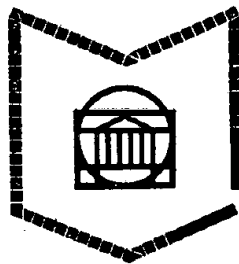


Guide to the Microfilm Edition of
The Lee Family Papers, 1742-1795

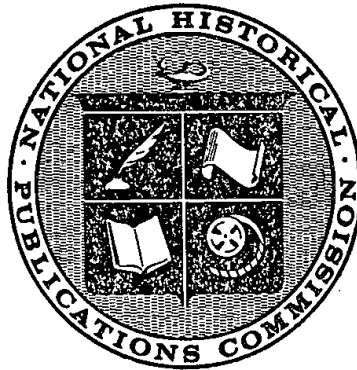
Paul P. Hoffman, *Editor*

John L. Molyneaux, *Assistant Editor*



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"The family of Lee . . . has more men
of merit in it than any other family."

John Adams to Samuel Cooper
February 28, 1779

Contents

Preface	5
General Introduction	7
The Lee Family of Virginia	11
Chronologies	17
A Brief Account of the Lee Family Papers	21
Bibliographical Note	25
Editorial Procedure	27
Roll Notes	33
List of Major Correspondents	47

Preface

The collection which is here presented as *The Lee Family Papers, 1742-1795*, would not have been possible without the co-operation of several institutions and of numerous people. The project, sponsored jointly by the University of Virginia Library and the National Historical Publications Commission, was made possible by a grant from the latter organization. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, and Fred Shelley, his chief assistant, have been most helpful and encouraging during every phase of the work leading to the completion of this edition on microfilm.

The editorial work at the University of Virginia has been greatly facilitated by the close support of many members of the library staff. Valuable assistance and advice has been generously proffered by John Cook Wyllie, Robert E. Stocking, and Anne Freudenberg. Professors Edward Younger and Merrill D. Peterson, of the Corcoran Department of History, have encouraged us with their continued interest in our work. Francis M. Moore, of the Department of Graphics, has worked closely with us throughout, and has designed much of this *Guide* and the layout of the film.

The other institutions to which we are grateful for allowing us to include copies of their Lee holdings are: Harvard University Library, the American Philosophical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Yale University Library, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the Library of Congress. The collection of photocopies from Harvard and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania was begun by Cazenove G. Lee, Jr., many years ago. We have augmented this material somewhat and are grateful to W. H. Bond, Librarian of the Houghton Library at Harvard, and Nicholas B. Wainwright, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, for their aid in this project.

A relatively untapped source of Lee documents belongs to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. With the very close interest and very kind co-operation of Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., the Society's Librarian, we were able to get copies of their manuscripts, together with much valuable information about the history of the Lee papers. Murphy D. Smith, Curator of Manuscripts of the Society, has also contributed freely of his time and effort in our behalf.

In New Haven, David R. Watkins and Dorothy W. Bridgewater, both of the Reference Department of the Yale University Library, have been helpful in searching out documents and providing copies of pertinent ones for us. David C. Mearns, Chief of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, and his staff have been very helpful in searching for documents and in providing us with a copy of the key to the ciphers used by the Lees during the Revolutionary War. Russell W. Fridley, Director of the Minnesota Historical Society, very kindly brought to our attention and provided us with copies of valuable documents which are a part of Minnesota's recently acquired Allyn K. Ford collection.

Our own staff have been very patient and understanding throughout the trials and tribulations of our first effort at microfilm publication. John L. Molyneaux, the assistant editor, Laurie R. Geary, editorial assistant, and Virginia W. Brinton, who joined us in the final phase of the project, have borne up admirably, and to them much of the success of this publication can be attributed.

Paul P. Hoffman, Editor

Charlottesville, Virginia
March 15, 1966

General Introduction

For most of its existence the Government of the United States of America took what may be styled as a rather casual attitude in the matter of historical manuscripts and their publication; but in the year 1934 Congress authorized the creation of the National Archives and the National Historical Publications Commission. At last the nation had the appropriate instruments to remedy the neglect of over a century since the founding of the great Republic.

President Harry S Truman became actively interested in the publication of historical source materials when, in 1950, he was presented with the first volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Julian P. Boyd at Princeton University. This was merely the beginning of a mighty work of historical editing but it fired the imagination of a president whose knowledge and appreciation of American History is profound. Less well known is Mr. Truman's interest in the history of Ancient Rome. He often lamented the destruction of the library at Alexandria and the great repositories of the Roman Empire. Perhaps this concern is what moved him to direct the National Historical Publications Commission to report a plan for making available "the public and private writings of men whose contribution to our history are now inadequately represented by published works."

The intention of the president was enacted into law in the form of the Federal Records Act of 1950, which obligated the Commission to

cooperate with and encourage appropriate Federal, State, and local agencies and nongovernmental institutions, societies, and individuals in collecting and preserving, and when it seems such action to be desirable, in editing and publishing the papers of outstanding citizens of the United States and such other documents as may be important for an understanding and appreciation of the history of the United States. . . .

This heralded the birth of a new and vital policy on the part of the Federal Government in an area long neglected. In the period of the Cold War, when we saw in other lands the distortion of history for contemporary propaganda aims, the United States gave a splendid example in making widely available the documentary sources of its past. As President Eisenhower said, in 1958, when he commended the Commission for its work,

The free world must have histories written by men in search of the truth — not by those seeking to rewrite the records of the past to their own advantage. This underlines the essential need of a broad and incorruptible supply of our nation's documentary resources.

Before 1964 the Commission had directed its main efforts towards the support of the great letterpress projects, but in that year a program was initiated to support, in addition, the publication on microfilm of the papers of prominent Americans and papers important to American history. The University of Virginia was among the first institutions to receive a grant-in-aid under this new program and work was begun in Charlottesville in June 1965 on the Lee Family Papers, the first of a planned series of projects at the University under the auspices of the Commission. Among future documentary publications under consideration are papers of or pertaining to Thomas Jefferson, Edgar Allen Poe, R.M.T. Hunter, James Barbour, Landon Carter, and Bret Harte.

The choice of *The Lee Family Papers, 1742-1795*, was a natural one, as they formed the original foundation of the now vast manuscript collection of the University of Virginia. The papers were the gift of the younger Richard Henry Lee, not long after the establishment of the University in 1819. Another primary consideration on our decision to commence with the Lee Papers was the fact that they are in constant demand. A corollary to this was concern over the wear and abuse to which the papers are necessarily subjected. Furthermore, the entire *corpus* of the Lee Family Papers, divided as they are between the University of Virginia Library, Houghton Library at Harvard, and the library of the American Philosophical Society, and lacking any proper editorial correlation, presented a for-

midable barrier to their use and considerably diminished their scholarly value. Our prime intention and chief goal has been to reassemble from diverse sources virtually all existing Lee Family manuscripts which were a part of the younger Richard Henry Lee's collection.

The collection is of fundamental importance. It not only relates to the history of a great American family, but is one of the most excellent sources for the study of the American Revolution, particularly the climate of opinion which preceded it. The papers are also interesting and valuable for the light they shed on the history of Great Britain and other European countries, as the Lees were truly cosmopolitan, well connected abroad, and perceptive in their observations. The picture emerges of a family that was energetic, intellectual, accomplished in practical skills, politically astute, ambitious, outspoken in the service of unpopular causes, successful in mundane affairs, and dedicated patriots. They were genuinely men of their century, and, in the sum of their achievements, hardly matched by any American family. As John Adams said, "The family of Lee . . . has more men of merit in it than any other family."

The major advantage in the microfilming of historical documents is that its low cost makes it possible to include all available materials; and in this project we have not excluded a single item which we were able to obtain. The high cost of letterpress publication makes it difficult to print everything and forces upon editors more rigorous criteria for selection: inevitably, some material of secondary importance remains unpublished and hence isolated in its repository. Furthermore, microfilming allows the scholar to see a facsimile of the manuscript and this must be reckoned an important factor in its favor.

We feel a deep sense of pride in being able to present, for the first time, the virtually complete body of *The Lee Family Papers, 1742-1795*. In providing this *Guide* and these eight rolls of film we have heeded the admonition of Thomas Jefferson, founder of this University, who said:

Let us preserve the records of public actions — not by vaults and locks which fence them from the public eye and

use, in consigning them to the waste of time, but by such a multiplication of copies, as shall place them beyond the reach of accident.

