

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

“Benjamin Franklin playing chess with Mrs. Howe.” Drawing. 1775. *New York Public Library Digital Collections*. Accessed March 25, 2022.
<https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47db-19a0-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

This drawing represents Franklin playing chess, one of his favorite pastimes. Franklin believed that chess helped develop valuable skills which were useful for life, in particular for diplomacy. I have used the drawing to illustrate this idea on the “Early American Diplomacy” page of my website.

Berryman, Clifford K. *America and the World. Foreign Affairs in Political Cartoons, 1898-1940*. e-Book. National Archives Publications. 25 June 2018. Accessed November 8, 2021. <https://www.archives.gov/publications/ebooks/america-and-the-world>

In this e-Book, I have found two cartoons published by Berryman in the *Evening Star* that I have used in the “New Diplomatic World” page of my website: “Somewhere in France” (28 June 1917) and “Lafayette, we are here!” (22 May 1940). They both refer to American help to France in the World Wars in the name of the 1778 Alliance, more specifically Marquis de Lafayette.

Chéret, Jules. “Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen.” Photograph. 1883. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Accessed December 2, 2021.
<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90156110.item>

This is the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen adopted by France during the French Revolution. It was used on the “New Diplomatic Order” page of my website.

Colley, Thomas. “The Reconciliation Between Britannia and Her Daughter America.” Cartoon. 1782. London. *The MET*. Accessed October 31, 2021.
<https://collectionapi.metmuseum.org/api/collection/v1/iiif/389061/1747247/main-image>

This cartoon represents the reconciliation between Britain and the U.S.A., personified as mother and daughter. It was used on the “Unraveling an Entangling Alliance” page of my website.

Copley, John Singleton. “John Adams.” Painting. 1783. *Harvard Art Museums*. Accessed May 14, 2022. <https://harvardartmuseums.org/art/299877>

This is a portrait of John Adams commemorating his role in American independence. I have chosen to use this image on the “Early American Diplomacy” page of my website

because for me, the maps and globe are reminders of Adams' focus on commerce and desire to trade with all countries.

“Creating the United States.” Exhibition. 2008. *Library of Congress*.
<https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/creating-the-united-states/>

I used several documents from this exhibition to illustrate my website: Anton Hohenstein “Franklin's reception at the court of France, 1778” (lithograph, 186-), Barrow, J., “The American Rattlesnake presenting his Ally a Dish of Frogs” (Cartoon, 1782), and “The United States of America laid down from the best authorities, agreeable to the Peace of 1783” (Map, 1783) on my “Triumph of the Alliance” page; as well as Marquis de Lafayette, “Declaration of the Rights of Man, Ante July, 1789” (Manuscript with emendations by Thomas Jefferson) on my “New Diplomatic Order” page.

Currier, Nathaniel. “Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, VA Oct 19th 1781, from the Original Painting by Colonel Trumbull in the Capitol at Washington.” Hand-colored lithograph. 1852. *Springfield Museums*. Accessed May 15, 2022.
<https://springfieldmuseums.org/collections/item/surrender-of-lord-cornwallis-at-yorktown-va-oct-19th-1781-from-the-original-painting-by-colonel-trumbull-in-the-capitol-at-washington-nathaniel-currier/>

The American-French victory at Yorktown was the greatest success of the 1778 Franco-American Alliance. This lithograph perfectly encapsulates a significant event at the heart of my story, so I have used it as the background to my project's title on the “Home” page of my website. I have also used it as the background to Washington's quote on my “Resources” page.

“Destruction of Tea at Boston Harbor.” Lithograph. 1846. *Library of Congress*. Accessed October 23, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/91795889/>

This is a lithograph showing the Boston Tea Party. It was used on the “Secret Rendezvous” page of my website as an illustration of the colonists' rebellion against Britain.

Disney, Arthur. “Quasi-War with France.” Painting. 1800. *National Museum of the U.S. Navy*. Accessed October 31, 2021.
<https://www.history.navy.mil/content/history/museums/nmusn/explore/photography/ships-us/ships-usn-c/uss-constellation-frigate-1797-1853/kn-3491.html>

This painting represents a sea battle between an American ship and a French ship during the Quasi-War. It was used on the “Unraveling an Entangling Alliance” page of my website.

Doniol, Henri. *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique. Correspondance diplomatique et documents*. 5 vols. and supplement. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1886-1892. Downloaded from *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*,

September 15, 2021. Vol. 1: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2135560>.
Vol. 2: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k213557c>.
Vol. 3: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k213558r>.
Vol. 4: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2135594#>.
Vol. 5: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k2135602>.
Vol. 5, suppl.: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k213561f#>.

