Introduction

This addendum is centered on a Revolutionary War earthen fortification on Vernon Avenue in Middletown, Rhode Island, mistakenly associated with the British occupation, Siege of Newport and misidentified as Green End Fort / Card’s Redoubt (Figure 1). The fort was actually constructed by the French after the arrival of the Comte de Rochambeau in 1780.

In December 1776, the British army took control of Newport, Rhode Island.¹ They would occupy the city and all of Aquidneck Island for nearly three years, devastating the local economy, built environment, and landscape. In August 1778, in a joint effort to retake the island, American and French forces descended on Narragansett Bay. To hold Newport, the

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British established a line of trenches and defensive works along the high ground in Middletown, west of Bailey’s Brook and Easton’s Pond. Ultimately, the Americans’ attempt was in vain, as news of British reinforcements left them with no choice but to retreat. It would be another year before the British finally abandoned the city. In October 1779, they set fire to their barracks, ruined their fortifications, and sailed away.

The following July, French forces under the command of Comte de Rochambeau arrived and began to rebuild Newport. The locals, who had initially been leery of the French, were smitten. Not only did they use their time on the island to rest and prepare for the fight ahead, but the French helped the city to recover. They repaired damaged houses to use as barracks, paid for goods and services in gold and silver coin, and rebuilt the island’s ruined fortifications. The act of rebuilding these defensive works resulted in both the repair of the existing fortifications and the addition of several new redoubts and batteries within those lines. During this productive year, the renovated fortifications never saw action - nor would they ever. By war’s end, intact forts along Newport’s outer line existed simply due to French involvement and the lack of action during this period. This raises the questions: which forts were English, merely repaired by the French, and which were newly built French forts? The following study is an effort to sort out the origin of Revolutionary War era forts built along Newport’s outer line, starting with the most intact example, the fort on Vernon Avenue.

**Preservation & Misidentification**

In the latter half of the 19th Century, there was a renewed interest in the founding of the Nation. This motivated groups throughout the country to commemorate past events and save historic sites. Aquidneck Island was no different. In 1894, the redoubt on Vernon Avenue in
Middletown, situated amidst farmland, high on Bliss Hill, became part of this trend. A group of wealthy and prominent Rhode Islanders, including William Watts Sherman, John Nicholas Brown, Harold Brown, Francis S. Barker and Stephen P. Barker, acquired the parcel to ensure its continued preservation. Two years later, it was included in Edward Field’s *Revolutionary Defenses in Rhode Island*, where it was identified as the fort at Green End and described as having been built by British forces. Eventually, the property was deeded to the Newport Historical Society (NHS), who (following Field’s example) listed it on a map of British-built Revolutionary War forts. After a celebration of the American use of the fort at Butt’s Hill in Portsmouth in 1923, the NHS and its president, Dr. Roderick Terry, chose to hold a similar ceremony for the opposing side, and dedicated the site on Vernon Avenue, with a stone marker (Figure 2).

Terry was a trusted and much loved local historian, leaving little reason to doubt his scholarship. By this time, it was also well established that the British had built a line of fortifications in the area and used them to defend Newport, while under siege by General John Sullivan’s forces in 1778. It made sense that this Revolutionary War era redoubt, located on Bliss Hill, would have been built by the British and with the available information at the time, there was little reason to think otherwise. Terry published an article covering the day’s festivities and history of the fort in an October 1924 issue of the Newport Historical Society’s *Bulletin of Newport History*. This article reinforced the idea that the fort existed during the Siege of Newport, a belief that stood uncontested for over fifty years.