In this as in so many things, Jefferson was a man of vision ahead of his time. All of us at the University are privileged to work in the light of his memory and his wisdom.

The Lee Family of Virginia

In 1640 Richard Lee came to Virginia from England and became the progenitor of one of this nation's most distinguished families. Not much is definitely known of the English background, and William Lee's description of his great-grandfather as "of a good family in Shropshire" is probably as accurate a pedigree as can be firmly established. The names of his parents have not passed down and little is known of his wife; even the circumstances of his emigration must remain a mystery.

RICHARD LEE, *the emigrant*

Richard Lee had little trouble establishing himself in the new land, and soon became one of Virginia's most prominent men. A few months after his arrival he became Clerk of the Quarter Court, and in 1643 he became the first attorney-general of Virginia. Political office, though important in the life of Richard Lee, appears to have been his secondary concern — his primary purpose was the acquisition of land and wealth. In 1642 he acquired and settled on an hundred and fifty acre plot which he called "Paradise," and, in the method of the day, soon expanded it to one thousand five hundred acres with the head-rights of indentured servants. That Lee had some wealth when he arrived in Virginia is certain and is evidenced by his purchase of the indentures of seventeen servants at once in 1642.

Political recognition came quickly to Lee, and by mid-decade he was firmly ensconced as the Royal Governor's (Sir William Berkeley) chief aide. His unswerving loyalty to King Charles I qualified him well, in Berkeley's eyes, for the highest position of trust. His advancement continued rapidly; by 1646 he was sheriff of York county and by 1647 Burgess of that county. His appointment, in 1649, as secretary of state, elevated him, politically at least, to the second most prominent position in Virginia. In 1651 he received the prime distinction in

the colony, appointment to the King's Council, an honor which was to pass down to each succeeding generation of the Lee family until the Council's extinction in 1776.

Virginia's eventual recognition of Oliver Cromwell interrupted Richard Lee's career of public service for almost a decade. He did not, however, allow this time to pass unbene-
ficially, and Lee's efforts shifted to the expansion of his land-
holdings. During this period he founded the great bulk of the
empire which made him, at his death, the largest landholder
in Virginia. Employing the same means, the head-rights of
indentured servants, he established Lee Hall, Ditchley, Cobb's
Hall, Mount Pleasant, and Blenheim, which was to become the
seat of the Maryland Lees. Despite their disdain, the later
generations of Lees benefited greatly from the Cromwellian in-
terlude.

During this same period, Lee acquired an estate in Eng-
land near London, but the exact date and circumstances of the
acquisition are unknown. By 1659 it appears that he intended
to settle there and he moved his wife and eight children to
England. With the Restoration of Charles II, in May 1660, his
prospects improved greatly in America and he abandoned his
plan and moved his household back to Virginia. Berkeley was
reappointed as Royal Governor, and Lee regained his seat on
the Council. He did not, however, assume his old post of secre-
tary of state, probably due to his advanced age. In 1662 he
traveled for the last time to England, but returned shortly to
spend his last two years of life in his Cobb's Hall estate at
Dividing Creek.

Unfortunately little is known of the thoughts and charac-
ter of Richard Lee, and very few of his papers remain. He kept
no diaries nor did he write any sort of memoir. When he died
his wealth and properties passed to his eldest son John who had
been educated as a physician at Oxford. John Lee returned to
Virginia to manage the estate, and served as high sheriff and
burgess of Westmoreland County. His tenure was short, though,
and in 1673 he died unmarried at the age of twenty-eight.
Richard Lee, *the younger*, fell heir to the estate, and carried
on the line.

RICHARD LEE, *the younger* (1647-1715)

The second Richard Lee had none of the vitality nor drive of his father. He was very serious, sedate, and taciturn; he has even been portrayed as "melancholy." At Oxford he developed a taste for literature, mostly theological, which persisted throughout his life, and he established one of the finest libraries in Virginia. He married, advantageously, the daughter of another great Virginia family, Laetitia Corbin, and they lived at the Mount Pleasant estate.

He held the traditional political offices of a member of the landed gentry: burgess, naval officer, receiver of duties on the Potomac River, and Colonel of the Westmoreland militia. Like his father he was a member of the Council, but his record in it is undistinguished as is the case with his other offices. Richard Lee, *the younger*, was an even more ardent Royalist than his father, and he believed fervently in the divine right of kings. In fact, Lee's greatest distinguishing act was his continued support of James II even after the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

In this stand he was even out of step with the conservative planter aristocracy, and for absolutely refusing to swear allegiance to William and Mary, he was removed from his seat in Council. He eventually yielded on this point and regained his seat, but he appears to have always looked upon James II as the lawful King of England. He naturally opposed Bacon's Rebellion, but his high Toryism led him to be the first Virginian to cooperate with the Fairfax family which held the Northern Neck Proprietary in feudal tenure. Despite his peculiar stands and causes, Richard Lee was respected by his fellow Virginians. He died in 1715 leaving behind him seven children. Of the family fortune and Richard Lee, *the younger*, no more can be said than that he maintained intact the Lee patrimony but did not enhance it in any way.

THOMAS LEE, *the empire builder* (1690-1750)

Thomas Lee, although the most significant member of this generation, did not follow the general pattern of the Virginia planter caste. He was not a first son, but a fifth, and consequently his inheritance was small. As a younger son he received no fine education. He realized that his lack of knowledge of Latin

and Greek would hinder his advancement to high position, so he undertook the study of these on his own, and gained, in the words of his son, William, "some adeptness."

With Thomas Lee there emerges a new pattern of thinking. No longer does there seem to be conflict of interest between England and America, and Thomas, unlike his two direct predecessors was not a transplanted Englishman who looked upon the mother country as home. As a younger son with only a paltry inheritance, he realized that he must make his name and fortune on this continent. There can be no question but that Lee had one of the most farseeing minds of his day, and it has been passed down that he envisioned America as an independent nation early in his century.

Richard Lee III, oldest son and principal heir, chose to remain in England when his father died, and none of the other three older sons appeared to be particularly interested in the vast Lee domains. Thomas was able to lease the Mount Pleasant estate from his brother, the owner, and to cultivate it. It was not, though, on the Lee lands where he got his start, but rather on the Northern Neck Proprietary which now belonged to Lady Fairfax. It is ironic that his father's unpopular act of recognizing the Fairfax domains should prove of such benefit to his son. In 1713 Thomas Lee assumed the agency of the Fairfax lands which consisted of five million acres, replacing Robert ("King") Carter with whom Lady Fairfax was displeased. In this capacity he served for a number of years during which he purchased several properties. Eventually he was granted eight fine estates on the Fairfax proprietary, but, to his credit, not while he held the agency.

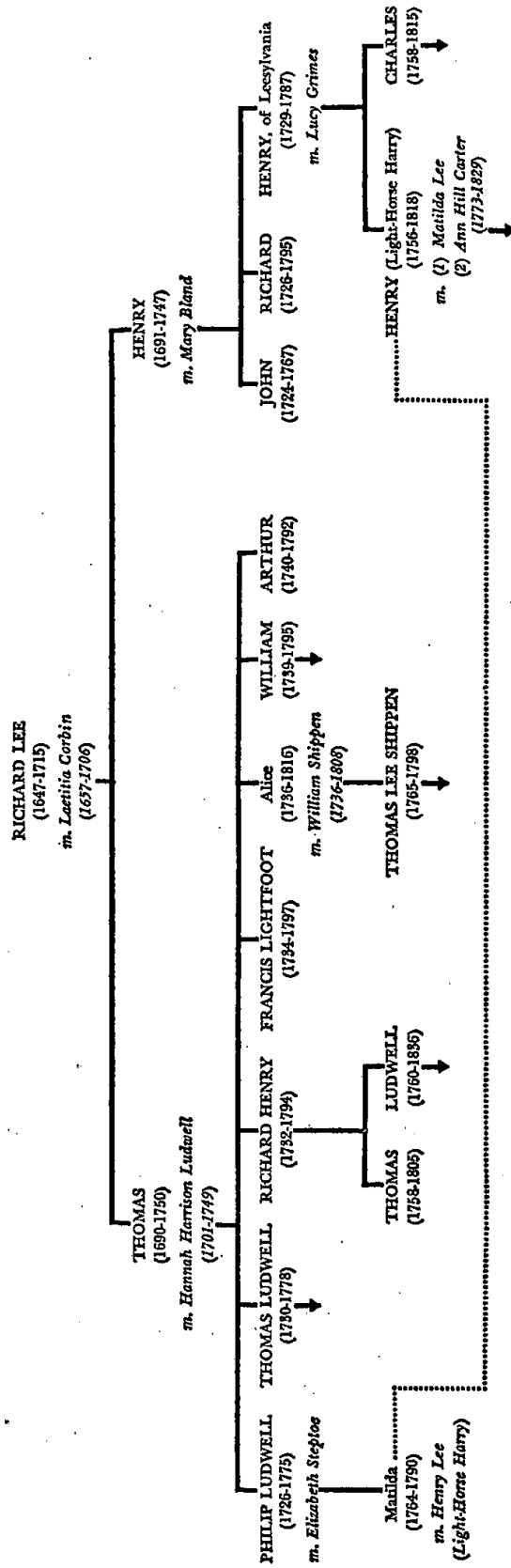
In 1717 Lee bought the land on which his seat "Stratford" was to be built, and in 1722 he married Hannah Harrison Ludwell, a liasion which was to prove, as most Lee marriages did, eugenically beneficial. A few years after their marriage Lee began building his home, which was named after the setting of his grandfather's English estate "Strat-by-the-ford," and by 1730 the family had occupied it. In "Stratford" Thomas and Hannah set about the serious task of rearing a family which was to considerably alter the course of history. By this time Thomas was well established as one of the leading men in Virginia. He had succeeded his father as Naval Officer of the Potomac, and

