

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens RE-21010-92
College

RE-21010-92 Application

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506



November 10, 1994

Dr. Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367-0904

Ref: RE-21010-92

Dear Dr. Nuxoll:

red
Thank you for the final performance report on your 1992-94 grant to edit the papers of Robert Morris. I am happy that Volume 8 is in the last stages of preparation and look forward to its publication in Spring 1995.

Thank you also for the detailed description of your progress on Volume 9 and the microform supplement and for keeping us informed about possible electronic publication of the edition. I remain optimistic that the current grant will bring the print edition and supplement close to completion; historians of the Revolutionary era are certainly anxious to have this important source material available, particularly since a volume in the series has not appeared in some time.

Please do not hesitate to write or call me at 202/606-8207 if I may be of further assistance. You may also contact me via fax at 202/606-8204 or via e-mail at nehres@gwuvm.gwu.edu.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Douglas M. Arnold".

Douglas M. Arnold
Program Officer
Editions Program
Division of Research
Programs



QUEENS
COLLEGE

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

NEH GRANTS OFFICE
1992 APR -2 PM 2:47

NFAH

*copy to Doug A.
4/3/92
ar*

March 31, 1992

Mr. Douglas Arnold
Research Programs, Room 318
National Endowment for the Humanities
Washington, D.C. 20506

RE: RE-21010
The Papers of Robert Morris

Dear Doug:

In accordance with our telephone conversation of March 30, 1992, I have enclosed the revised scope of work and budget for the above referenced grant number.

As I explained the indirect cost rate has been temporarily capped by Department of Health and Human Services at 45.9% MTDC (see provisional rate attached).

Your cooperation and understanding is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mike

Gautama M. Prasad
Director

CC:E.N.

into idc book 4/9/92

The Papers of Robert Morris

NEH GRANTS OFFICE

1992 APR -2 PM 2 48

NFAH

March 20, 1992

Ms. Alice Hudgins
Grants Office
RM. 310
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Ms. Hudgins:

Enclosed is our revised budget and plan of work for grant RE 21010 for the period July 1, 1992 to June 30, 1994.

Sincerely yours,



Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

Enclosures

cc: Gautama M. Prasad, Director
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
Queens College

Directors

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll,
Project Director/Coeditor
Mary A. Y. Gallagher,
Coeditor
Nelson S. Dearmont,
Associate Editor
Clarence L. Ver Steeg,
Editorial Advisor
E. James Ferguson,
Editor Emeritus

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for the Humanities
and the
National Historical
Publications and Records
Commission

Published by

University of
Pittsburgh Press



Queens College, CUNY
Flushing, New York 11367-0904
Telephone 718/670-4208

Budget Explanations:

One major change has been made. The staff of the Research Foundation of CUNY has said we can no longer classify our editorial adviser, Clarence L. Ver Steeg, as a consultant, but must make him an official employee, because of the length of his service and the significance of his work. The fringe benefit rate of 23% therefore applies. I have reduced the number of days of service to accomodate this additional expense and divided his time more equally between the two years of the grant.

The following changes have been made to the budget to accomodate the reduced amount of the award and to improve our chances of getting back on schedule:

The salary to be paid student aides has been somewhat reduced and the number of hours increased, in the hopes that greater speed can be made in entering corrections to the verified microform texts. A slight increase in the amount to be requested from the NHPRC hopefully will offset this expense.

The amount budgeted for supplies and reserved for computer repairs has been somewhat reduced.

PLAN OF WORK: JULY 1, 1992 TO JUNE 30, 1994

Because the staff is currently reduced because of the project's inability to raise the full component of gift and matching funds, some of the work on volume 8 scheduled for completion in the second half of our current grant will have to be moved into the plan of work for the new grant.

These tasks include:

Submission of volume 8 to press for copyediting; review of copyedited manuscript	To be done after entire volume reviewed by advisers and corrected
Changes keyed into machine-readable files	Corrections are still being entered
Encoding of volume files	To be done in fall 1992
Volume submitted to press/typesetter	Rescheduled for late fall 1992

These will be moved to

July 1-December 31, 1992

First verification of microfilm texts completed; corrections entered and proofed. This will remain as scheduled.

But the remainder of the work previously allotted for this period will be transferred to

January 1-June 30, 1993

Proofreading and correcting of final pages to volume 8

Entering final page fields to index

Running of Cindex program

Editing of index

Submission of index to volume 8 to press

Final editing of volume 9 about one-third done

July 1-December 31, 1993

Publication of volume 8

Final editing of volume 9 two-thirds completed by Nuxoll, with assistance from Gallagher

Second verification and minimal annotation of microfilm documents one-third completed by staff

Final corrections to these microform texts keyed, proofed, and prepared for microfilming

January 1-June 30, 1994

Final editing of volume 9 completed

Second verification and annotation of microform documents completed by staff

Final corrections to microform texts keyed, proofed, and prepared for filming.

Volume 9 submitted to press for copyediting

Review of copyedited manuscript

Changes keyed into machine-readable files

Encoding of volume by Gallagher and Mullen

Volume 9 submitted to press/typesetter

Proofreading and correcting of final pages to volume 9

The following tasks, many of which were originally included in the plan, might remain to be done after the end of the grant period, depending on our success in raising matching funds and the pace followed by the press and microform producers.

Entering final page fields to index

Running of Cindex program

Editing of index

Submission of index to volume 9 to press

Verification, correcting, and proofing of microform texts completed

Submission of microform texts to publisher

Some proof work, indexing of microform texts, and preparation of the cumulative index.

Publication of volume 9

Publication of microform supplement

At present it seems most feasible to produce the supplement on fiche and include it in slip wrap with volume 9, in the manner followed by some volumes of the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution. Separate marketing of the supplement as a microfilm edition would seem likely to minimize both sales and use, and estimates made by John Kaminski lead us to believe including the supplement would add little cost to the volume (possibly as little as \$5 to \$10).

SECTION B — Summary Budget and Project Funding

7/92 - 6/94

SUMMARY BUDGET

Transfer from section A the total costs (column c) for each category of project expense. When the proposed grant period is eighteen months or longer, project expenses for each twelve-month period are to be listed separately and totaled in the last column of the summary budget. For projects that will run less than eighteen months, only the last column of the summary budget should be completed.

Budget Categories	First Year/ from to	Second Year/ from to	Third Year/ from to	TOTAL COSTS FOR ENTIRE GRANT PERIOD
1. Salaries and Wages	\$ 108,873	\$ 113,511	\$	\$ 222,384
2. Fringe Benefits	(b) (6)	(b) (6)		(b) (6)
3. Consultant Fees	-	1,000		1,000
4. Travel	500	500		1,000
5. Supplies and Materials	800	762		1,562
6. Services	2,085	1,750		3,835
7. Other Costs	-			
8. Total Direct Costs (Items 1-7)	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)	\$	\$ (b) (6)
9. Indirect Costs	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)	\$	\$ (b) (6)
10. Total Project Costs (Direct & Indirect)	\$ 198,071	\$ 207,309	\$	\$ 405,380

PROJECT FUNDING FOR ENTIRE GRANT PERIOD

Requested from NEH:		Cost Sharing:	
Outright	\$ 180,000	Cash Contributions	\$ 110,000
Federal Matching	\$ 38,000	In-Kind Contributions	\$ 77,379
TOTAL NEH FUNDING	\$ 218,000	Project Income	\$
		TOTAL COST SHARING	\$ 187,379
		Total Project Funding (NEH Funds + Cost Sharing)	\$ 405,379

*Indicate the amount of outright and/or federal matching funds that is requested from the Endowment.

*Indicate the amount of cash contributions that will be made by the applicant or third parties to support project expenses that appear in the budget. Include in this amount third-party cash gifts that will be raised to release federal matching funds. (Consult the program guidelines for information on cost-sharing requirements.)

Occasionally, in-kind (noncash) contributions from third parties are included in a project budget as cost sharing; e.g., the value of services or equipment that is donated to the project free of charge. If this is the case, the total value of in-kind contributions should be indicated.

When a project will generate income that will be used during the grant period to support expenses listed in the budget, indicate the amount of income that will be expended on budgeted project activities.

*Total Project Funding should equal Total Project Costs

Institutional Grant Administrator

Complete the information requested below when a revised budget is submitted. Block 11 of the application cover sheet instructions contains a description of the functions of the institutional grant administrator. The signature of this person indicates approval of the budget submission and the agreement of the organization to cost share project expenses at the level indicated under "Project Funding."

Gautama M. Prasad, Director

Office of Research and Sponsored Programs

Name and Title (please type or print)

Telephone (718) 997-5400
area code

Date March 30, 1992

Signature

NEH Application Number: RE-21010

BUDGET FORM

Project Director Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	If this is a revised budget, indicate the NEH application/grant number: RE - 21010
Applicant Organization Queens College of CUNY and Research Foundation of CUNY	Requested Grant Period From 7/92 to 6/94 mo/yr mo/yr

The three-column budget has been developed for the convenience of those applicants who wish to identify the project costs that will be charged to NEH funds and those that will be cost shared. FOR NEH PURPOSES, THE ONLY COLUMN THAT NEEDS TO BE COMPLETED IS COLUMN C. The method of cost computation should clearly indicate how the total charge for each budget item was determined. If more space is needed for any budget category, please follow the budget format on a separate sheet of paper.

When the requested grant period is eighteen months or longer, separate budgets for each twelve-month period of the project must be developed on duplicated copies of the budget form.

SECTION A — budget detail for the period from 7/92 to 6/93 mo/yr mo/yr

1. Salaries and Wages

Provide the names and titles of principal project personnel. For support staff, include the title of each position and indicate in brackets the number of persons who will be employed in that capacity. For persons employed on an academic year basis, list separately any salary charge for work done outside the academic year.

name/title of position	no.	method of cost computation (see sample)	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
Elizabeth M. Nuxoll Proj. Director-Coeditor	[1]	12 mos. FT @ (b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)
M. Gallagher/Coeditor	[1]	11 mos. FT @ (b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)
K. Mullen/Asst. Ed.	[1]	52 wks. x 15 hrs x (b) (6)	\$(b) (6)		\$(b) (6)
Student Aide	[1]	52 wks. x 15 hrs x (b) (6)	\$(b) (6)		\$(b) (6)
Editorial Advisor	[1]	(b) (6) PER DAY x 18 days	\$(b) (6)		\$(b) (6)
Research Asst.	[1]	10 mos. x 20 hrs. @ stipend (b) (6)		\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)
	[]				
	[]				
SUBTOTAL			\$ 73,718	\$ 35,155	\$ 108,873

2. Fringe Benefits

If more than one rate is used, list each rate and salary base.

rate	salary base	(a)	(b)	(c)
23 % of	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)
0 % of	\$(b) (6)			
SUBTOTAL		\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)	\$(b) (6)

3. Consultant Fees

Include payments for professional and technical consultants and honoraria.

name or type of consultant	no. of days on project	daily rate of compensation	(a)	(b)	(c)
		\$	\$	\$	\$
		\$			
		\$			
		\$			
		\$			
SUBTOTAL			\$	\$	\$

7. Other Costs

Include participant stipends and room and board, equipment purchases, and other items not previously listed. Please note that "miscellaneous" and "contingency" are not acceptable budget categories. Refer to the budget instructions for the restriction on the purchase of permanent equipment.

item	basis/method of cost computation	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
		\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
		_____	_____	_____
	SUBTOTAL	\$ _____	\$ _____	\$ _____

8. Total Direct Costs (add subtotals of items 1 through 7)

§ (b) (6) § (b) (6) § (b) (6)

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]

If indirect costs are to be charged to this project, check the appropriate box below and provide the information requested. Refer to the budget instructions for explanations of these options.

- ☒ Current indirect cost rate(s) has/have been negotiated with a federal agency. (Complete items A and B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal has been submitted to a federal agency but not yet negotiated. (Indicate the name of the agency in item A and show proposed rate(s) and base(s), and the amount(s) of indirect costs in item B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal will be sent to NEH if application is funded. (Provide an estimate in item B of the rate that will be used and indicate the base against which it will be charged and the amount of indirect costs.)
- ☐ Applicant chooses to use a rate not to exceed 10% of direct costs, less distorting items, up to a maximum charge of \$5,000. (Under item B, enter the proposed rate, the base against which the rate will be charged, and the computation of indirect costs or \$5,000, whichever sum is less.)

A. Dept. of Health and Human Services
name of federal agency

3/30/92 (Provisional)
date of agreement

B.

rate(s)

base(s)

45.9 % of \$ (b) (6)

45.9 % of \$ (b) (6)

NEH Funds
(a)

Cost Sharing
(b)

Total
(c)

(b) (6)

\$ (b) (6)

§ (b) (6)

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

§ (b) (6)

\$ (b) (6)

(b) (6)

TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS

10. Total Project Costs (direct and indirect) for Budget Period

\$133,073

\$ 64,998

✓ 198,071 ✓
\$

* Requested at only 43%. The balance is cost-shared.

previos. 7/92 - until 2. 45,9%. mtdc * mc research

* ac excluding equip, e sub amt $\geq 25k$, off c rentals, travel, meals & student support costs

National Endowment for the Humanities

OMB No. 3136-0071

BUDGET FORM

Project Director Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	If this is a revised budget, indicate the NEH application/grant number: RE- 21010
Applicant Organization Queens College of CUNY and Research Foundation of CUNY	Requested Grant Period From <u>7/92</u> to <u>6/94</u> mo/yr mo/yr

The three-column budget has been developed for the convenience of those applicants who wish to identify the project costs that will be charged to NEH funds and those that will be cost shared. FOR NEH PURPOSES, THE ONLY COLUMN THAT NEEDS TO BE COMPLETED IS COLUMN C. The method of cost computation should clearly indicate how the total charge for each budget item was determined. If more space is needed for any budget category, please follow the budget format on a separate sheet of paper.

When the requested grant period is eighteen months or longer, separate budgets for each twelve-month period of the project must be developed on duplicated copies of the budget form.

SECTION A — budget detail for the period from 7/93 to 6/94 mo/yr mo/yr

1. Salaries and Wages

Provide the names and titles of principal project personnel. For support staff, include the title of each position and indicate in brackets the number of persons who will be employed in that capacity. For persons employed on an academic year basis, list separately any salary charge for work done outside the academic year.

name/title of position	no.	method of cost computation (see sample)	NEH Funds (a)	Cost Sharing (b)	Total (c)
Elizabeth M. Nuxoll					
Proj. Director-Coeditor	[1]	12 mos. FT @ [REDACTED]	\$ [REDACTED]	\$ [REDACTED]	\$ [REDACTED]
M. Gallagher/Coeditor	[1]	11 mos. FT @ [REDACTED]		[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
K. Mullen/Asst. Ed.	[1]	52 wks x 15 hrs x [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
Student Aide	[1]	52 wks x 15 hrs x [REDACTED]	[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]
Editorial Advisor	[1]	[REDACTED] PER DAY x 18 DAYS	[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]
Research Asst.	[1]	10 mos. x 20 hrs. (b) (6) stipend		(b) (6)	(b) (6)
	[]				
	[]				
SUBTOTAL			\$ 45,836	\$ 67,675	\$ 113,511

2. Fringe Benefits

If more than one rate is used, list each rate and salary base.

rate	salary base	(a)	(b)	(c)
23 % of \$ (b) (6)		\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)
0 % of \$ (b) (6)		-	-	-
SUBTOTAL		\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)

3. Consultant Fees

Include payments for professional and technical consultants and honoraria.

name or type of consultant	no. of days on project	daily rate of compensation	(a)	(b)	(c)
E. James Ferguson		\$	\$	\$	\$
Reader	Honorarium	\$	1,000		1,000
		\$			
		\$			
		\$			
SUBTOTAL			\$ 1,000	\$	\$ 1,000

AWARD MEMO

TO: Alice Hudgins, Grants Office, Room 310
 FROM: Douglas Arnold, Research Programs Date: 4/6/92
 SUBJECT: APPROVAL TO ISSUE AWARD FOR APPLICATION NO. RE-21010
 COUNCIL DATE (mo./yr.): 2/92
 PROJECT DIRECTOR/INSTITUTION: Elizabeth Nuxoll/CUNY--Queens College

Division approval is hereby given to the Grants Office to issue the above-referenced award once final approval has been received from the chairman. Any pre-award negotiations with the applicant have been completed.

[NOTE: If negotiations relating to reduced funding, a need for a revised budget, or unmet pre-award conditions are not yet completed, do not send this award memo to the Grants Office. If you wish the Grants Office to issue an OFFER LETTER for this application, please request this by separate memo, indicating the conditions to be included and other terms of the offer.]

Please check, as appropriate Costs shown in ☐ the application budget
☒ the attached revised budget dated 3/30/92

have been reviewed and approved as reasonable and necessary for the project.

☐ The NEH Native American Code of Ethics applies to this project. The signed code from the applicant is attached.

☐ The project has been assigned a working title, which has been entered into the NEH computer system.

☐ A consultant report must be submitted at the end of the project.

The grant period is: ☒ as shown on the application cover sheet.

(Check one) ☐ changed to read: from _____ (mo./yr.) through _____ (mo./yr.)

List any corrections or changes of the information shown on the application cover sheet for the "Institution" or "Project Director," including any change of address. If none, write "N/A."

N/A

List relevant correspondence (ATTACH COPY) and/or telephone contact subsequent to the application that should be referenced in the award documents. If none, write "N/A."

Cost-Sharing breakdown, taken in telephone conversation with Elizabeth Nuxoll, 4/6/92.

noted on the b. form

NEH GRANTS OFFICE
 1992 APR - 6
 NFAH
 2:41

Cost Sharing

Third Party Contributions	38,000
Applicant Contributions	77,379
Total Cost Sharing	115,379
Other Federal Agencies (NHPRC)	72,000
Total Cost Sharing + Other Fed. Agencies	187,379

FINAL FINANCIAL STATUS REPORT

This form is an abbreviated version of the standard financial status report prescribed by the Office of Management and Budget (Standard Form 269 or 269A) and may, at your discretion, be used instead of the OMB forms. Questions concerning this form or its completion should be sent to the NEH Grants Office at the address indicated below, or you may call 202/786-0494.

Within 90 days after the completion date of the grant, the original and two copies of this report should be forwarded to the

GRANTS OFFICE
Room 310
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Copies to Fin + Div - 11/21/94

GRANTEE ORGANIZATION (Name and complete address, including zip code) ✓ RESEARCH FOUNDATION <i>CUNY, Queens Col.</i> 79 FIFTH AVENUE, 3RD FLOOR NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10003	NEH GRANT NUMBER <u>RE 21010.92</u> ✓ GRANT PERIOD/PERIOD COVERED BY REPORT (this report should be cumulative for the entire grant period) FROM <u>7/92</u> ✓ (month/year) THRU <u>6/94</u> ✓ (month/year) OPTIONAL: Your account or other identifying number <div style="background-color: black; color: white; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">(b) (4)</div>
--	---

STATUS OF FUNDS

1. TOTAL PROJECT EXPENDITURES *c/s = 47%*
2. LESS: COST SHARING OR NONFEDERAL SHARE OF OUTLAYS. *b'd = 46.7%*
(Include expenditures covered by cash and noncash (in-kind) contributions from your organization and/or third parties and any gifts certified to obtain NEH matching funds)
3. TOTAL EXPENDITURES CHARGED TO NEH
(Item 1 minus Item 2)
4. TOTAL AMOUNT OF NEH AWARD *190,000 or 28,000 m*
5. AMOUNT OF NEH AWARD UNEXPENDED
(Item 4 minus Item 3)

1.	\$	409,401.17
2.	\$	191,401.17
3.	\$	218,000.00 ✓
4.	\$	218,000.00 ✓
5.	\$	- 0 -

REMINDER: Any unexpended grant payments must be returned to NEH. A refund check referencing the NEH grant number and made payable to "National Endowment for the Humanities" should be attached to this form. (Grantees on a letter of credit payment basis have the option of offsetting the unexpended payment against their next drawdown with an explanation on Form NEH 1023).

INDIRECT COST INFORMATION

The amount charged for indirect costs should be included in the total expenditure amounts above. Please itemize the charges for indirect costs in the space below. Use an additional sheet of paper if necessary.

PERIOD RATE IN EFFECT (from/to)	RATE (%)	BASE (\$)	TOTAL AMOUNT (\$)	FEDERAL SHARE (\$)
6/1/92 - 6/30/93	45.9%	199,815.31	91,715.23 ✓	45,829.95
7/1/93 - 6/30/94	56.0%	75,501.69	42,280.95 ✓	19,722.05
TOTALS			133,996.18 ✓	65,552.00

*3/31/93 UNLS
pred. 7/92 - 6/93 45.9% mtdc one revised
" 7/93 - 6/94 56.0% " " "*

I certify that to the best of my knowledge this report is correct and complete, that there are no outstanding unpaid commitments of federal funds, and that all expenditures are for the purposes set forth in the award documents.

SIGNATURE _____ DATE 10/4/94

PRINTED NAME & TITLE FREDERICK CHIN, MGR. GRANTS AND CONTRACTS

TELEPHONE 212-886-2881 (V. BOWLES)
(include area code)

The Papers of Robert Morris

SENT TO DIVISION

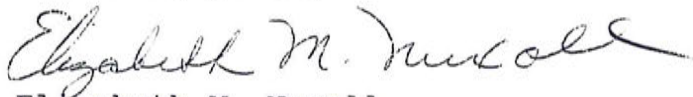
September 30, 1994

Ms. Alice Hudgins
Grants Office
Rm. 310
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Ms. Hudgins:

Enclosed are two copies of our final progress report
for grant RE-21010 for the period July 1, 1992 to June
30, 1994. 92

Sincerely yours,



Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

Enclosures

cc: G. Michael Prasad, Director
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
Queens College

Directors
Elizabeth M. Nuxoll,
Project Director/Coeditor
Mary A. Y. Gallagher,
Coeditor
Kathleen H. Mullen,
Assistant Editor
Clarence L. Ver Steeg,
Editorial Advisor
E. James Ferguson,
Editor Emeritus

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Commission

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Pittsburgh Press

FILE



Queens College/CUNY
Flushing, New York 11367-1597
Telephone (718) 997-5180

Narrative Report to the
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

September 30, 1994

Project: The Papers of Robert Morris
Grant Number: RE-21010-92
Project Director: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
Institution: Queens College of the
City University of New York
Grant Period: July 1, 1992-June 30, 1994

PROGRESS REPORT

Summary

The following chart outlines the status of work planned for the grant period July 1, 1992-June 30, 1994.

PLANNED	COMPLETED
Editorial:	
Submission of volume 8 to press for copyediting; copyediting completed; review of copyedited manuscript; manuscript returned to press	Done
Changes keyed into machine-readable files	Done
Encoding of files	Done
Volume submitted to printer	To be done as soon as press approves corrected manuscript (October 1994)
Preliminary annotation of volume 9 done	95 percent done. corrections keyed as work progresses
First verification of microform texts completed	Done; corrections keyed.
Second verification and textual notes to microform texts	Done Format to be reviewed and completed made consistent; minimal annotation to be checked for accuracy
Microform texts prepared for filming	Formatting of charts and other difficult texts to be done; to be reprinted in form advised by microform publisher
Final Editing of volume 9 completed	Volume reviewed by Nuxoll Texts reclassified for volume and microform; Further research assigned. Corrections proofed. Checking and rewriting about 1/3 done
Volume 9 indexed	Documents indexed; annotation to be indexed once final editing completed
Volume 9 submitted for copyediting	Postponed
Manuscript returned, reviewed, and corrected	Postponed

Volume encoded	Postponed
Volume submitted to printer	Postponed
Proofreading and correcting of final pages	Postponed
Fund raising: \$38,000 to be raised	Done
Outreach:	<p>Workshop for Queens County Assistant Principals</p> <p>Papers presented at 18th Century Studies Conferences, October 1992, November 1993</p> <p>Paper on Philadelphia Mutiny accepted for publication by <u>PMHB</u></p> <p>Presentation on indexing at ADE Conference Workshop, October 1993</p> <p>Articles prepared for <u>Encyclopedia of American Foreign Relations</u></p> <p>Articles published in <u>Encyclopedia of the American Revolution</u> (1993)</p> <p>Transcripts of Morris texts related to foreign affairs provided to project on Foreign Relations of the United States; some selected for inclusion in that series.</p>

Progress Report: NarrativeEditorial Progress

The University of Pittsburgh Press could not afford to begin copyediting volume 8 until it obtained a publication subvention. It applied to both the NEH and subsequently to the NHPRC once that agency's subventions were restored. The project sent a copy of the complete manuscript to the press to enable the staff to make their cost estimates and to send appropriate data and samples to the subvention agencies. Copies of the manuscript were also forwarded to two readers, John McCusker and Paul Smith, who sent reports to the press for submission with the NEH subvention application. Copies of the readers' reports were enclosed with our second progress report. The editors used the readers' reports as guidance for improving the manuscript prior to the copyediting stage.

The NEH awarded the press a subvention in August 1993. The press announced it could begin copyediting in November, estimating that the volume would be returned to the editors in February 1994. The date was pushed back because of a backlog of manuscripts at the press. The press sent the manuscript in sections between March and June 1994. Kathleen Mullen worked on accounts and other texts whose formats may present printing difficulties to facilitate handling by the printer. She also consulted the printer to iron out the few remaining minor problems related to submitting the volume in machine-readable form, merged the document and note files, and ran macros to enter some printing codes. Once the press's revisions were approved and entered in June and July, Mullen manually keyed other printing codes still needed under the printer's system. This process was slowed by the crash of the hard disk on the PC storing volume 8, necessitating reloading of the files from backups three times before the system was fully operational again. Nuxoll proofed all the corrections and checked the coding in August. The corrected manuscript was returned to the press at the beginning of September when the press staff returned from summer vacation. The press is reviewing the changes. Remaining questions are being resolved by telephone. The volume

is being divided into files of about 50 pages each as specified by the press and will be sent to the printer on diskette as soon as the press approves the corrected manuscript (October 1994).