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4 Terry, 3-5.
With the theory so well established, decades passed without any re-examination. Then in 1976, engineer Kenneth Walsh stumbled across an inconsistency. He was reading the diary of a British officer, Lieutenant Frederick Mackenzie, who had been stationed at Newport during the Siege. Mackenzie was a meticulous record keeper and his descriptions of the place and time are considered to be very accurate. Walsh went to the redoubt on Vernon Avenue (thought to be Card’s Redoubt), looked out at the view of the valley to the east, and opened the page to a drawing Mackenzie had done of the same view (Figure 3).\(^5\) It did not line up. According to Mackenzie’s sketch, if one stood on Bliss Hill and looked east toward Honeyman Hill, Green End Avenue should have been to the right of Card’s Redoubt, but from where Walsh stood it was to the left. He was perplexed and decided to look further into the matter.

As he studied a map drawn by the French in 1780, it became clear that the fort he had been standing in was listed with the newer French-built forts and called Redoute de Saintonge, after the Saintonge regiment. Also on the map was a small redoubt to the north, which matched up with Mackenzie’s drawing and was listed as one of the forts originally built by the English. Reviewing historic maps of the period also revealed that the layout of the roads in this area had not changed in the 200 years since the war. If the path of the roads had not been altered, then

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6 *DFM*, 1: 373.
perhaps the fort really had been mislabeled. Walsh then put his engineering skills to use. He identified specific intersections to use as reference points, including One Mile Corner (the town line, where Broadway in Newport becomes West Main Road in Middletown), Two Mile Corner (where East Main Road meets West Main Road in Middletown), and the intersection of Bliss Road and Bliss Mine Road. With these three reference points, historic maps and geometry, it was clear that the French Redoute de Saintonge lined up with the fort on Vernon Avenue and the real Card’s Redoubt actually was sitting in someone’s backyard just north of the site.

Later that year, Walsh submitted a paper to Newport History, the same bulletin Terry’s article had appeared in. In it he revealed his findings and argued his case on the fort’s French origins.7 Despite the evidence, his theory was now up against Terry’s reputation, triggering skepticism. In 1981, Walsh ran a second article addressing these concerns and further explaining how the truth had gone unnoticed for so long.8 After all, it was not a criticism of Terry’s scholarship. His theory was based, soundly and reasonably, on the sources that were available to him in the early 1920s. The Diary of Frederick Mackenzie was published by Harvard University in 1930. Walsh’s theory rested on the fact that additional and very relevant resources, like Mackenzie’s diary and many historic maps, were now accessible.

**Methodology**

Building on Walsh’s 1976 study, the following analysis will aim to answer three main questions:

1) Is the redoubt on Vernon Avenue the British *Card’s* (aka *Green End*) *Redoubt*?

2) If it is not *Card’s Redoubt*, is it some other British-built redoubt?

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3) If not British, is it the French *Redoute de Saintonge*, built under Rochambeau in 1780?

To answer these fully, a series of Revolutionary War era maps from the Clements Library at the University of Michigan and the Library of Congress will be closely examined. These maps are absolutely indispensable to anyone studying Aquidneck Island during the Revolutionary era and especially actions by the British and French stationed here. Evaluation of the maps will be focused on three main points:

1) Where is Card’s Redoubt situated in relation to Green End Avenue?

2) What does the map show on the Vernon Avenue site?

3) On the maps that do show a fort at the site, how is it labeled in the legend?

**Evidence & Analysis**

**Pre Revolution & British Occupation**

British cartographer Charles Blaskowitz created some of the most recognizable maps of colonial Newport and Aquidneck Island. In his “Plan of Rhode Island,” created some time after 1770, we see the Bliss Hill area as it looked before the British occupation, with open fields and only a few nearby houses.⁹ Newport was in no way fortified along its northern border with Middletown prior to the war (Figure 4).

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Figure 4 The Vernon Avenue area, after 1770 and before the British occupation, in Blaskowitz’s “Plan of Rhode Island.”

Figure 5 A detailed look at the Bliss Hill area in Capt. Edward Fage’s “Plan of Rhode Island” (left) and the signature block for the same map (right).