in 1732 he was appointed to the vacancy in the King's Council created by the death of "King" Carter.

Probably as a result of his experiences on the vast Fairfax lands, Lee had developed a great interest in the potentials of the land to the west of the mountains. He looked upon the French as "intruders into this America," and was anxious to settle that area. The French were not the only obstacle since the Iroquois Indians inhabited and actually owned the area. In 1744 Lee had the opportunity to alter this situation, and in that year he went to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as diplomat-in-chief to treat with the Six Nations. Under his leadership, the Treaty of Lancaster was signed transferring title to the Indian's ancestral lands west of the "Great Mountains" to Virginia. It was on this treaty that Great Britain was to base most of her claim to what came to be known as the Northwest Territory.

Lee was not satisfied with just a title to the area; to him possession meant settlement. In 1748 he organized the first Ohio Company with the prime purpose of displacing the French from the Northwest by settling it. He would have preferred to settle the territory with Anglo-Saxons, but since they were not arriving quickly enough to suit him, he advocated encouraging the emigration of German Protestants to populate the area. It was Thomas Lee's concept of the west and its development that placed him ahead of his peers. Unfortunately, there have been no close studies of these concepts and plans, but if there ever are, Thomas Lee will rise to his rightful position among the highest order of colonial thinkers.

Late in life Lee was to receive several more honors. In 1748 he became President of the Council, and when Governor Gooch was recalled to England in the fall of 1749, he was appointed acting governor. In this position his power was truly regal, and he enjoyed the grand title of Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia. He styled himself, in his official correspondence, the "President of Virginia." He died in 1750 the most powerful and one of the richest men in Virginia. His eldest son Philip Ludwell Lee became his principal heir. It is the children of Thomas Lee with which this publication is primarily concerned, and their stories are told in their papers which occupy the eight rolls of microfilm accompanying this *Guide*.



Genealogy of the principal members of THE LEE FAMILY OF VIRGINIA from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries

Chronologies

ARTHUR LEE

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| 1740, 20 December | born, Stratford Hall, Virginia. |
| 1751-1759 | in England at school (Eton). |
| 1759-1760 | in Virginia. |
| 1760, December | in Britain, University of Edinburgh, to study medicine. |
| 1764, September | receives M.D. degree. |
| 1765-1766 | travels in England, Germany, and Holland, returns to Virginia and practices medicine in Williamsburg. |
| 1768 | settles in London. |
| 1770-1774 | studies Law at the Middle Temple, London. |
| 1770 | his letters of "Junius Americanus" published in London.
He is made assistant to Benjamin Franklin, who becomes Massachusetts Bay's agent in London. |
| 1775, March | becomes sole agent for Massachusetts Bay. |
| 1775, April | called to the Bar in London. |
| 1775, November 30 | chosen as secret agent in London for Continental Congress Committee of Secret Correspondence (later Committee on Foreign Affairs). |

- 1776, October appointed to American Commission in France with Benjamin Franklin and Siles Deane.
- 1777, January-April in Spain (Burgos, Vitoria), negotiating for supplies for America. (Appointed sole commissioner to Spain, succeeding Franklin, while on this journey.)
- 1777, May 15-August in Berlin to negotiate for supplies and support for America.
- 1779, Autumn recalled by Congress.
- 1780, September arrived in America.
- 1781-1782 delegate to Virginia Assembly.
- 1782-1785 delegate to General Congress from Virginia.
- 1784-1789 served as a Commissioner of the Treasury.
- 1786 worked on revision of Virginia Laws.
- 1792, December 12 died at his home, "Lansdowne," Middlesex County, Virginia.

RICHARD HENRY LEE

- 1732, January 20 Born, Stratford Hall, Virginia.
- 1743-1752 Studied at Wakefield Academy, England.
- 1757, December 3 Married Anne Aylett, of Westmoreland County, Virginia.
- 1758-1776 Served in Virginia House of Burgesses.
- 1763 Instrumental in founding the "Mississippi Company."
- 1766, February 27 Signer of the "Westmoreland Resolutions" against the Stamp Act.
- 1768, December 12 First wife died (by her Lee had four children).

- 1769, June or July Married Anne Gaskins Pinckard (by her Lee had five children).
- 1774-1779 Delegate to Continental Congress from Virginia; served on Secret Committee of Correspondence (later Committee of Foreign Affairs).
- 1776, June 7 Introduced resolution for American Independence into Congress.
- 1780-1784 Member of Virginia House of Delegates.
- 1784-1787 Delegate to General Congress from Virginia.
- 1784-1786 President of American Congress.
- 1789-1792 Senator from Virginia; proposed Tenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- 1794, June 19 Died at his home, "Chantilly," Westmoreland County, Virginia.

WILLIAM LEE

- 1739, August 31 born, Stratford Hall, Virginia.
- 1761-1763 in England.
- 1763 becomes secretary to the "Mississippi Company."
- 1763-1766 made a trip to Barbados in this period.
- 1766, February 27 signer of the "Westmoreland Resolutions" against the Stamp Act.
- 1768 settles in London, becomes involved in mercantile pursuits.
- 1769, March 7 married Hannah Philippa Ludwell of London, his first cousin.
- 1769-1770 with firm of DeBerdt and Sayre: then on his own.
- 1773, July 3 elected a Sheriff of London.

- 1774, October stood as candidate for Alderman from Southwark: defeated.
- 1775, May 23 elected Alderman of London from Aldgate ward.
- 1777 appointed American Commercial Agent at Nantes, France, but was never able to exercise the office effectively because of dissension among American Commissioners in Paris.
- 1778, Spring went to Germany as Commissioner to Courts of Berlin and Vienna, but was not received at either due to war conditions in central Europe; settled in Frankfurt.
- 1778, September negotiates and signs an unauthorized treaty with the Dutch. Treaty became a *casus belli* between Britain and Holland when captured with Henry Laurens in October 1780.
- 1779 recalled by Congress, and settled in Brussels.
- 1780 resigned as Alderman of London.
- 1783, June 30 sailed from Ostend for Virginia; arrived 25 September.
- 1784, August 18 his wife dies in Ostend (there were five children by this marriage).
- 1795, June 27 died at his home, "Greenspring," James City County, Virginia.

A Brief Account of the Lee Family Papers

The Lee Family Papers descended intact to Richard Henry Lee (1794-1865), grandson of Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794) and grandnephew of Arthur and William Lee. The younger R. H. Lee utilized the papers to write lives of his grandfather (1825) and his granduncle Arthur (1829). Lee was also concerned with the preservation of these valuable papers, and took steps in that direction. He presented a quantity of letters to the American Philosophical Society on 17 June 1825; on 24 July 1827 he presented another series of papers, bound in eight volumes, to the Harvard College Library; and sometime between 1826 and 1835, he presented the balance of the papers to the University of Virginia. The papers at Harvard have often been described as those of Arthur Lee, and indeed most of the papers there are in some way connected with him. The papers at the American Philosophical Society contain almost exclusively letters to and from Richard Henry Lee. Unfortunately for this neat division, the papers at the University of Virginia contain important papers of both Arthur and Richard Henry Lee, cannot be designated the papers of either, and deny the completeness of the other two collections. On the whole, the younger R. H. Lee's distribution of his family's papers was unfortunate; despite a little effort at a systematic distribution (with Harvard and the Philosophical Society), he managed to render each collection incoherent without reference to the others.