Using NLCindex, Dr. Gallagher composed an index to volume 8 from manuscript. Once final pages arrive (estimated at January 1994), page fields will be entered, the program will be rerun, and the index will be edited and returned to the press in machine-readable form. The press has scheduled the volume for publication in spring 1995.

Volume 9 and Microform Supplement

Preliminary annotation to volume 9, begun by former associate editor Nelson Dearmont, was about 70% done and keyed on Displaywrite by 1992. These notes, converted to WordPerfect PC files at the college computer center, were reformatted and corrected by aides in spring 1993. Dr. Gallagher, having completed annotation to the documents in volume 9 related to foreign trade in conjunction with her work revising headnotes on that subject in volume 8, did a preliminary index to all the documents in the volume to get a better handle on its contents and to identify topics still requiring significant work. She then began systematic reverification and annotation of the final third of volume 9, on which Dearmont had not begun work; she had completed work on about half of the remaining texts when she left for Camp Edit and for summer vacation in June 1993. Upon her return in August she continued this process; an estimated 95 percent of preliminary annotation is now composed and keyed.

Nuxoll reviewed the entire volume, checking corrections of texts, reclassifying texts for volume, appendix, or microform, updating cross references, preparing research requests on topics needing further work, and coordinating the work done with what remained for Gallagher to do in the final portion of the volume. In the fall of 1993, Nuxoll began systematic final editing, checking notes and rewriting as needed; that work is now 1/3 percent done. In the process Nuxoll decided that key documents relating to difficulties facing the Bank of North America in 1994 could better be presented as a group in an appendix along with the relevant minutes of the

bank in the same manner as bank texts for 1783 were presented in an appendix to volume 7. These texts were reverified and corrected and a preliminary headnote and notes prepared and sent to our editorial advisers for consideration. Their comments were returned in August; this material is being reworked into final format. The remainder of the volume will be sent in sections to our advisers over the course of the next year.

Because preliminary classification of texts as to full type, reduced type, or microform was done prior to the staff decision to include private and business texts, all such documents were reclassified based on overall significance and representativeness. As rearranged, the documents scheduled for volume 9 now portray Morris's reorganization of his commercial empire and include an excellent cross section of texts giving concrete examples of economic problems and opportunities immediately following the peace. The staff grouped copies of all the commercial documents into a separate binder so they could be assessed as a group, placement of notes better assigned, and research and annotation of the entire group conducted at one time. All foreign affairs texts were also grouped and evaluated as a whole to facilitate our cooperation with the Foreign Relations of the Confederation project and ensure the best possible integration of notes and texts on that aspect of the volume. Most other documents cover continuations of earlier issues so that little annotation is needed beyond cross referencing and updating of previous notes.

When time permitted, our research assistants undertook preliminary verification of the documents scheduled for the microform supplement. Our research assistant, Kenneth Pearl, completed that task in the summer of 1993. The texts have been indexed, corrections have been keyed, and proofed. Microform texts still need a final review for consistency of format with the rest of the edition and the minimal annotation (cross referencing, identification of correspondents and of significant individuals mentioned in the text that were not previously identified, and of enclosures or related texts referred to in the documents) must be checked and polished. Documents

located since our earlier volumes were published that were at one time intended for an addendum were reassigned to the microform supplement and verified and annotated in conjunction with the other texts scheduled for the supplement.

All documents from volume seven on, including all the supplementary material scheduled for microform, are in machine- readable form and could with minimal reformatting be included in an electronic edition when the edition is completed. The editors are seeking an inexpensive way to scan or rekey the first six volumes to see if a complete electronic edition would be feasible. Preliminary scanning tests of portions of earlier volumes using the less than state-of-the-art scanning equipment available to us on campus had many errors, especially in footnoted materials that contained italics. However, it is possible better equipment would be available by the time the edition is complete or scanners could be retrained to recognize our typeface and create electronic texts that would require only acceptable amounts of correcting and proofing. Present staffing and funding levels do not permit a rekeying of the early volumes in house.

Outreach Programs

Nuxoll and Gallagher participated in a program established by Queens College under a NEH grant for summer institutes for secondary school teachers. The object of the program is to improve secondary school pedagogy by training faculty "to teach close observation and reporting as tools for understanding events in the past and present." Comparison is being made between first-hand, contemporary accounts and subsequent historical or journalistic analysis. Issues of current interest are given historical context through treatment of similar events in the past. In the course of the institutes, secondary school administrators and teachers have the opportunity to work with primary source materials in a journalistic medium "learning to appreciate the energy of immediacy while at the same time judiciously questioning its power."

Our role was to contribute to a sample of the approaches to be included

in these seminars through a workshop for Queens County High School Assistant Principals (Chairpersons) of English, Social Studies, Art, and Music held in November 1992. The staff of the Morris Papers drew on project materials for presentation of a topic of contemporary relevance. The directors of the project decided on a workshop comparing the quest for greater national unification under the Articles of Confederation with the state of unification efforts by the European Economic Community, with particular emphasis on the issue of monetary union. Nuxoll gave a slide presentation and lecture based on project materials indicating Morris's role in national unification during the Confederation period, including his handling of monetary issues. Copies of the contest question and documentary lesson plans developed for the Bicentennial of the Constitution and other project materials were distributed. Dr. Gallagher then spoke on ways to use such documents in the class room. Jeff Sommer, foreign affairs editor for Newsday, gave a news briefing on the current EEC situation. The participants were able to ask questions and comment on the comparisons between the two eras. Dean Elaine Maimon and Journalism Professor Joann Lee then demonstrated ways of applying the techniques of journalism and writing across the curriculum to such topics in the class room. The local schools are now aware of the availability of project materials for their use, and the teachers, editors, and journalists benefitted from each other's insights on the topic of unification.

Nuxoll presented a paper entitled "'Altogether in his Pay?': Robert Morris, the 'Nationalist' Movement, and the Philadelphia Press in the Confederation Era," at a conference on "Centers and Peripheries of Enlightenment," sponsored by the East-Central American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society, Philadelphia, October 30, 1992. At the same conference Gallagher presented "Soldiers, Citizens, and Nationalists: The Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783."

Nuxoll presented a paper "Illegitimacy, Family Status, and the Limits on Protecting the Interests of Women and Children: The Morris-Croxall Family as a Case Study" at a session on Order and Disorder in the Lives of Eighteenth-

Century Women at the conference of the East Central American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies at Towson State University in November 1993. Gallagher also gave a paper at that session based on her work on 18th Century Peru at the same session, while Sarah Dine delivered a paper based on the Elizabeth Drinker Diary.

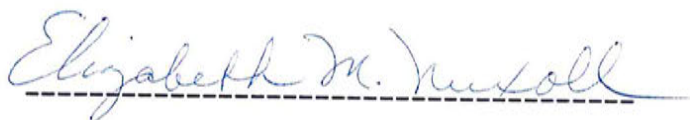
Gallagher served as a member of the faculty and residential adviser for the Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents (Camp Edit) at Madison, Wisconsin, in June 1993 and 1994. She was also a presenter on indexing issues for a workshop held at the Association for Documentary Editing Conference in November 1993. She revised her paper on the Philadelphia mutiny for submission to the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography; it has been scheduled for publication in 1995.

Believing it is important that the findings and availability of the documents of our edition be communicated to more general audiences, the editors have continued to prepare articles for reputable encyclopedias. Articles prepared by Nuxoll on Robert Morris, the Bank of North America, the "Nationalist Movement," and the Secret Committees of Congress, and by Gallagher on army and navy pay appeared in the Encyclopedia of the American Revolution (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993). In 1994 Nuxoll submitted pieces on Robert Morris and on Silas Deane, as well as on the Declaration of Independence, for the forthcoming Encyclopedia of American Foreign Relations. Editorial adviser Clarence Ver Steeg has submitted the piece on Robert Morris to be included in the forthcoming Dictionary of National Biography.

Both Gallagher and Nuxoll continue to participate in various electronic networks, using them both to answer queries from other scholars and to request information on subjects appearing in our texts. Scholars all over the world have given useful advice. The editors are employing online library catalogues and other electronic resources to facilitate their annotation and better direct the work of the research assistants assigned by the CUNY Graduate Center (Kenneth Pearl, Andrew Wax, and Thomas Ballinger during the time period covered by the 1992-1994 grant).

Fund Raising

The project raised the full \$38,000 for the gift-and-matching offer for 1992-1994; most of the funds did not arrive until the last six months of the grant. A small balance of \$1,300 remained on our last donation that was carried over toward our current matching award of \$60,000.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Elizabeth M. Nuxoll", is written over a horizontal dashed line.

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Project Director.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

WARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Richard M. Freeland
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10003

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

02/23/92

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM 07/92 THRU 06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$ 38,000.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 218,000.00

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.0

OFFER EXPIRES

03/92

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$8,700 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.132.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

Name and Title

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants Office

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

594/50200 251-4-2407-4102

\$8,700.00

KMS 2/25/94

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

GRANTS OFFICE

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

N E H -- ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:	94 0192 A	RECORDED: 02-18-94
GRANT NUMBER:	RE 21010 92	
GRANTEE:	CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College	
PROJ. DIRECTOR:	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	
FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:	\$38,000.00	
OFFER EXPIRATION:	03-31-94	
MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:	\$0.00	

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT	ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH
299 9 9999 9999 \$8700.00	251 4 2407 4102 \$8700.00
	\$0.00
	\$0.00
	TOTAL MATCH: \$8700.00

--- CURRENT SCHEDULE ---

MATCH	FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED --	\$38000.00				
RELEASED --	\$38000.00				
BALANCE --	\$0.00				

GIFTS	
RAISED --	\$38000.00
REQUIRED --	\$38000.00
PROCESSED --	\$38000.00
BALANCE --	\$0.00
EXCESS --	\$0.00

*NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

Fund. levels

OR \$180,000.-

G 0

M 38,000.-

TOTAL \$218,000.-

--- DONATION BREAKDOWN ---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$0.00	\$300.00
2	\$0.00	\$0.00
3	\$8700.00	\$37700.00
4	\$0.00	\$0.00
5	\$0.00	\$0.00
6	\$0.00	\$0.00
7	\$0.00	\$0.00
8	\$0.00	\$0.00
9	\$0.00	\$0.00
TOTAL	\$8700.00	\$38000.00

ZZA01- \$8,700.-

ZZA99

*can 2/22/94
p. 2/25/94*

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

February 1, 1994

Dr. Richard M. Freeland
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10003

Ref: RE-21010-92

Dear Dr. Freeland:

I wish to inform you that the Endowment's offer to match gifts which are raised for the referenced project will terminate March 31, 1994. If there is a possibility that additional gift certifications will be forwarded to the Endowment before the offer terminates, please advise the Donations Section of the Grants Office of the amount of the gifts and the date by which the certification will be forwarded to NEH.

Any questions you may have about the feasibility of extending the offer period should be resolved before the current offer terminates. In the event we do not hear from your institution by this date, the offer will automatically be closed.

Sincerely,

Stephen F. Veneziani
Grants Administrator

cc: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

1
GRANTS OFFICE
1994 JAN 31 PM 1:20

Narrative Report to the
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

January 27, 1994

Project: The Papers of Robert Morris
Grant Number: RE-21010-92
Project Director: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
Institution: Queens College of the
City University of New York
Grant Period: July 1-December 31, 1993

SENT TO DIVISION

PROGRESS REPORT

Summary

The following chart outlines the status of work planned for the grant period July 1, 1993-December 31, 1993.

PLANNED	COMPLETED
Fund raising: \$38,000 to be raised	\$29,300 obtained \$10,000 pledged for 1994
Outreach:	Paper presented at 18th Century Studies Conference November 1993
	Paper on Philadelphia Mutiny being revised for possible publication by <u>PMHB</u>
	Presentation on indexing at ADE Conference Workshop
Editorial:	
Submission of volume 8 to press for copyediting; review of copyedited manuscript	Subvention obtained. Volume sent to press for copyediting. To be returned in March 1994
Changes keyed into machine-readable files	Copyediting corrections still to be entered
Encoding of files	Postponed until copyedited manuscript returned
Volume submitted to press/typesetter	Postponed
Preliminary annotation of volume 9 done	95 percent done. Preliminary Index prepared; corrections keyed as work progresses
First verification of microform texts completed	Done; corrections keyed. Preliminary index prepared

Second verification and minimal
annotation of microform texts
1/3 completed

Done

Final Editing of volume 9
two-thirds completed

Volume reviewed by Nuxoll
Texts reclassified for
volume and microform;
Further research
assigned. Corrections
proofed. Checking and
rewriting about 20-25
percent done

All subsequent production work and editing of the index of volume 8 remains postponed until copyediting is completed and the manuscript returned.

Corrections and revisions will continue to be entered on volume 8 as needed until copyediting is completed.

In the interim

Dr. Gallagher has continued the second verification and annotation of the last third of volume 9, and of related microform texts. This work is now virtually complete. She will assist Dr. Nuxoll in checking and polishing the first part of the volume whenever she is not involved in the production work on volume 8.

Dr. Nuxoll continued the final editing of the first part of volume 9.

Kenneth Pearl completed the first verification of microform texts this summer and proofed corrections of previously verified microform texts.

Kathleen Mullen resolved format questions for volumes 8 and 9.

Progress Report: Narrative

Editorial Progress

The University of Pittsburgh Press could not afford to begin copyediting volume 8 until it obtained a publication subvention. It applied to both the NEH and subsequently to the NHPRC once that agency's subventions were restored. The project sent a copy of the complete manuscript to the press to enable the staff to make their cost estimates and to send appropriate data and samples to the subvention agencies. Copies of the manuscript were also forwarded to two readers, John McCusker and Paul Smith, who sent reports to the press for submission with the NEH subvention application. Copies of the readers' reports were enclosed with our last progress report. The editors used the readers' reports as guidance for improving the manuscript prior to the copyediting stage. The NEH awarded the press a subvention in August 1993. The press announced it could begin copyediting in November, estimating that the volume would be returned to the editors in February 1994. The date has since been pushed back to March 1994 because of a backlog of manuscripts at the press. Kathleen Mullen worked on accounts and other texts whose formats may present printing difficulties to facilitate handling by the printer. She also consulted the printer to iron out the few remaining minor problems related to submitting the volume in machine-readable form. Once the press's revisions are entered, Mullen will enter whatever printing codes are still needed under the printer's new system and the volume will be sent to the

printer on diskette.

Using NLCindex, Dr. Gallagher composed an index to volume 8 from manuscript last spring. Once final pages arrive, page fields will be entered, the program will be rerun, and the index will be edited and returned to the press in machine-readable form. The press has scheduled the volume for publication in spring 1995, so editing the index will probably occur in late summer and early fall 1994.

Volume 9 and Microform Supplement

Preliminary annotation to volume 9, begun by former associate editor Nelson Dearmont, was about 70% done and keyed on Displaywrite by 1992. These notes, converted to WordPerfect PC files at the college computer center, were reformatted and corrected by aides in spring 1993. Dr. Gallagher, having completed annotation to the documents in volume 9 related to foreign trade in conjunction with her work revising headnotes on that subject in volume 8, did a preliminary index to all the documents in the volume to get a better handle on its contents and to identify topics still requiring significant work. She then began systematic reverification and annotation of the final third of volume 9, on which Dearmont had not begun work; she had completed work on about half of the remaining texts when she left for Camp Edit and for summer vacation in June. Upon her return in August she continued this process; an estimated 95 percent of preliminary annotation is now composed and keyed.

Dr. Nuxoll has been reviewing the entire volume checking

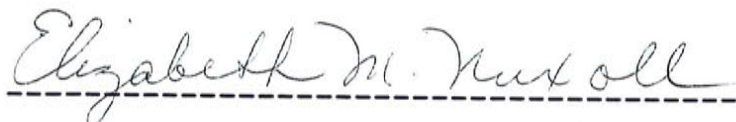
corrections of texts, reclassifying texts for volume or microform, updating cross references, preparing research requests on topics needing further work, and coordinating the work done with what remained for Gallagher to do in the final portion of the volume. In the fall Nuxoll began systematic final editing, checking all notes and rewriting as needed; that work is now 20-25 percent done.

Because preliminary classification of texts as to full type, reduced type, or microform was done prior to the staff decision to include private and business texts, all such documents were reclassified based on overall significance and representativeness. As rearranged, the documents scheduled for volume 9 now portray Morris's reorganization of his commercial empire and include an excellent cross section of texts giving concrete examples of economic problems and opportunities immediately following the peace. The staff grouped copies of all the commercial documents into a separate binder so they could be assessed as a group, placement of notes better assigned, and research and annotation of the entire group conducted at one time. All foreign affairs texts were also grouped and evaluated as a whole to facilitate our cooperation with the Foreign Relations of the Confederation project and ensure the best possible integration of notes and texts on that aspect of the volume. Most other documents cover continuations of earlier issues, and little annotation is needed beyond cross referencing and updating of previous notes.

annotation and better direct the work of the new research assistants assigned by the CUNY Graduate Center this fall (Andrew Wax and Thomas Ballinger).

Fund Raising

Fund raising toward the \$38,000 gift-and-matching offer for the 1992-1994 NEH grant has so far netted \$29,300 from foundations and individuals. Another \$10,000 is pledged by the Gould Foundation in 1994 in fulfillment of a matching offer the terms of which the project has now met. Thus, the full \$38,000 will be raised before the match deadline of March 31, 1994, and a small balance will remain which could be carried over toward a subsequent matching award.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Elizabeth M. Nuxoll", is written over a horizontal dashed line.

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Project Director

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

TO RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Richard M. Freeman
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue, 3d Floor
New York, NY 10003

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

11/24

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT / FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM

07/92

THRU

06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$

180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$

24,200.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$

204,200.00

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS
AMOUNT

OFFERED \$

33000.

OFFER EXPIRES

03/94

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$20,000 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in OFDA section 45.132.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants Office

Name and Title

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

594/50200 251-4-2407-4102

\$20,000.00

Kys
11/30/93Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

GRANTS OFFICE

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

N E H -- ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:	24 0060 A	RECORDED: 11-23-93
GRANT NUMBER:	RE 21010 92	
GRANTEE:	CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College	
PROJ. DIRECTOR:	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	
FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:	\$38,000.00	
OFFER EXPIRATION:	03-31-94	
MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:	\$0.00	

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT	ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH
999 9 9999 9999 \$20000.00	251 4 2407 4102 \$20000.00
	\$0.00
	\$0.00
	TOTAL MATCH: \$20000.00

--- CURRENT SCHEDULE ---

MATCH	FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED --	\$38000.00				
RELEASED --	\$24200.00				
BALANCE --	\$13800.00				
GIFTS					
RAISED --	\$24200.00				
REQUIRED --	\$38000.00				
PROCESSED --	\$24200.00				
BALANCE --	\$13800.00				
EXCESS --	\$0.00				

*NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

FUND. LEVELS

OR \$180,000.-

G 0

M 24,200.

Total \$204,200.

--- DONATION BREAKDOWN ---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$0.00	\$200.00
2	\$0.00	\$0.00
3	\$20000.00	\$24000.00
4	\$0.00	\$0.00
5	\$0.00	\$0.00
6	\$0.00	\$0.00
7	\$0.00	\$0.00
8	\$0.00	\$0.00
9	\$0.00	\$0.00
TOTAL	\$20000.00	\$24200.00

ZZA01- \$20,000.-

ZZA99

JAN 11/23/94

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

WARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn. Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Richard M. Frost and
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
77 Fifth Avenue, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10003

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Duffell

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-89

ACTION TAKEN:

Awarded

DATE OF ACTION:

12/30/92

ID NUMBER:

NE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM

07/92

THRU

06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$ 29,200.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 209,200.00

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38,000.00

OFFER EXPIRES

03/94

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and attached to the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$5,000 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended. All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in OERI section 45.132.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

Name and Title

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants Office

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

504-50200 251-4-240 4-4192

\$5,000.00

KYS
1/3/94

Elizabeth M. Duffell
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
55-40 Parsons Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11355

GRANTS OFFICE

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

N E H ROUTING SHEET NUMBER: 94 0094 A RECORDED: 12-17-93
 GRANT NUMBER: PE 21010 92
 GRANTEE: CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College
 PROJ. DIRECTOR: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
 FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL: \$38,000.00
 OFFER EXPIRATION: 03-31-94
 MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND: \$.00

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT	ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH
999 9 9999 9999 \$5000.00	251 4 2407 4102 \$5000.00
	\$0.00
	\$0.00
	TOTAL MATCH: \$5000.00

---CURRENT SCHEDULE---

MATCH		FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED	--	\$38000.00				
RELEASED	--	\$29200.00				
BALANCE	--	\$8800.00				

GIFTS
 RAISED -- \$29200.00
 REQUIRED -- \$38000.00
 PROCESSED -- \$29200.00
 BALANCE -- \$8800.00
 EXCESS -- \$.00

*NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

FUND LEVELS

OR \$180,000.-

G 0

M 29,200.-

TOTAL \$209,200.-

---DONATION BREAKDOWN---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$0.00	\$200.00
2	\$0.00	\$0.00
3	\$5000.00	\$29000.00
4	\$0.00	\$0.00
5	\$0.00	\$0.00
6	\$0.00	\$0.00
7	\$0.00	\$0.00
8	\$0.00	\$0.00
9	\$0.00	\$0.00
TOTAL	\$5000.00	\$29200.00

ZZA01 - \$5,000.-

ZZA99

OK 12/21/93
 p. 1/3/94

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002590

WARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Bx. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Richard H. Freedland
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
29 Fifth Avenue, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10003

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuroff

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1/81-84

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

01/25/94

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM 01/01/92 THRU 06/30/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$ 29,300.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 209,300.00

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.00

OFFER EXPIRES

03/94

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$100 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.132.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants Office

Name and Title

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

594/50200 251-4-2407-4102

\$100.00

Elizabeth M. Nuroff
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
25-30 Bayside Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11357KYS
1/28/94

GRANTS OFFICE

N A T I O N A L E N D O W M E N T F O R T H E H U M A N I T I E S

N E H - ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:	94 0142 A	RECORDED: 01-21-94
GRANT NUMBER:	RE 21010 92	
GRANTEE:	CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College	
PROJ. DIRECTOR:	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	
FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:	\$38,000.00	
OFFER EXPIRATION:	03-31-94	
MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:	\$.00	

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---		ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH	
ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT		ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH	
999 9 9992 9992	\$100.00	251 4 2407 4102	\$100.00
			\$.00
			\$.00
		TOTAL MATCH:	\$100.00

---CURRENT SCHEDULE---					
MATCH		FY-94	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED	--	\$38000.00			
RELEASED	--	\$29300.00			
BALANCE	--	\$8700.00			
GIFTS					
RAISED	--	\$29300.00			
REQUIRED	--	\$38000.00			
PROCESSED	--	\$29300.00			
BALANCE	--	\$8700.00			
EXCESS	--	\$.00			

*NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

Fund. levels

OR \$180,000.-

G 0

M 29,300.-

TOTAL \$209,300.-

---DONATION BREAKDOWN---		
CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$100.00	\$300.00
2	\$.00	\$.00
3	\$.00	\$29000.00
4	\$.00	\$.00
5	\$.00	\$.00
6	\$.00	\$.00
7	\$.00	\$.00
8	\$.00	\$.00
9	\$.00	\$.00
TOTAL	\$100.00	\$29300.00

ZZA01- \$100.-

ZZA99

aw 1/25/94
p. 1/26/94

The Papers of Robert Morris

July 29, 1993

Ms. Alice Hudgins
Grants Office
Rm. 310
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Ms. Hudgins:

Enclosed are two copies of our second semi-annual progress report for grant RE-21010 for the period January 1 to June 30, 1993. -42

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

Enclosures

cc: G. Michael Prasad, Director
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
Queens College

Directors
Elizabeth M. Nuxoll,
Project Director/Coeditor
Mary A. Y. Gallagher,
Coeditor
Kathleen H. Mullen,
Assistant Editor
Clarence L. Ver Steeg,
Editorial Advisor
E. James Ferguson,
Editor Emeritus

Sponsored by
Queens College/CUNY
under grants from the
National Endowment
for the Humanities
and the
National Historical
Publications and Records
Commission

Published by
University of
Pittsburgh Press



Queens College/CUNY
Flushing, New York 11367-1597
Telephone (718) 997-5180

SENT TO DIVISION

FILED
Shen

The Papers of Robert Morris

1

Narrative Report to the NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

July 28, 1993

Project: The Papers of Robert Morris
Grant Number: RE-21010-92
Project Director: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
Institution: Queens College of The City University of New York
Grant Period: January 1-June 30, 1993

Directors

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll,
Project Director/Coeditor
Mary A. Y. Gallagher,
Coeditor
Kathleen H. Mullen,
Assistant Editor
Clarence L. Ver Steeg,
Editorial Advisor
E. James Ferguson,
Editor Emeritus

Sponsored by

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Commission

Published by

University of
Pittsburgh Press

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Queens College/CUNY
Flushing, New York 11367-1597
Telephone (718) 997-5180

SENT TO DIVISION

PROGRESS REPORT

Summary

The following chart outlines the status of work planned for the grant period January 1, 1993-June 30, 1993.

PLANNED	COMPLETED
Fund raising: \$38,000 to be raised	\$4,200 obtained
Outreach:	<p>Papers presented at 18th Century Studies Conference submitted for publication</p> <p>Articles published in encyclopedia</p> <p>Foreign affairs texts and notes from volumes 8 and 9 shared with Foreign Relations under the Articles of Confederation project</p>
Editorial:	
Submission of volume 8 to press for copyediting; review of copyedited manuscript	<p>To be done after subvention obtained</p> <p>Introduction prepared, reviewed and polished</p> <p>Volume sent to press to prepare subvention application</p> <p>Volume sent to readers</p> <p>Further polishing and correcting done</p> <p>Charts and difficult to format texts reviewed and corrected</p>

Changes keyed into machine-readable files	Further corrections are still being entered
Encoding of volume files	Postponed until copyedited manuscript returned
Volume submitted to press/typesetter	Postponed
Preliminary annotation of volume 9 done	80-90% Done Preliminary Index prepared
First verification of microform texts completed	Ninety five percent done corrections entered and checked Preliminary index prepared
Final Editing of volume 9 One Third Completed	Volume reviewed by Nuxoll Texts reclassified for volume and microform Further research assigned Corrections proofed Final checking and rewriting still to be done

All subsequent production work and editing of the index of volume 8 remains postponed until subvention obtained and copyediting done.