This source gave me access to a mass of primary documents in French related to the 1778 treaties: the diplomatic correspondence of France and other documents such as official reports, memoirs, or treaties. This source helped me better understand the complexity of the diplomatic situation: when dealing with the American colonies, France also had to consider Britain, Spain, and other European countries. I have used quotations from this source throughout my website, mainly to illustrate the debates within Louis XVI's cabinet and to describe Vergennes' diplomatic moves or strategies.

Duplessis, Joseph. "Benjamin Franklin." Painting. c. 1785. *National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institute*. Accessed May 8, 2022. https://npg.si.edu/object/npg_NPG.87.43

This is a portrait of Benjamin Franklin, America's first diplomat, one of the key characters in my story. I have used this portrait on the "Secret rendezvous" page of my website to show that, from the very start, Franklin was involved in Americans' efforts to sign an alliance with the French.

"Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt of the United States holding a Declaration of Human Rights poster in English." Photograph. 1949. *United Nations Photo*. Accessed November 30, 2021. <https://www.unmultimedia.org/s/photo/detail/129/0001292.html>

This picture shows Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt holding a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which she greatly contributed. It was used on the "New Diplomatic Order" page of my website.

Flotte de Saint-Joseph (Chevalier). "Naval maneuvers at Toulon in July 1777." Painting. 1777. *Musée national de la Marine (Paris, France)*. Accessed March 25, 2022. <http://mnm.webmuseo.com/ws/musee-national-marine/app/collection/record/9754>

This painting depicts the newly strengthened French Navy maneuvering at Toulon during the summer of 1777. I have used it on the "Early American Diplomacy" page of my website to illustrate the idea that Vergennes agreed to the alliance once the French Navy was ready for war.

"Founders Online." Website: Collection of writings by the Founding Fathers. *National Archives*. <https://founders.archives.gov/about>

This website "makes freely available online the historical documents of the Founders of the United States of America." I have used this website a lot because it gave me access to the letters and speeches from the Founding Fathers – mainly Washington, Franklin,

Adams, and Jefferson – and it enabled me to better explore the diplomatic exchanges of the time. I have used quotations from documents that I have found on Founders Online in nearly all the pages of my website.

“The Franco-American Treaty of Alliance, 6 February 1778.” *Founders Online, National Archives*. Accessed August 25, 2021.
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-25-02-0476>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 25, October 1, 1777, through February 28, 1778, ed. William B. Willcox. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 583–595.]

This official treaty helped me understand the military aspect of the Franco-American Alliance of 1778 by giving me first-hand knowledge of the specific terms used and of the specific commitments of each party, His Most Christian King (French Louis XVI) and “the United States of North America.” This document is the heart of my project, being the result of diplomatic exchanges and many debates on both sides of the Atlantic. I have used specific quotations from the treaty on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

“The Franco-American Treaty of Amity and Commerce, 6 February 1778.” Founders Online, National Archives. Accessed August 25, 2021.
<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-25-02-0477>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 25, October 1, 1777, through February 28, 1778, ed. William B. Willcox. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986, pp. 595–626.]

This official treaty helped me understand the commercial/trading aspect of the Franco-American Alliance of 1778 by giving me firsthand knowledge of the specific terms used and of the specific commitments of each party, His Most Christian King (French Louis XVI) and “the United States of North America.” The “Treaty of Amity and Commerce” is closely based on the Model Treaty (1776) proposed by Adams at the request of the Second Continental Congress, but it is also the result of diplomatic exchanges and many debates on both sides of the Atlantic. I have used a quotation from the treaty on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Letters from France: The Private Diplomatic Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, 1776-1785*. Edited and annotated by Brett F. Woods. New York, Algora Publishing, 2006.

A collection of the personal letters that Benjamin Franklin wrote during his mission in France (1776-1785), this source helped me better understand the American diplomatic mission from the inside. Franklin exposes his views on certain subjects, such as his hatred for the British and his strong desire for peace. He forcefully defends the alliance, also commenting on his work as a diplomat.

“French Charleville Model 1763 Flintlock Musket.” Photograph. *National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institute*. Accessed May 7, 2022.
<https://ids.si.edu/ids/deliveryService?id=NMAH-AHB2009q13003>

This is a photograph of one of the many muskets that the French government supplied to the Continental Army during the American War of Independence. I have used this photograph on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website as an illustration of France’s military aid to the colonies as early as the spring of 1776.

“The Gallic Cock and English Lyon or A Touch of the Times.” Print. 1739-1755. *The British Museum*. Accessed November 20, 2021.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1868-0808-3637

This is a satirical representation of the rivalry between France and England, in which each country is represented by its traditional animal symbol. It was used on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

Habermann, Franz Xaver. “Vue de Boston vers la cale du port.” Painting. 177-. *Library of Congress*. Accessed October 23, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3g11818/>

This is a view of Boston Harbor. It was used on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website to illustrate Americans’ focus on trade.