The papers deposited at Harvard and the Philosophical Society have no particular history after their acquisition by those institutions. Carefully preserved and guarded, their existence was undisturbed and happy, as is the existence of those proverbial people who have no history. It was a different story

at the University of Virginia. There, for some inexplicable reason, the papers led a precarious existence for some eighty years before adequate care was given them. Their very advent is shrouded in mystery. A belief has grown up that the University of Virginia Lee papers were acquired for the University by Thomas Jefferson, whose hand may be seen or imagined behind so many things in Charlottesville. From his correspondence, however, it is apparent that Jefferson had nothing to do with the acquisition; given his feelings about the disposal of private papers, it is likely he would have made explicit mention of them. On 25 November 1825, while Rector of the University, he wrote to R. H. Lee:

You have set . . . an excellent example in depositing his [R. H. Lee's] valuable correspondence with the A. Ph. society. it is most important that this example should be generally followed; for the true history of the revoln . . . can never be truly known until those hoards of private correspondence be given to the public.

Expressing the same sentiments in letters to John Vaughan, librarian of the Philosophical Society (16 September 1825), and James W. Wallace (26 October 1825), Jefferson never mentions such a desirable acquisition. In a letter to John Vaughan of 11 August 1836, R. H. Lee refers to the Lee papers at the University of Virginia, which had been there, as may be inferred, since some indeterminate time before the autumn of 1835. It seems likely the University received its portion of the papers about the time Lee's *Life of Arthur Lee* was published in 1829.

The letter last noted — R. H. Lee to John Vaughan, 11 August 1836 — mentions an effort by Lee to retrieve his family's papers from the University. After commending the Philosophical Society on the care of its Lee papers, he indicates he would like to add the Charlottesville material to the Society's collection:

I had heard that they had been negligently kept — I wrote & requested, that they might be returned to me; but the Board of Visitors looked upon them as a *gift* to that Institution, & earnestly remonstrated against returning them. If

. . . you think it worth while to apply to them [again], I will second the application, for I should be happy to see them in *your hands*.

Lee's apprehension over the care received by the documents was well-founded, as will be seen.

The University had a hard time holding on to the collection. During the Civil War the papers were looted (by partisans of both sides) and a number of important documents disappeared, notably some letters from George Washington. It is probable that many of the letters to and from Richard Henry Lee now in the Washington and Jefferson papers in the Library of Congress found their way thence from the papers at the University of Virginia. In 1881 the University nearly lost the papers by subversion from within. A member of the faculty suggested that the Lee Papers be sold to the Library of Congress, the proceeds being placed in a Richard Henry Lee Memorial book fund for the library. When this suggestion was adopted by the faculty, the Board of Visitors, to their great credit, quickly overruled such a sale, expressing their belief in the value of the papers to the archives of the University.¹

Through the nineteenth century, the papers were kept in sacks in the University library, and were lent to people who wished to make use of them. One fortunate result of this otherwise deplorable method of preservation and use was that at the time of the fire which destroyed the Rotunda (and the library) of the University in October 1895, the Lee papers were out on loan. In 1913 the bohemian life of the documents ended with the purchase of a special case to house the Lee material and other manuscript items in the library's growing research collection.²

Since 1913, the papers at the University of Virginia have been carefully preserved and, when possible, expanded. In 1939 photostats of the Lee material at Harvard were added to Virginia's originals through the generosity of Cazenove G. Lee, Jr. Through her deep interest in Arthur Lee, Miss Jessie Fraser has added numerous photostats to the collection.

1. H. Clemons, *The University of Virginia Library 1825-1950: Story of a Jefferson Foundation* (Charlottesville, 1954), 48-49.

2. Clemons, 81.

Although, as presented in this microfilm edition, the Lee papers contain rather more material than they did when Richard Henry Lee began their dispersal in 1825, it has been impossible to regain that pristine condition. The value of the somewhat enlarged collection will be obvious to anyone familiar with the stature and position of the men who created it.

Bibliographical Note

The papers of practically all Revolutionary War leaders contain Lee letters: the Benjamin Franklin papers at the American Philosophical Society, and the William Shippen, Jr., papers in the Library of Congress, are particularly rich in them. Most items which can truly be called "Lee Family Papers" have been presented in this edition with a few notable exceptions. The Virginia Historical Society and the Virginia State Library, both in Richmond, Virginia, have fine Lee collections which we have not included. Duke University Library also has some pertinent items in the Charles Campbell Papers, including the ledgers of Philip Ludwell Lee from 1743 to 1783. The Robert E. Lee Memorial Foundation possesses the William Lee letter-books, which are housed in the archives of the restored Stratford Hall together with numerous other items pertaining mostly to later generations of Lees. There are many pertinent Lee items in numerous European archives that we have made no effort to obtain since they were probably not a part of the original collection. There still remain numerous items of interest in the private hands of various members of the Lee family.

It would be pointless to enumerate and locate each collection which contains Lee material. The serious student is referred to Philip M. Hamer, editor, *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), and *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*.

There have been two publications which have been based directly upon these papers and in which many of the documents have been transcribed. They are the younger Richard Henry Lee's *Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D. . . . With His Political and Literary Correspondence and his Papers on Diplomatic and Political Subjects, and the Affairs of the United States during the same period*, 2 vols. (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1829), and *Memoir of the Life of Richard Henry Lee and his correspond-*

ence with the most Distinguished Men in America and Europe, . . ., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1825). Unfortunately neither of these works live up to their grand titles; the transcriptions are inaccurate, and neither are indexed.

The letters of some of the Revolutionary Lees have been published at various times. There appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in the late 1850's a large number of Lee papers which are so poorly transcribed as to render them useless. On the other hand, *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), edited by James Curtis Ballagh, is an accurate and excellent source of material. The *Letters of William Lee, 1766-1783*, 3 vols. (Brooklyn: Historical Printing Club, 1891), edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, is still the best edition of William Lee material.

For a witty and accurate account of the Lee family and its heritage see: Cazenove Gardiner Lee, Jr., *Lee Chronicle: Studies of the Early Generations of the Lees of Virginia*, edited and compiled by Dorothy Mills Parker (New York: New York University Press, 1957). The best short account of the Lee family is Burton J. Hendrick, *The Lees of Virginia: Biography of a Family* (New York: Halcyon House, 1935). Edmund Jennings Lee's, *Lee of Virginia, 1642-1892* (Philadelphia: [Franklin Printing Company], 1895), though mostly genealogical, should not be overlooked.

Editorial Procedure

It is not the purpose of a microfilm publication to emulate the great letterpress projects, but rather to present the scholar with the documents and papers of a manuscript collection in as usable a form as possible. With this end in mind we have refrained from including annotation and cross-references almost entirely. Occasionally, where confusion was deemed likely to occur, a target of explanation has been included. On other occasions, when an individual document of particular interest or with a history of its own has occurred, a note of explanation is presented. In certain cases where a date ascribed to an item is not included in nor obvious from the text, a target explaining the logic by which the date was assigned is included. With these few exceptions, editorial comment has been limited to an explanation of the actual arrangement of the material.

A simple chronological series has been chosen for this presentation of *The Lee Family Papers*. The younger Richard Henry Lee, in the early nineteenth century, employed at least two arrangements other than chronological neither of which, if reconstructed, would be satisfactory today. There are several numbers on almost every document, most of them in his hand, which are extraneous to the present arrangement. Lee's ordering of the documents appears to be the sequence in which he intended to employ them in the preparation of biographies of his two illustrious forebearers: Richard Henry Lee, his grandfather, and Arthur Lee, his granduncle. In addition to these numbers, there often appear numbers of an earlier period, and still another set of later ones appear on the documents from the American Philosophical Society, referring to the pages of their bound manuscript volumes. With complete disregard to existing numeration, and in hopes of not further confusing an already muddled situation, we have provided a frame number with each document, roughly correlating to a running pagina-

tion, which begins anew on each roll of microfilm. The frame number has been added for quick reference and to facilitate indexing should such a demand ever arise.