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10 Blaskowitz in Pedley, 156, Plate 6.
Several years later, Capt. Edward Fage of the Royal Artillery began drawing his own “Plan of Rhode Island” (Figure 5). Similar to the Blaskowitz map, Fage’s attempt is different in that it reflects the impact of the British occupation on the local landscape, with lines of trenches and redoubts labeled across the island. The completed version depicts the area during the years 1777 through 1779. The outer line of defenses built by the British on Bliss Hill can easily be seen on this map and Card’s Redoubt is clearly located north of the currently empty Vernon Avenue area.

Fage also produced a “Plan of the Works,” drawn over the same three-year period (Figure 6). He focused on the outer and inner lines of defense around Newport, present during the Siege or constructed in the months that followed. Throughout the map Fage labeled redoubts, forts and batteries in great detail, including the name of each work and the number of guns it held. His position as an officer in the Royal Artillery lends credibility to these details. Once again, Card’s Redoubt is seen to the left of Green End Ave. and the Vernon Ave. area is an open field with a seven-gun battery behind it (Figure 6). The existence of this battery makes the Vernon Ave. site an unlikely place for a redoubt.

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13 Edward Fage, Plan of the works, which form the exterior line of defence, for the town of New-Port in Rhode Island : Also of the batteries and approaches made by the rebels on Hoomans Hill during their attack in August 1778 / This plan surveyed and drawn by Edward Fage, lieutt of artillery, November 1778. 1778. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
The “Plan of the town and environs of Newport, Rhode Island / Exhibiting its defenses” drawn for the British Army by their Commanding Engineer, Abraham D’Aubant, is of particular importance. It indicates which fortifications were in place during and after the Siege, and “…the works proposed to be erected on the present year 1779.” Card’s Redoubt, resting north of Green End Ave, is clearly marked as one of the forts “…performed before the 8th of August 1778” (Figure 7 & 8). There is also absolutely no sign of any kind of defensive work in the

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15 Abraham D’Aubant, *Plan of the town and environs of Newport, Rhode Island / Exhibiting its defenses formed before the 8th of August 1778 when the French fleet engaged and passed the batteries, the course of the French fleet up the harbor, the rebel attack and such defensive works as were erected since that day until the 29th of August when the siege was raised; also the works proposed to be erected in the present year 1779*. 1779. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
Vernon Ave. area, not even one in the planning stages (Figure 8). The absence of a fortification at this site, on this map, is crucial in ruling out a British origin for the fort on Vernon Avenue. As the army’s engineer, it would be D’Aubant’s responsibility to create the map that the British Army would have relied on to plan and execute the building of the island’s defenses. If it was not even listed as a proposed fort, it is highly unlikely that the British ever constructed it (Figure 8 & 9). In the fall of 1778, British and Hessian troops spent a great deal of time repairing and expanding their defenses but the winter of 1779 would be unforgiving. The British garrison at Newport suffered from dwindling supplies, illness, and a substantial decrease in troop numbers. By Spring it was clear that the war was shifting to the south and that they would likely not be in Rhode Island much longer. Newport was well fortified at this point and expanding its defenses further, beyond what had already been carried out or planned for, made little sense. When taken alone, the D’Aubant map suggests that the British did not build or propose the fort on Vernon Avenue, and when one adds in Fage’s maps and Mackenzie’s diary, the evidence is mounting.

![Figure 7 The legend as seen on the D'Aubant map.]

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Figure 8 A close-up of the frontlines on Commanding Engineer D’Aubant’s map shows the Vernon Avenue area has no existing or planned construction. The red “o” is a planned redoubt but is still too far away to be the fort on Vernon Avenue. Card’s Redoubt is again located to the left of Green End Avenue.\textsuperscript{17}

Figure 9 Works proposed but not yet built by the British, as seen on the D’Aubant map.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17} D’Aubant, 1779. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
\textsuperscript{18} D’Aubant, 1779. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
Although d’Estaing and his fleet had a short-lived involvement in the Siege, the French produced a map, drawn by Capitaine Michel du Chesnoy, during the August 1778 campaign (Figure 10). In it the position of troops, vessels, and fortifications can be seen. It is not nearly as detailed as the Fage or D’Aubant maps but it proves that even maps drawn by the opposing side do not depict a fort in the Vernon Avenue area. It does include the line of trenches and batteries to the west and shows Card’s Redoubt north of Green End Ave.