Corrections and revisions will continue to be made on volume 8 as needed until copyediting begins.

In the interim

Dr. Gallagher is continuing the second verification and annotation of the last third of volume 9.

Dr. Nuxoll continues the final editing of the first part of volume 9.

Kenneth Pearl is completing the first verification of microform texts this summer and reviewing corrections of previously verified microform texts

Kathleen Mullen is resolving format questions for volumes 8 and 9.

Progress Report: NarrativeEditorial Progress

The University of Pittsburgh Press had long specified that it would be ineffective to begin copyediting volume 8 until the entire volume is completed, thoroughly reviewed by our editorial advisers, and all corrections entered. That process is virtually complete. However, complications arose at the news that there would be no NHPRC subventions for FY 1993. The press cannot begin copyediting until assured of a subvention. It agreed to submit an application to the NEH subvention program in the interest of speeding up the publishing process. Copies of the volume were sent to two readers, John McCusker and Paul Smith, who sent reports to the press for submission with the NEH subvention application. Copies of the readers' reports are enclosed. A copy of the manuscript was also sent to the press to enable the staff to make their cost estimates, and give advice on any further procedures that will facilitate preparation of the final manuscript. Now that NHPRC subventions are reinstated the press will also submit an application to that agency. We will learn at the end of August if the press obtained a subvention from either. Kathleen Mullen has been finalizing accounts and other texts whose formats present printing difficulties to facilitate handling by the press. She also consulted the printer to iron out the few remaining minor problems related to submitting the volume in machine readable form.

Volume 8

Major headnotes on such topics as postwar commerce, the opening of the China trade, the Philadelphia mutiny of 1783, army pay and disbandment, and the relocation of the nation's capital were revised after having been reviewed at least twice by our editorial adviser Clarence Ver Steeg and by Editor Emeritus E. James Ferguson. Such headnotes, together with the longer footnotes, are designed to explicate not merely the documents at which they are placed, but all the documents dealing with that subject in our series, including the various Diary references and texts destined for the microform supplement. The volumes do not conveniently divide into chapters, so substantive annotation is placed at the first major reference to a topic, or at a particularly significant text on the subject. Thus, such notes are often substantially larger than the document at which they are placed, a fact which has led a few reviewers to consider the annotation disproportionate to the text. We believe such comments are based on a misunderstanding of the placement of our notes. Nevertheless, the readers for the NEH subvention application were asked to comment on the level and appropriateness of the annotation, and included their answers in their reports.

The final quarter of volume 8 was sent to our advisers during the summer and fall of 1992. Their final corrections were reviewed and entered. Over 900 documents were scheduled for inclusion in volume 8, about 200 more than in volume 7. Since

this will probably produce too large a volume, (the press estimated over 1000 pages) we are moving additional documents into the microform supplement in consultation with our advisers and the press. After changes suggested by the press during copyediting are entered, we will encode the volume and send it to the printer on diskette.

Using NLCindex, Dr. Gallagher composed an index to volume 8 from manuscript this spring. Once final pages arrive, page fields will be entered, the program will be rerun, and the index will be edited and returned to the press in machine-readable form.

Volume 9 and Microform Supplement

Preliminary annotation to volume 9, begun by associate editor Nelson Dearmont, was about 70% done and keyed on Displaywrite. These notes, converted to Word Perfect PC files at the college computer center, were reformatted and corrected by aides this spring. Dr. Gallagher, having completed annotation to the documents in volume 9 related to trade in conjunction with her work revising headnotes on that subject in volume 8, did a preliminary index to all the documents in the volume to get a better handle on its contents and to identify topics still requiring significant work. She then began systematic reverification and annotation of the final third of volume 9, on which Dearmont had not begun work; she had completed work on about half of the remaining texts when she left for Camp Edit and for summer vacation in June. An estimated 80-90 percent of

preliminary annotation is now composed and keyed.

Dr. Nuxoll has been reviewing the entire volume checking corrections of texts, reclassifying texts for volume or microform, updating cross references, preparing research requests on topics needing further work, and coordinating the work done with what remains for Gallagher to do in the final portion of the volume. In the fall she will begin systematic final editing, checking all notes and rewriting as needed.

Because preliminary classification of texts as to full type, reduced type, or microform was done prior to the staff decision to include private and business texts, all such documents were reclassified based on overall significance and representativeness. As rearranged, the documents scheduled for volume 9 now portray Morris's reorganization of his commercial empire and include an excellent cross section of texts giving concrete examples of economic problems and opportunities immediately following the peace. The staff grouped copies of all the commercial documents into a separate binder so they could be assessed as a group, placement of notes better assigned, and research and annotation of the entire group conducted at one time. All foreign affairs texts were also grouped and evaluated as a whole to facilitate our cooperation with the Foreign Relations of the Confederation project and ensure the best possible integration of notes and texts on that aspect of the volume. Most other documents cover continuations of earlier issues, and little annotation is needed beyond cross referencing

and updating of previous notes.

When time permitted, our research assistants undertook preliminary verification of the microform documents. Our present research assistant, Kenneth Pearl, is completing that task this summer. Corrections have been keyed for about ninety percent of these texts, but second verification of microform texts remains to be done.

Outreach Programs

Articles composed by staff members for The American Revolution: An Encyclopedia (Garland, 1993) were published this spring. All were based primarily on work done under the auspices of our project. Copies are enclosed.

Dr. Nuxoll is scheduled to present a paper "Illegitimacy, Family Status, and the Limits on Protecting the Interests of Women and Children: The Morris-Croxall Family as a Case Study" at a session on Order and Disorder in the Lives of Eighteenth-Century Women at the conference of the East Central American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies at Towson State University in November. Dr. Gallagher will present a paper based on her work on 18th Century Peru at the same session, while Sarah Dine will present a paper based on the Drinker Diary.

Since many of our documents relate closely to the topics to be covered by the Foreign Relations under the Articles of Confederation project, and some should be considered for publication in that series, we sent on diskette all the relevant unpublished texts related to foreign affairs and the related

annotation scheduled for volumes 8 and 9 to that project. That eliminated the need for a staff member to come to project offices to examine our files and should avoid some unnecessary rekeying of texts relevant to both editions. We try to coordinate our edition with others covering the time period so as to make each more useful to readers and researchers.

Fund raising

Fund raising toward the \$38,000 gift and matching for the 1992-1994 NEH matching offer has so far netted \$4,200 from foundations and individuals.

Elizabeth M. Newell



THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20540

MANUSCRIPT DIVISION

February 25, 1993

To: Managing Editor, University of Pittsburgh Press

Subject: The Papers of Robert Morris, volume 8

Among the documentary projects published during the past generation, this volume ranks with the very best, not only because of the intrinsic value of the documents brought together, but because of the superb presentation and annotation of the texts, and quality scholarship. The work of the Superintendent of Finance during the many crises faced by the United States in 1783, the focus of this volume, is of fundamental significance to understanding the birth of the United States, and the scholarship presented in this manuscript supersedes nearly all previous work done on the period. The first seven volumes of the series represent one of the most significant historical undertakings of our time, and the present volume is clearly the equal of its worthy predecessors. Serious students of the American Revolution will hereafter turn to these pages for answers to the most significant questions and problems related to their studies, and teachers will find the work a rich resource for assignments and research papers. In sum, the manuscript is an extraordinary achievement.

The public career of Robert Morris is more central to the history of this period than of any figure save Washington, yet recent scholarship has comparatively neglected the economic dimension of the birth of the United States. As the editor of 21 volumes of Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, the past two decades, I have long admired the Robert Morris Papers project, and have found in its pages the best material and most convincing analyses ever done on dozens of subjects related to the work of Congress and the development of the nation during the 1780s. The range of issues covered in the present volume is truly staggering, and the editors' presentation is remarkably free of the ideological overtones that have crippled so much of the traditional literature in the field. It is also relevant to note that the editors have clearly articulated and justified their editorial method and selection policy, and that their headnotes are models of clear and concise exposition. The volume contains many examples of brilliant textual analysis, dating of undated material, and recovery of original meaning from the misguided interventions of 19th-century editors. Here, then, is a veritable encyclopedia of information on nearly all the significant topics related to the conduct of the superintendent of finance's office, a number of which, in the interest of economy, I shall simply list as a sample of the topics for which this volume is now the premier source.

Demobilization of the Continental Army--a challenging problem that threatened the very existence of American society and government.
Demobilization and sale of the Continental Navy.

The Philadelphia mutiny of June 1783 and flight of Congress.

The location of the federal capital.

The Continental fiscal crisis--of which inability to pay the armed services was but a single aspect.

Foreign credit and loans--particularly Dutch and French--and myriad related issues such as remittances abroad, Morris' use of bills of exchange, and contracts with the French farmers general.

Morris' use of his private credit--Morris' Notes, counterfeiting threats, relations with the Bank of North America, etc.

State relations with the Continental government--usually having an underlying fiscal component.

Morris' relations with Congress--including the machinations of his enemies in and out of Congress.

Efforts to vest Congress with revenue authority.

Morris' relations with the French and Dutch ambassadors.

Operation of the Marine Department--settlement of accounts, court martials, etc.

Settlement of the states' Continental accounts--plus the work of various receivers, commissioners, and loan officers.

America's postwar trade prospects--British restrictions and the American response; Spanish restrictions, the curtailment of the Cuba trade, and appointment of an American agent to Havana; French restrictions, and associated efforts to maintain cordial relations through designation of free ports, etc.

The China trade initiative--revealing the complex mixture of Morris' public and private activities and roles.

The use of Thomas Paine as a publicist, and the initiative to obtain his appointment as "Historiographer" of the United States.

Army contracting policies and relations with rations contractors.

The struggle to provide meager disability and widows' benefits.

And the list could go on, but I shall instead draw this appraisal to a close with a few observations on how this wonderful volume could be improved.

First, I suggest relegating the following documents (to and from Gouverneur Morris) to the microfilm supplement to the edition:

Samuel Ogden to GM, May 7

George Plater to GM, July 7, and August 24

GM to Isaac Wilkins, August 3

Robert R. Livingston to GM, August 15

And I would "abstract" Jay's September 24 letter to GM in the manner of the presentation of RM to William Livingston of September 16.

I would attempt to delete a few of the identifying notes on prominent persons such as John Adams who appear repeatedly in the volume, especially where the identifying comments appear close together, as in the two letters of RM to Lovell of July 8, where the second identification of Lovell as "receiver of Continental taxes for Massachusetts" could be omitted.

And I would simply "footnote" the second of RM's letters to La Luzerne

Finally, I shall note a few errors in what is a remarkably error free manuscript.

At RM to Whipple, July 5, Whipple is identified as "receiver of Continental taxes for Rhode Island" instead of New Hampshire.

At RM to Mass. Governor, July 14, note 2, p. 2, 1.8--state line should read state lines.

At Parker to RM, July 17, note 7, bottom p. 2--use of Massachusetts Bay for Massachusetts (I believe the only occurrence in the volume).

At Grand to RM, July 20, p. 6, par. 2--Barclay is conformity for in conformity.

At RM Diary, Aug. 9, note 2--Warren ID, "Massachusetts militia" instead of "state militia." And perhaps add "commissioner of the Eastern Navy Board," meaningful in the context of RM as agent of marine?

At RM to Caswell, Sept. 30--document description, NcAR for Nc-Ar. I believe this usage also appears several times elsewhere.

President to RM, Oct. 30, p. 644--re "alternating between Annapolis and Trenton." Did not Congress simply move from A. to T., not alternate? And in the context of the substance of this note, perhaps on p. 645 make mention of the fact that RM was later named commissioner for planning the federal site?

RM Diary, December 8, note--instead of He left the city for Mount Vernon, would be more accurate to say that left for Annapolis to resign his commission before Congress.

And in the citations to the Aileen Moore Topping translations (perhaps a dozen in the volume), I noted only one occurrence of "Manuscript Division" in the citation--at RM to President, June 30, p. 54, note 48. I am sure that it would be acceptable to delete that reference rather than to add it to all the others.

Respectfully submitted,

Paul H. Smith

Paul H. Smith, Editor
Letters of Delegates to Congress

RECEIVED FEB 23 1993

TRINITY UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
715 STADIUM DRIVE
SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS 78212

John J. McCusker
Ewing Halsell Distinguished Professor of American History
Professor of Economics
(210) 736-7625; (210) 736-7305 Fax

16 February 1993

Ms. Catherine Marshall
University of Pittsburgh Press
127 North Bellefield Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

Dear Ms. Marshall:

Since writing you last month I have received the copy of the typescript of volume eight of *The Papers of Robert Morris*. I have gone through the volume carefully and have also consulted my copies of the earlier volumes in the series for comparative purposes.

I must begin my report by telling you that I have long considered *The Papers of Robert Morris* to be one of the most important of the current documentary editing projects. The late revolutionary and early confederation period is perhaps the most significant time in the history of the young republic yet it is neither well known as such nor well understood. It experienced not only the ending of the war but also the transition from central government under the Continental Congress to central government under the Articles of Confederation. And it marked the beginning of the drive to change things yet again and to establish the third central government for the country in a decade. It was, in the words of John Fiske, a critical period in American history—and the crisis was not handled particularly well.

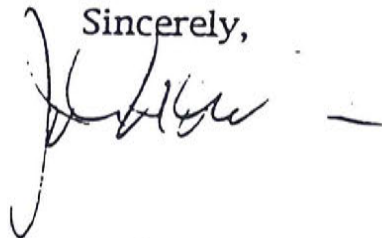
Much of the explanation for the failures of government stems from the inability of the new nation to face and solve its fiscal difficulties. Problems of central government finance continued to plague the country for years to come, in part because of the poor job done during the early 1780s. Similar problems plague us still today. There are those who argue that we of the 1990s would benefit very much

from a return of Alexander Hamilton and his policies. As all the readers of *The Papers of Robert Morris* well know, Hamilton borrowed many of his ideas from Robert Morris. Thus, for me, the obvious value of the project to publish, and make intelligible, the Morris papers.

The key to my valuing so very highly what the several editors of *The Papers of Robert Morris* have done is focused in that one phrase "make intelligible." The issues that Morris faced were many and involved. First and last, he was a businessman. The modes of business in his era were arcane even then and they have become only more of a mystery as the centuries have passed. As the Superintendent of Finance he dealt with the complexities of finance, public and private, matters even more obscure. The editors have made the records of Morris's endeavors not only available but accessible. Collecting, editing, and printing them accomplishes the first objective; the immensely useful editorial apparatus they provide accomplishes the second one. Reviewers of every volume have been abundant in their praise of this project and most have gone out of their way to comment on the usefulness of the explanations offered in the annotations. Anyone who complains that the editors have done too much in this regard misses the point. Either he or she is a student of business and finance and thinks such apparatus belabors the obvious or—and I would guess that this is the more likely explanation—the petulant critic fails to appreciate how little he or she really understands about the abstruse nature of the issues. Without the help of the critical apparatus, the average reader's grasp of the documents would be very much impaired and the usefulness of the project undermined. The Morris papers would be considerably less intelligible.

I, for one, consider *The Papers of Robert Morris* as the very model of a modern major editing project. In every way but one it has struck the perfect balance.* I am delighted to have this opportunity to say so.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "John Jay", followed by a horizontal line.

* My only lament is a counsel of absolute perfection (and thus a fault on my part): I want more! That is, I want more of the papers included in the published volumes, a larger microfilm coverage, and the editing and publication of the rest of the Morris papers. (Please forgive this gratuitous annotation.)

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506



1993 FEB 25 PM 2 38

NEAH

February 25, 1993

Dr. Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College
65-30 Kissena Boulevard
Flushing, NY 11367-0904

Ref.: RE-21010-92

Dear Dr. Nuxoll:

Thank you for the detailed interim performance report, dated February 3, 1993, on your grant to edit the papers of Robert Morris. It is good to see that the project is benefiting from higher staffing levels and that the press is seeking comments from the outside readers about the level of annotation in the edition.

I am glad that the project continues to make substantial progress on Volume 9 and the microfilm supplement. In regard to Volume 8, some of the delay which you describe is of course unavoidable, since it is related to the suspension of NHPRC subventions for 1993. But I also see that some editorial work remains to be done on Volume 8 and that the staff lost time during the move into the new offices. This slippage is a matter of some concern, since the edition was scheduled to be close to completion by the end of the current grant period. Evaluators of any future applications from the Morris project will no doubt want assurance that the project is indeed on course to finish its work in a timely manner.

Please give my best wishes to Mary Gallagher and the rest of your staff. I can be of any assistance, do not hesitate to write or call me at 202/606-8207.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Douglas M. Arnold".

Douglas M. Arnold
Program Officer
Editions Program
Division of Research
Programs

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

WARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Richard M. Freeland
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10013

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

01/28/93

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM 07/92 THRU 06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$ 4,200.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 184,200.00

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.00

OFFER EXPIRES

03/94

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$100 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.146.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants Office

Name and Title

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

593/40200 254-3-2407-4102

KYS 1/29/93

\$100.00

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

GRANTS OFFICE

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

N A T I O N A L

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

A L

E N D O W M E N T F O R T H E H U M A N I T I E S

F H -- ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:

93 0130 A

RECORDED: 01-14-93

ANT NUMBER:

RE 21010 92

ANTEE:

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

03. DIRECTOR:

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

D-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:

\$38,000.00

PER EXPIRATION:

03-31-94

TECHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:

\$.00

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

DT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT

2 9 9999 9999 \$100.00

ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH

254 3 2407 4102 \$100.00

\$.00

\$.00

TOTAL MATCH:

\$100.00

---CURRENT SCHEDULE---

TECH	FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED	--	\$38000.00			
RELEASED	--	\$4200.00			
BALANCE	--	\$33800.00			

FTS	
REQUIRED	-- \$4200.00
REQUIRED	-- \$38000.00
PROCESSED	-- \$4200.00
BALANCE	-- \$33800.00
CESS	-- \$.00

NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

Fund. levels

OR \$180,000.

G 0

M 4,200.

Total \$184,200.

---DONATION BREAKDOWN---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$100.00	\$200.00
2	\$.00	\$.00
3	\$.00	\$4000.00
4	\$.00	\$.00
5	\$.00	\$.00
6	\$.00	\$.00
7	\$.00	\$.00
8	\$.00	\$.00
9	\$.00	\$.00
TOTAL	\$100.00	\$4200.00

ZZA01- \$100.-

ZZA99

OK 1/21/93
P. 1/28/93

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

AWARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Richard M. Freeland
President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue, 3rd Floor
New York, NY 10003

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

12/29/92

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM	THRU
07/92	06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$	180,000.00
GIFT \$	
FEDERAL MATCH \$	4,100.00
TOTAL AWARDED \$	184,100.00

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.00

OFFER EXPIRES 03/94

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$2,500 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.146.

H GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

David J. Wallace

Name and Title

Director, Grants Office

R AGENCY USE ONLY:

593/40200 254-3-2407-4102

K-15 12/30/92
\$2,500.00

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

N A T I O N A L E N D O W M E N T F O R T H E H U M A N I T I E S

N E H -- ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:	93 0095 A RECORDED: 12-22-92
GRANT NUMBER:	RE 21010 92
GRANTEE:	CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College
PROJ. DIRECTOR:	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:	\$38,000.00
OFFER EXPIRATION:	03-31-94
MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:	\$.00

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT	ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH
999 9 9999 9999 \$2500.00	254 3 2407 4102 \$2500.00
	\$.00
	\$.00
	TOTAL MATCH: \$2500.00

---CURRENT SCHEDULE---

MATCH	FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED --	\$38000.00				
RELEASED --	\$4100.00				
BALANCE --	\$33900.00				

GIFTS	
RAISED --	\$4100.00
REQUIRED --	\$38000.00
PROCESSED --	\$4100.00
BALANCE --	\$33900.00
EXCESS --	\$.00

NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

Fund levels

OR \$ 180,000.

G 0

M 4,100

total \$ 184,100.

---DONATION BREAKDOWN---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$.00	\$100.00
2	\$.00	\$.00
3	\$2500.00	\$4000.00
4	\$.00	\$.00
5	\$.00	\$.00
6	\$.00	\$.00
7	\$.00	\$.00
8	\$.00	\$.00
9	\$.00	\$.00
TOTAL	\$2500.00	\$4100.00

ZZA01 - \$2,500-

ZZA99

(AK) 12/22/92
D. M. N. K.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

WARD RECIPIENT CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College Institutional Grant Administrator: Allan H. Clark Acting President Research Foundation of CUNY 79 Fifth Avenue New York, NY 10003	ACTION TAKEN: Amendment:	DATE OF ACTION: 10/20/92
	ID NUMBER: RE-21010-92	
	GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD FROM 07/92 THRU 06/94	
	FUNDING OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00 GIFT \$ FEDERAL MATCH \$ 1,600.00 TOTAL AWARDED \$ 181,600.00	
PROJECT DIRECTOR Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS AMOUNT OFFERED \$ 38000.00 OFFER EXPIRES 03/94	
PROJECT TITLE The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84		

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$100 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.146.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants OfficeSignature: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll Name and Title

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

593/40200 254-3-2407-4102

\$100.00

KYS 10/21/92

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

J E H -- ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:	93 0015 A	RECORDED: 10-15-92
GRANT NUMBER:	RE 21010 92	
GRANTEE:	CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College	
PROJ. DIRECTOR:	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	
FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:	\$38,000.00	
OFFER EXPIRATION:	03-31-94	
MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:	\$0.00	

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT	ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH
999 9 9999 9999 \$100.00	254 3 2407 4102 \$100.00
	\$0.00
	\$0.00
	TOTAL MATCH: \$100.00

---CURRENT SCHEDULE---

MATCH	FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY
AUTHORIZED --	\$38000.00				
RELEASED --	\$1600.00				
BALANCE --	\$36400.00				

GIFTS		
RAISED --	\$1600.00	
REQUIRED --	\$38000.00	
PROCESSED --	\$1600.00	
BALANCE --	\$36400.00	
EXCESS --	\$0.00	

NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

Funding

OR \$ 180,000.

G 0

m 1,600.

TOTAL \$ 181,600.

---DONATION BREAKDOWN---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$100.00	\$100.00
2	\$0.00	\$0.00
3	\$0.00	\$1500.00
4	\$0.00	\$0.00
5	\$0.00	\$0.00
6	\$0.00	\$0.00
7	\$0.00	\$0.00
8	\$0.00	\$0.00
9	\$0.00	\$0.00
TOTAL	\$100.00	\$1600.00

ZZA01 - \$100.

ZZA99

dca 10/19/92
p. 10/21/92

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

WARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Allen H. Clark
Acting President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10003

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

06/23/92

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM 07/92 THRU 06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$ 1,500.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 181,500.00

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.00

OFFER EXPIRES 03/94

REMARKS:

A gift certification has been received and matched by the Endowment. This grant is therefore increased by \$1,500 in matching funds to the new funding level indicated above.

We would appreciate your informing the donor(s) that matching funds have been provided by the Endowment.

Please note that the expenditure of certified gift funds is a part of the non-federal share of project costs (cost sharing) and must be included as such on all financial reports. Also, for every dollar in matching funds which is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

All other provisions of this award remain in effect.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.146.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

David J. Wallace

Name and Title

Director, Grants Office

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

592/30200 251-2-2406-4102

\$1,500.00

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

N A T I O N A L E N D O W M E N T F O R T H E H U M A N I T I E S

N E H -- ROUTING SHEET NUMBER:	92 0433 A	RECORDED: 06-17-92
GRANT NUMBER:	RE 21010 92	
GRANTEE:	CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College	
PROJ. DIRECTOR:	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll	
FED-MATCH AUTHORIZED GRAND TOTAL:	\$38,000.00	
OFFER EXPIRATION:	03-31-94	
MATCHING COMMITMENTS ON HAND:	\$0.00	

--- TO BE PROCESSED NOW ---

ACCT-CODE & PROCESSED GIFT	ACCT-CODES & RELEASED FED-MATCH
999 9 9999 9999 \$1500.00	251 2 2406 4102 \$1500.00
	\$0.00
	\$0.00
	TOTAL MATCH: \$1500.00

---CURRENT SCHEDULE---

MATCH	FY-94	FY	FY	FY	FY												
AUTHORIZED --	\$38000.00																
RELEASED --	\$1500.00																
BALANCE --	\$36500.00																
<div style="float: right; text-align: right;"> <u>Fund. wels</u> OR \$180,000.- G 0 M 1,500. <u>Total</u> \$181,500 </div>																	
<table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 50%;">GIFTS</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>RAISED --</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$1500.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>REQUIRED --</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$38000.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PROCESSED --</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$1500.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>BALANCE --</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$36500.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td>EXCESS --</td> <td style="text-align: right;">\$0.00</td> </tr> </table>						GIFTS		RAISED --	\$1500.00	REQUIRED --	\$38000.00	PROCESSED --	\$1500.00	BALANCE --	\$36500.00	EXCESS --	\$0.00
GIFTS																	
RAISED --	\$1500.00																
REQUIRED --	\$38000.00																
PROCESSED --	\$1500.00																
BALANCE --	\$36500.00																
EXCESS --	\$0.00																

*NOTE: Balance = Required - Processed.

---DONATION BREAKDOWN---

CATEGORY	CURRENT	TO-DATE
1	\$0.00	\$0.00
2	\$0.00	\$0.00
3	\$1500.00	\$1500.00
4	\$0.00	\$0.00
5	\$0.00	\$0.00
6	\$0.00	\$0.00
7	\$0.00	\$0.00
8	\$0.00	\$0.00
9	\$0.00	\$0.00
TOTAL	\$1500.00	\$1500.00

ZZA01- \$1,500.