Houël, Jean-Pierre. “The Storming of the Bastille.” Drawing. 1789. *The National Archives*. Accessed November 8, 2021. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Anonymous_-_Prise_de_la_Bastille.jpg

This drawing shows the storming of the Bastille Prison in 1789, during the French Revolution. It was used on the “Unraveling an Entangling Alliance” page of my website.

“Lafayette: Citizen of Two Worlds.” Exhibition. 2006. *Cornell University Library*.
<https://rnc.library.cornell.edu/lafayette/exhibition/english/twoworlds/index.html>

Through primary sources, this exhibition explores the role of Marquis de Lafayette in the American and French Revolutions and his constant defense of rights and liberties. Focusing on Lafayette’s “mythic status as the defining symbol of friendship between France and the United States,” this exhibition helped me better understand the enduring links that the 1778 Alliance created between the two nations. I have used this source for the “A New Diplomatic Order” page of my website.

Le Mire, Noël. “George Washington holding the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Alliance.” Print. c. 1780. *Mount Vernon*. Accessed May 8, 2022.
<https://emuseum.mountvernon.org/people/777/noel-le-mire;jsessionid=C4B286F776BDE9F72332B06A0C86CCE7>

This print shows General Washington holding two founding documents for the United States: the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Alliance with France. I have used this image on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

“Louis D’Or, France, 1776-1777.” Coin. 1777. *Smithsonian Institute*. Accessed November 26, 2021. https://ids.si.edu/ids/deliveryService?max_w=800&id=NMAH-AHB2019ps17929

This is a photograph of a Louis D’Or, a French coin, used in 1777. It was used on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website to highlight France’s financial aid to America.

Lundberg, Gustaf. “Portrait de Monsieur Charles Gravier de Vergennes.” Painting. 1771-1774. *Musée du Louvre*. Accessed October 28, 2021. <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl020013943>

This is a portrait of Count de Vergennes, Louis XVI’s foreign secretary who conducted French diplomacy during the American Revolution. It was used on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website.

Mills, Charles E. “The Signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce and of Alliance between France and the United States.” Photograph of a painting. Between 1900 and 1920. Franklin Foundation. Detroit Publishing Company. Prints & Photographs Division, *Library of Congress*. Accessed October 31, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/det.4a26451/>

This is a photograph of a painting by Mills, representing the signing of the 1778 treaties. It was used on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

Miranda, Lin-Manuel. “Cabinet Battle #2.” From *Hamilton, An American Musical* (2015). Video (edited). 1:40 min. Filmed recording of the original Broadway Performance. *Disney+* (2020). Accessed February 19, 2022. <https://www.disneyplus.com/movies/hamilton/3uPmBHWIO6HJ>

This is a video which I edited from “Cabinet Battle #2”, the scene in *Hamilton, An American Musical* which I discovered while attending the show in Little Rock. This clip, in which Jefferson and Hamilton discuss American intervention in Revolutionary France’s war against Britain in 1793, perfectly encapsulates the divisions and internal debates created in the country by the entangling 1778 alliance. I have used this video on the “Unraveling an Entangling Alliance” page of my website.

Obama, Barack. “Obama Honoring the US-France Alliance.” Speech, extracts. Video (edited). 1:17 min. 4 November 2011. *The Obama White House* on youtube.com. Accessed October 31, 2021. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=62O6Zs7jvUY>

This is a video of Barack Obama’s speech in France after the successful joint intervention in Libya in 2011. President Obama describes the long alliance and friendship between the

two countries, highlighting the values and ideas they share and their common fights. It was used on the “New Diplomatic Order” page of my website.

Peale, Charles Willson. *The Marquis de Lafayette*. Painting. 1779. *Washington and Lee University*. Accessed February 5, 2022.
<https://s3.amazonaws.com/assets.wlu.edu/files/modules/wide-lrg-u1897-1-2-correct.jpg>

This portrait of Marquis de Lafayette was commissioned by George Washington to hang in Mount Vernon. It was used on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website.

Pérignon, Alexis Nicolas. “Vue de l’Hôtel de Valentinois du côté cour, à Passy, vers 1775-1780.” Painting. 1775-1780. *Paris Musée*. Accessed November 10, 2021.
<https://www.parismuseescollections.paris.fr/fr/musee-carnavalet/oeuvres/vue-de-l-hotel-de-valentinois-du-cote-cour-a-passy-vers-1775-1780#infos-principales>

This is a representation of the Hôtel de Valentinois where Franklin and the other Commissioners lived during their mission in Paris. It is often considered as the first American embassy. This painting was used on the “Early American Diplomacy” page of my website.