Figure 10 Map of Aquidneck Island drawn by French forces under Admiral d’Estaing in August 1778 (above) and a close up of the same map (left). Here the British Fortifications can be seen in the Bliss Hill area. The red square with a white box around it is Card’s Redoubt.

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19 Capitaine Michel du Chesnoy, *Plan de Rhode Islande, les differentes operations de la flotte françoise et des trouppes Américaines commandees par le major général Sullivan contre les forces de terre et de mer des Anglois depuis le 9 Aout jusqu’a la nuit du 30 au 31 du même mois que les Américains ont fait leur retraite 1778. 1778.* Library of Congress.

Through five maps created over nearly a decade, by four individuals (including one on the Franco-American side), there is no evidence to suggest that the fort on Vernon Avenue was the original Card’s Redoubt or some other British fort. Fage, D’Auban, Chesnoy and Mackenzie all believed that Card’s Redoubt / Green End Fort was located further north than where the fort on Vernon Avenue stands today. They all placed it to the left of Green End Avenue, when looking out at Honeyman Hill to the east. Further still, the ruins of a redoubt can be found a block north of today’s Vernon Avenue in the backyard of a private home, long referred to as “Old Fort Farm.” The location of this fortification matches up with the position that all three mapmakers and Mackenzie placed Card’s Redoubt in. The existence of this physical evidence helps to further validate the accuracy of the contemporary maps and the landmarks they document.

Ruling out Card’s Redoubt is a huge step in proving the fort’s provenance but could it have been a different British fort? On every map from before or during the British occupation, the Vernon Avenue area was completely empty. From D’Aubant’s work, we also know that the British documented not only the completed forts but the proposed ones as well, and that nothing had been planned for the site in question. Supporting this idea is the placement of the seven-gun battery within the trench works to the west. Since all British forts would have been firing at Honeyman Hill to the east, the Vernon Avenue area would have been directly in front of the seven-gun battery’s path, making it a hazardous position for a fortification.

If the real Card’s Redoubt was actually north of this site altogether, and contemporary sources place no existing or proposed fort in the Vernon Avenue area in the 1770s, then the fort on Vernon Avenue was likely not built by the British. Since the French spent much time renovating and expanding the British frontlines in the early 1780s, it is likely that any additions
that cannot be attributed to the British occupation could have been built under Rochambeau. The following paragraphs will address this theory.

The French in Newport

The British had abandoned Newport in October 1779. Before leaving they had laid ruin to their fortifications and burned their barracks, so as nothing would be left for the enemy’s use. Less than a year later, in July 1780, the Comte de Rochambeau arrived off Newport with a French expeditionary force.\textsuperscript{21} With little in the way of defenses, Rochambeau needed all the help he could get. The crossing had been hard on his men and a large portion of them were ill and needed time to convalesce.\textsuperscript{22} With a shortage of able-bodied men and fearing a British attack, Rochambeau requested the calling up of local militias to help fortify the island.\textsuperscript{23} After nearly 4,000 militiamen answered the call, roughly half stayed on under Lafayette to begin work on the island’s defenses, and the French would continue to rebuild and expand the works into the fall.\textsuperscript{24} They worked on both coastal fortifications and the outer line on Middletown’s Bliss Hill, where the British had previously been entrenched during the Siege.