ZZA99

OK 6/23/92
p. 6/24/92

OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

AWARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

Institutional Grant Administrator:

Allen H. Clark
 Acting President
 Research Foundation of CUNY
 79 Fifth Avenue
 New York, NY 10003

ACTION TAKEN:

Amendment

DATE OF ACTION:

06/92

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM 07/92 THRU 06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$ 1,500.00

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 181,500.00

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.00

OFFER EXPIRES 03/93

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

Name and Title

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

592/30200 251-2-2406-4102

\$1,500.00

ACCOUNTING

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

April 10, 1992

Dr. Allan H. Clark
Acting President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10003

Ref: RE-21010-92

Dear Dr. Clark:

It is with pleasure that I write to advise you that the National Endowment for the Humanities has awarded a grant of \$180,000 in support of the project referred to above. This grant is made after careful consideration of the application by the agency's peer review panels and the National Council on the Humanities.

Enclosed is the official notice of action which includes information on the length of the grant period and the terms and conditions that apply to this project. Please review this material carefully and feel free to address any questions concerning the award to the person whose name appears on the second page of the award notification.

I am pleased that the Endowment is able to provide support for this project.

Sincerely,

Lynne V. Cheney
Chairman

Enclosures

cc: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES
OFFICIAL NOTICE OF ACTION

002690

WARD RECIPIENT

CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College

ACTION TAKEN:

New Grant

DATE OF ACTION:

04/10/92

ID NUMBER:

RE-21010-92

GRANT/FELLOWSHIP PERIOD

FROM 07/92 THRU 06/94

FUNDING

OUTRIGHT \$ 180,000.00

GIFT \$

FEDERAL MATCH \$

TOTAL AWARDED \$ 180,000.00

Alan H. Clark
Acting President
Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10003

PROJECT DIRECTOR

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

PROJECT TITLE

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-84

FEDERAL MATCHING FUNDS

AMOUNT

OFFERED \$ 38000.00

OFFER EXPIRES 03/94

REMARKS:

The conditions and special provisions that apply to this grant are attached and will be considered acceptable unless a written objection is submitted within thirty days of the date of this notice. The first request for payment will indicate the grantee's acceptance of the award.

The administration of this grant and the expenditure of funds are subject to:
-General Grant Provisions for Grants to Organizations (Revised October 1985);
-Uniform Administrative Requirements of OMB Circular A-110;
-Audit Requirements of OMB Circular A-133; and
-Cost Principles for Educational Institutions (OMB Circular A-21).

Copies of these documents may be obtained from the NEH Grants Office, Room 310

Instructions for the submission of financial and performance reports will be found in Enclosures 1 and 2 and on the financial reporting forms. A complete schedule of report due dates appears on the last page of the attachment to this notice.

Payment of this grant will be made on an advance basis. Information on requesting payment will be found in Enclosure 1.

This award was funded by the NEH program described in CFDA section 45.146.

NEH GRANTS OFFICE OFFICIAL

Signature

David J. Wallace
Director, Grants Office

Name and Title

FOR AGENCY USE ONLY:

5920200 225-2-2406-4101 \$180,000.00

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll
The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College, CUNY
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, NY 11367

GRANTEE: CUNY Res. Fdn./Queens College GRANT NO: RE-21010-92

BASIS OF AWARD

This grant is made in support of the activities described in Endowment application RE-21010.

ENDOWMENT ADMINISTRATION OF THE AWARD

This grant has been funded by the Division of Research Programs. Questions relating to project activities, the scope of the project, or changes in key project personnel should be addressed to Douglas Arnold of this division. Questions about the regulations that apply to the grant or requests for budget changes or extensions of the grant period should be addressed to Alice Hudgins of the NEH Grants Office.

SPECIAL CONDITIONS AND PROVISIONS

The following conditions and provisions apply to this grant:

1. NEH offers to provide matching funds of up to \$38,000 on condition that (1) an equal amount of eligible gifts is raised and either certified or forwarded to NEH by March 31, 1994, and (2) sufficient funds allocated for matching purposes are available in the Editions Program of the Division of Research. It should be noted that this offer may be withdrawn at any time by the chairman of NEH. Please see the enclosed "Federal Matching Fund Guidelines" for details on the eligibility of gifts and their certification.
2. The plan of work dated March 20, 1992 is approved. Please refer to this plan of work in interim performance reports, comparing goals established in the plan with actual accomplishments. The project's success in meeting its goals will be carefully considered during the evaluation of any request for renewed funding.
3. The budget dated March 30, 1992 is approved. Any variations from the approved budget will be subject to the limitations set forth in the general grant provisions under the heading "Budget Revisions."
4. The indirect cost rate of 45.9% of modified direct costs is accepted as a provisional rate until amended.

As a matter of policy, the Endowment does not anticipate an increase in the award to cover additional costs resulting from the negotiation of an indirect cost rate greater than the rate proposed in the budget; however, the negotiation of a lower rate may result in a reduction of the award. In no event will NEH provide grant funds in excess of actual project costs.

5. Please note that for every dollar in matching funds that is expended on this project, an equal amount of gift funds must also be expended.

6. An acknowledgment of Endowment support must be contained in all materials publicizing or resulting from grant activities. The Endowment suggests that the acknowledgment indicate that this project/book/publication has been supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.

Two copies of all grant products must be forwarded to the Endowment as they become available.

Consistent with Public Law 101-512, grantees and subrecipients who purchase equipment and products under this grant are encouraged, whenever possible, to purchase American-made equipment and products.

ALL CONDITIONS AND PROVISIONS OF THIS GRANT WILL BE CONSIDERED ACCEPTABLE TO THE GRANTEE UNLESS A WRITTEN OBJECTION IS SUBMITTED WITHIN THIRTY DAYS FROM THE DATE OF THIS AWARD.

The following is a listing of the due dates of the reports required for this grant. A copy of this listing should be forwarded to those individuals responsible for the submission of the required reports.

Report	Due Date	Period To Be Covered
Interim Performance Report	01/31/93	07/01/92 to 12/31/92
Interim Performance Report	07/31/93	01/01/93 to 06/30/93
Interim Performance Report	01/31/94	07/01/93 to 12/31/93
Final Financial Report	09/30/94	07/01/92 to 06/30/94
Final Performance Report	09/30/94	07/01/92 to 06/30/94
Federal Cash Transactions Report	10/31/92	07/01/92 to 09/30/92
Federal Cash Transactions Report	01/31/93	10/01/92 to 12/31/92
Federal Cash Transactions Report	04/30/93	01/01/93 to 03/31/93
Federal Cash Transactions Report	07/31/93	04/01/93 to 06/30/93
Federal Cash Transactions Report	10/31/93	07/01/93 to 09/30/93
Federal Cash Transactions Report	01/31/94	10/01/93 to 12/31/93
Federal Cash Transactions Report	04/30/94	01/01/94 to 03/31/94

The original and one copy of interim and final performance reports, and challenge grant annual reports should be forwarded to the NEH Grants Office, Room 310. The original and two copies of final financial reports and program income reports should be forwarded to the NEH Grants Office, Room 310. The Federal Cash Transactions Reports and all requests for payments should be forwarded to the NEH Accounting Office, Room 317.

Narrative Report to the

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

February 3, 1993

Project: The Papers of Robert Morris

Grant Number: RE-21010-92)

Project Director: Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

Institution: Queens College of The City University of New
York

Grant Period: July 1-December 31, 1992

SENT TO DIVISION

ON 2/8/93FILE *gs*

The following chart outlines the status of work planned for the grant period July 1-December 31, 1992.

PLANNED	COMPLETED
Fund raising: \$38,000 to be raised	\$4,200 obtained
Outreach:	Workshop for Queens County Assistant Principals
	Papers presented at 18th Century Studies Conference
Editorial:	
Submission of volume 8 to press for copyediting; review of copyedited manuscript	To be done after entire volume reviewed by advisers and corrected and subvention obtained
	Volume sent to press to prepare subvention application
	Further work to be done on Introduction
Changes keyed into machine-readable files	Corrections are still being entered
Encoding of volume files	Postponed until copyedited manuscript returned
Volume submitted to press/typesetter	Postponed
Preliminary annotation of volume 9 70% done	70% Done Preliminary Index prepared
First verification of microfilm texts completed	Ninety percent done corrections entered

All subsequent production work and editing of the index of volume 8 must be postponed until subvention obtained and copyediting done.

Corrections will continue to be made on volume 8 until copyediting begins.

In the interim

Dr. Gallagher will continue verification and annotation of volume 9.

Dr. Nuxoll will begin final editing of first part of volume 9.

Progress Report: NarrativeEditorial Progress

Staffing of the Papers of Robert Morris was reduced substantially during the first half of 1992. That period covered the final quarter of our 1990-1992 NEH grant and staffing was contingent on raising the full amount of gift-and-matching funds included in the grant. Of the \$58,000 matching offer, the project was only able to raise \$29,730. The staff was reduced accordingly. Since our assistant editor and administrative assistant Kathleen Mullen (b) (6) we postponed her return until the opening of the new NEH grant in July. Student aide funds were kept to a minimum and typing and clerical work was postponed or taken over when necessary by the editorial staff. Associate editor Nelson Dearmont left the payroll in 1991, leaving only two senior editors to continue the final editing of volume 8 and editing of volume 9. Although Dr. Dearmont still assists whenever possible as a volunteer, his time is not sufficient to make a major contribution to the preliminary annotation of volume 9.

In the summer of 1992 Kathleen Mullen returned for a few hours a week; she resumed her full 15 hour a week schedule in the fall. Student aides were recruited in the fall to assist the project in moving from an off-campus to on-campus location in October. They then assisted in reorganizing the new project office and catching up with the clerical work and keyboarding which had been postponed when funds were short. They are now at

work keying corrections to volume 9 and the microform supplement. Anne Anastasi, a Queens College senior, is now our chief student aide; (b) (6) Maria Nuxoll, has continued working a few hours a week training our new aides and performing tasks requiring considerable experience. Since younger students often have more word-processing training than older ones, we also hired Rob Liff, a senior from Townshend Harris High School (a Queens College affiliate whose seniors take college courses here), to assist with the office move and with keyboarding.

Our new office is smaller but more conveniently located for both administrative and research purposes. It is in the same building with the History Department and Grants Office, and is opposite the Queens College Library. However, considerable staff time had to be spent on the move and related organizational tasks this fall.

The staff continued to make greater progress in fulfilling their scheduled preliminary work on volume 9 than on the more complex task of finalizing volume 8. Because it was easier to raise private funds for work on volume 9, our last volume, than for completing volume 8, it has been necessary to advance work on both volumes simultaneously in order to meet the terms of our various grants. Moreover, student aides and research assistants could be assigned basic tasks remaining to be done for volume 9 and for the microform supplement, but, except for keying corrections, could not do much toward the polishing and indexing of volume 8. Those tasks must be held for the coeditors and are

affected by the pace of fund-raising and administrative activities. Because of the global dimensions of the commerce issue and of Morris's post-war entrepreneurial activities, a significant part of the research for volumes 8 and 9 involved sources in foreign languages. Many of these required translation and transcription for editorial use. Queries made as final editing advanced bore more fruit than expected, and led to further revisions. Extra checking and polishing has been needed to ensure that the work of the new editors was as far as possible consistent in style and format with the material in previous volumes. Computer conversion also necessitated some additional work but presumably will save time during the later production processes.

Since our efforts to secure appropriate reviewing for volume 7 proved largely unavailing (most journals preferring to review at least two volumes at a time, or only at the beginning and end of the series), the editors also decided it would be more effective to have the final volumes and microform supplement come out as close together as possible, even if that meant somewhat delaying publication of volume 8 to ensure that volume 9 and the microform supplement keep moving forward. In this way the marketing and reviewing customary for a completed series should encourage maximum use of our materials.

The press indicated that it did not wish to begin copyediting volume 8 until the entire volume is completed, thoroughly reviewed by our editorial advisers, and all

corrections entered. That process is now nearly complete. However, further complications arose at the news that there would be no NHPRC subventions for FY 1993. The press cannot begin copyediting until assured of a subvention. It has agreed to submit an application to the NEH subvention program in the interest of speeding up the publishing process. Copies of the volume have been sent to two readers, John McCusker and Paul Smith, who will submit their reports to the press for submission with the NEH subvention application. A copy was also sent to the press to enable the staff to make their cost estimates, and give advice on any further procedures that will facilitate preparation of the final manuscript. Discussions are ongoing with the printer to iron out the few remaining minor problems related to submitting the volume in machine readable form.

Volume 8

Major headnotes on such topics as postwar commerce, the opening of the China trade, the Philadelphia mutiny of 1783, army pay and disbandment, and the relocation of the nation's capital have been revised after having been reviewed at least twice by our editorial adviser Clarence Ver Steeg and by Editor Emeritus E. James Ferguson. Such headnotes, together with the longer footnotes, are designed to explicate not merely the documents at which they are placed, but all the documents dealing with that subject in our series, including the various Diary references and texts destined for the microform supplement. The volumes do not conveniently divide into chapters, so substantive annotation is

placed at the first major reference to a topic, or at a particularly significant text on the subject. Thus, such notes are often substantially larger than the document at which they are placed, a fact which has led a few reviewers to consider the annotation disproportionate to the text. We believe such comments are based on a misunderstanding of the placement of our notes. Nevertheless, the readers for the subvention application have been asked to comment on the level and appropriateness of the annotation.

Final review of texts was done by Dr. Nuxoll in the course of her final editing, which is now completed. The third quarter of the volume was sent to our editorial advisers for review in the winter of 1991-1992. The remainder of the volume was sent to our advisers during the summer and fall of 1992. Their corrections are still being reviewed and entered. Over 900 documents are currently scheduled for inclusion in volume 8, about 200 more than in volume 7. Since this will probably produce too large a volume, we plan to move additional documents into the microform supplement in consultation with our advisers and the press. After changes suggested by the press during copyediting are entered, we will encode the volume and send it to the printer on diskette.

Using NLCindex, Dr. Gallagher composed an index to volume 8 from manuscript this spring. Once final pages arrive, page fields will be entered, the program will be rerun, and the index will be edited and returned to the press in machine-readable

form.

Volume 9 and Microform Supplement

Preliminary annotation to volume 9, begun by associate editor Nelson Dearmont, is about 70% done. Dr. Gallagher has been composing annotation to the documents in volume 9 related to trade in conjunction with her work revising headnotes on that subject in volume 8. She is now doing a preliminary index to all the documents in the volume to get a better handle on its contents and to identify topics still requiring significant work. All foreign language texts and their translations have received several verifications. Former research assistants completed the first verification of texts scheduled for volume 9 and the addenda. Corrections have been keyed by our student aides. Dr. Dearmont followed behind them doing a second verification of texts and proofing corrections. That process is about two-thirds done, and recorrections are being keyed. When time permitted, our research assistants also undertook preliminary verification of the microform documents. Our present research assistant, Kenneth Pearl, worked on microform texts during the summer. About ninety percent of the microform texts have already received such preliminary verification. Corrections have been keyed for about three-fourths of these texts, but proofing and second verification of all microform texts still remain to be done.

Outreach Programs

Dr. Gallagher has been following up the editors' role in promoting a document-based Bicentennial essay contest in 1987

with explorations of the feasibility of publishing documentary source books for class use under the auspices of the Association for Documentary Editing. She and Dr. Nuxoll met or spoke with various representatives of the ADE, the NEH, and the NHPRC to ascertain the most effective techniques for producing and marketing such educational materials. However, no administrative mechanism for this program has yet been established. For the present, a few individual projects have been developing lesson plans in conjunction with local organizations or funders. Dr. Gallagher has recently been asked to organize a workshop on teaching with documents the 1993 ADE convention.

Partly as an outgrowth of this effort, Drs. Nuxoll and Gallagher also agreed to participate in a program established by Queens College under a recently obtained NEH grant for summer institutes for secondary school teachers. The object of the program is to improve secondary school pedagogy by training faculty "to teach close observation and reporting as tools for understanding events in the past and present." Comparison will be made between first-hand, contemporary accounts and subsequent historical or journalistic analysis. Issues of current interest will be given historical context through treatment of similar events in the past. In the course of the institutes, secondary school administrators and teachers will have the opportunity to work with primary source materials in a journalistic medium "learning to appreciate the energy of immediacy while at the same time judiciously questioning its power."

November. Dr. Nuxoll gave a slide presentation and lecture based on project materials indicating Morris's role in national unification during the Confederation period. Copies of the contest question and documentary lesson plans developed for the Bicentennial of the Constitution and other project materials were distributed. Dr. Gallagher then spoke on ways to use such documents in the class room. Jeff Sommer, foreign affairs editor for Newsday, gave a news briefing on the current EEC situation. The participants were able to ask questions and comment on the comparisons between the two eras. Dean Elaine Maimon and Journalism Professor Joann Lee then demonstrated ways of applying the techniques of journalism and writing across the curriculum to such topics in the class room (see attached schedule and article from Queens College Reports).

Later discussion with the assistant principals revealed that they could not spare the time from their schedules to participate in additional extensive workshops, but wished only for a sample session for teachers thinking of applying to the summer session dealing with the Renaissance as an aid to proper recruitment. No further workshops for the assistant principals are currently scheduled. However, all the local schools are now aware of the availability of project materials for their use, and the teachers, editors, and journalists benefitted from each other's insights on the topic of unification.

Drs. Nuxoll and Gallagher also presented papers based on material in volume 8 this fall at an 18th century studies

conference held in Philadelphia. Dr. Gallagher's dealt with the Philadelphia mutiny, and Dr. Nuxoll's with Robert Morris's relationship to the press during his administration. Copies of the papers are attached.

Fund raising

Fund raising toward the \$38,000 gift and matching for the 1992-1994 NEH matching offer has so far netted \$4,200 from foundations and individuals.

THE RAW MATERIAL OF HISTORY: FIRST AND LATER DRAFTS

FIRST SESSION: TRAVELING THROUGH TIME
European Economic Community / American Unification

NOVEMBER 6, 1992

- 8:00 Coffee
- 9:00 Introductory remarks:
Dr. Elaine Maimon, Dean, Experimental Programs
Prof. Joann Lee, Journalism, Queens College
- 9:30 Briefing: European Economic Community
Jeff Sommer, Foreign Editor, Newsday
- 10:15 Break
- 10:30 Discussion
Prof. Joann Lee
- 11:15 Briefing: The Papers of Robert Morris
Dr. Elizabeth Nuxoll, Project Director & Co-editor
Dr. Mary Gallagher, Co-editor
- 12:00 Discussion
Prof. Joann Lee
- 12:30 Lunch
- 1:30 Individual Group Discussions
- 3:00 Conclusion
-



Teachers Travel Through Time

High school teachers in the borough of Queens can travel back in time to experience the court of Henry VIII, the American Revolutionary War, or the rise of Hitler's Third Reich.

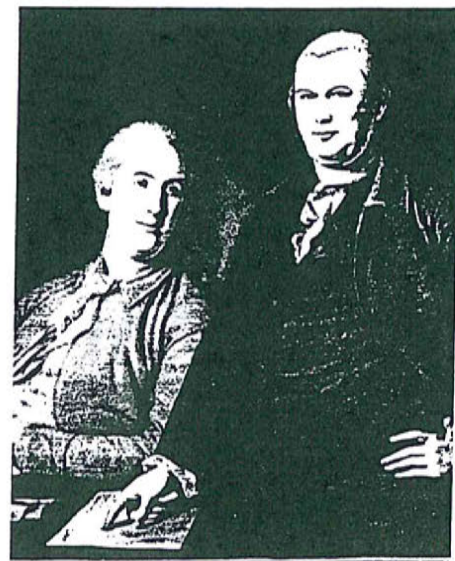
The National Endowment for the Humanities sees so much promise in this new form of travel — also known as *The Raw Material of History: First and Later Drafts*, a new program being offered at Queens College — that it has awarded the College a \$306,000 grant.

This approach will train teachers to interpret history through the use of newspaper reports, diaries, diplomatic papers, and depictions of artists who were eyewitnesses to the events of the past. President Shirley Strum Kenny points out that the materials the College will use "differ from those usually found in history books in important ways. High school teachers will be able to see the past with a sense of immediacy because they will be working with first-hand accounts of those events."

For example, the course will draw upon original letters and official papers

of Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance during the American Revolution. College scholars have published seven volumes of documents showing the personal struggles, financial crises, disagreements, and motives behind the actions of the Founding Fathers from the perspective of Morris, one of the most influential men in America during the war years. An eighth volume of Morris's papers is nearing completion.

NEH saw the effectiveness of this new approach, balancing journalism, "the first draft of history," with histories written many years after the events, through a successful demonstration conducted by the College in January. Chairs of social studies, English, art, and music departments in Queens high schools attended a seminar presented by Martin Pine (History) and Joann Lee (Journalism). Prof. Pine, acting as Henry VIII's press secretary, evoked the English king's court using writings by diplomats who were on the scene when Henry was seeking a divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Prof. Lee took on the role of reporter at a news briefing and, using an overhead projection system, shared her notes, showing how a reporter might have covered the royal press conference. Later in the session, Prof. Lee turned the teachers' thoughts to the August 1991 coup attempt against Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. She used accounts from foreign correspondents to bring to life those hours when the future of the Soviet Union hung in



To make history as exciting as recent events described by journalists, such as the crumbling of the Berlin Wall (above), a group of teachers will travel to the past. They will examine the accounts left behind by the participants in some of history's most important events, such as Robert Morris (pictured at right with a seated Gouverneur Morris), Superintendent of Finance during the American War for Independence.

Soldiers, Citizens and Nationalists: The Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783

Thomas Jefferson noted, in a letter to his French friend the Marquis de Chastellux, that there had been "some dissatisfaction in the army at not being paid off before they were disbanded, and a very trifling mutiny of 200 soldiers in Philadelphia."¹ Historians have likewise dismissed in a very few lines the widespread unrest in the Continental Army at the end of the Revolutionary War. They have generally preferred to project the image of an army patiently suffering during the war and quietly disbanding after it. Not so. Generals Washington and Greene struggled to contain their soldiers' anger and disgust, and legislatures awaited the return of troops from their states with some anxiety. One of the most significant manifestations of army discontent at war's end was the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783. The historian who has most closely studied this uprising sees it from the perspective of nationalist or centralist politicians eager to strengthen the federal government and "capital movers" manipulating the army's discontent to achieve their objectives.² This paper instead considers the mutiny as an outgrowth of the radicalism which had emerged in the 1770's as Philadelphia's lower and middling classes suffered increasingly from economic dislocation.³

Philadelphia's lower orders were actively involved in the revolutionary struggle from its earliest days. Tradesmen manned the militia units raised in the city in 1775 while their betters often managed to evade service. Working in conjunction with leaders such as Thomas Paine, the militia protested the steady accrual of wealth and power to the merchant class and demanded

¹See Julian P. Boyd, et al. eds., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1950--) VI, 466.

²See Kenneth R. Bowling, "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, CI (1977), 419-450.

³On the evolution of radicalism in Philadelphia, see Gary B. Nash, "Social Change and the Growth of Prerevolutionary Urban Radicalism," in Alfred E. Young, ed., The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 5-32; Eric Foner, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America (New York, 1976), 19-69, and the sources cited at note 4, below.

expansion of the franchise and equalization of the burden of militia service. In 1776, radicals and their supporters engineered the ratification of the most democratic constitution adopted by any state.⁴ Conditions did not improve, however, and on October 4, 1779, Philadelphia militia men, angered by sharp price increases which they blamed on price-gouging merchants, menaced a group of prominent individuals gathered at the home of attorney James Wilson, a well-known opponent of price controls. Shots were exchanged and both sides suffered casualties. The rioters were finally dispersed, and many arrested by the upperclass "City Horse" under the orders of Joseph Reed, then president of Pennsylvania and previously a supporter of the radical cause. This episode, known as the Fort Wilson Riot, constituted a significant defeat for lower class Philadelphians, who thereafter refrained from attacking their betters.⁵

After the Fort Wilson Riot, the radical torch passed to Pennsylvania soldiers in the Continental army.⁶ The Pennsylvania line was narrowly

⁴On the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, see Theodore Thayer, Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776 (Harrisburg, Pa.: 1952), 175-197.

⁵On the Philadelphia Militia, the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, and the Fort Wilson Riot, see Steven J. Rosswurm, "Arms, Culture and Class: The Philadelphia Militia and 'Lower Orders' in the American Revolution, 1765-1783" (Ph. D. diss., Northern Illinois University, 1979), 112-174, 227-240, 430-465; and "'As a Lyen out of his den': Philadelphia's Popular Movement, 1776-1780," prepared for The Institute for Research in History's Conference on The Origins of Anglo-American Radicalism, New York, 1980; William B. Reed, ed., The Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 149-154; Charles S. Olton, Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution (Syracuse: 1975), 86-87, 89; John F. Roche, Joseph Reed, a Moderate in the American Revolution (New York, 1968), 160-162; Charles Page Smith, "The Attack on Fort Wilson," PMHB, LXXVIII (1954), 177-188, and James Wilson, Founding Father, 1742-1798 (Chapel Hill, 1956), 133-136; Robert L. Brunhouse, The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790 (Harrisburg, 1942), 68-76; Elaine F. Crane, et al. eds., The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker (Boston, 1991), I, 361; and John K. Alexander, "The Fort Wilson Incident of 1779: A Case Study of the Revolutionary Crowd," WMQ, 3d. ser., XXXI (1974), 589-612. Several of these pieces view the radical defeat as marking an end to radical activity in Philadelphia.

On the development of radical strength and leadership, see Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible, Social Change, Political Consciousness and the Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, 1979), 374-382; Robert Middlekauff, The American Revolution, 1763-1789 (New York, 1982), 617-621; and Foner, Tom Paine, 172-178.