“Political Regime, 1816-2015.” World Maps. 2016. *Our World in Data*. Accessed November 25, 2021. <https://ourworldindata.org/democracy#world-maps-of-political-regimes-over-200-years>

These maps show the evolution of political regimes over time. It was used on the “New Diplomatic Order” page of my website to illustrate the spread of democracy throughout the world in the last two centuries.

Roger, L. “Indépendance des Etats-Unis.” Gravure. 1786. Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Accessed May 8, 2022. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6942436k>

Made in France, this engraving presents the French point of view on American independence, underlining the role of King Louis XVI as the liberator of America and the seas. I have used this image on the “Triumph of the Alliance” page of my website.

Rossel (de), Auguste Louis. “Bataille entre la frégate française La Belle Poule et la frégate anglaise Arethuse.” Painting. 1778. *Sourdaine.org*. Accessed November 11, 2021.
https://sourdaine.org/10_lbp.htm

This painting represents the battle between La Belle Poule, a French frigate, and Arethuse, an English frigate. It was used on the “Triumph of the Alliance” page of my website.

Sauvage, Charles-Gabriel. “Louis XVI and Benjamin Franklin, ‘Liberté des Mers’.” Ceramics. 1782-1785. *Winterthur Museum*. Accessed October 31, 2021.

<http://museumcollection.winterthur.org/imutest/imu.php?port=40138&request=multimedia&irn=34614&bestfit=yes&width=355>

This is a statuette of Louis XVI and Benjamin Franklin. It was used on the “Thesis” page of my website as an illustration for the Franco-American Alliance of 1778 which is the heart of my project.

Serz, John. “The State-house in Philadelphia, 1776”. Print. *Library of Congress*. Accessed October 30, 2021. <https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/pnp/pga/04100/04142r.jpg>

This print represents the State house in Philadelphia in 1776, at the time when it was the seat of the Second Continental Congress. I have used this image on the “secret Rendezvous” page of my website.

Sicard, Louis-Marie. “Louis XVI.” Miniature painting. 1782. *Musée du Louvre*. Accessed May 8, 2022. <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl020019390>

This is a portrait of Louis XVI, the French King at the time of the American Revolution. It was used on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website.

“Statue of Lafayette, Washington, D.C.” Photograph. Washington D.C. Lafayette Park, ca. 1900. *Library of Congress*. Accessed February 3, 2022. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3a45320/>

This photograph shows the Statue of Lafayette in one of the corners of Lafayette Park in Washington D.C. The monument to Lafayette testifies to his crucial role in the American Revolution. This image was used on the “New Diplomatic Order” page of my website.

“Statue of Liberty. The presentation of the Statue to the U.S. Minister Levi Parsons Morton in Paris on July 4, 1881.” Photograph. 1881. *National Park Service*. Accessed October 20, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/stli/learn/historyculture/the-french-connection.htm>

This is a photograph of the Statue of Liberty in 1881. I used on the “New Diplomatic Order” page of my website because it is one of the best-known symbols of Franco-American friendship, also embodying the key value that the two countries championed have championed since the 1778 Alliance: liberty.

Stuart, Gilbert. “George Washington, first president of the United States.” Lithograph. 1828 [?]. *Library of Congress*. Accessed November 4, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96523313/>

This is a lithograph representing George Washington. It was used on the “Unraveling an Entangling Alliance” page of my website.

“Treaty of Alliance.” Manuscript. 1778. *Ourdocuments.gov*. Accessed November 19, 2021. <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2524341>

This is a dual language manuscript of the Treaty of Alliance, signed on February 6, 1778, by France and the United States. This document is at the heart of my project. It was used on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

“Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation (Jay Treaty), 1794.” Photograph of original first page. London. 1795. *Hamilton Education Program Online, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*. Accessed February 19, 2022.
https://hamilton.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/images/documents/200N09029_6TYGB.jpg

This is a photograph of the first page of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation between Britain and the United States. Often called “Jay Treaty”, it was negotiated by John Jay in 1794 and it was felt as a betrayal by the French. This image was used on the “Unraveling an Entangling Alliance” page of my website.

“The Treaty of Paris.” Manuscript. Paris. September 3, 1783. *National Archives*. Accessed February 2, 2022. https://www.archives.gov/exhibits/american_originals/paris.html

This is the last page of the manuscript of the 1783 Treaty of Paris, showing the seals and signatures of its negotiators: John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay for the United States, and David Hartley for Britain. It was used on the “Triumph of the Alliance” page of my website.