The documents in this microfilm publication fall in one major series and four short sub-series. Both the major series and the sub-series are in chronological order with the sub-series running from the date of their earliest document. The first sub-series falls early in the first roll of microfilm, and consists of a group of bills, receipts, and bills of lading dating from 1743 to 1750. The subsequent sub-series are on the latter part of roll two, and consist of the Proceedings of the Secret Committee of the Continental Congress dating from 18 September 1775 to 10 September 1777, Papers of Robert Morris and John Ross 1776-1778, and Papers of William Brigham 1776-1787. On roll eight will be found several pamphlets which are a part of the collection, and which are included because of their high research value and their extreme rarity.

Documents known to have been enclosed with others have been placed directly behind their letters of transmittal. Translations which are a part of the collection have also been placed after the original document. All translations which have been included are believed to be contemporary; we have not undertaken the task of preparing scholarly translations. Occasionally we have included a typed transcription, when, in our judgment, it has seemed obvious that the original would be undiscernible on film. In a few cases we have included transcriptions of originals which were not at our disposal, but which have been in the collection. Such typescripts are not intended to replace the originals, and they have been included as the best available document. For the user's further convenience, when such situations occur typed cards have been placed before the first page of the first document to indicate respectively that: "Enclosure follows," "Translation follows," "Typescript follows," or that a "Transcription" only is available.

Dates supplied by the editors have been placed in square brackets, and those of an uncertain nature have been placed in square brackets with a question mark. The same procedure has been followed with names. Documents without specific dates, but which can be attributed to a given period, have been

placed after the last specifically dated item of that period in alphabetical order according to author or originator. Undated material has been placed at the end of the collection in alphabetical order.

The dates on some documents before 1752 are expressed in Old Style (the Julian Calendar) since it was not until 2 September of that year that by act 24 George II, c. 23, England and all British colonies shifted to New Style (the Gregorian Calendar). Thus, the day after 2 September 1752 became 14 September 1752. A further complication of the Old Style dating is that 25 March was considered the first day of the New Year — January, February, and most of March being considered the last months of the preceding year. We have expressed dates of this nature as follows: 24 February 1745/46, or essentially in Old Style with the 46 only referring to New Style. It must be kept in mind that almost all of Europe, except where the Orthodox Church was predominant, had shifted to New Style in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries.

The particular method of spacing employed on the film has been chosen to emulate as closely as possible the tangible documents. The first page of an item appears on the right-hand side of a frame preceded by a card identifying and dating it. Subsequent pages are centered in the frame; and the last page or endorsement will appear on the left-hand side, with the rest of the frame unoccupied. If, in editing the film, it is necessary to add frames due to omissions, the letters "A," "B," "C," . . . , will be placed after the preceding number. If it is necessary to delete frames, a target will be spliced into the film indicating the missing numbers. These expedients, though a compromise with perfection, are employed to avoid multiple refilmings and to avert the possibility of introducing new errors.

There are in existence several findings aids which we have included in the first roll of microfilm. First to appear is Justin Winsor's *Calendar of the Arthur Lee Manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: John Wilson and Son, 1882); second is the *Calendar of the Correspondence Relating to the American Revolution of . . . Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Hon. Arthur Lee, . . . , in the Library of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia:

The American Philosophical Society, 1900); third is an unpublished name index to the Lee Family Papers in the University of Virginia Library; and finally, a key to the ciphers used during the war by the Lee brothers and others, which was prepared by Edmund C. Burnett, and which the Library of Congress has been kind enough to make available to us.

We have prepared two simpler types of finding aids for the convenience of the users of microfilm: Roll Notes, and a List of Major Correspondents. The Roll Notes are essentially a subjective analysis of the contents of each roll of film, and are reproduced in this *Guide*. The List of Major Correspondents, essentially objective in nature, appears at the end of this *Guide*, and consists of an identification, within the context of the individual's rôle in the collection, of anyone who is represented by ten or more items or who is particularly significant to the collection. Unfortunately funds were not available for the preparation of a complete calendar and index at this time, so we have provided what we believe to be the next best thing. The only other aid provided is a list of pseudonyms reproduced below. On the film itself there appears a centimeter scale at the bottom of each frame making it possible for the user to determine the actual size of any document.

In short, we have tried to present the whole of *The Lee Family Papers* in a concise and usable manner. We have constantly kept the many problems of using microfilm in mind, and, in an effort to overcome as many of these as possible, have applied graphic principles wherever applicable. Hopefully we have solved some ills which many have felt were inherent in this medium of communication.

LIST OF PSEUDONYMS

Edmund Jenings <i>alias</i> :	{	John Bourgenville
		J. Clareville
		J. Clement
		Malcom Derimple
		Donald Donaldson
		Duncan Donaldson
		John Harris
		George Harrison
		Jon. Johnstone
		Donald McDonald
		Donald McGregor
		C. Townsend
		John Townsend
		Robert Williams
Arthur Lee <i>alias</i> :	{	M. Dupré
		Alexander Johnstone
		M. Johnstone
		M. Letsom
		M. Pringle
William Lee <i>alias</i> :	{	A. Lindsay
		Baron de Bach

Arthur Lee also published under the pseudonyms "Junius Americanus," and "Monitor." Richard Henry Lee published under the pseudonym "Rusticus."

Roll Notes

Only the documents of the University of Virginia have been filmed directly from the original MSS. Other institutions' holdings have been filmed from negative or positive photostats, and Xerox reproductions.

ROLL ONE: 1 January 1740—31 December 1769

Finding Aids, Key to Ciphers; Personal, Political, and Commercial Correspondence.

1743-1750

Miscellaneous Bills, Receipts, and Bills of Lading

The roll begins with the calendar of the MSS at Harvard University, compiled by Justin Winsor in 1882; the calendar of the MSS of the American Philosophical Society, which is a listing by correspondent only, with no abstracts; and an index to the correspondents in the MSS of the University of Virginia. Also included is a partial key to the ciphers used by the Lees which was compiled by Edmund C. Burnett. The documents on this roll begin with a 1672 map of Richard Lee's plantation, "Paradise," and his will, dated 1714. The first important run of MSS is a series of bills, receipts, and bills of lading dated between 1743 and 1750 concerning the commerce carried on by Henry Lee, Thomas Lee, John Lee, and Richard Lee. Between 1744 and 1750 Thomas Lee and Conrad Weiser of Pennsylvania carried on a correspondence concerned with Indian life and affairs (only the letters of Lee to Weiser appear here).

The years 1751 through 1757 are unrepresented in the collection, being the period between the death of Thomas Lee (1750) and the beginning of the political activity of his sons.

On 29 August 1759 the first letter from Adam Stephen to Richard Henry Lee appears, initiating a series that ends only in 1777, after Stephen's court-martial after the battle of Germantown. His letters discuss military events (French and Indian War, Revolutionary War) and Western lands. There is a quantity of material on this roll pertaining to Massachusetts, dating from 7 November 1765, when Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the Massachusetts Bay House of Representatives, wrote Dennis DeBerdt, merchant of London, informing him of his appointment as agent of that colony in London. (When DeBerdt died in 1770, Benjamin Franklin took his place, making Arthur Lee his assistant. Lee became sole agent in 1775, thus adding the Massachusetts Bay material to his own papers.) An interesting sub-division of this series is the material dealing with Daniel Malcom of Boston, who protested when the deputy collector for the port of Boston searched his house for smuggled contraband in September 1766. Other items of note are the Westmoreland Resolutions against the Stamp Act, 27 February 1766, and drafts of two speeches delivered by R. H. Lee in the House of Burgesses — one on paper money in 1763, the other dealing with the contest over separating the Speaker of the House from the Treasury in 1766 or 1767. Among the regular correspondents are Robert Carter Nicholas, Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, and John Dickenson.

Arthur Lee's letters fall neatly into three periods. The first begins 24 December 1760, when he wrote R. H. Lee from London of his arrival, the death of King George II, and his meeting with Samuel Johnson. This series covers Arthur's career at the University of Edinburgh, where he received the M.D. degree in 1764, and ends in 1766 with his return to Virginia. The second period, 1766-1768, contains a few letters to R. H. Lee from Williamsburg, where Arthur practised medicine. The third series begins in 1768, when Arthur and his brother William went to London to seek their fortunes. Written principally to Richard Henry Lee, the letters in this last period contain much political material. The growth of his relationship with Lord Shelburne and his interest in the radical movements of the period are well illustrated. In a letter to Francis Lightfoot Lee of 23 March 1769 he mentions the Wilkesite group "Supporters of the Bill of Rights," and says "my

purse does not equal my inclination to support the Bill of Rights." (By the next year he was an active member of the group.) Lee was especially impressed by the letters of Junius — he called him the only political commentator worth reading — and on 3 December 1769 he wrote to R. H. Lee that he had begun writing under the *nom de plume* of "Junius Americanus," hoping to popularize the American cause by a reflection of the ferocious and popular government-bater.