⁶Washington believed that if the mutineers of 1781 advanced as far as Philadelphia, they might mount another attack on citizens of property, and speculated that the soldiers would probably be joined by radical elements of

prevented from joining a mutiny of Connecticut soldiers protesting lack of food and pay in May, 1780.⁷ Six months later, grievances over enlistment provoked a mutiny of Pennsylvania veterans because new enlistees were offered bounties of \$25 in gold while those in service had received no pay and lesser bounties in Continental dollars. Over two thousand disgruntled soldiers who had enlisted in 1777 for "three years or during the war" and who had recently been coerced to reenlist for the duration of the war marched toward Philadelphia on January 1, 1781. Reed, acting in conjunction with a committee of Congress, negotiated concessions with sergeants representing the mutineers, and the mutiny came to an end.⁸ Two years later, however, outrage over a furlough of "war men" and a decision to grant equal pay to veterans and new recruits alike provoked the Philadelphia mutiny of 1783.⁹

the population. See the passage cited at note 31.

Although he did not link the Fort Wilson Riot to the Pennsylvania Mutiny of 1781, John K. Alexander noted that the 1779 uprising "cast a long shadow," and served "as a reminder that the poor might embrace 'mob' violence as a political tool." He did connect it, however, to the Philadelphia Mutiny four years later, noting that "in each incident elements of the last line of defense against domestic insurrection - the militia and the army - had engaged in riots to redress grievances." See John K. Alexander, Render Them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800 (Amherst, 1980), 34-37.

⁷See Joseph Plumb Martin, Private Yankee Doodle, George F. Scheer, ed., (Eastern Acorn Press, 1962), 182-187.

⁸See Paul H. Smith, ed., Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789 (Washington, 1976-), XVI, 549, 554-561n., 572-573, 575-578, 580-583, 585-588, 594-598, 600-602, 606, 649 (hereafter cited as Smith, Letters of Delegates); William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., The Papers of James Madison (Chicago, 1962-), II, 279-284, 287 (hereafter cited as Madison Papers); John F. Roche, Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution (New York, 1957), 182-188; Louis Clinton Hatch, The Administration of the American Revolutionary Army (New York, 1971), 124-137; Charles Royster, A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783 (Williamsburg, Va., 1979), 302-308.

⁹Writing to Washington shortly after the mutiny had been suppressed, John Sullivan, chair of the congressional committee on the mutiny, commented: "We found that the almost total Dissolution of the Pennsylvania Line by furlough or Discharge was absolutely necessary & a re-incorporation the only remedy that could be applied for as a body they would have been Troublesome if not Dangerous. They are Trying to Inlist again and I fear too many of the Disorderly ones will get in. Should that be the Case perhaps it might be a wise measure to keep them always Separated & Intermixed with other Troops on Detachments or in Garrison There are among them too many unprincipled Irish & English men ungovernable in their Nature & who are not to be Trusted Long together." See Smith, Letters of Delegates, XVI, 641-642.

Army unrest and stagnation in the war effort had moved Congress to seek nationalist solutions to governmental paralysis. Early in 1781 it persuaded Robert Morris, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant who had been present in Wilson's home when it was besieged by the Philadelphia militia in 1779, to serve as Superintendent of Finance.¹⁰ Morris's efforts to marshall domestic revenues and foreign loans succeeded in keeping Washington's army fed and in the field until the war's end, but the army received only a month's pay in specie before the critical battle of Yorktown, and the promise of another for the month of January 1783.¹¹

As peace, disbandment and the specter of congressional bankruptcy simultaneously became more real and imminent, the army's anxiety increased apace. Washington quelled portentous rumblings of mutinous discontent among the army officers at Newburgh, New York, in March 1783, by pledging that Congress would not disband the army before it had received some pay and settlement of its complex accounts.¹² Morris published his intention to resign as Superintendent of Finance just before the outbreak of the so-called Newburgh Conspiracy. His announcement was believed by some to have been part of a nationalist plot to use the threat of army revolt to pressure Congress to adopt a Continental revenue package, thereby strengthening the central government.¹³

In April, 1783, Congress passed a revenue plan and sent it to the states for ratification.¹⁴ Although he did not approve of the plan, Morris agreed to

¹⁰On the creation of the executive departments and the appointment of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finances, see E. James Ferguson, et al., eds., The Papers of Robert Morris (Pittsburgh, 1973-), I, 3-5, 8-9, 17-19, 20-25.

¹¹On the specie paid to the troops marching to Yorktown, see Morris Papers, II, 172-175. On the pay for the month of January, 1783, see ibid., VII, 327-342.

¹²On the Newburgh conspiracy and its antecedents, see Morris Papers, VII, 247-250, 327-328, 416-417, 463, 468-469, 412-420, 592-593, 687-688.

¹³On Morris's resignation, see Morris Papers, VII, 361-371, 462-474.

¹⁴On the congressional revenue plan, see Morris Papers, VII, 513-538.

remain in office to provide the army with three months' pay in tax-anticipation notes collectable six months after their date of issue, but he insisted that he would be unable to provide the funds to pay off these notes unless the army were disbanded to save the cost of feeding it.¹⁵ Congress instead decided to furlough all troops enlisted for the duration of the war. Morris ordered the notes printed and when the process was complete, he began the tedious task of signing them one by one.¹⁶ As soon as a supply was ready, he ordered them sent by express to the Main Army headquarters at Newburgh.¹⁷ There were, however, other units of the Continental army stationed in South Carolina, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania. These troops had not been issued the one month's pay in cash which Congress had ordered for the army in January and which at least some units of the Main Army had received. Furthermore, they had not been informed about the arrangements made to satisfy the army's claims.

Tensions at the Main Army reached so dangerous a level in early June that Washington decided to implement Congress's furlough order before the first batch of notes arrived. When his officers protested the decision, Washington allowed "war men" the choice of accepting the furlough or finding soldiers whose enlistment had not yet expired to go home in their place.¹⁸ Most men took the furlough, and left with little to show for their years of service. One of the first detachments to leave camp was a Maryland unit which arrived in Philadelphia on June 12. It collected the three months' pay notes at the Pay Office in Philadelphia and then continued its homeward march. In

¹⁵On Morris's decision to remain in office, see Morris Papers, VII, 767-781, 789-790.

¹⁶On the preparation of the three months' pay notes, see RM to a Committee of Congress, May 15, 1783, headnote and notes Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

¹⁷See RM to a Committee of Congress, May 15, 1783, and notes, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

¹⁸On the June crisis at Newburgh, see RM to a Committee of Congress, May 15, and notes, and George Washington to RM, June 3, 1783, and notes, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

all likelihood, the Maryland men probably informed Pennsylvania troops stationed at the Philadelphia barracks that troops under Washington's command had received the "January" pay in cash or goods and had been allowed to choose whether or not to accept the furlough. The Maryland soldiers may also have learned that their state, anxious to avoid conflict with its returning soldiers, had withheld monies collected to fulfill its quota of Continental requisitions to provide their troops with extra pay.¹⁹

On June 13, acting on orders from the Secretary at War, General Arthur St. Clair furloughed the "war men" of the Pennsylvania line effective immediately. He ordered pay rolls made out for the three months' pay in notes, but made no mention of the "January" pay in cash or goods, and did not provide a choice in the matter of the furlough.²⁰ Pennsylvania soldiers at the barracks, unexpectedly joined by several hundred Pennsylvania troops who had just returned to Philadelphia from the south, refused to disband. A group of sergeants dispatched an angry petition to Congress which proclaimed the "duty of their Country to reward them" and threatened to take "such measures as would right themselves" if Congress did not respond satisfactorily.²¹

¹⁹Maryland troops stationed with the southern army had already mutinied. On the mutiny of the Maryland troops stationed with the southern army, see RM to Benjamin Harwood, May 18, and RM and Benjamin Lincoln to the President of Congress, June 16, 1783, and notes; on the arrival of the Maryland troops stationed with the northern army in Philadelphia, and on state and Continental payments to the Maryland line, see Diary, June 12 and 13, RM to Benjamin Harwood, June 3, the President of the Maryland Council to RM, June 13, and notes, and RM to the President of the Maryland Council, June 20, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

²⁰On the furlough of the Pennsylvania troops, see Diary, June 11, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming), Lincoln to the President of Congress of that same date, PCC, no. 149, II, 539; and Report of Richard Humpton, June 14, 1783, PCC, no. 138, p. 3, hereafter cited as Humpton's Report.

²¹On the soldiers' threats and demands, see Diary, June 13, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII, (forthcoming; Francisco Rendón to José de Gálvez, June 15, 1783, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, legajo 1354, AGI (Aileen Moore Topping translations, DLC); La Luzerne to Vergennes, June 18, 1783, Correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, XXIV, 357, AMAE; William Henry to Elias Boudinot, June 25, 1783, PCC, no. 38, p. 127; William T. Hutchinson and Robert A. Rutland, et al., eds., The Papers of James Madison (Chicago, Ill., and Charlottesville, Va., 1962-) VII, 158-159 (hereafter referred to as Madison Papers); Harold C. Syrett, Jacob E. Cooke et al., eds., The Papers of Alexander Hamilton (New York, 1961-1987) III, 450 (hereafter cited as Hamilton Papers); Edmund Cody Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress (Washington,

Richard Humpton, commanding officer at the Philadelphia barracks, reported that the men were demanding the January cash-pay as well as the three months' pay in notes. St. Clair issued new orders which allowed the Pennsylvania "war men" either to accept the furlough themselves or find another soldier willing to go home in their place. The soldiers adamantly refused, and defied orders to march to Lancaster where some of them were based. With Morris's approval Thomas Fitzsimons, a leading merchant and one of Pennsylvania's delegates to Congress, made hurried arrangements to provide the January cash-pay to the Philadelphia regiment.²² Congress mistakenly came to believe that these measures satisfied the troops.²³

Unbeknownst either to Congress or their commanding officers, the apparent leaders of the mutineers, retired Captain Henry Carberry, a Lancaster native, and Lieutenant John Sullivan, on leave from a unit based at Lancaster,²⁴ had convinced the troops that money could be raised to pay them if only the government would borrow it.²⁵ These officers also invited units

19321-1936), VII, 189n.-190n., and 221 (hereafter cited as Burnett, ed., Letters); and Humpton's Report, 5-6.

²²See Diary, June 13, and notes. Soldiers of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Humpton, were given the option of drawing part of their January pay in goods. See Humpton's Report, 5.

²³See Madison Papers, VII, 159.

²⁴On Carberry (Carbery), see W. W. Abbot, ed., The Papers of George Washington, (Charlottesville, 1991), Presidential Series, III, 309-312. Carberry had been deranged on January 17, 1781, shortly after the Mutiny of 1781. On Sullivan, see his petition to Congress [n.d.], PCC, no. 38, p. 209, and Burnett, ed., Letters, VII, 214n. Both officers are listed in Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, April, 1775 to December, 1783, new ed. (Washington, 1914).

²⁵See the affidavits of Richard Murthwaite, June 30, and Solomon Townsend, July 2, 1783, and Henry Carberry to William Nichols, June 29, 1783, PCC, no. 38. pp. 51, 75, 223-224. Murthwaite testified that Carberry and Sullivan had told him that Major Nichols (a merchant) and many others would advance money for them.

During the mutiny of 1781, President Joseph Reed had attempted to raise funds to meet the army's demands by means of a subscription, and briefly imposed an embargo to compel merchants to pledge funds. His attempt failed. See Roche, Reed, 185-186. The mutineers may have believed it was worth trying a second time, however.

based at Lancaster, Carlisle, and York to join the mutiny.²⁶ Almost immediately, about a hundred troops from Lancaster set off for Philadelphia. Meanwhile, the Philadelphia barracks was thrown into turmoil when a subordinate in the Pay Office gave orders that pay would be issued only to those men who accepted the furlough. Morris, when consulted later, reversed this order, but the troops, no doubt remembering the controversy which had provoked the 1781 mutiny, interpreted these apparent vacillations as duplicitous coercion. They refused to obey orders and remained in the barracks awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from Lancaster.²⁷

Congress and the General Assembly of Pennsylvania sat on the first and second floors respectively of the Old State House in Philadelphia. On June 19, John Dickinson, then President of Pennsylvania, shared with Congress letters which advised him that the Lancaster mutineers were marching on Philadelphia where they intended to attack the Bank of North America or the Treasury to "procure their pay."²⁸ Congress believed itself to be the real target of the soldiers' protest. With no loyal Continental troops at its disposal, it asked the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania to call out the militia to prevent the Lancaster troops from entering the city. To its great surprise and displeasure, Dickinson and the Council refused, arguing that the mutineers had thus far committed no "actual outrage" and reminding Congress that the militia might well be sympathetic to the soldiers' cause.²⁹ On June 20, the Lancaster men entered the city with bayonets fixed, fives

²⁶On the events at Lancaster, see Richard Butler to John Dickinson, and to the noncommissioned officers and soldiers of the 3rd Pennsylvania Regiment, and William Henry to John Dickinson, all June 17, 1783, PCC, no. 38, pp. 37, 45-46, 57, 123; and Varnum L. Collins, The Continental Congress at Princeton (Princeton, 1908), 14-15.

²⁷See Diary, June 17, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming); [Humpton], "Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line," [June, 1783], Irvine Papers, Draper Manuscripts, WHi; and Samuel Hodgdon to Timothy Pickering, June 22, 1783 (first letter), Pickering Papers, MHi.

²⁸See Richard Butler to John Dickinson, and William Henry to Dickinson, June 17, 1783, PCC, no. 38, pp. 37-38, 123.

²⁹See Hamilton Papers, III, 399, 443-444n., 445-446, 450; and Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, 1683-1790 (Harrisburg, 1851-1853), XIII, 603, 654.

playing, drums beating, and green boughs sporting from their hats. As they marched to the Philadelphia barracks, they were reported to have been "applauded by the citizens for looking after their just demands."³⁰

Congress, struggling to regain control, hastened to do whatever was possible and consistent with its honor to satisfy the soldiers. Morris quickly made arrangements with Lancaster businessmen to provide the January pay in cash to the Lancaster troops, but only on their return to that base.³¹ Hoping that full information about the arrangements would calm the men, a high-level delegation consisting of Alexander Hamilton, the congressman most active in directing the response to the mutiny, Assistant Secretary at War William Jackson, and Assistant to the Superintendent of Finance Gouverneur Morris, made a controversial visit to the barracks on the evening of June 20. After the fact, Humpton stated in the Office of Finance that their presence had "calmed" the troops, but some of the more radical soldiers testified that they had been deeply offended when Gouverneur Morris reportedly remarked that the January cash-pay would be sufficient to get them to their homes in a "genteel" manner. This led to allegations that Gouverneur's remark was deliberately inflammatory.³²

The official delegation was not the only visitor to the barracks that evening. Carberry and Sullivan also met secretly with the leading sergeants.³³ They apparently agreed that the severance arrangements offered by Congress were less than justice demanded, and that it was time to turn to

³⁰See the Spyker affidavit, June 28, 1783, PCC, no. 38, pp. 57-58, and "An Observer," Freeman's Journal, July 2, 1783. Green boughs were worn as symbols of resistance.

³¹See Diary, June 20, and Circular to Mathias Slough, William Parr, and Henry Dering, June 20, and notes, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

³²See the letter to John Dickinson and the Supreme Executive Council signed by James Bennett, June 25, and the testimony of Benjamin Spyker, June 28, 1783, PCC, no. 38, p. 33, 60; and "Vox Populi," Freeman's Journal, July 23, 1783.

³³On the visit of Carberry and Sullivan, see the affidavit of Solomon Townsend, July 2, 1783, PCC, no. 38, pp. 49-51.

the state for redress.³⁴ Benjamin Rush later reported that the mutineers had "confessed that two citizens came to them on Friday evening before the 21st of June and urged them to use threats with council to obtain their pay. They recommended to them to go up to the State house on Saturday, as the Congress never assembled on that day. The description of one of the citizens answers to that of a noted incendiary."³⁵ Rush leaves us to guess the identity of the firebrand. The next morning a delegation from the barracks presented itself to John Dickinson, demanded to be allowed to appoint officers who would see that their grievances were redressed, and threatened violence if the Supreme Executive Council did not promptly approve. The Council did not, and soon thereafter several hundred mutineers surrounded the State House, guns at the ready. Bystanders cheered them on and nearby taverns refreshed the soldiers with ample supplies of liquor as they paraded menacingly on the oppressively hot June day.³⁶

At Hamilton's advice, Congress was called into emergency session. The delegates who attended made their way through the ring of soldiers to the State House without incident. Dickinson delivered the mutineers' demands. Congress again asked him to call out the militia and he again refused, leaving that body with no alternative but to try once again to persuade the mutineers to disband on the basis of the congressional severance plan. When the attempt failed, Congress and the Supreme Executive Council reluctantly agreed to allow the mutineers to elect a committee of officers to represent them in negotiations with the Council. Congressional delegates leaving the State House filed through the soldiers unmolested until, incited by bystanders,

³⁴See the affidavits of Solomon Townsend, cited at note 31, above, and Benjamin Spyker, June 28, and Richard Murthwaite, June 30, 1783, PCC, no. 38, pp. 58-59, 73-74. Many officers and soldiers alike doubted the ability of Congress to raise a revenue and favored turning to the states for pay. See Morris Papers, VII, 734-735; and Smith, ed., St. Clair Papers, I, 581.

³⁵See Rush to Montgomery, July 4, 1783, L. H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush (Princeton, 1951), I, 305.

³⁶For a description of the events of the mutiny, see the headnote and notes to RM to the President of Congress, June 30, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

several soldiers apprehended the president of Congress. Although a sergeant immediately ordered his release, apologized, and reprimanded the soldiers for the insult they had offered,³⁷ the incident gave substance to Congress's fears that the soldiers might take hostages.³⁸

The mutineers eventually marched back to their barracks defiantly. The next day they chose a delegation of officers, including Carberry and Sullivan, and instructed them to use all necessary means, even "compulsive measures," to achieve "speedy & most ample justice."³⁹ Dickinson, who had been advised by militia officers against calling out their men, again refused Congress's requests for protection. Soon thereafter, Congress ordered Washington to send loyal troops to suppress the mutiny, and fled Philadelphia to take up residence in Princeton, New Jersey.⁴⁰ Shortly after its departure, in response to reports that the mutineers intended to attack the Bank, Dickinson called out the militia to maintain order in the city. The militia responded, but no attack occurred.⁴¹

³⁷See Affidavit of Richard Murthwaite, June 30, 1783, PCC, no. 38, p. 75; and Elias Boudinot, Account of the Philadelphia Mutiny, [June 21-24, 1783], Elias Boudinot Collection, DLC.

³⁸See La Luzerne to Vergennes, June 18-25, 1783, Correspondance politique, Etats-Unis, XXIV, 361, AMAE; Madison Papers, VII, 177-178, and Burnet, ed., Letters, VII, 195.

³⁹The commission continued: "We will support you . . . to the utmost of our power. Should you shew a disposition not to do all in your's, death is inevitably your fate." See Col. Records Pa., XIII, 661-662.

⁴⁰Writing on the 1781 mutiny of the Pennsylvania line, Washington had commented: "Major Fisbourn informs me that General Potter and Colo. Johnston had gone forward to apprise Congress of this unhappy event, and to advise them to go out of the way to avoid the first burst of the Storm. It was exceedingly proper to give Congress and the State notice of the affair that they might be prepared, but the removal of Congress, waving the indignity, might have a very unhappy influence. The Mutineers finding the Body, before whom they were determined to lay their Grievances, fled, might take a new turn, and wreak their vengeance upon the persons and properties of the Citizens, and in a town of the size of Philadelphia there are numbers who would join them in such a business. I would therefore wish you, if you have time, to recall that advice, and rather recommend it to them to stay and hear what propositions the Soldiers have to make." See Washington to Anthony Wayne, January 3-4, 1781, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington, (Washington, 1937), XXI, 57.

⁴¹See Col. Records Pa., XIII, 664.

By this time, the mutineers had developed a list of demands which they presented to the Council through the officers elected to represent them. The Council refused to consider the petition until the troops had submitted to congressional authority even though the officers reported that the soldiers were under arms and ready to use them. The mutiny collapsed, however, when word spread that loyal Massachusetts troops under General Robert Howe were on their way to suppress it. Carberry and Sullivan took ship for Europe. Humpton and other officers of the Pennsylvania line announced their flight to the mutineers and, after some difficulty, persuaded the leaderless soldiers to submit. "An Observer" noted that even at this juncture an "ill-intentioned inhabitant" had attempted to counter the officers' efforts to end the mutiny.⁴²

Although the uprising ended on June 26, the controversy surrounding it did not. The Philadelphia press carried a full range of reports and comments and was, in the balance, more critical of Congress than the soldiers. The troops were barely out of Philadelphia when an article in the Independent Gazetteer minimized the threat from the mutineers, and mocked the apprehensions of Congress, "whom the soldiers have long considered, like their paper currency, in a state of depreciation, having no solidity or real worth." An anecdote in that same issue told the story of a poor penniless soldier who asked a huckster woman "to credit him for a few cherries" and was refused because his "paymasters have run away." A "Lover of Facts," speaking in a later issue, asserted that it was generally known that the soldiers had been "extremely ill-used" and deserved to be rewarded, but censured the men for having recourse to the "fears of government before they have given her justice a full and fair experiment." One week later, "Vox Populi" charged Congress, the Department of War and the Office of Finance with creating a situation

⁴²On the collapse of the mutiny, see the headnote and notes to RM to the President of Congress, June 30, 1783, cited above. For the "Observer," see the Freeman's Journal, July 2, 1783.

which left the soldiers prey to speculators thereby driving them to mutiny.⁴³

Congress, deeply resentful of Dickinson's refusal to call out the militia and dismayed by popular support for the uprising, did not return to Philadelphia after the mutiny was quelled.⁴⁴ Pennsylvania authorities, Congress and Washington, ordered separate investigations of the mutiny, and efforts were made to determine the extent of civilian involvement in the conspiracy. Even those Pennsylvania officers who had played leading roles in bringing the rebellion to an end were suspected of complicity in the movement. Those who had agreed to serve on the negotiating committee were court-martialled, but acquitted. Two sergeants who had taken prominent roles in the mutiny were sentenced to death, but reprieved.⁴⁵ Petitions signed by leading Philadelphians asking Congress to return were of no avail. Thereafter the Continental Congress roamed to Princeton, Annapolis, Trenton, and New York for its final sessions.

What connections were there between the Philadelphia mutiny and the Newburgh affair? We know that mutiny was carefully and perhaps hopefully watched by some of the officers most involved in the Newburgh conspiracy who were then in Philadelphia. While these men and their correspondents no doubt

⁴³See the Independent Gazetteer, June 28, 1783, where there is also a critique of Congress's departure by "Z", a pseudonym used by both Philip Freneau and Francis Hopkinson. A few days later the Freeman's Journal printed a response from "Sincerus," probably Thomas Paine, former radical, now accepting subsidies from the Office of Finance and the French minister to write in support of the nationalist cause. "Sincerus" described himself as a friend to Congress, the state and the army, and argued that, for the well-being of the nation, Congress had to be respected. In a later piece, "Sincerus" insisted that his previous remarks had not been intended to discredit Congress, which did not have the power to prevent "shameful neglect of the army and the dangers of the late mutiny." See the Freeman's Journal, July 2, 16, 23, and 30.

⁴⁴On the efforts to get Congress to return to Philadelphia, see the headnote and notes to the letter from the President of Congress to RM, October 23, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

⁴⁵On the investigation of the mutiny, see the headnote and notes to RM to the President of Congress, June 30, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

hoped that the soldiers would win "more ample justice," no conclusive evidence has been found that they instigated or directed the June uprising.⁴⁶

Evidence that Robert or Gouverneur Morris deliberately provoked the mutiny to achieve objectives that the Newburgh conspiracy had failed to gain is slim. Morris was not responsible for the furlough policy or its implementation. He did not have cash on hand to make the January pay, although he might have made earlier the alternate arrangements that were ultimately put in place. His decision to pay all soldiers alike, whether veterans or raw recruits, was a long-standing Office of Finance policy designed to avoid any hint of partiality. There is no evidence that he gave orders to issue the three months' pay only to those soldiers who accepted the furlough. Charges that Morris designed the three months' pay in notes so as to create an opportunity for speculators to profit at the soldiers' expense ignore the fact that resources to meet the army's demands before disbandment were absolutely lacking. Gouverneur Morris's remark at the barracks may have been insensitive and condescending, but it is unlikely that he intended to inflame the mutineers. Morris, like Congress, had urged Dickinson to call out the militia to suppress the uprising.⁴⁷ When the soldiers surrounded the State House the Financier closed the Office of Finance and went to the home of a friend.⁴⁸ This suggests that he regarded the mutiny as a personal and a political threat and wished to see it suppressed.

The mutineers of 1783 were more than tools of upper class conspirators. They had been nurtured in a radical milieu and had experience in radical activity. They had a distinct sense of their own interests and were determined to defend them. Like the lower class militia who attacked "Fort Wilson," and the mutineers of 1781, they were struggling to obtain recognition for their military service and to defend their economic interests. Both

⁴⁶See the notes to RM to the President of Congress, June 30, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming.)

⁴⁷See Diary, June 24, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII, forthcoming.

⁴⁸See Diary, June 21, 1783, and notes, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

mutinies were touched off by arrangements for compensation and the term of service for "war men" which devalued the contributions of veteran soldiers. Philadelphia's radicalized populace actively concurred in the soldiers' interpretation of their grievances in 1783 and overtly encouraged their defiance. While centralists and "capital movers" may have attempted to use the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783 to advance their particular objectives, we should not fail to see the mutiny as one more demand for governmental response to the needs and sufferings of Pennsylvania soldiers and recognition of their role in bringing about the triumph of revolutionary objectives.

Mary A. Y. Gallagher, Coeditor

The Papers of Robert Morris

"Altogether in his Pay?": Robert Morris, the "Nationalist" Movement, and the Philadelphia Press in the Confederation Era.

by Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

In a letter written in September 1783 to a political ally in Massachusetts, congressman Arthur Lee of Virginia, after narrating various alleged abuses of Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance of the United States from 1781-1784, stormed: "Thus while fallacious reports on this man's conduct are published in all the Papers, and his tools are filling the Papers with Praises calculated to deceive the public; the public money is lavished away, the soldiery defrauded and the public plundered. I wish this matter were stated in your Papers. Those in Philadelphia are altogether in his pay."