Trumbull, John. “Benjamin Franklin.” Painting. 1778. *Yale University Art Gallery*. Accessed November 10, 2021. <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/51661>

This is a portrait of Benjamin Franklin wearing a fur cap. It represents his typical attire while on his diplomatic mission in Paris, where he wanted to be seen as typically American. This portrait was used on the “Early American Diplomacy” page of my website.

Trumbull, John. “John Adams.” Painting. c.1792-1793. *White House*. Accessed October 30, 2021.
<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/photos/fotoware?id=C6D6790581DC4BFF%20829B1BA54BA6F678>

This is a portrait of John Adams. I have used this image on the “Franco-American Alliance” page of my website.

Tufnell, E. “Bonhomme Richard, ex-Duc de Duras.” Painting. 1779. *Naval History and Heritage Command*. Accessed May 7, 2022.
<https://www.history.navy.mil/content/history/nhhc/our-collections/photography/numerical-list-of-images/nhhc-series/nh-series/NH-72000/NH-72802-KN.html>

This is a painting of “Bonhomme Richard,” a French frigate put at the disposal of Americans during the Revolutionary War. I have used this image on the “Foreign Assistance?” page of my website.

Vangelisti, Vincenzo. “Charles Gravier Comte de Vergennes.” Print. 1770-1798. *British Museum*. Accessed October 31, 2021.
https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1917-1208-3924

This is a portrait of Charles Gravier Comte de Vergennes, the foreign secretary in French King Louis XVI’s cabinet. I have used it on the “Secret Rendezvous” page of my website to visually introduce one of the key players in my story.

Wharton, Francis, ed. *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*. 6 vols. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1889. Accessed at <https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdc.html>

This source is a collection of primary documents related to the diplomacy of the treaties. Showing the correspondence between the commissioners, Vergennes, and Congress, it also has official records of the sessions of Continental Congress. I have used this source on most of the pages of my website, from the “Foreign Assistance” page to the “Triumph of the Alliance” page.

“2-cent Yorktown single.” Stamp. 1931. Postal Museum. Smithsonian Institute. Accessed February 19, 2022. <https://postalmuseum.si.edu/exhibition/about-us-stamps-bureau-period-1894-1939-commemorative-issues-1930-1931/yorktown-issue>

This stamp commemorates the victorious generals of Yorktown: Washington, Rochambeau (French Army), and de Grasse (French Navy). It was used on the “Triumph of the Alliance” page of my website as an illustration of the successful collaboration between American and French forces.

Secondary Sources

Aruga, Tadashi. “The American Revolution and the Origin of American Foreign Policy.” *American Studies International* 15, no. 2 (1976): 35–42. Accessed September 9, 2021.
www.jstor.org/stable/41278532.

This source helped me understand the self-confidence and the different points of view the Americans had on France before looking for an alliance. It describes the debates happening in America right before the French intervention, while highlighting the importance of trade in the diplomatic exchanges with France. It also shows how the 1778 treaties helped shape early American foreign policy.

Bauer, Jean. "With Friends Like These: John Adams and the Comte De Vergennes on Franco-American Relations." *Diplomatic History* 37, no. 4 (2013): 664-92. Accessed September 3, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44254324>.

Mainly focusing on the tensions between John Adams and Comte de Vergennes around 1780, this article has made me better aware of the difficulties and misunderstandings between the two allies, due to their conflicting goals in the war. This has added a perspective to my understanding of the alliance, and it has made me better understand the dispute around the peace negotiations, which I discuss in the "Triumph of the Alliance" part of my project.

Bragg, Melvyn. "The Franco-American Alliance 1778." *BBC – In Our Time*. April 22, 2021. Accessed October 3, 2021. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/m000v99n>

This 51-minute-long *BBC* radio program is an expert discussion, led by host Melvyn Bragg, between Frank Cogliano (Professor of American History at the University of Edinburgh), Kathleen Burk (Professor Emerita of Modern and Contemporary History at University College London), and Michael Rapport (Reader in Modern European History at the University of Glasgow). Bragg and his guests discuss the Franco-American Alliance, focusing on its benefits and costs during the American war, but also in the longer term. Multiple perspectives are given on each issue dealt with, so this source has greatly enriched my understanding of my topic, reminding me of the complex nature of events, decisions, and interpretations.

Burdick, Kim. "Lafayette's Second Voyage to America: Lafayette and *L'Hermione*." *Journal of the American Revolution*, April 20, 2015. Accessed February 2, 2022 <https://allthingsliberty.com/2015/04/lafayettes-second-voyage-to-america-lafayette-and-lhermione/>

Focusing on Lafayette's return to America onboard *L'Hermione* in 1780, after a short stay in France, the source stresses Lafayette's role in securing extra help for the United States, notably more vessels and numerous troops ready to fight on American soil. I have used information from this source in my analysis of the immediate consequences of the Alliance.