ROLL TWO: 1 January 1770—31 December 1776

Personal, Political, and Commercial Correspondence.

18 September 1775—10 September 1777

Proceedings of the Secret Committee of the Continental Congress.

1776-1778

Papers of Robert Morris and John Ross.

1776-1787

Papers of William Brigham.

This roll contains material illustrative of the procession to war on both sides of the Atlantic in 1775. In England, Arthur and William Lee led active and exciting lives. William, newly married, worked energetically in commerce, receiving tobacco from Virginia and shipping needed goods thence. There are numerous letters from him to Francis Lightfoot Lee (especially) and Richard Henry Lee concerning trade and shipping. He was as politically minded as his more famous brothers, and his letters often contain political material. William was elected sheriff of London in 1773, and alderman from Aldgate ward in 1775 (which post he resigned only in 1780). Arthur Lee studied law at the Middle Temple from 1770 through 1774, and was called to the London bar in April 1775. He was assistant to Benjamin Franklin, agent for Massachusetts Bay, until 1775, when on 19 March Franklin wrote him, turning all the Massachusetts papers over to him, saying, "You will if you think fit continue . . . the Agent for the Assembly of . . . Massachusetts, which I cannot again undertake." Lee was

also active in the "Bill of Rights" society and had a hand in preparing letters and petitions of that group — a draft of a letter to the Lord Mayor of March 1771 is in his hand, and he mentions such activity in a letter to R. H. Lee of 11 June 1771. This last letter contains a good insight into how Arthur then regarded the political contest between England and the colonies. In the midst of political news, he mentions the education of Richard Henry's son, Ludwell: if Ludwell were to be trained in the law, "By the time he would be fit for the Temple, I shall [be able to] to assist him [in] his Studies." As the boy was barely eleven years old, it would seem his uncle was optimistic about the settlement of the current political problems. Arthur Lee also turned his efforts to pamphlets, producing several on American affairs; a few drafts of his letters of "Junius Americanus" (1770) appear in this roll. Not all his time was spent on such serious business; on 10 September 1774 William Lee wrote to R. H. Lee, "I have perused yr. letter to our Br. A. as he is absent on a tour to Italy." Among the more interesting items in this roll are a letter from Isaac Barré to Arthur Lee, January 1771; letters from Mrs. Catherine Macauley to Arthur Lee (1773) and R. H. Lee (1775); a report of the Privy Council on a petition from the Massachusetts Bay House of Representatives, February 1774; a letter from Arthur to R. H. Lee, 26 December 1774, mentioning an interview with Lord Chatham and describing his views; and the first contacts of Arthur Lee with Count de Vergennes and C. W. F. Dumas (June and September 1776).

In the colonies the development of revolutionary attitudes and the interchange of ideas is well represented in the letters to and from Richard Henry Lee. His most important correspondents are Samuel Adams, John Dickenson, Robert Carter Nicholas, General Charles Lee, Edmund Pendleton, John Page, George Washington, John Augustine Washington, and William Shippen, Jr. On 9 August 1774 George Washington wrote R. H. Lee asking whether he thought the deputies from Virginia to the general congress should have "authentick lists of our Exports, & Imports generally, but more especially to Great Britain?" Washington also says that should Lee be going to Philadelphia by land, he would like to travel with him. Writing to Thomas Jefferson on 3 November 1776, Lee described Bene-

dict Arnold as "fiery, hot, and impetuous, but without discretion." Other items of interest are the depositions given by men involved in the battles of Lexington and Concord, April 1775; the proceedings of the Secret Committee of Congress (later Committee of Foreign Affairs), September 1775 to September 1777 (in a separate series at the end of the roll); the instructions of Congress to commanders of ships of war, April 1776; the draft copy of the Declaration of Independence sent by Thomas Jefferson to R. H. Lee in July 1776; an abstract of money advanced by Congress to various people and companies from September 1775 to August 1776 (placed under latter date); and various documents and letters concerning the appointment of Commissioners to France in September and October 1776.

ROLL THREE: 1 January 1777—31 December 1777

Personal, Diplomatic, Political Correspondence; Commercial Accounts, Records, and Correspondence.

In this roll appear for the first time a number of important correspondents of the American Commissioners in France. Arthur Lee's journey to Spain (January-April) generated an important series of correspondence with Joseph Gardoqui and Sons, merchants of Bilbao, and with James Gardoqui, a scion of that house. Lee drew up a plan for a treaty with Spain in March, based on his observations while on this journey. On 14 January appears the first letter of Jonathan Williams, nephew of Benjamin Franklin and commercial agent at Nantes, whose letters through this year give a good picture of the operation of the American supply agency in that port. Williams's accounts for 1777, at the end of the roll, provide valuable information about the quantity and nature of French supplies for the United States, and also contain data about current prices of various commodities. Lee's journey to Berlin (May-August) is represented by a number of letters — the most exciting event of this trip was the melodramatic rifling of his papers by British agents there. On 1 September, Lee's cousin, Edmund Jennings, wrote his first letter from London; containing news of political

and military developments, Jennings's letters continued to supply Lee with valuable information for several years. Another interesting correspondent is Dr. John Berkenhout, an old college friend of Arthur's who wrote a number of pungent letters to his "amico" despite their wide political differences. (Berkenhout, physician, naturalist, and miscellaneous writer, was involved in the unsuccessful British peace embassy to America in 1778.)

The developing contention between the Lee family and Silas Deane is a continuing theme in this roll and is well illustrated by William Lee's letter to Francis Lightfoot Lee of 9 August, expressive of the confusion over the commercial agency at Nantes, and the Lees' fear of a dark cabal operating against them. Also of interest is the growth of American contact with important French officials in the effort to secure supplies and active French support: there are letters to and from Vergennes, the foreign minister, and C. A. Gerard, his secretary and later Minister to the United States; Sartine, the Minister of Marine; and Grand and Sollier, bankers at Paris and Nantes, respectively.

Across the Atlantic, the roll contains letters relative to exciting wartime events — as the capture and treatment of General Charles Lee, and the great victory at Saratoga — and to sundry problems of co-ordinating the war effort and operating the new government. Among Richard Henry Lee's principal correspondents are General Washington, General Adam Stephen, Edmund Pendleton, judge of the Virginia Court of Chancery, and John Page lieutenant-governor of Virginia. Items of particular interest include the detailed letter of 9 May from R. H. Lee, Robert Morris, William Whipple, and Philip Livingston to John Paul Jones, ordering him to proceed to France and European waters; and R. H. Lee's letter of 10 May to his sons, Thomas and Ludwell, advising them how to occupy their time in France with their uncles Arthur and William.

ROLL FOUR: 1 January 1778—30 June 1778

Personal, Political, Diplomatic, and Commercial Correspondence; Financial Records and Correspondence.

This roll consists mostly of material pertaining to Arthur Lee and France. The biggest event represented was the signing of the Franco-American treaties on 16 February and the ratification of these treaties by Congress on 4 May. Silas Deane was recalled by Congress and left Paris in April, much to Arthur Lee's relief. His replacement, John Adams, arrived at Bordeaux early in April, where he was met by John Bondfield, the American commercial agent there, and arrived in Paris on the eighth. The Lee-Deane dispute expanded apace before Deane departed, and it came to involve a number of new people, such as William Carmichael and Edward Bancroft. In connection with this dispute, the agency at Nantes became even more confused. William Lee, a claimant to the agency, gave up and accepted an appointment as commissioner to the Courts of Berlin and Vienna, leaving Nantes on 26 March. The death of the unfortunate Thomas Morris, yet another claimant, led to a row over the disposal of his papers, which John Ross, associated with Willing, Morris, and Co., of Philadelphia (as Thomas Morris had been), claimed should be turned over to that company. Jonathan Williams lost his place in Nantes in this period; he wrote to his Uncle Franklin on 18 April "I have been in hot water a great while and it is now time to have full authority or none at all" — shortly he had none at all, and Jean Daniel Schweighauser took over as American agent for the ports of Brittany.