Yet on March 12, 1783, Morris recorded in his Diary, "This day . . . appeared a virulent Attack on my Publick and private Character signed Lucius in the Freeman's Journal (of Philadelphia), replete with the most infamous Falsehoods. Assertions without the least Shadow of truth to support them, and insinuations as base and infamous as Envy and Malignancy could suggest." On March 17, announcing his contempt for such "scurrility," which he believed originated with Lee, Morris challenged the "misconstruction" of his conduct in the press, adding "Writers for a News Paper may indeed thro the medium of Misrepresentation pervert the Public Opinion but the official Conduct of your Servants is not amenable to that Tribunal."

What is the truth about Robert Morris's relationship to the

press? Was he successful in manipulating and controlling it, using it to enhance his image, and to promote a "Nationalist" program for strengthening the union and solving the nation's fiscal problems? Was he able to suppress the writings of the opposition--localist writers and politicians, well trained in the in the thought patterns and writing styles of the British opposition press of the era? Or was his program and the entire "Nationalist" movement undermined by vitriolic propaganda campaigns conducted in the Philadelphia press and spread throughout the nation by a few militant opponents?

This paper will seek to explore these questions, examining the role of the "media" during the administration of the most powerful and controversial politician of the Confederation Era.

To provide the context for this discussion it is necessary to review the origins of the "Nationalist" movement and its overall program. In 1780, faced by devastating military defeats in the South and military stalemate in the North, and confronted by the collapse of the Continental currency and with it of public credit, a new group of leaders came to power committed to strengthening central power sufficiently to win the war and ensure American independence. Disillusioned with the prospect for victory through revolutionary "virtue" and "enthusiasm," which were widely perceived as having run their course, the group, commonly referred to as "nationalists," favored reliance on a professionalized and adequately rewarded Continental army, rather than militia service, and administrative reform stressing

increased executive authority and individual rather than collective responsibility and accountability. Some members of the group even advocated the assumption of temporary dictatorial authority by specific leaders until the emergency passed. Although the best known treatments of the Confederation period (Jensen-Ferguson school) also treat this situation as a conservative, aristocratic, even counterrevolutionary movement, at bottom they agree with the more recent scholarly emphasis asserting that the consensus on which nationalists came to power was grounded in financial collapse and in the military situation and derived from a wish to win the war. One inherent dilemma for the nationalists arose from this situation. Every success they achieved in overcoming the military-financial crisis that existed in 1780 would erode the basis for their power.

Thus, when the "nationalists" came to power in 1780-1781 and placed Robert Morris in office as Superintendent of Finance, their goals in so doing were to strengthen the central government vis-a-vis the states and to restore its credit so as to enable it to win the war and ensure American independence. Almost all "Nationalists" agreed that some form of reliable Continental revenue was essential to both Continental union and credit, and most adhered to the impost, a five percent duty on imports, as the most practicable first step in that direction. Most also were anxious to obtain additional foreign support, particularly from France, and saw a stronger government as needed to inspire the necessary confidence abroad. Morris entered office based on

that consensus and formulated his policies accordingly.

Because so many of the "nationalist" objectives were tied to public finance, and because of all the newly elected ministers Robert Morris and his assistant Gouverneur Morris were most suited for and anxious to exert broad political leadership, the Finance Department, more than any of the other new executive departments created by the nationalists, became the focus of the new confederation government. Morris served in many respects as party leader for the group, but the image of Morris as "Prime Minister," "Dominus Factotum," "Pecuniary Dictator," etc. is exaggerated, and in many respects is a figment of the ideological imagination of Morris's opponents. When, in his early days in office, he was making practical suggestions for implementing the nationalist agenda on which consensus had already been reached when he entered office Morris's policies were quickly adopted, though not, as is sometimes implied, merely rubber stamped by a docile Congress. When he moved beyond that stage with plans for federal taxes in addition to the impost and for funding the public debt, he immediately met resistance, and was for the most part defeated. It was at this stage (late 1782-1783) that his use of the press became most important, and also that the press attacks upon him reached their peak. Although Morris was in many ways more effective and resourceful as a party leader (not the party leader) of the "Nationalists" than he is sometimes given credit for being, he never had the kind of all-encompassing power and influence that his opponents alleged. As a nationalist party

leader seeking to overcome what he saw as excessive localism and parochialism and for developing greater national consciousness and loyalty to the union, Morris utilized with great effectiveness almost every approach known to the 18th century to support national authority, including the press. Yet, in the short run, he failed to achieve most of his objectives because of certain obstacles which during the time of his administration probably could not have been overcome by any leader.

There were two fundamental obstacles to the accomplishment of "Nationalist" goals. The first was the structure of the Confederation under the newly ratified Articles of Confederation. Congressmen were elected annually by the various state legislatures, and no congressman was to serve for more than three consecutive years. Congress could not tax, but could only requisition (request) money from the states. Although the states were presumably bound to comply, Congress had no way to force them to do so. All amendments to the Confederation required ratification by every state. Support from all the state legislatures would be needed to obtain any type of constitutional reform, including any kind of Continental taxation. Moreover, all major issues, including all revenue measures, in Congress required the vote of nine states. Therefore, any party adhering to a nationalist perspective would have to exert dominant influence within nine states to secure passage of ordinary revenue measures, and within every state in the union to obtain constitutional reform, including enactment of federal taxation.

Loss of influence even for a year or two within one or two states could change the configuration of Congress and undo policies on which consensus had previously existed. What party known to our later history could have succeeded under such a constitutional structure? Indeed, it may be questioned whether any party leader today, however popular or genial, backed by the well-developed national consciousness derived from two hundred years of national existence, and with all the resources of the national media at his disposal, could obtain passage of his program under such a constitutional structure.

On the other hand parochially-minded or states' rights partisans needed only to influence one or two state legislatures to defeat the mainstays of the nationalist program, a lesson made painfully apparent during Morris's administration by tiny Rhode Island's rejection of the impost.

Worse still was the fact that because of the fundamental ideological concepts of the American revolution, the very idea of attempting even to influence, much less coerce, the various states was anathema. The ideology of the revolution had long fulminated against the dangers of the British central government, and in its propaganda had pointed out in detail all the dangerous techniques a central government would use to usurp power. The better any centralizing power was at applying these techniques, the more dangerous it would appear.

Most of the memorable quotes attacking Morris's objectives and/or his strategies in 1782-1783 emanate from members of this

group of "old radicals" or their disciples. However, as in the days before the revolution, their attitudes were shaped in part by information and propaganda forwarded to them by Arthur Lee and his associates. Lee and the Rhode Island opponents of the impost began to mobilize the old ideological fears and presuppositions.

Much has been said about the effectiveness of this parochial party in achieving its objectives, particularly at the state level. But it must be added that the faction's task was far simpler than that of the nationalists. All that was really needed to defeat the nationalist program was to gain support in a few states. Given the long-established revolutionary propaganda network into which it could feed and the ideological heritage available, dissemination of anti-nationalist views was an easy task. Moreover, use of the press and chains of correspondence for such purposes had a long and honorable tradition in the states, while similar techniques used by the central government or its agents ("tools") were traditionally regarded as manifestations of corrupt and dangerous influence.

Morris's techniques for centralization evolved gradually. Coming to power on the consensus for reform and the adoption of the impost, at first he did little more than write letters to the states urging ratification of the impost and payment of congressional requisitions. Meanwhile he sought to revive public confidence by controlling expenses, eliminating large segments of the unwieldy army bureaucracy, and fulfilling his engagements as promised. Throughout 1781 he was distracted by the need to

finance and administer logistical aspects of the Yorktown campaign, something he accomplished largely through French aid and the implementation of his own personal credit and that of his commercial network. His very success undercut some of the support for centralized finance.

Similarly, in 1781 he secured passage of the legislation needed for creation of the Bank of North America and promoted investment in the bank throughout his entire commercial and political network, hoping to create a truly national institution that would simultaneously serve as a source of public loans and of a stable non-depreciating currency in the form of bank notes. After the bank opened early in 1782, its loans were another financial expedient that bought Morris time in which to engineer more permanent solutions, yet at the same time seemed to make the need for those solutions less urgent.

Therefore, by mid-1782, Morris sought to move beyond the temporary expedients provided by foreign loans and use of his and his friends' private credit to ensure more permanent financial and political reform. His first emphasis was on ensuring the collection of specie taxes requested from the states in the fall of 1781, the first payments of which were scheduled for April 1782. Fearful that the traditional Continental financial officers in the various states, the Continental loan officers, were too tied to the state governments who appointed them to promote tax collection vigorously, Morris favored the substitution of new officers, known as receivers of Continental

taxes, appointed by Congress but ratified by the state legislatures.

This effort to establish independent federal officials within the states was opposed and checked to varying degrees in the states, but the soundness of the approach from a nationalist perspective is quite clear. Morris envisioned the receivers as nationalizing forces. He instructed them not only to collect taxes, but to urge support for congressional measures within their legislatures, to write or encourage the placement of supportive articles in the press, to forward copies of local newspapers and significant pamphlets, and to keep him informed on state policies and politics, including sending him detailed evaluations of the various political leaders within the states.

However, use of the receivers as a centralizing force inevitably produced the customary ideological response within the states. The receivers were often viewed as "hirelings", "spies," and foreign agents. William Gordon of Massachusetts, for example, wrote Horatio Gates in 1783, that James Lovell, the former congressman and Massachusetts radical whom Morris had appointed receiver for that state, talked for Congress as the Tories of old did for the British government. "It is too true, that like the Carthaginians of old we are ready to do anything for money," he lamented.

The reactions to the receivers paralleled closely the response to Morris's use of the press. Only the Financier's secret hiring of Thomas Paine as a writer on behalf of

Continental measures has received much attention by scholars, and because of Paine's inability to persuade Rhode Island to ratify the impost, an impression of failure covers that entire endeavor. Given the nature of the genre, Paine's pro-administration writings cannot compare in power with his own anti-government polemics or those of the opponents of the impost in Rhode Island. Still they were quite solid and were widely disseminated. Though they fell on deaf ears in Rhode Island in 1782-1783, they no doubt contributed to the long-term consensus for constitutional reform that finally met success in 1787. Paine's writings did, however, provoke enraged responses about outside interference, damaged his popularity, and led to his being excoriated as a "mercenary." Similarly, when Morris encouraged General Washington to write addresses to the states urging support of the war or payment of the army, Washington's writings were widely printed, but aroused resentment in some states.

How many other writings were sponsored or planted by the Financier is as yet unknown. Public notices from the Office of Finance were of course printed, generally without charge, by the various newspapers. Little has been learned about newspaper writings sponsored by the various receivers, aside from the publication of their tax receipts--or lack thereof--that Morris ordered them to print monthly to demonstrate his lack of resources and to embarrass the states into further payments. It seems probable that some of the writings supporting the impost

published in Rhode Island in 1782 by former congressman James Mitchell Varnum, a staunch nationalist, were coordinated with the Office of Finance, but there is no specific evidence on the subject. Nor has evidence been found to indicate any significant role in the Rhode Island debates by that state's receiver, George Olney, yet given the nature of his instructions he must have played some part. Not even all Paine's works are known.

The situation is complicated by the fact that innumerable writings were also promoted by the French minister to the United States, Chevalier de La Luzerne, whose aims often coincided with those of the Financier and who often therefore simultaneously encouraged writings supporting them. Only writings by Paine, Hugh Henry Brackenridge, and Benjamin Rush in Pennsylvania, and by Samuel Cooper in Boston, have been positively identified by scholars as French sponsored, but there were undoubtedly others, including some by persons not otherwise partisans of the Financier. I found, for example, a strong correlation between certain writings by Philip Freneau in the Freeman's Journal and themes being promoted by the French minister.

Also contributing to the debates in Philadelphia were the long-established polemical traditions of Pennsylvania's Constitutionalist and Republican parties. Morris was a prominent leader of the Republicans, who often supported his national policies. The Constitutionlists, who had generally dominated state politics since 1776, preferred more state-based or local solutions, and had a decided animus against Morris and

his allies. While their journalistic debates still mostly focused on state issues, as time went on Pennsylvania's polemicists took up larger nationalist versus parochialist themes. Thus the usual Republican writers defended Morris and wrote in support of nationalist measures, while Constitutionalist writers offered their services to their political opponents, favoring, for example, state assumption of payments to the army and public creditors. Although it is difficult to trace their exact origins, whether from the Office of Finance and its appointees, the French embassy, or Republican partisans, it is clear many writings in favor of nationalist policies did find their way into the press.

Prior to 1783, the Superintendent of Finance was comparatively well treated in the press, and despite escalating attacks on many of Morris's political allies in Pennsylvania, few personal attacks had appeared against him in the press. However, Arthur Lee, who allegedly wrote for the Freeman's Journal, the newspaper most closely associated with the Constitutionlists, not only asserted in 1783 that the press was entirely controlled by Morris in Pennsylvania, but also charged that the newly founded Independent Gazetteer had been created and was controlled by Gouverneur Morris. Beginning in March 1783 Lee began forwarding copies of the Freeman's Journal to Samuel Adams and James Warren in Massachusetts recommending republication of the "good articles" there. From that point on, attacks on the impost in 1782 (many of which originated in Rhode Island) and on Morris

and his policies in 1783 appeared regularly in the Freeman's Journal, in the Rhode Island Gazette, in various Boston papers, and in the Salem Gazette. They also appeared in the loyalist newspaper Rivington's Gazette. Few other papers printed these writings. Those editors that did print the anti-nationalist tracts protected themselves by prefaces indicating the pieces were placed in the papers by request of unnamed contributors. Morris's letters threatening resignation were published in virtually all newspapers in 1783, but specific defenses of the Financier in response to the related attacks in the Freeman's Journal appeared only in Philadelphia. Thus, the press debate on these important questions was far from a spontaneous effort by editors, reprinting the "best" pieces for the benefit of their readers. It would appear that the editors were wary of becoming involved in the controversies surrounding Morris's administration unless placement of the writings was done either by Morris and his allies, or by his political foes in Pennsylvania, by the Rhode Island opponents of the impost, or by Arthur Lee and his correspondents. Nevertheless, in 1783, the latter group's powerful polemics probably reached almost all the politically active readers in the northern states and were sufficient to erode what was left of Morris's support in several key states by the time peace was officially declared. A core group of Morris's opponents were able to forward material from the center of American politics to the peripheries to undermine political support for the nationalist agenda in distant states like Rhode

Island, Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina; similarly local opponents like the Rhode Islanders, could through their congressmen and their allies, reprint their polemics in the widely-read Philadelphia press and in neighboring Massachusetts papers, affecting both the debate at the center and in distant states.

Though both groups charged their opponents were interfering with freedom of the press, both the nationalists and the anti-nationalists were able to use journalistic networks effectively. With their greater focus and more limited objectives, the parochialists won, at least in the short run. But both groups moved the constitutional debates forward, setting the stage for later struggles between Federalist and Anti-Federalists, and later between Federalists and Jeffersonians. In those later, more familiar debates, many of the same writers, arguments, and literary styles continued.

Footnotes

1. On this letter, see notes to "Lucius" to RM, March 5, 1783, Morris Papers, VII, 507, and on the newspaper piece in the Freeman's Journal of September 17, 1783, extolling Morris's exoneration by the oversight committee on the Office of Finance, which prompted Lee's outburst, see notes to RM to the President of Congress, September 13, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII (forthcoming).

2. For major attacks on Morris, see Diary, March 12, and "Lucius" to RM, March 5, 12, and April 2, 9, and 23, 1783, and notes, and notes to RM to the President of Congress, June 30, 1783, Morris Papers, VII, 501-507, 557-558, 559-561, 666-668, 685-688, 744-746, VIII (forthcoming).

3. For the policies of the "Nationalists," see Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Robert Morris: Revolutionary Financier (Philadelphia, 1954); E. James Ferguson, The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance (Chapel Hill, 1961), 109-176, and "The Nationalists of 1781-1783 and the Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," Journal of American History, LVI (September 1969), 241-261.

4. For RM's instructions to the receivers of Continental taxes on publication of tax returns and forwarding of the local newspapers and pamphlets to the Office of Finance, see RM's letters to the receivers of Continental taxes of February 12 and April 13 and 15, 1782, Morris Papers, IV, 218-220, 572-574, 577-578.

5. On the hiring of Thomas Paine, and his writings supporting the impost, see RM's agreement with Robert R. Livingston and George Washington, February 12, 1782, and notes, and the Memorandum on Paine, printed at the end of February 1782, and Paine to RM, November 20, 1782, and May 19, 1783, and notes, Morris Papers, IV, VII, 78-93, and VIII (forthcoming). As explained in the notes to the May 19 text, the emphasis Paine placed on his sincerity and disinterestedness after the attacks on him as a "mercenary" in Rhode Island, have led the editors to conclude that writings published under the pseudonyms "Sincerus" and "S. C." in 1783 were penned by Paine. Besides the six essays written in response to Rhode Island, Paine published his "Last Crisis" piece of April 19, 1783, at this time.

For examples of anti-impost pieces supporting Rhode Island, published apparently by Pennsylvania's "Constitutionalist" writers, see "Candid" "Democritus," "and "A Citizen of Pennsylvania." "Z" (probably Republican Francis Hopkinson) later contended that some of the Pennsylvania pieces were written by Constitutionalist leader George Bryan.

For complaints that Rhode Islanders were trying to suppress Paine's writings, see also "A Dialogue between Farmer Plough and Farmer Harrow," Providence Gazette, January 25, 1783.

5. An overview of French use of the American press during the American Revolution is necessary to discern the ways in which many of Freneau's writings and those of others could have been inspired or influenced by the French embassy. Continuing a

policy originating with his predecessor Conrad Alexandre Gerard, La Luzerne both hired authors to write regularly in behalf of French policies under the Franco-American alliance and induced independent writers to submit occasional pieces on topics of immediate interest. Seeking to avoid the obviously one-sided involvement in Pennsylvania politics that had embarrassed Gerard during the course of the Deane-Lee affair of 1778-1779, La Luzerne adopted a more subtle and balanced approach designed to placate anti-French feeling within the state. A few authors were paid outright to write for the French; often they were given outlines of ideas the French wished inculcated or synopses of stories they wanted printed. However, the writers were allowed to write along lines which reflected their other principles and beliefs, so long as they also supported French policy objectives, or more generally promoted a favorable image of France and of the Franco-American Alliance. To what extent Robert and Gouverneur Morris were aware of or cooperated with French journalistic ventures is unknown; consequently it cannot be proven if they modeled any of their own journalistic programs on French techniques.

Known to have been hired by the French were Samuel Cooper of Boston, a minister who wrote on their behalf from 1779 until his death in December 1783, Thomas Paine, who wrote occasional pieces for them from 1781-1783, and Hugh Brackenridge, who wrote for newspapers in Pennsylvania and Maryland from 1779 until he moved to Pittsburgh to take up a law career in April 1781. At the time of his recruitment, Brackenridge also began publishing in conjunction with printer Francis Bailey the United States Magazine, a literary monthly in which several of Freneau's poems and essays first appeared. The magazine lasted for only one year, and did not include Brackenridge's propaganda pieces for the French. Nevertheless, the French subsidy may have been the chief source of the funds needed to finance the magazine, and a noticeable softening of tone toward the French was perceptible in it over the course of the year. When Brackenridge decided to go west, his partner Francis Bailey founded a newspaper, the Freeman's Journal, which, though open to all parties, was regarded as primarily a mouthpiece of the "Constitutionalists;" within a few months Freneau assumed the position of editor or major contributor to the paper. At about that time La Luzerne indicated that he was seeking another writer to replace Brackenridge; he also reported that he had taken steps to prevent difficulties with the Freeman's Journal. Nevertheless, I have not yet found concrete evidence that Freneau formally replaced his classmate as a hired propagandist on behalf of the French.

There is, however, good reason to believe that Freneau may have been the translator whom La Luzerne hired to prepare translations of desirable French works for the press. Several translations from the French are listed among Freneau's publications in the newspapers. In addition, Freneau wrote a prologue to a performance of Beaumarchais's Eugenie at a celebration sponsored by the French in Philadelphia, and in 1783

published a translation of New Travels through North America by Abbe Robin, who had traveled through the United States with the French army in 1781. Given the hatred of sycophancy and the references to public office as a form of unmanly dependency often expressed in Freneau's writings, it seems incompatible with his self-image for him to have been an outright hireling writer of the French. Possibly La Luzerne used the subtle tactic of offering Freneau the more respectable position of translator to encourage his writing in behalf of French policies. Such indirect approaches were often utilized by La Luzerne of whom it has been said, "Few men were better versed in the arts of cajolery; few men could offer a bribe with such a delicate air of receiving a favor." La Luzerne had sponsored writings by Paine, formerly a French critic, well before officially paying him for them. Similarly, the French minister encouraged and promoted the reprinting of writings by Benjamin Rush, who refused ever to accept money for them. Freneau could also have been influenced by his friend James Madison, then serving in Congress. Madison had close ties to La Luzerne and to his secretary Francois de Barbe-Marbois and followed a generally pro-French and pro-Nationalistic policy in the interests of the success of the war effort. Madison and a few other congressmen also occasionally assisted the French to plant writings in the press on policies which they approved, but there is no evidence that they were specifically paid to do so. Moreover, since the French had partly solidified their relationship with the "Constitutionalists," and partisan conflicts had been somewhat muted in 1781 and early 1782, Freneau had little reason to feel disloyal to party or to principle when supporting French measures. Hence, there could be many reasons why Freneau's writings often coincided with French propaganda goals at the time; still the possibility that he was as much a "hireling" as Brackenridge cannot be ruled out.

In 1781, to fulfill French objectives, Freneau needed to do little more than attack the British and promote American morale in the era leading up to the Yorktown campaign. Given his intense bitterness toward the British after imprisonment on a British prison ship in New York in 1780, Freneau needed little incentive to write effective anti-British propaganda, largely through satirical poetry. Such themes predominated in 1782 as well, but Freneau also managed to insert expressions favorable to the French or to the French alliance in a wide variety of writings. Like Brackenridge, Freneau also incorporated certain specific themes that the French embassy was then promoting, particularly efforts to wean Americans from excessive dependence on French aid, to rebuild the American navy, to combat illicit trade with the British, to increase the collection of taxes in support of the war, and to deter Americans from accepting British overtures for a separate peace. Since Freneau's compositions on these subjects appeared at approximately the same time as other works on similar topics known to have been encouraged by La

Luzerne, it is doubtful their appearance was purely coincidental, even if that exact process by which Freneau was induced to write them remains obscure.

What is most interesting about these works is that, unlike the other writings sponsored by the French in Philadelphia, which expressed a "Nationalist" and relatively conservative point of view, Freneau managed to combine in them the equalitarian ideology he shared with the "Constitutionalists" with his support for the French alliance and French policies in an era when such views were not as compatible as they were when he wrote them in the 1790's. La Luzerne primarily sympathized with the "Republicans" whom he called the "Patrician Party" rather than the "Constitutionalists" whom he referred to as the "Plebeian Party." The France that La Luzerne represented was not the land of liberty it appeared in the 1790's, and La Luzerne supported the strengthening of the central government and many of the financial measures emanating from the Office of Finance, particularly the Bank of North America, enforcement of tax collection, and the passage of measures to fund the national debt. Unlike Paine, who was also writing for the Office of Finance and the Office of Foreign Affairs during his employment by the French, Freneau did not become an advocate of the bank, the impost, the strengthening of the central government, or the funding of the national debt. Rather he reframed such issues as support for the navy or for tax collection into forms compatible with equalitarian and localist views. At the same time, he took the occasion to play with the various literary genres of his day, and to express his own scientific and literary interests.

Several examples can be given of his approach. In the spring of 1782, La Luzerne shared with the Office of Finance the objective of rebuilding the American navy to protect American trade and to avoid total reliance on the French navy. At that time Freneau wrote two essays on the subject in the Freeman's Journal under the pseudonyms of "Orestes" and "Pylades." Their publication coincided with another group of articles on the navy written at La Luzerne's behest by Benjamin Rush, a staunch "Republican." Freneau's essays favored naval rebuilding as strongly as did Rush's, but with certain fundamental differences. Rather than advocating a large centrally financed navy, Freneau called for reliance on the building of small ships by each state, reconstituting to some extent the old state navies. He reminded his readers how difficult it would be to man large ships while so many American mariners were prisoners of war. Furthermore, Freneau stressed incentives to American seamen to encourage their naval virtuosity, particularly the increase in naval prize shares, and demanded more respectful treatment of crewmen by their officers and modification of harsh naval discipline. He depicted naval officers as viewing their crews "in the light of a sea monster," insulting and abusing them in crass imitation of the insolent British. At the same time, Freneau mocked Philadelphia merchants for expecting the French to protect their trade, while they themselves were willing to do no

more than finance one ship, the Washington, Captain Barney, whose heroic exploits Freneau had praised in his poetry. "Remember the fable of the waggoner praying to Hercules," Freneau exhorted, "'put thine own hand first to the wheel,' said the god, and then Hercules will hear and assist you." In this, as well as in its incorporation of criticism of the illicit trade with the British, the essays well embodied French goals.

To promote the collection of taxes to support the war effort, Freneau in the summer of 1782 produced some of his most amusing works. In one he adopted the form of the satirical catechism, or question and answer format. The work, "A short Catechism, for those whom it may suit," addressed a series of questions to "Titus Taxgrumbler." The inquisition forces "Taxgrumbler" to admit that despite his elaborate professions of support for the American Revolution and his lavish expenditures at the tavern and gaming table, he has been unwilling to pay a shilling to support the war since taxes were levied in "money of any real value," and that he occasionally looks back with nostalgia for the good old days under King George.