Crout, Robert Rhodes. "In Search of a 'Just and Lasting Peace': The Treaty of 1783, Louis XVI, Vergennes, and the Regeneration of the Realm." *The International History Review* 5, no. 3 (1983): 364-98. Accessed September 5, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40105315>.

This source, by underlining Louis XVI's views on foreign policy and his belief that a just peace with Britain was necessary, helped me understand the long-term diplomatic goals of France. This source also gives a detailed presentation of Vergennes' diplomacy in Europe and his two main goals: 1) to overcome the 1763 Treaty of Paris and 2) to put France as a mediator in Europe. This has made me understand better the reasons that pushed the French leaders to sign the alliance with Americans.

Dickinson, H. T. "The Failure of Conciliation: Britain and the American Colonies 1763-1783." *The Kyoto Economic Review* 79, no. 2 (167) (2010): 2–20.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/43213389>.

This source focuses on Britain's proposals for conciliation with the American colonies and how they failed, notably because of wrong timing. It also shows the debates happening in the British Parliament and society before and during the American Revolution. By highlighting the interactions between Britain and America, this source has enriched my understanding of the diplomacy surrounding the French American Treaties of 1778.

Dull, Jonathan R. "Benjamin Franklin and the Nature of American Diplomacy." *The International History Review* 5, no. 3 (1983): 346-63. Accessed September 9, 2021.
www.jstor.org/stable/40105314

This source has greatly enriched my understanding of Benjamin Franklin's role in establishing relations with France, securing its support for America, and signing the 1778 alliance. I have learned a lot about Franklin's diplomatic techniques as well as the difficulties he was facing in France.

Dull, Jonathan R. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1985.

With this book, I learned about the complexity of Europe's diplomatic scene at the time of the American Revolution. I also understood better the necessity for France to reestablish itself as an influential power after it had lost its prestige by losing the Seven Years War. This book also made me think more about the notions of success and failure because Dull demonstrates that even though France won the war (success), France really lost because it did not get any concrete benefits and even went into bankruptcy as a result of its American involvement (failure).

Dull, Jonathan R. "Franklin the Diplomat: The French Mission." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 72, no. 1 (1982): 1-76. Accessed September 5, 2021.
doi:10.2307/1006441.

This article gives a detailed account of Franklin's diplomatic mission in France. Focusing on context, strategies, and obstacles, it explains how Franklin succeeded in getting the Franco-American Alliance and the 1783 Peace Treaty signed. I have used this knowledge to enrich the "Early American Diplomacy" page of my website.

Eccles, W. J. "The French Alliance and the American Victory." In Ferling, John (editor). *The World Turned Upside Down: The American Victory in the War of Independence*. New York, Greenwood Press, 1988: 147-163

Just like all the authors in this essay collection, Eccles seeks to answer the question "Why did America win the revolutionary war?" analyzing the decisive role of the French

Alliance in American victory, starting with France's secret aid. He also discusses the tensions between the allies, interpreting them as a clash between two worlds, and he explains that France's role was erased by myth-makers anxious to underline that the Revolution was Americans' own success. This improved my understanding of the years following the war, which I discuss in the part "Unraveling an Entangling Alliance."

Hardman, John. "Louis XVI, Vergennes and the American Independence." *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles* [online], October 13, 2017. Accessed November 25, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.14051>

This article mainly focuses on the reasons why Louis XVI decided to let France join the American war, despite his initial reluctance. It has thus enriched my description of France's hesitancy and long-awaited engagement. Also, the details Hardman gave on British reaction to France's secret aid were useful for my "Foreign Assistance?" part.

Hill, David Jayne. "Franklin and the French Alliance of 1778." *Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Washington, D.C.* 31/32 (1930): 151-73. Accessed August 26, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40067447>.

This article helped me understand the role of diplomacy before and during the American Revolution. It also gave me a new point of view on the importance of the victory at Saratoga and on the key role played by Benjamin Franklin. I have used this source to better understand the background and immediate causes for the Alliance, like the crucial need for Americans to get international recognition.

Hoffman, Ronald, and Peter J. Albert (Editors). *Diplomacy and Revolution: The Franco-American Alliance of 1778*. Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1981.

This collection of essays offers multiple perspectives on the 1778 Franco-American alliance. In particular, I learned more about the French perspective thanks to Jonathan Dull's essay, "France and the American Revolution Seen as Tragedy," which states that the French intervention was a mistake and a tragedy, negatively affecting the actors of the alliance, especially Louis XVI. This essay has made me understand better that it is difficult to assess the success or the failure of the alliance because it depends on the perspective (short versus long term, for instance).