After the completion of this work several maps were created by the French, the \textit{Plan de la position de l’armée Françoise autour de Newport}, by an unidentified creator, and the \textit{Plan de la ville, rade, et environs de Newport en Rode Island}, drawn by the Comte de Maulevrier

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{23} Lafayette, 3: 107, Lafayette to Washington, 26 July 1780.
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Edouard Charles Victurnien Colbert (Figures 11-14). On both maps, the fortifications are depicted in great detail, with each fort given a number to its corresponding name in the maps’ legends. Seven formerly British fortifications along the outer line of defenses can be seen, repaired and renamed. These seven forts were categorized in the legends as “Anciens ouvrages construits par les Anglois et repares par les Francois” or “Ancient works built by the English and repaired by the French.” Interestingly, Card’s Redoubt (#28 on both maps) is among these repaired works and the French renamed it “Fleche ruinée par Sullivan,” which roughly translates to the “fort ruined by Sullivan.”

Figure 11 The Colbert map created during Rochambeau’s time in Newport.

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Six brand new French forts were also added to the outer lines on Bliss Hill. In the area south of Card’s Redoubt, where today’s fort on Vernon Avenue stands, one of these new French redoubts can be seen (Figure 13). Labeled #6 on both maps, it was listed among the “Ouvrages neufs construits par les Francois” or “new constructions built by the French.” According to the maps, it appears that some of these new French forts were named for French regiments stationed at Newport. On the Colbert map, #6 is called “Redoute St. Orige” and on the Plan de la position de l’armée Françoise autour de Newport, it is the “Redoute de Saintonge” (Figures 11 – 14). Likely, the spelling on the Colbert map was just an abbreviation for the same name. Since the Saintonge regiment was in fact one that arrived with Rochambeau, the name makes sense.

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Figure 13 The “Plan de la position de l'armée Françoise autour de Newport” with French forts marked in blue and British forts marked in red, based on the information provided in the map's legend. Again #6 is the Redoute de Saintonge and #28 is Card’s Redoubt.29

Figure 14 A portion of the legend from the “Plan de la position de l'armée Françoise autour de Newport.” The fort labeled #6 clearly reads “Redoute de Saintonge.”30

Through all the maps that were studied, those created under Rochambeau are the only ones to document some type of earthen fortification on the Vernon Avenue site. Both of these maps list it as a newly built French fort, named the Redoute de Saintonge / Redoute St. Orige. The lack of evidence pointing toward a British origin and the two sources documenting a French fort on the site make the Redoute de Saintonge the mostly likely candidate to be today’s fort on Vernon Avenue. Further still, the position of Saintonge in relation to the repaired Card’s Redoubt corresponds when compared with the fort on Vernon Avenue in relation to the relic at “Old Fort Farm.” When a present day street map is laid over the Colbert map, #6 (Saintonge) lands perfectly along Vernon Avenue and #28 (Card’s Redoubt) falls just north of there, in the backyard of “Old Fort Farm” (Figures 15 & 16).

![Figure 15 A close up of the French map shows the Redoute de Saintonge (#6) at Vernon Avenue and Card’s Redoubt (#28) just north of today’s Miantonomi Avenue.]

Figure 16 The Colbert map was superimposed on the Middletown street map by Rita Lavoie, the Principal Planner and GIS Manager for the town of Middletown, so that the locations of the redoubts could be easily recognized.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{31} Colbert, 1783. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.
Conclusion

Through the analysis of seven historic maps and Mackenzie’s diary, it is clear that the fort on Vernon Avenue has long been misidentified. The location of Card’s Redoubt in relation to Green End Avenue, the absence of any fortifications in the Vernon Avenue area on all maps created prior to or during the British occupation, a fortification’s presence in this area on both French maps made in the 1780s, and its listing as a newly built French fort called the Redoute de Saintonge, all point to one answer. Based on all of the reviewed evidence it is clear that the fort on Vernon Avenue is not the British-built Card’s Redoubt / Green End Fort or another British fort, but was instead built by the French and named the Redoute de Saintonge for the Saintonge regiment that accompanied Rochambeau to Newport in 1780.
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