The same topic is combined with the themes of support for the navy and the checking of illicit trade in luxury goods in a more complex work that appeared as part of Freneau's "literary" series known as the "Pilgrim" or "Philosopher of the Forest". In this work, one of several modeled on the "Tatler-Spectator" comic essays, letters are addressed to the "Pilgrim" by "Christopher Clodhopper," purportedly a Bucks County farmer visiting Philadelphia, and by "Priscilla Tripstreet," a well-heeled, and high-heeled, Philadelphia matron. Freneau scholars have treated this merely as an example of an Addisonian essay satirizing women's fashions and frivolities. However, in fact the essay works on many levels. In the first letter "Clodhopper" attacked the unprecedented use of fashionable luxuries in Philadelphia, paid for with money that could have supported the war effort, and advocated the levying of luxury taxes on high-heeled shoes and an extravagant imported headpiece called a "calash." A tax on the calash alone, he argued, would be sufficient to finance a naval vessel, while one on high heels would support a regiment. "Clodhopper" then moved into a scathing portrayal of his son, picking up foppish ways, fancy clothing, and a sword during an extended visit to Philadelphia, and returning home to the ridicule of his plain and virtuous sisters. Finally, he proposed as an incentive to their assuming more manly and useful occupations, a tax on males who hold jobs more suitable for women, such as sewing and clerical work (this 100 years before secretarial tasks were made women's work).

"Priscilla Tripstreet"'s rebuttal appeared in the next issue. She launched into a Mandevillian defense of "Luxury," its contribution to the good life, and its provision of employment for poor women. Objecting to taxing only women's fashions, she argued for taxes on such male extravagances as silver belt and shoe buckles and watches. She next defended the calash, which "Clodhopper" had depicted as so unwieldy that its wearer risked

being blown into the river on blustery days. Satirizing the 18th century love of inventions, she described how her husband the sea captain had devised a sail-rigging mechanism for the calash to render it safe for riverside walks. "Tripstreet"'s arguments are considered pretty convincing by literary scholars, who seem to regard her as winner of the debate. However, I doubt Freneau's audience would have agreed. For "Priscilla"'s comments include arrogant denunciations of "Clodhopper" for presuming to observe and comment upon the behavior of his betters, coupled with remarks on the sufferings his wife and daughters must be experiencing because of his austere principles, exposed as they were to being tanned by the sun, and forced to wear the "execrable white linen bonnet."

In a brief, less literate reply, "Clodhopper" warned "Tripstreet" to avoid travelling through his county lest his wife and daughters, unable to wield a pen in their defense, avenge her insult to the "white linen bonnet" by resorting to the broom handle. Thus, Freneau dramatized the 18th century debate between "Luxury" and "Virtue", appealed to the agrarian, anti-urban, and anti-elitist views of the rural wing of the "Constitutionalists" against the wealthy and effeminate Philadelphians associated with the "Republicans," and undermined the claims of all to inability to pay taxes by depicting the luxuries acquired by both sexes and prevalent in both the city and the countryside.

Freneau's essays for this period, particularly in their harsh portrayals of elitist arrogance and the insolence of those in authority, bear many similarities in themes to those done during the Hamiltonian era. Nevertheless, there are no strong attacks on national financial policies such as Freneau wrote in the 1790's. Although some writings in the Freeman's Journal, including a few by Freneau, include veiled remarks that could be construed as criticism of Robert Morris and his policies, they remain subtle and subdued until 1783. Then, the partisan heats aroused during the election of a president of the state in the fall of 1782 broke down all press restraint, and the vicious polemical style prevailing spread to include Robert Morris and his Office of Finance (but not the French). Until that time it would appear that the French influence over the paper may have served to mute such criticism of national policies. At about the time of these renewed press controversies Freneau allegedly ceased to serve as an editor for the paper and assumed a position as a clerk in the Post Office Department, a move that was short-lived and out of character. Whether this represented Freneau's effort to gain more time for serious writing, or to avoid serving two increasingly incompatible masters, or was a government attempt to coopt the needy polemicist is unknown. Pro-French writings by Freneau continued to appear in the Freeman's Journal in 1783, but Freneau's known partisan polemics disappear. Nevertheless, Freneau cannot be ruled out as the secret author of some of the vitriolic press attacks on Morris and his allies. Whatever the real situation was, it would

undoubtedly have been known to Madison, and may well have served as the model for Freneau's later appointment, at Madison's suggestion, as both a part-time translator in Thomas Jefferson's Department of State and editor of the Jeffersonian newspaper the National Gazette in the 1790's.

Freneau scholars have compiled lists of his writings appearing in the Freeman's Journal. The lists are derived from an examination of later books reprinting Freneau material, from markings made by Freneau in his own personal file of the Freeman's Journal, now located at New Jersey Historical Society, from the appearance of pseudonyms known to have been used by Freneau, and from similarities in style and content to known Freneau works. The attributions therefore vary considerably in reliability, with only those reprinted by Freneau being absolutely certain. The meaning of the marks made by Freneau on the newspapers in his personal file are not absolutely clear; while most appear to indicate his writings, not all do. Some possibly indicate writings by other authors such as Brackenridge or Francis Hopkinson. Moreover, some known Freneau writings are not marked. Some pseudonyms were used by more than one writer, and in the more partisan eras deliberate efforts were made to deceive political enemies as to the identity of certain pseudonyms. Though most attributions on the basis of style are plausible, many other very similar writings are not listed. Finally, little is known about the style and skill of many other "Constitutionalists" who allegedly wrote for the Freeman's Journal, such as Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Thomas McKean, George and Samuel Bryan, William Clajon, and George Osbourne. Consequently, the extent to which Freneau's prose style was unique or easily imitable is not ascertainable. My comments are based primarily on writings either reprinted by Freneau or marked PF in his personal file, rather than on the more questionable items attributed to him. Most of Freneau's known writings from the Freeman's Journal were reprinted either in The Poems of Philip Freneau Written Chiefly During the Late War (Philadelphia, 1786), and The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Philip Freneau Containing His Essays and Additional Poems (Philadelphia, 1788). See Lewis Leary, That Rascal Freneau: A Study in Literary Failure (New Brunswick, N.J., 1941), 418-480; Philip Marsh, Freneau's Published Prose: A Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J., 1970; and Marsh, ed., The Prose of Philip Freneau (New Brunswick, N.J., 1955). On the similarities and differences in the writings of Francis Hopkinson and Freneau, see Marsh, "Philip Freneau and Francis Hopkinson," The New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings, July 1945.

On the pro-French writers, see William C. Stinchcombe, The American Revolution and the French Alliance (Syracuse, 1969), 104-133; John J. Meng, ed., Despatches and Instructions of Conrad Alexandre Gerard 1778-1780 (Baltimore, 1939), 689-691; David Freeman Hawke, Paine (New York 1974), 122-136; Alfred Owen Aldridge, Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine (New York, 1959), 93-100; William Emmett O'Donnell, The Chevalier de La

Luzerne, French Minister to the United States, 1779-1784 (Bruges, 1938), 211-212; Charles W. Akers, The Divine Politician: Samuel Cooper and the American Revolution in Boston (Boston, 1982), 278-281, 285-286, 289-291, 295-298, 302, 305-306, 321-322, 338-339, 346, 351-352. The main difference Stinchcombe cites between the materials written by "hirelings" and other pro-French writers is the volume of the material. Freneau's pro-French pieces, like Brackenridge's, were far more numerous than those by Rush or Paine. However, unlike Paine's pieces, Freneau's known writings were not widely republished in other newspapers. On La Luzerne's support for views similar to that of the Nationalists, see Stinchcombe, American Revolution and French Alliance, 85-87, 89-90. On the political parties in Pennsylvania, see, for example, La Luzerne to Vergennes, October 17, 1782, Correspondance Politique: Etats Unis, XXII, 380-389, AMAE.

On the "Pilgrim" series, see Leary, Freneau, 101-108; Marsh, Freneau, 81-85; and Jacob Axelrod, Philip Freneau: Champion of Democracy (Austin, 1967), 127-128, 132. "Christopher Clodhopper" appeared in the Freeman's Journal, July 10, 1782; it was reprinted in Miscellaneous Works, 380-384, and in Marsh, Prose of Freneau, 180-183. "Priscilla Tripstreet" appeared in the Freeman's Journal, July 17, 1782; it was reprinted in Miscellaneous Works, 384-390. See also Marsh, Prose of Freneau, 183-187, 499. "C. Clodhopper"'s reply appeared in Freeman's Journal, July 24, 1782. It was reprinted in Miscellaneous Works, 390-391.

Some anti-Morris writings may have been written by Freneau. The caustic "Epitaph" for a loan office certificate, which is critical of Morris's suspension of interest payments on loan office certificates, could have been written by Freneau, who on other occasions used the form of the mock epitaph. See Freeman's Journal, September 25, 1782, and Morris Papers, VI, following p. 53; and for Freneau's varied use of the epitaph form, see Marsh, Freneau, 264-265, and Prose of Freneau, 268-270, 301-303, 417, 500. An essay signed "G" written by Freneau, appearing in the Freeman's Journal of November 20, 1782, mocking an irritable "Great Man," could also refer to Morris, whom the "Constitutionalists" often referred to by that pejorative. It is reprinted in Miscellaneous Works, as "A Discourse on Esquires." See Marsh, Prose of Freneau, 513.

Some of the "Lucius" letters attacking Morris in the Freeman's Journal in March and April 1783 are similar in content and tone to Freneau's writings, particularly in the quotation of Shakespeare, and in the emphasis on Morris's luxury, pride, and insolence. The "Lucius" letters are usually associated with Arthur Lee, and certainly were at least in part inspired by him, but "Lucius" denied the attribution, and some appeared after Lee's departure from Philadelphia. In a similar case Freneau in 1782 published a poem signed "Virginus" using the same signature as essays previously published in the Freeman's Journal and attributed to Lee. It is possible Freneau wrote pieces using the

same pseudonyms as Lee to confuse readers as to the author's identity; it is also possible he actually wrote the essays, as was assumed by Marsh because of the identity of the pseudonyms. Freneau entered one correction in the margin of an even more polemical work signed "Valerius," attacking John Dickinson, the "Republican" candidate for president of Pennsylvania. "Valerius" has never been positively identified. Whether the mark was a mere editorial correction made by Freneau or indicates his authorship has not been ascertained. On "Virginus," see Morris Papers, VI, 236-237; Marsh, Freneau, 85, 88, 90, 91, and Freneau's Published Prose, 35, 36. For "Lucius," see Freeman's Journal, March 5, 12, April 2, 9, 23, 1783; Robert L. Brunhouse, Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790 (Harrisburg, 1942), 270; and William T. Hutchinson, Robert A. Rutland, et al, eds. The Papers of James Madison (Chicago, 1962-), VI, 381, 431. The correction in the margin of a "Valerius" essay appears in the Freeman's Journal of February 19, 1783, in Freneau's personal file.

7. For Lee's forwarding of the "popular" paper, the Freeman's Journal, to Samuel Adams, and the description of the "Independent Gazetteer" as Gouverneur Morris's paper, or the "court paper," see Lee to Adams, March 5, 1783, Samuel Adams Papers, New York Public Library. Despite Lee's charges, although Gouverneur Morris frequently wrote for newspapers both before and after his tenure in the Office of Finance, the editors of the Morris Papers have as yet not been able to trace any of the nationalist newspaper articles to his pen during his term in office.

Although the systems by which parties or factions planted essays in the press are not as well known as they should be, a later letter shows one version of how the process worked: In a letter written by John Trumbull of Connecticut to Jeremiah Wadsworth, February 9, 1793, Trumbull noted that a piece signed "The American" was his. Afraid Hartford's papers would be regarded as "subject to party," he asked Wadsworth to use his influence to get his piece published in papers elsewhere. He added that he at this time he would not write in the style of satire or burlesque, except for some occasion paragraphs. Wadsworth Athenaeum Collection, on deposit at Connecticut Historical Society.

The editors of the papers of Robert Morris have not been able to systematically examine the newspapers of every state to trace the circulations of texts or to watch for possible writings of receivers. It seems likely that William Churchill Houston, the very active and conscientious receiver for New Jersey, published pieces in the New Jersey press. A major paper war broke out in 1783 between Maryland's Intendant of the Revenue, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, and a nationalist writer who objected to Jenifer's diverting revenues from Continental to state purposes. Very probably Jenifer's opponent was receiver Benjamin Harwood or someone writing on his behalf (see RM to Harwood, June 3 and 10, 1783, Morris Papers, VIII, forthcoming).

Connecticut papers included some good pieces, including the "Gooseborough Resolves," a satirical piece responding to the anti-nationalist "Fairfax Resolves" of Virginia. It seems likely that one of the future "Hartford Wits," several of whom had ties to Washington's headquarters, had been recruited to write the Gooseborough piece, but whether or not receiver Hezekiah Merrill played any role in promoting such writings is as yet unknown. For the Fairfax resolves and the responses to them, see Morris Papers, VII, 535-536, and Jack Rakove, The Beginnings of National Politics (New York, 1979), 362-365, 385-386.

The southern situation is even less well known. Arthur Lee was in correspondence with Morris's opponent Alexander Gillon of South Carolina. Some pro-nationalist pieces were penned, apparently in Philadelphia, for printing in South Carolina, three of which were instead published in a 1783 pamphlet under the pseudonym "Tullius" (see Morris Papers, VII, 92n.), and historian David Ramsay submitted a paragraph on Morris from a letter by Benjamin Rush to a newly-founded South Carolina paper (see Ramsay to Rush, July 11, 1783, Ramsay Correspondence, 75), but we have not yet been able to check systematically the papers of the Carolinas to determine how many of the pro and anti-nationalist pieces were printed there. The response to the Fairfax resolves penned by "S. C.," cited above, was published in Virginia and widely reprinted, but more systematic work needs to be done of the Virginia press. In short the evidence indicates a high level of activity by both networks to circulate their views, but more work needs to be done to judge its extent, and to determine how much was sent from Philadelphia and how much locally developed by the individual receivers or other state-based nationalists.

8. On RM's publication of his resignation letters and the responses to them, see RM to the President of Congress, January 24 and February 26, 1783, Morris Papers, VII, 361-371, 462-474.

NEH APPLICATION COVER SHEET

OMB NO. 3136-0119
Expires: 2/29/93

1. Individual applicant or project director

a. Name and mailing address

Name Nuxoll Elizabeth M.
(last) (first) (initial)Address The Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College
65-30 Kissena Blvd.Flushing NY 11367-0904
(city) (state) (zip code)b. Form of address: Dr.c. Social Security # (b) (6) Date birth (b) (6)d. Telephone number
Office: 718 /670-4208 Home: (b) (6)
(area code)e. Major field of applicant
or project director American History A3
(code)f. Citizenship (b) (6)

2. Type of applicant

a. ☐ by an individual b. ☒ through an org./institutionIf a, indicate an institutional affiliation, if applicable, on line 11a.
If b, complete block 11 below and indicate here:c. Type Educationald. Status Public Nonprofit

3. Type of application

a. ☐ new c. ☒ renewal
b. ☐ revision and resubmission d. ☐ supplementIf either c or d, indicate previous grant number: RE-20885-90

4. Program to which application is being made

Texts/EditionsEndowment Initiatives: _____
(code)

5. Requested grant period

From 7/92 To: 6/94
(month/year) (month/year)

6. Project funding

a. Outright funds	\$ <u>199,475</u>
b. Federal match	\$ <u>30,000</u>
c. Total from NEH	\$ <u>229,475</u>
d. Cost sharing	\$ <u>237,853</u>
e. Total project costs	\$ <u>467,328</u>

7. Field of project

A3

8. Descriptive title of project

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784

9. Description of project (do not exceed space provided) This project is publishing the definitive edition of the papers of Robert Morris as Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine, 1781-1784. Included are Morris's diary in the Office of Finance and his public and private correspondence (both incoming and outgoing). These papers depict the activities of the U.S. government under the Articles of Confederation. Morris's administration set the stage for the adoption of the Constitution of 1787 and anticipated Hamilton's fiscal program of the 1790s. The series, published by the University of Pittsburgh Press, has been scaled down to 9 volumes (the last 3 selective) and a concluding microform supplement. Volume 7 was published in 1989. This proposal requests funding to publish volumes 8 and 9, and to submit the microform supplement to the press.

10. Will this proposal be submitted to another government agency or private entity for funding?

(if yes, indicate where and when): National Historical Publications and Records Commission/Summer 1991

11. Institutional data

a. Institution or organization:

Queens College of the City University of NY
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(city) (state)b. Employer identification number 1131988190D5

c. Name of authorizing official:

Prasad Guatama M
(last) (first) (initial)
Director, Office of Research & Sponsored
(title) Programs

d. Name and mailing address of institutional grant administrator:

Lanzetta Mary Ann
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Controller, Research Foundation of CUNY
79 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003
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12. Certification

By signing and submitting this application, the individual or the authorizing official of the applicant institution (block 11c) is providing the applicable certifications regarding the nondiscrimination statutes and implementing regulations, federal debt status, debarment and suspension, a drug-free workplace, and lobbying activities, as set forth in the appendix to these guidelines.

Guatama M. Prasad
(signature)5/24/91
(date)

Note: Federal law provides criminal penalties of up to \$10,000 or imprisonment of up to five years, or both, for knowingly providing false information to an agency of the U.S. government. 18 U.S.C. Section 1001.

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Initials

6/7/91
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Editions Category
Statement of Significance and Impact of Project

Morris has enjoyed the popular reputation of being "the Financier of the American Revolution." He was in fact a Secretary of the Treasury in everything but title, first in a distinguished line of succession with Alexander Hamilton and Albert Gallatin in laying the republic's economic and financial foundations. A signer of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the United States Constitution, he was one of only two Founding Fathers whose name appears on all three fundamental testaments of the American Revolution; a powerful committee chairman in the Continental Congress; a founder of the American navy; a key figure in Pennsylvania politics; and the preeminent entrepreneur of his day. Yet of all the major leaders of the Revolution he is the least known for his accomplishments and his influence upon the founding institutions of the new nation. In large part this lack of understanding results from the fact that his papers (unlike those of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, John Adams, and others less distinguished) have never previously been assembled nor an edition published.

Morris was the most powerful of the executive officers the Continental Congress appointed early in 1781. His activities extended to national and local politics, military and naval affairs, diplomacy, and nearly every other facet of government. His papers as Superintendent of Finance provide an illuminating day-by-day chronicle of the Office of Finance and its central position in the national government during the early years of the Articles of Confederation, the nation's first constitution. They depict a "War of Finance" in which the inability or unwillingness of either Great Britain or the United States to mobilize its resources could spell victory or defeat.

In the volumes of The Papers of Robert Morris the roots of important economic and financial issues can be traced back 200 years to the American Revolution. Discussion of financial policy and its relationship to economic development during the 1780's embraced many issues, including: the consequences of national debt; the relationship between borrowing and taxation; the effect of prevailing high interest rates; free trade and protectionism; the role of newly established banking institutions; the appropriate relationship between public and private interest; and the extent to which the economy should be subject to state and national regulation. This debate was carried on in the context of a concurrent dialogue about the distribution of political authority between the Federal and State governments. The Papers of Robert Morris demonstrate that the Superintendent of Finance was at the center of these debates and that his administration contributed significantly to the movement for the Federal Constitution of 1787 and presaged the Hamiltonian financial program of the 1790's.

To scholars, students, and the educated public, Morris's diary and correspondence is furnishing insights into the economic and financial dimensions of our national origins.

NARRATIVE

Significance of the Edition and Overview of Volume

"The Derangement of our Money Affairs. The Enormity of our public Expenditures. The Confusion in all our Departments. The Languour of our general System. The complexity and consequent Inefficacy of our Operations. These are some, among the many, Reasons which have induced Congress to the Appointment of a Superintendant of Finance."

With these words--written on July 4, 1781, the troubled fifth anniversary of American independence--Robert Morris described the problems confronting him as head of the Treasury Department during the closing years of the War for Independence.

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784, portray Morris's untiring efforts as Superintendent of Finance to strengthen the central government under the Articles of Confederation and to define national priorities in light of national means. Working to stave off national bankruptcy, Morris strove to extract from a war-weary population funds sufficient to free the nation from dependence on foreign aid, largely from France, and to sustain the appearance of the strength and unity of the new nation in the hopes of securing a favorable and lasting peace. His primary objectives were to restore the confidence in government essential to the reestablishment of public credit and to vest powers in Congress adequate to deal with national issues. The Superintendent's policies posed important questions about the distribution of authority between the national and state governments under the Articles of Confederation, especially in matters of taxation and finance. They also

aroused widespread fears of a powerful, centralized Treasury Department and resurrected charges of conflict of interest that had been raised during Morris's earlier service in Congress when private and public business appeared to be intermingled. For his contemporaries, Morris's administration illustrated the difficulties of balancing the goals of national sovereignty and independence with the preservation of such revolutionary ideals as liberty, representative but limited government, local autonomy, and a virtuous republican social order.

Previously published volumes have documented more than half of Morris's administration as Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine. Subjects covered include the following:

1. His role in raising money and supplies for the campaign that ended in the defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown
2. His establishment of the Bank of North America, the nation's first bank, whose notes, supplemented by notes issued by Morris himself and backed with his own personal credit, provided a relatively stable currency after an era when "not worth a Continental" symbolized the state of credit of the newly founded United States
3. His efforts to found a mint and develop a national coinage
4. His initiation of contracting by competitive bidding to supply the Continental army
5. His role in obtaining foreign aid from France
6. His lobbying vigorously for ratification of the Continental impost of 1781 by the states
7. His part in undertaking the settlement of the public accounts of the Revolution, thereby laying the foundation for funding the national debt

8. His plan for reestablishing the American navy

9. His bold effort to mobilize the various public creditors and the army behind federal taxation and the strengthening of the central government.

The seventh and most recent volume (November 1, 1782-May 4, 1783) portrays Morris's continued quest for public credit within the context of the arrival of the long-awaited peace with Great Britain. With the failure of the tax revenues from congressional requisitions on the states to arrive on schedule, Morris's financial maneuvers become more desperate. Unable to repay the loans made by the Bank of North America (the first bank of the United States), he is forced to reassign the government's shares to the bank, thus turning it into a purely private institution. With his military contracts collapsing for want of sufficient specie, Morris has to develop new methods of financing these national obligations. Despite his desire to avoid further dependence on France, Morris is compelled to seek more foreign assistance and secures the permission of Congress to draw on French funds for more money than he knows to be available.

Morris also tries to cope with army grievances in the North and South. Having failed to secure ratification of the impost of 1781, he threatens resignation and seeks to use army discontent to pressure Congress and the states to give him additional support. His efforts culminate in the Newburgh Affair, in which Morris and his brilliant, cynical, peg-legged assistant, Gouverneur Morris, played significant roles. The Superintendent also attempts to provide the means to hold the army together until peace is officially declared, both to eliminate the danger of a last-ditch British offensive as well as to secure the

best possible peace terms by the appearance of strength and unity. Once news of the general peace arrives, Morris takes the first steps in his reemergence in private business. At volume's end, the Financier is still pressing the states for revenues but agrees to pay the disbanding army with his own "Morris's notes." In so doing, he commits himself to remaining in office to redeem these notes and cover his other financial obligations on behalf of Congress.

Volume 8, now in preparation, begins with May 5, 1783, the first working day after Morris agrees to continue as Superintendent of Finance following Congress's assurances of support. However, the mutiny of Continental troops in Philadelphia in June leads to the withdrawal of Congress from Philadelphia, which physically separates the Financier from Congress and effectively reduces his communication with, and influence on, that body. In the aftermath of peace Congress meets less frequently and often fails even to secure a quorum. Nevertheless, localist attacks on the Financier and on congressional power continue. Morris contrives to redeem the notes with which he paid the army upon its disbandment, but only by risking another huge overdraft on foreign loans. Both Robert and Gouverneur Morris turn their efforts to combatting foreign trade restrictions, penning eloquent arguments in support of the principles of free trade. They also begin to incorporate the commerce issue into their nationalist program for strengthening the union. As Agent of Marine, Morris supervises several controversial courts-martial and, despite his belief in the importance of a strong navy, presides over the virtual dismantlement of the American navy. In his private capacity, Morris becomes the principal backer of the first American commercial voyage to China.

Volume 9 (January 1–November 1, 1784) will see Morris fulfilling the last of his financial obligations to free himself for an honorable return to private life. His battle against foreign trade restrictions continues. With little public business and less money at his disposal, Morris generates no new political initiatives, but resigns himself to waiting for the arrival of more propitious times, while furthering his career as an entrepreneur in the worlds of finance, commerce, and land development. He also cooperates with the directors of the Bank of North America to deter the establishment of a rival bank in Philadelphia at a time when Morris and his allies believe the economy could not yet sustain two competitive banks. His endeavors lead to the creation of one expanded bank incorporating shareholders of both banking groups with procedures modified to meet major criticisms of the Bank of North America. These efforts presage Morris's later role as leader of the struggle against Pennsylvania's repeal of the charter of the Bank of North America. Both volumes 8 and 9 are invaluable in depicting the economic problems and opportunities of the new nation at war's end, and document the political weakness of the union that led to the calling of the Constitutional Convention.

To scholars, students, and the educated public, Morris's diary and correspondence is furnishing insights into the economic and financial dimensions of our national origins. "It is not too much to say," a distinguished reviewer of the first volume wrote in the Journal of American History, "that when this record is fully disclosed Alexander Hamilton will be seen standing in the long shadow cast by Robert Morris."

SALES FIGURES

As the attached table indicates, sales of volumes 4, 5, and 6 are holding steady at 500 to 600 copies. There are approximately 240 standing orders.