In this roll begins the series of letters from C. W. F. Dumas, American agent and correspondent at The Hague, and from Major John Thornton came important letters from England containing data on American prisoners there and British military and naval affairs and movements. John Paul Jones appears on 16 January when he is given a free hand to cruise in European waters by the Commissioners (though Arthur Lee objected to the proposed method of disposal of prizes). Jones's letter of apology to the Countess of Selkirk, whose home had been robbed by American sailors under his command, is of

interest. Two sets of accounts of the Commissioners with F. Grand of Paris contain a record of their disbursements and receipts from the latter part of 1777 through mid 1778.

In America, R. H. Lee who had been suffering from ill-health and had left Congress for "Chantilly" in December 1777, returned to his duties in March 1778. The British peace commission (one of whose members was Dr. Berkenhout) supplied some excitement in June. Congress drafted a discouraging answer to these gentlemen on 6 June, and in a letter dated 13 June, William Shippen, Lee's brother-in-law, waxed eloquent against the acceptance of any peace offers from the British. (In this same letter, General George Weedon wrote R. H. Lee about his desire to retire from military life.) Another interesting comment on the peace mission came from Simeon Deane in a letter to Sir George Grand on 18 June. The transferral of the Lee-Deane feud to America is noted in F. L. Lee's letter to R. H. Lee of 25 June: he fears that "the junto" headed by Silas Deane's friends in America (Deane arrived in person in July) has managed "to throw some little discredit upon us." R. H. Lee's correspondence is concentrated heavily upon his fellow Virginians: he corresponds with Mann Page, John Page, John Augustine Washington, and Edmund Pendleton, sending them news of Congress and events in the north, receiving from them news about politics and war in Virginia. On 18 June, Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, wrote Lee concerning the problems of raising the state's quota of troops. Lee and General Washington also kept each other informed about their particular activities.

ROLL FIVE: 1 July 1778—31 March 1779

Personal, Diplomatic, Political, and Commercial Correspondence.

The chief interest of the documents of this roll lies again with Arthur Lee in France. He kept himself busy examining accounts (Jonathan Williams's in July, Monthieu's, a French merchant, in September), doggedly guarding the public money. The dispute with Deane, now effectively out of Lee's control,

continued to generate heat and a little light. The light consisted in the unfolding of Edward Bancroft's true position in diplomatic circles, as it appeared he might be working as an informant for both sides and was partly responsible for certain security leaks. Even worse, the loyalty of Hezekiah Ford, Lee's secretary, was seriously questioned in resolutions laid before Congress on 26 January, which were immediately relayed to Lee by James Lovell. (The charges against Ford are further elaborated in a letter from John Page to R. H. Lee, 19 March.) On 8 March Lee sent a statement in reply to Deane's charges to R. H. Lee.

Insight into the American activity in Spain, which consisted of the gathering of supplies for the United States and the fitting out and support of American war vessels, can be gained in John Emery's and James Gardoqui's letters to Lee, while the ceaseless activity of John Bondfield at Bordeaux continues to be represented in his letters. There are several letters from John Paul Jones, the most interesting being of 21 November, in which he comments upon his various successes and problems. On Christmas day, Dr. Berkenhout wrote Lee and expressed his unhappiness over the failure of the peace efforts of that year: "I hate all your bloody minded rogues on both sides the question." Lee gained a new correspondent in Alexander Dick. Dick had been captured by the British on 25 June 1777 while serving as Captain of Marines aboard the *Mosquito*, a brig belonging to Virginia. After a year's captivity at Forton prison, near Portsmouth, England, he escaped and made his way to Nantes, where he sought new military employment and expressed himself freely to his countryman in Paris. On 30 September he wrote of John Adams that he was "fitter to be amongst his shoe String gentry than in one of the politest Courts of Europe." And on 10 December, he complained to Lee, "I make no doubt he [Adams] would . . . give the command of a Frigate to a Cape Cod fisherman, rather than to a Southern Gentleman. . . ." The expanding web of American diplomacy may be noted by the negotiations of William Lee in Amsterdam concerning a commercial treaty and his thoughts on the general European situation in letters to R. H. Lee of 15 and 17 October and 20 December. Arthur Lee made efforts to secure a substantial loan for the United States in Amsterdam in November

and December. The growing reputation of George Washington is illustrated by a letter of 2 July from Edward Bridgen, a merchant of London and a correspondent of Arthur Lee's: he requests a "*likeness* of Washington, either on paper or Metal. If you can procure me one or of the *Pater Patriae* pray do! I have a medal of the latter, but not a likeness."

Richard Henry Lee maintained his usual correspondents, save for George Washington, who appears much less frequently in this roll. On 12 July Lee wrote to his brother, Francis Lightfoot Lee, of the arrival of D'Estaing's fleet and the Count's declaration of war upon Great Britain. He also mentioned the arrival of the French minister, C. A. Gerard, and Silas Deane. Deane began his campaign against the Lees in December with a letter to the *Pennsylvania General Advertiser*, to which R. H. Lee responded on the 16th; but as Francis Lightfoot noted in a Christmas day letter to Richard Henry, Deane's forces were winning everywhere and "If our brothers are not disgraced now, I am sure they will be e'er long; . . . no villany will be left unpracticed to ruin them." On 11 February, R. H. Lee wrote to Arthur, rendering a full account of the unfolding of the "wicked intrigues." Among other interesting letters are those from Lafayette, De Kalb, and Pulaski, Horatio Gates, and a letter from Benjamin Franklin to James Lovell of 22 July, on the state of affairs in France.

ROLL SIX: 1 April 1779—31 December 1780
Personal, Diplomatic, and Political Correspondence.

The documents in this roll witness the downfall of the Lees. In July 1779, William Lee was notified of the recall of his commission to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, but he was allowed to remain in Europe. During 1780 he settled in Brussels, where he remained for three years, attempting to refound his commercial establishment. Arthur Lee lost his credentials to the French Court on 14 September, when Dr. Franklin was made sole minister there; on 26 September he lost his commission to Spain, when John Jay was given that post by Congress. From April to September 1779 Lee had devoted some

time to his Spanish charge, corresponding with Count Florida-blanca, the chief Spanish minister, in June and August. The need for Spain to enter the war on the American side was strongly felt in Congress, and Lee received various letters asking for information about Spain. With this prodding, he resolved to go to Madrid, but was refused the necessary funds by Dr. Franklin on 30 September, ending the project. On 4 April 1779, Richard Henry Lee wrote in cipher to Arthur that Hezekiah Ford ought to be dismissed as his secretary, as Ford was felt to be of dubious loyalty. Oblivious of this, Arthur informed Richard Henry on 27 April that Ford was returning to the United States for his health and would give him the latest information concerning the Commissioners. Lee sailed from L'Orient in July 1780 and landed at Boston in September, returning to his native land for the first time in twelve years.

Among other events of note was the "duel" between William Lee and Samuel Petrie. Petrie had insinuated in a letter to Arthur Lee of 9 April 1779 that William might be responsible for some information leaking to the British, which prompted William's challenge. After long negotiations, a meeting was arranged near Valenciennes on 3 August, where, to cap the comic opera proceedings, the men were unable to arrange a time for the fight; both departed, honor evidently satisfied. Alexander Dick managed to get an appointment under John Paul Jones but quickly found Jones meant to be commander of his own ship. "by Heavens! I would not sail with him for all Europe," Dick exclaimed in a letter to Arthur Lee of 5 May 1779. He explained more fully on 26 May: "Capt Jones . . . is a brave & experienced officer, but sea officers . . . contract such an insulting . . . behaviour that it is impossible for any Gentleman of Spirit to serve under them." Therefore he had left the *Poor Richard*. Items concerning Jones are scattered throughout the roll, notably concerning his victory over the *Serapis* in October 1779 and his quarrel with Peter Landais in June 1780. Ralph Izard, writing from the Low Countries, and James Lovell in America, appear as important correspondents with Arthur Lee.

Richard Henry Lee resigned from Congress in April 1779, despite pleas to stay (e.g., William Shippen's letter of 15 April). On 3 May he wrote Thomas Jefferson, justifying his resignation

with pressing family matters, ill health, and persecution "by the united voice of toryism, speculation, faction, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness." In the same letter he attempts to justify his effort to force his tenants to pay their rents in tobacco, rather than in the inflated legal tender of the land. The maneuvers of the anti-Lee faction in Congress which led to Jay's appointment to Spain are illustrated in letters to and from Lee throughout the summer and early autumn of 1779. New regular correspondents include Henry Laurens (captured by the British in October 1780 with William Lee's "treaty with Amsterdam, giving the British a pretext for war with Holland"), James Lovell, William Whipple, and Thomas Jefferson, who became governor of Virginia in June 1779.

