic of the City of Strasbourgh & 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.

2) 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 impower'd to treat with Spain, promises to sign on the first Requisition of his Catholic Majesty, the act or acts necessary to communicate to him the Stipulations of the Treaties above written; and the said Deputy shall

endeavour in good faith the adjustment of the points in which the King of Spain may propose any alteration, conformable to the principles of equality, reciprocity and the most sincere and perfect amity; he the said Deputy not doubting but that the Person or Persons 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.

3) 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 Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said River into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said Lake, untill it strikes the Communication by Water between that Lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of said Communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said Lake, until it arrives at the Water Communication between that Lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said Lake to the Water Communication between that Lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal & Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water Communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods, thence through the said Lake to the most Northwestern point thereof, and from thence on a due west Course to the River Mississippi; thence by a Line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi, untill it shall intersect the 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]

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

Witness

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

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

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

4) Declarations for Suspension of Arms and Cessation of Hostilities (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.

5) 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.

6) 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 30th of November 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in and constitute the Treaty of Peace proposed to be concluded between the Crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France and his Britannic Majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the Provisional Articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say his Britannic Majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esqr., member of the Parliament of Great Britain, and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esqr., late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esqr., late delegate in Congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; John Jay, Esqr., late president of Congress and chief justice of the state of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles.

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

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

Article 3. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and on all the other banks of Newfoundland, also in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that island) and also on the coasts, bays

and creeks of all other of his 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. ...

Article 5. ...

Article 6. ...

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. ...

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.