Hutson, James H. "Intellectual Foundations of Early American Diplomacy." *Diplomatic History* 1, no. 1 (1977): 1-19. Accessed September 9, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24910232>.

This article explores the foundations of Early American Diplomacy, discussing realistic and idealistic approaches to foreign affairs in America in 1776. It helped me to learn more about the concepts shaping foreign affairs and diplomacy at the time of the American Revolution. It also made me understand better that Americans viewed their trade potential as a strength and played the balance of power between European nations to their advantage.

Isaacson, Walter. *Benjamin Franklin: An American Life*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 2003.

This detailed biography of Benjamin Franklin gave me a better understanding of the situation of the American colonies and of their fluctuating relations with Britain, especially after the French and Indian wars. The chapters devoted to Franklin's mission in Paris describe his diplomatic moves and tactics, so they helped me better understand how he articulated the ideal goals of his country with reality, and how his ability to grasp his counterparts' interests and strategies was crucial to his success. The knowledge I gained from this biography has enriched many aspects of my project, notably the pages on "Early American Diplomacy," "The Franco-American Alliance," and "The Triumph of the Alliance."

Kaplan, Lawrence S. "Toward Isolationism: The Jeffersonian Republicans and the Franco-American Alliance of 1778." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 3, no. 1 (1976): 69-81. Accessed September 5, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41298675>.

By discussing the 1776 "Plan of Treaties," this article shows that for Americans, the ideal treaty was only based on commerce. This helped me better understand Americans' reluctance to sign a treaty of (military) alliance and their efforts to annul the treaties after the "Quasi-War" with France in the 1790s. Kaplan also describes the impact the French American alliance had on the future of American diplomacy, fostering the idea of isolationism – a point I discuss in the "Unraveling an Entangling Alliance" page of my website.

Kladky, William P. "Presidential Diplomacy." *Mount Vernon*. Accessed February 17, 2022. <https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/presidential-diplomacy/>

This article highlights the diplomatic challenges that Washington faced as a President, notably the question of neutrality which arose when France started a war with Britain and expected its American ally to offer its support. The experts' analyses given in a short, embedded video helped me better understand the implications of the Franco-American Alliance and the role it played in defining American foreign policy and diplomacy. It made me realize that Washington set key precedents for American foreign policy and diplomacy when confronted with the entanglements of the 1778 Alliance.

Knott, Stephen. "George Washington: Foreign Affairs." *Miller Center*. Accessed February 17, 2022. <https://millercenter.org/president/washington/foreign-affairs>

This presentation of Washington's handling of foreign affairs as America's first president has helped me better understand how the Franco-American Alliance was a shaping force for American foreign policy in the 1790s. This analysis was useful for my study of the Alliance's impact in 1790s. It gave me a better understanding of the tensions between the two countries and of America's strong focus on trade as key in its diplomacy.

Lerat, Christian. "Les premières années de la diplomatie états-unienne : l'influence décisive de Benjamin Franklin à Paris (1776-1778)" ["The First Years of American Diplomacy. Benjamin Franklin's Decisive Influence in Paris, 1776-1778"]. *Transatlantica* [online], 2 (2009). Accessed August 26, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.4000/transatlantica.4769>

This article taught me about Franklin's diplomacy techniques, his popularity in France thanks to his scientific experiments, as well as the facilitated connections he had in Paris because he was a freemason. This source also made me learn that the French government secretly contributed to creating a fake company to supply arms and ammunition to Americans before the treaties were signed. This article had helped me to better explain Franklin's diplomatic role and strategy.

Martin, Charles E. "1778 French Treaty an Influence on American Aloofness." *Current History* (1916-1940) 27, no. 5 (1928): 645-50. Accessed September 5, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45336003>.

This source highlights the crucial impact of the treaties on the American Revolution, but also on American diplomacy in the future. It notably shows the different points of view regarding the treaties after the French Revolution, with the change in government in France. This source has enriched my understanding of the debates meant to determine if the treaties were still binding after the French Revolution (the "Unraveling an Entangling Alliance" page of my website).

Meng, John J. "The Comte de Vergennes: Foundations of his American Diplomacy." *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 40, no. 4 (1929): 311-46. Accessed September 6, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44209059>.

This article helped me better understand the ideas on which Vergennes' American diplomacy was founded, notably his view of France as the arbiter of Europe and of Britain as a threat to the traditional balance of power. This article thus gave me a better understanding of France's decision to help the American colonies by putting it into the perspective of the long-term goals of French foreign policy. I have used this knowledge for the "Early American Diplomacy" page of my website.