ROLL SEVEN: 1 January 1781—31 December 1795
Personal, Political, and Financial Correspondence.

The documents on this roll cover a span of fifteen years and vary widely in subject matter and interest. A fertile source especially for the 1780's — the Critical Period — the documents contain a good deal of financial and political material. There are numerous letters and papers of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance from 1781 to 1785, and of Arthur Lee who was a Commissioner of the Treasury from 1784 to 1789. Both Arthur and Richard Henry Lee were active in state and national politics, and these activities are reflected in their letters. Besides the financial and general political topics, there is material on foreign affairs, Western lands, and problems arising from the creation and adoption of the Constitution. Regular correspondents through this period include George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, George Weedon, James Monroe, James Madison, John Adams, John Bondfield, Edmund Pendleton, Samuel Adams, and Theoderick Bland. William Lee did not return to the United States until September 1783, and until he sailed from Brussels, he kept a good correspondence with his brothers.

The year 1781 has numerous items of interest. In the first quarter appear a number of letters concerning Benedict

Arnold's invasion of Virginia — "Arnold & his banditti" (R. H. Lee). An interesting letter on American finance went from Charles Thompson, the Secretary of Congress, to Robert Morris on 29 June. "Light Horse Harry" Lee wrote a long letter to R. H. Lee on 24 July about military events and his exploits. The original of Lord Cornwallis's parole, signed and dated at Yorktown on 28 October, found its way into R. H. Lee's papers. And on 9 December, Harvard College awarded an LLD degree to Arthur Lee.

A general idea of the flavor and content of the balance of the roll may be gained by a rapid survey of a few of the more noteworthy items. George Washington wrote to R. H. Lee on 12 June 1784 asking his aid in rewarding the worthy services of Thomas Paine in the late war. Also in this year is the MS of a speech Arthur Lee delivered to the Council of the Six Nations (Iroquois). On 4 February 1787 the Marquess of Lansdowne (Earl of Shelburne), a long-time friend of Arthur Lee's, wrote him a long letter full of news and gossip. On an inner page of a letter from Arthur Lee to George Mason of 21 May 1787 is a memorandum, in Lee's hand, on "Amendments to the Confederation." On 9 May 1789 Arthur wrote R. H. Lee an interesting letter on current politics and political maneuvering in New York, the nation's capital. On 24 April of the same year, Arthur's old friend and correspondent, Count de Sarsfield, wrote from France mentioning the danger of revolution there; on 15 July, John Bondfield wrote from Bordeaux of the uneasy political situation. After the storm in France had burst, Dr. Berkenhout wrote a last letter to Arthur on 12 May 1790, and jocularly took the revolutionary statesman to task: "Why the Devil did not you manage to confine your demon of Liberty to your own quarter of the world? Why must the flame . . . set old Europe in a blaze?" After mentioning (approvingly) a few of the striking changes the Revolution had wrought in France, Berkenhout observed with his usual verve, "The present form of government in that country is neither my a—se nor my elbow."

tinental Congresses; sent to France as commercial and diplomatic agent for Congress, March 1776, recalled 1778. *21 items.*

DICK, ALEXANDER (d. 1785): of Virginia, soldier and sailor; Captain of Marines (Virginia), captive of British 1777-1778; later a Major in regular Continental Army (retired 1783). *9 items.*

DICKENSON, JOHN (1732-1808): of Delaware and Pennsylvania, lawyer; Speaker, Delaware Assembly, 1760-1762; Pennsylvania legislature, 1762-1764, 1770-1776; First and Second Con-

ROLL EIGHT.

Lee manuscripts and pamphlets; miscellaneous undated items.

This roll contains a number of manuscript items and pamphlets written by the Lees. There are two manuscript items. The first is the "Memoirs" of Arthur Lee, which he neither published nor finished, and in which he hoped to present his view of the American diplomacy of the 1770's. The second is an "Account of the Robbery of the Papers of [Arthur] Lee Amn. Agent at Berlin 26 July 1777," which is the investigation of this event by the Prussian courts. The document is

MORRIS, ROBERT (1734-1806): of Philadelphia, financier; member of Continental Congress, 1775-1778; Pennsylvania Assembly, 1778-1779, 1780-1781; U. S. Superintendent of Finance, 1781-1785. *33 items.*

PAGE, JOHN (1744-1808): of Virginia; Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia under Patrick Henry, 1776-1779. *24 items.*

PAGE, MANN, JR. (1749-1803): of Virginia; half-brother of John Page; House of Burgesses, 1772-1776; House of Delegates, 1778; delegate to Continental Congress, 1777. *20 items.*

PARKER, RICHARD (1732-1815): of Virginia, lawyer; member of Westmoreland County Committee of Safety, 1775. *11 items.*

PENDLETON, EDMUND (1721-1803): of Virginia, lawyer and jurist; First Continental Congress; President, Virginia House of Delegates, 1776; Judge, State Court of Chancery, 1777, Presiding Judge, 1779. *27 items.*

ROSS, JOHN (1729-1800): of Philadelphia (b. Scotland), merchant; commissioned by Congress to buy supplies in France, May 1776; connected with Willing, Morris & Co., of Philadelphia; involved in the commercial agency at Nantes and in the controversy over the disposal of the papers of Thomas Morris. *26 items.*

SARSFIELD, COMTE DE: French governmental official and friend of Arthur Lee. *52 items.*

SARTINE, ANTOINE RAYMOND J. G. G. DE, COMTE D'ALBY (1729-1801): French official; Lieutenant-General of police, 1754-1774; Minister of the Marine, 1774-1780. *18 items.*

SCHWEIGHAUSER, JEAN DANIEL (d. before 1785): merchant of Nantes; agent of the United States in the ports of Brittany from 1778. *16 items.*

SHIPPEN, WILLIAM, JR. (1736-1808): of Philadelphia, physician; brother-in-law to the Lee brothers; Chief Physician and Director-General of the Continental Army Hospital, 1777-1781. *20 items.*

STEPHEN, ADAM (1730-1791): of Virginia, soldier; Lt. Colonel of Virginia militia on frontier during French and Indian

War; Brigadier General, Continental Army, 1776; Major General, 1777; Court-martialed and dismissed from service after battle of Germantown, 1777. *15 items.*

VERGENNES, COMTE DE (1717-1787): French Foreign Minister, 1774-1787; Chief of the Council of Finance, 1781-1787. *47 items.*

WASHINGTON, GEORGE (1732-1799): of Virginia, planter; House of Burgesses, 1759-1774; First and Second Continental Congresses; Commander-in-Chief, Continental Armies, 1775-1783. *36 items.*

WASHINGTON, JOHN AUGUSTINE (1736-1787): of Virginia, planter; brother of George Washington; member of Westmoreland County Committee of Safety, 1775. *8 items.*

WEEDON, GEORGE (1730-1790): of Virginia, soldier; Lt. Colonel of Virginia Militia, 1775; Brigadier General and acting Adjutant-General, Continental Army, 1777; resigned commission, 1777, but returned to military, 1780. *13 items.*

WILLIAMS, JONATHAN (1750-1818): nephew of Benjamin Franklin; Commercial agent in Nantes by appointment of Franklin and Deane, 1776-1778. *63 items.*

ERRATA

- page 8, line 25 "Allen" should read "Allan"
- page 8, line 36 "between" should read "among"
- page 14, lines 37-38 "to considerably alter" should read "to alter considerably"
- page 26, lines 3-5 "Unfortunately neither of these works live up to their grand titles; the transcriptions are inaccurate, and neither are indexed." should read "Unfortunately neither of these works lives up to its grand title; the transcriptions are inaccurate, and neither is indexed."
- page 43, line 23 "evidentially" should read "evidently"
- page 45, line 3 "Thompson" should read "Thomson"
- page 45, line 6 "The original" should read "A copy of the original" [Manuscript experts have recently discovered that the Lord Cornwallis parole in the University of Virginia Library is a copy of one of the six originals.]
- page 47, line 27 "Dickenson" should read "Dickinson"
- page 49, line 1 "Marques" should read "Marquis"