Phifer, Evan, and Joel D. Treese. "Monuments to the American Revolution in Lafayette Park." *White House History*. Accessed February 2, 2002. <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/monuments-to-the-american-revolution-in-lafayette-park>

This short presentation underlines the symbolic value of the statues in Lafayette Park, meant to honor Europeans who contributed to the American Revolution. The statues are presented as visible reminders of Franco-American friendship. I have used the photograph of Lafayette's statue in the "New Diplomatic Order" page of my website.

Ross, Maurice. "Teaching the Reasons for France's Participation in the American Revolution." *The French Review* 36, no. 5 (1963): 491-98. Accessed September 5, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/383303>.

This article helped me better understand the reasons why France intervened in the Revolutionary War, first secretly and then officially. This source provided me with specific data and figures regarding French aid (supplies, ammunition, loans, soldiers, officers...).

Sanbrailo, John. "Extending the American Revolution Overseas: Foreign Aid, 1789–1850." *The Foreign Service Journal*, March 2016. Accessed February 17, 2022. <https://afsa.org/extending-american-revolution-overseas-foreign-aid-1789-1850>

This source explores the concept of foreign assistance in American history, showing that its roots can be traced back to the American Revolution. Foreign assistance and the desire to promote freedom, democracy and prosperity abroad are part of the country's "cultural DNA" and is linked to the ideals of the Founding Fathers. This article has been useful in my study of the long-term consequences of the Franco-American Alliance, showing that through its legacy, the Alliance has served to transform the world, international interactions, and diplomacy.

Savelle, Max. "The Appearance of an American Attitude toward External Affairs, 1750-1775." *The American Historical Review* 52, no. 4 (1947): 655–66. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1842305>.

This source helped me understand the American change of feelings and attitudes towards the British after the end of the French and Indian war (1763), showing why, as a consequence, the Americans were seeking an alliance with France, their old enemy. The source also highlights Adams' view on a potential alliance with France: he was not in favor of a military alliance, seeing neutrality as the best way to ensure actual independence for his country. I have used this source for the "Secret Rendezvous" and "Foreign Assistance?" pages of my website.

Schellhammer, Michael. "The Daring Departure of Lafayette". *Journal of the American Revolution*, November 21, 2013. Accessed February 2, 2022. <https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/11/departure-lafayette/>

Focusing on Lafayette's departure for America in 1777, in defiance of King Louis XVI's orders, this source highlights Lafayette's commitment to the American cause, while showing that other French officers joined the fight even before the 1778 Treaty of Alliance. This source gave me a better idea of Lafayette's daring choices, and it enriched my study of France's unofficial support to the United States as discussed in my "Foreign Assistance?" page of my website.

Shachtman, Tom. *How the French Saved America: Soldiers, Sailors, Diplomats, Louis XVI, and the Success of a Revolution*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 2017.

This book gave me detailed knowledge of the events that led to the treaties as well as the immediate impact of the 1778 alliance. The book gives a good historical background, showing the debates happening in France about whether or not France should enter a war with Britain and the debates happening in the Congress. It has also enriched my understanding of both the alliance's greatest success – the American-French victory at Yorktown – and the alliance's first failure, when the Americans negotiated a separate peace treaty with Britain.

Stinchcombe, William C. *The American Revolution and the French Alliance*. Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1969.

Showing why the Americans emphasized the trade card, this book also explains that, at the beginning of the war, the Americans did not understand why France refused to immediately sign a treaty with them. The book describes the public reactions to the treaties as well as the debates over the alliance in the newspapers (Loyalists vs. Patriots), and I have used this knowledge in the “Triumph of the Alliance” page of my website.

Tudda, Chris. “‘A Messiah That Will Never Come’: A New Look at Saratoga, Independence, and Revolutionary War Diplomacy.” *Diplomatic History* 32, no. 5 (2008): 779-810. Accessed September 5, 2021. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24915960>.

In this article, Chris Tudda focuses on Britain's failed attempts at reconciliation with its American colonies, highlighting the growing gap and misunderstanding as time passed. It also gives valuable information on French diplomacy and on how the American commissioners in Paris used the threat of reconciliation with Britain after Saratoga to convince the French to sign the alliance.

Vigié, Marc. “Les traités franco-américains de 1778 ou la diplomatie du tabac.” [“The Franco-American Treaties of 1778, or Tobacco Diplomacy.”] *Inflexions* 41, no. 2 (2019): 27-34. <https://doi.org/10.3917/infle.041.0027>

This article demonstrates the big differences between the French and the Americans at the time of the American Revolution. It also highlights the *King Tobacco Diplomacy*, showing that economic considerations were always at the back of the French diplomats' minds. It underlines that this tobacco diplomacy was a failure because just a few years after the Treaty of Paris ending the war in 1783, most of the transatlantic trade went back to Britain, in particular tobacco.