Print runs have been adjusted by the University of Pittsburgh Press in keeping with sales of the volumes:

Volume 1 (1973)	437 pages:	2,000 copies
Volume 2 (1975)	400 pages:	1,500
Volume 3 (1977)	557 pages:	1,200
Volume 4 (1978)	671 pages:	1,200
Volume 5 (1980)	649 pages:	1,000
Volume 6 (1984)	747 pages:	750
Volume 7 (1988)	912 pages:	750

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS
127 N. Bellefield Avenue, Pittsburgh, PA 15260
(412) 624-4110

PAYEE: Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing NY 11367

ANNUAL ROYALTY STATEMENT

Period: 07/01/89 - 06/30/90

Date Prepared: 11/26/90

Social Security Number: (b) (6)

PUBLICATION DATE	TITLE	BINDING CODE	LIST PRICE	COPIES SOLD TO DATE*	RATE CODE	% DUE AUTHOR	COPIES SOLD THIS PERIOD*	NET SALES INCOME*	EARNINGS*	CHARGES	TOTAL EARNINGS PER TITLE
04/01/81	PAPERS R MORRIS V	C	\$ 55.00	653	F	(b) (6)	16	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
					N	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			653			31	\$ (b) (6)			\$ (b) (6)
06/01/84	PAPERS R MORRIS VI	C	\$ 55.00	626	F	(b) (6)	23	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
					N	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			626			38	\$ (b) (6)			\$ (b) (6)
01/31/89	PAPERS R MORRIS VII	C	\$ 55.00	478	F	(b) (6)	22	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			478			22	\$ (b) (6)			\$ (b) (6)
	Report Total							\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)	0.00	\$ (b) (6)

Binding Code
A - Audiotape
C - Cloth
P - Paper
V - Videotape

Rate Code
F - Full Royalty
H - Half Royalty
N - No Royalty

Charges
AA - Author's Alterations
AR - Advance on royalties
P - Purchases
UR - Unearned royalties from
prior year
O - Other

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10/01/73	PAPERS R MORRIS I	C	\$ 55.00	1481	F	(b) (6)	14	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			1481	N	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		\$ (b) (6)
							29	\$ (b) (6)			
08/01/75	PAPERS R MORRIS II	C	\$ 55.00	1116	F	(b) (6)	14	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			1116	N	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		\$ (b) (6)
							29	\$ (b) (6)			
11/01/77	PAPERS R MORRIS III	C	\$ 55.00	872	F	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			872	N	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		\$ (b) (6)
							30	\$ (b) (6)			
09/01/78	PAPERS R MORRIS IV	C	\$ 55.00	612	F	(b) (6)	14	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		
	Title Total			612	N	(b) (6)	15	\$ (b) (6)	\$ (b) (6)		\$ (b) (6)
							29	\$ (b) (6)			

Binding Code

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F - Full Royalty
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SALES CHART

HISTORY AND DURATION OF THE PROJECT

Background

The Papers of Robert Morris project edits for publication the papers of 18th-century Financier Robert Morris (1734-1806) as Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine of the United States from 1781 to 1784 under the auspices of Queens College and the Research Foundation of the City University of New York. Seven volumes have already been published. Volume 7, the largest and most complex volume, appeared in February 1989. Final editing of volume 8 is nearly complete and work on volume 9 is well underway.

The Morris Edition is being published by the University of Pittsburgh Press in 9 volumes with a concluding microform supplement. This structure is in accordance with a plan developed in response to the NEH site visit in January 1982 at which time the edition was scaled down from eleven comprehensive volumes. Thus, in addition to the six volumes previously completed, only three additional selective volumes will be published. A tentative selection of documents to be included in volumes 8 and 9 has already been made, and is being reviewed as work on these volumes progresses. The published series should be completed in 1992.

The microform supplement will consist of typescripts of documents omitted from volumes 7, 8, and 9, as well as most or all of the items located since volumes 1-6 were published and which otherwise would have appeared in the addenda. A cumulative index of both letterpress and microform documents is planned. If it appears impracticable to publish the microform supplement at the same time as volume 9 as previously planned, the cumulative index and supplement could be published and marketed together. These supplementary activities should take an

additional two years to complete, making a final project termination date of 1994.

Launched in 1968 by a \$30,000 grant from Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc., The Papers of Robert Morris project has received continuous support from the National Endowment for the Humanities since 1970, and from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission since 1976. Additionally, since 1982 the Morris Edition has received significant funding in the form of matching grants from private foundations and corporations.

Funding this request will bring completion of the editing and publication of The Papers of Robert Morris within sight. This proposal, therefore, asks for renewal funding to complete the manuscript for volume 9, the final volume in the series, and prepare the microform supplement to the series.

PROGRESS REPORT

Summary

The following chart outlines the status of work planned for the first year of the grant period July 1, 1990-June 30, 1991, as presented in the revised plan for our previous application.

PLANNED	COMPLETED (as of June 1)
<u>Volume 8</u>	
Preliminary annotation completed	Done Drafts of headnotes prepared; reviewed by readers; corrections entered; revised versions sent for second review
Second verification completed	Done Additional texts discovered, transcribed and verified; third verification done by Nuxoll on difficult texts
Final editing completed	75% done; new materials obtained as result of queries sent out in course of final editing; changes entered. First half of volume sent to readers for review, returned; changes entered
Submission of volume 8 to press for copyediting; review of copyedited manuscript	To be done only after entire volume reviewed by advisers and corrected
Changes keyed into machine-readable files	Displaywrite files converted into machine readable PC files; corrections are still being entered

Encoding of volume files	Not yet done; revised system developed with printer; macros created
Volume submitted to press/typesetter	Rescheduled for early 1992
Indexing begun	Scheduled for fall 1991

Volume 9

First verification of documents nearly completed	Done
Preliminary annotation two-thirds done	About half done
Second verification--not scheduled	Two-thirds done Corrections are being keyed and proofed as the work progresses

Microform Supplement

Not scheduled	Documents previously transcribed on Displaywrite converted into PC/Word Perfect files. First verification more than half done; corrections being keyed and proofed as work progresses
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Fund Raising

\$30,000 to be raised for 1988-1990	Done
\$52,000 for 1990-1992	\$23,130 raised for 1990-1992

The following is the revised plan of work for the second year of the current grant. The rate of progress will be affected by the amount of gifts-and-matching funds raised to cover staff salaries for the second year of the grant.

Planned

Revised

July 1-December 31, 1991

Final editing completed
Last half of volume
submitted to reviewers;
returned corrections
entered; volume submitted
for copyediting

index prepared from
manuscript

Editing of index

Rescheduled for 1992

Submission of index to volume 8
to press

Rescheduled for 1992

Preliminary annotation of volume 9
completed

To be done if staff
available

Second verification of volume 9 begun

2/3 done now; to be
completed if staff
available

First verification of microfilm documents
half completed by research assistants

Already more than half
done

January 1-June 30, 1992

Publication of volume 8

Probably late 1992 or early
1993

Second verification of volume 9
completed

Should be done if staff
available

Final editing of volume 9 completed

No more than 1/3 done

Volume submitted to press for copyediting

Postponed until 1993

NARRATIVE

For a number of reasons the editors have made greater progress in fulfilling their scheduled preliminary work on volume 9 than on the more complex task of finalizing volume 8. Because it was easier to raise private funds for work on volume 9, our last volume, than for completing volume 8, it has been necessary to advance work on both volumes simultaneously in order to meet the terms of our various grants. Moreover, student aides and research assistants can be assigned to assist in basic tasks remaining to be done for volume 9, but, except for keying corrections or checking outside research, cannot do much toward the polishing and indexing of volume 8. Those tasks must be held for the coeditors and are affected by the pace of fund-raising and administrative activities. Because of the global dimensions of the commerce issue and of Morris's post-war entrepreneurial activities, a significant part of the research for volumes 8 and 9 involved sources in foreign languages. Many of these required translation and transcription for editorial use. Queries made as final editing advanced bore more fruit than expected, and led to further revisions to the first half of the volume. Extra checking and polishing was needed to ensure that the work of the new editors was as far as possible consistent in style and format with the material in previous volumes. The press has indicated that they do not wish to begin copyediting volume 8 until the entire volume is completed, thoroughly reviewed by our editorial advisers, and all corrections entered. Computer conversion also necessitated some additional work as described below, but presumably will save time during the later production processes. We still expect to submit the volume

this year, but that exact date will depend on when the volume review is complete, meets our advisers' standards, and is fully corrected and proofed.

Editorial Progress

Volume 7 was published in February 1989. Although the volume has been suitably publicized, only one review has so far appeared in a scholarly journal. It is included in the appendix to this application.

Volume 8

Second verification was completed by Dr. Dearmont. Further changes are being keyed and proofed as final editing progresses.

Major headnotes on such topics as postwar commerce, the opening of the China trade, the Philadelphia mutiny of 1783, army pay and disbandment, and the relocation of the nation's capital are undergoing revision after having been reviewed by our editorial adviser Clarence Ver Steeg and by Editor Emeritus E. James Ferguson.

Final review of texts is being done by Dr. Nuxoll in the course of her final editing. The formal process of final editing of annotation had been periodically deferred to permit substantial work on headnotes so that they could be sent to Professors Ver Steeg and Ferguson for review at an earlier stage of development than has heretofore been customary. Final editing was about half completed when summer 1990 began. Further progress was somewhat slowed by vacations and by Dr. Nuxoll's absence on alternate days for a month while she was serving on a grand jury. In the interim copies of new material discovered as a result of queries sent out in the course of final editing arrived; Dr. Gallagher has been incorporating them where relevant. Particularly important were new Marine Department documents recently acquired by the Library of Congress and translations at the Library of Congress of materials in Spanish archives (both made available to us through Paul Smith). Also utilized were reels of microfilm from the Nathanael Greene

Papers covering the period of this volume; these helped explain obscure references in our texts dealing with the supply and disbandment of the southern army.

Work on the Spanish translations led us to related materials on the issue of post-war American trade with the Spanish colonies and led us to scholars working in this area. This new information has also been incorporated. An anonymous text translated into Spanish that probably emanated from the Office of Finance was among the items discovered; it has been verified and translated and is currently being annotated for inclusion in volume 8. Microfilms of related French consular materials were ordered from the Library of Congress in 1990; this material has recently arrived, was translated by Dr. Gallagher, and is now being incorporated into the notes to volumes 8 and 9. Microfilms of Dutch materials have been obtained and the relevant texts submitted to a Dutch historian at Queens College for translation. The new data will then be added to notes related to Morris's cultivation of Dutch trade and investment in the last half of volume 8 and in volume 9.

Once all the follow-up work was completed, the annotation to the first half of the volume was converted by the Queens College Computer Center from Displaywrite files into PC/Word Perfect files. All necessary adjustments were then made to test the efficacy of our new system (see the section on computerization below). After proofing and reviewing for stylistic errors and inconsistencies, both the notes and documents to this half of the volume were printed and sent to Professors Ferguson and Ver Steeg for careful review. Corrections needed as a result of their suggestions are being entered now that this portion of the volume has been returned. The second half of the annotation was

also sent to the Computer Center for conversion since no serious problems were discovered, and all subsequent changes will be keyed into the PC files. Dr. Nuxoll has now returned to final editing of the second half of the volume, with assistance from Dr. Gallagher who is drafting additional annotation on any topics missed or inadequately covered by the preliminary annotation. This half of the volume will be sent to our editorial advisers for review this summer.

Volume 9 and Microform Supplement

Dr. Dearmont is composing the preliminary annotation to volume 9; it is about half done. All foreign language texts and their translations have received several verifications. A former research assistant, Christopher Mack, completed the first verification of the Diary entries and reduced type documents for volume 9; another research assistant, Dorothea Brady, has verified the full type documents. Corrections are being keyed by our student aide. Dr. Dearmont is following behind them doing the second verification of all texts and proofing of corrections. This process is also about two thirds done. When time permitted our research assistants undertook preliminary verification of the microform documents, which are usually relatively simple and routine texts. Over half of the microform texts have thus received preliminary verification. Corrections have been keyed for about one fourth of these texts, but proofing and second verification of all microform texts still remain to be done.

Outreach Programs

Dr. Gallagher has been following up the editors' role in promoting a document-based Bicentennial essay contest in 1987 with explorations of the feasibility of publishing documentary source books for class use

under the auspices of the Association for Documentary Editing. She and Dr. Nuxoll met with various representatives of the ADE, the NEH, and the NHPRC during this grant period to ascertain the most effective techniques for producing and marketing such educational materials.

MORRIS PAPERS STAFF

Project Director/Coeditor	Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Ph.D. Full time
Coeditor	Mary A. Gallagher, Ph.D. Full time for 11 months
Associate Editor	Nelson S. Dearmont, Ph.D. Part time at 20 hours per week during current grant, if gifts and matching funds permit
Research Assistant	Kenneth Pearl Part time (20 hours per month) during academic year Provided by CUNY Graduate Center
Assistant Editor/ Administrative Assistant	Kathleen Haslbauer Mullen Part time at an average of 10 hours per week; requested at 15 hours for new grant
Editorial Assistant	Dorothea Brady Part time at 20 hours per week until July 1991
Student Aide	Maria Nuxoll Part time at 10 hours per week
Consultants	Clarence Ver Steeg, Professor, Northwestern University; author of a study of Robert Morris E. James Ferguson, Editor Emeritus, The Papers of Robert Morris; Professor Emeritus, Queens College, CUNY

MORRIS PAPERS STAFF

Editorial staff:

Dr. Elizabeth M. Nuxoll now serves full time as project director and coeditor of The Papers of Robert Morris. Coeditor Dr. Mary A. Y. Gallagher has usually been employed on a full time basis for ten months per year, but is now available for eleven months per year. Dr. Nelson S. Dearmont, Associate Editor, has generally been employed full time during the summer months and part time (20 hours per week) during the academic year. He will continue to work part-time during the second year of this grant if sufficient gifts-and-matching funds are raised to cover his salary.

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As project director, Nuxoll carries ultimate responsibility for administering the project and for fund raising. As coeditor, she will compose annotation of certain major topics, review the second verification of the texts, and do the final editing of the annotation for volumes 8 and 9. She will also review subject entries for the remaining indexes and edit them in conjunction with the rest of the staff.

Gallagher is responsible for advancing annotation of volumes 8 and 9. She will also compose the name and standard subject indexes, assist in editing the indexes, and, along with Mullen, have responsibility for encoding the files so that all remaining volumes will be submitted to the printer in machine-readable form. Gallagher also transcribes and translates texts and research materials in the French and Spanish languages.

Dearmont participates in the verification and annotation of texts for volumes 8 and 9. Dearmont divides his time between annotation and

Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Professor of History at Northwestern University, continues to serve as Editorial Advisor. Both he and E. James Ferguson, now Editor Emeritus of the Morris Papers and Professor of History Emeritus at Queens College, continue to read and comment on manuscripts before they go to press.

Support staff:

Kathleen Haslbauer Mullen, former assistant editor, administrative assistant, and computer specialist for the project, left in 1986 in order to take a position at a firm specializing in artificial intelligence systems. (b) (6) she returned to the project in September 1989 on a part-time basis (15 hours per week). Her return relieved the other editors of major administrative tasks and provided valuable computer assistance in preparing the machine-readable files for volumes 8 and 9. Mullen (b) (6) but will return later when computer-related tasks require her assistance and funding again becomes available. Each year a student at the CUNY Graduate Center is assigned as Research Assistant to the project, working for 20 hours per month. He/she undertakes research at the New York Public Library, proofreads, and occasionally does transcription of documents or verification of relatively uncomplicated documents in the project office. The current research assistant is Kenneth Pearl.

Former research assistant Dorothea Brady, having proven especially adept at verification, was hired on a part-time basis at 20 hours per week during the first year of the current grant to complete preliminary verification of volume 9 and to advance the verification of the microform texts. Dr. Dearmont was then free to do the second verification of the texts and advance the preliminary annotation of volume 9. This change provided for greater editorial speed and consistency in verification of texts than was available for volume 8, and enabled the editors to better coordinate the texts and annotation of volumes 8 and 9. Publication of volume 8 will thereby be somewhat delayed, but the two volumes will be released closer together and will relate better to each other and to the microfilm supplement than would otherwise have been the case.

Most of the routine clerical, typing and word processing tasks are done by a part-time student aide, budgeted at 20 hours per week. Our former aide Monica Flori left in the summer of 1990 for a better-paying job. Most of the funds previously allocated to her line were reallocated to permit the employment of Dorothea Brady. (b) (6) Maria Nuxoll, now a student at Queens College, was familiar with our word-processing system, and filled in at an average of 10 hours a week to perform essential clerical tasks and key corrections to verified texts. Should she leave for other employment another Queens College honor student will be hired for as many hours as second-year grant funding permits.

PROJECT METHODOLOGY

The project has assembled some 10,500 Morris documents in photocopied form, three-quarters of which fall within the period 1781-1784. Only a tiny portion of the extant Morris documents for the years prior to 1781 and after 1784 was collected. We accessioned the documents according to a system established by Julian P. Boyd, then editor of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Each document was filed in a jacket on which was recorded the date, correspondents, accession number, number of pages, and repository and collection. A card with the same information was then prepared in triplicate (sometimes in additional copies depending on the number of correspondents) and filed by date, recipient, and accession number. Each Diary entry was separately accessioned but given only a date card. Another file listed accession numbers by repository. The accessioned photocopies were then filed in chronological order. During the collection process we also acquired and accessioned neither-nor items (documents that were neither written to nor by Robert Morris but which throw light on him and the activities of the Office of Finance) and prepared a card file of all such documents arranged by correspondents. A very large and important collection of such neither-nor material was also gathered on microfilm. Comprehensive staff searches also resulted in files listing Morris documents that had been previously printed and sold by autograph dealers. Two other card files compiled from the Morris documents for 1781-1784 were also begun. One of these became the names of people and ships; it has been completed. The other, indexing important subjects, is still in process.

Both files have proved to be indispensable for annotation. The collection process terminated for all practical purposes in 1972; since that time few new Morris manuscripts within the chronological scope of our publication have come to our attention. We do, however, continue to search for neither-nor material as the editorial process continues.

The Diary, the daily record of Morris's transactions in the Office of Finance, is the organizational basis of the 5,900 or so documents scheduled to be published in the series. Each day's Diary entry is followed by Morris's letters and other official papers of the Office of Finance for that day and by letters addressed to, although not necessarily received by, Morris on that date. In the first six volumes Morris's private and business correspondence, which is not plentiful for the years 1781-1784, was omitted unless it shed light on the operations of the Office of Finance. Because the current volumes document Morris's transition to private life at war's end, significant private documents will be published in volumes 7-9, though most private documents will probably appear in the microform supplement. Noteworthy correspondence and papers of the Financier's assistant, Gouverneur Morris, which often give a more colorful and "inside" glimpse into the Office of Finance than the Superintendent's businesslike letters, are also published, as is the official correspondence handled by Morris's secretaries, usually in an abbreviated format.

Between 1968 and 1970 typed transcriptions of some of the documents for 1781-1784 were made while the initial collecting proceeded, and since then transcriptions have been made of much of the remaining material for those years. Grouped by day and placed in looseleaf notebooks in chronological order, the typescripts are available for the

editors' verification and annotation. However, as noted in the section on computerization, transcriptions have already been keyboarded for the documents scheduled for volumes 7 to 9 and the microform supplement, and all the remaining volumes will be compiled on word processors and submitted to the press in machine-readable form.

The verification process is now largely the responsibility of Dearmont and the research assistant. The verification editors examine minutely the texts of documents, establishes their authorship, selects the master text of each document, verifies the typescript against the manuscript, and collates different versions of the same text.

The process begins for each volume with the arrangement of the first day's documents into the preestablished order. The editor then examines the documents in sequence for anything (date, handwriting, provenance, for example) that would lead to questions about authenticity. In most cases authorship is routinely established. In questionable cases, comparison is made with other known texts of similar authorship and correspondence is undertaken with the repository from which the document was received. Any evidence shed on the problem by other Morris documents is evaluated. Whatever the decision in these cases, the results are presented in a textual footnote.

When variant texts exist for any one document, even when authorship presents no unusual problems, the editor must assign priorities among the texts and categorize each as to type (e.g., ALS, LS, copy). Apart from the writing of Morris's clerks, which can be recognized although not ascribed with precision, we try to identify the handwriting from samples we have compiled over the years and those provided by documents in the microfilm edition of the Papers of the Continental Congress.

When these prove inadequate or a decisive ascription cannot be made, we rely heavily on the advice of manuscript curators and specialists at the repositories.

After selecting the most authoritative (or master) text, the editor verifies the transcript against the manuscript, following guidelines that appear in the frontmatter to each volume. Sometimes our photocopy is incomplete, illegible, or has reproduced alterations made on the manuscript by earlier custodians; in such cases, correspondence or a personal visit to the repository is required. Having established a verified master text, the editor then collates the variant texts and prepares footnotes identifying the most significant variations. The address and endorsement (when present), the manuscript identification note that follows each document (with the exception of Diary entries), and any textual notes are printed on green bond paper and placed immediately following the verified typescript. This process is repeated for each document in the volume and, in volumes averaging between 600 and 700 documents, takes approximately twelve months. Statements of our Editorial Method and Editorial Apparatus (except for the list of short titles) together with samples of original documents in order to show how they were edited for publication in volume 7 appear below. All verification should be completed at the start of this grant period except for the second verification of the microform texts.

Two other types of documents require special processing. Some of the letters Morris exchanged with American ministers and other correspondents abroad were written in cipher. If the master text is in undeciphered code, the editor decipheres the text using the key to the code in question (when available) and this deciphered text becomes the

published text; if the master text has been deciphered by the recipient, that decipherment usually becomes the published text. In both cases, textual discrepancies are taken up in footnotes. Gallagher also makes transcriptions and translations of foreign language documents (e.g., the important correspondence with Chevalier de La Luzerne, French minister at Philadelphia, with Francois Barbe-Marbois, the French consul-general, and letters exchanged with various Spanish officials). After review by two professors in the Department of Romance Languages at Queens College, both transcriptions and translations are published.

Preparation of the annotation for each document had been the chief responsibility of Nuxoll. However, because of her responsibility for final editing, for the future she will retain only certain major topics, while annotation of the rest will be undertaken by Gallagher, or by other part-time staff members. Before the annotation for a volume is begun, Nuxoll reads through the entire volume to get an overview of its major topics as well as its relationship to past and future volumes. For each 10-point document the editors seek to identify and locate enclosures (which sometimes entails searches on microfilm or correspondence with various likely repositories), to identify individuals who have not been previously identified, and to annotate subjects of importance, placing them at the preferred location and providing the necessary cross-references to previous and future volumes. The card indexes of names and subjects in Morris documents described earlier are extremely valuable at this stage. After researching manuscript and published sources available in the office, the editors will draft brief biographical sketches, summarize acts of Congress affecting the Office of Finance, trace Congress's response to letters

and reports submitted by the Superintendent of Finance and, where appropriate, the states' response to circulars received from Morris. In sum, they explain in detail the context of important documents, events, and subjects.

Off-site research is frequently required to complete the task of annotation. Most of this work falls to the project's research assistant, who answers the editors' assignments at the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, and Columbia University Library. Beginning in September 1987 a research assistant has been provided by the CUNY Graduate School to undertake such work for 20 hours per month. Incorporating the research assistant's reports into their own work, the editors then complete the annotation, enter it on diskette, print a copy on green bond and place it immediately following the textual notes for each document.

After the verification and annotation of texts for a volume have been completed, Nuxoll, as final editor, reviews the work thoroughly, giving final form to the material. With respect to verification, she examines the caption, dateline, any problem passages marked by the other editors, the manuscript identification note, and all textual notes. With respect to annotation, she checks the editorial content for meaning and implication, reviews the substance and style of every note, especially the longer and more important ones, revising and rewriting them as necessary. During this process, she will carry out or call upon the other editors for additional research on subjects that may have been overlooked or given insufficient emphasis. Under past staffing patterns this review has taken roughly eighteen months, allowing for other

administrative work. Revised into final form, all changes to the notes are keyed, printed, and proofed.

The editorial process concludes with the refinement of the manuscript after it is submitted to the publisher. At this stage, the editors reread the entire volume and make final revisions. These are incorporated into the manuscript when the publisher returns it to the project for review of the copyediting done by its staff.

Galleys will be checked by Nuxoll and Gallagher. Until volume 6, the texts of documents were reverified in galleys against the photocopies of the original Morris manuscripts. However, for volumes 7, 8 and 9, which are being compiled on the computer, the second verification is accomplished before submission to the press in machine-readable form. When the University of Pittsburgh Press returns the page proofs of a volume, the corrections will be checked by Nuxoll or Gallagher, a process that takes less time than work on galleys. Revised pages are subsequently proofed. Work on galley and page proofs occupies the staff for approximately two to three months.

Beginning with volume 6, a computer-assisted indexing system has replaced the lengthy, cumbersome and tedious process of indexing on cards the approximately 18,000 entries generated by a 700-page volume. The index requires the participation of the entire staff and, given its size, complexity, and the need to submit it to the publisher within two or three weeks after we return page proofs, it has been imperative that index work begin in the manuscript or galley-proof stage. In order to allow for former editor John Catanzariti's continued participation in the final stages of production of volume 7, and to accommodate press

schedules, the editors entered the index from manuscript, and added the page fields from final pages. This avoided later delays.

Under our current computerized system, Gallagher compiles on diskette an initial index consisting of the name and all obvious subject entries, underlining each item entered on the manuscript page. These entries are then printed and reviewed by Nuxoll, who creates additional subject entries where necessary and adds cross references. Page fields are entered as soon as final pages are at hand, and the work of sorting and alphabetizing is accomplished electronically by means of the CINDE program with an appreciable savings of time and money. The indexes are submitted to the printer in machine-readable form, an additional cost-saver, which also minimizes errors resulting from rekeying.

PLAN OF WORK: JULY 1, 1992 TO JUNE 30, 1994

July 1-December 31, 1992

Proofreading and correcting of final pages to volume 8

Entering final page fields to index

Running of Cindex program

Editing of index

Submission of index to volume 8 to press

Final editing of volume 9 about one-third done

First verification of microfilm texts completed; corrections entered and proofed

January 1-June 30, 1993

Publication of volume 8

Final editing of volume 9 two-thirds completed by Nuxoll, with assistance from Gallagher

Second verification and minimal annotation of microfilm documents one-third completed by staff

Final corrections to these microform texts keyed, proofed, and prepared for microfilming.

July 1-December 31, 1993

Final editing of volume 9 completed

Second verification and annotation of microform documents two-thirds done by staff

Final corrections to microform texts keyed, proofed, and prepared for microfilming.

Volume 9 submitted to press for copyediting

Review of copyedited manuscript

Changes keyed into machine-readable files

Encoding of volume by Gallagher and Mullen

Volume 9 submitted to press/typesetter

January 1-June 30, 1994

Proofreading and correcting of final pages to volume 9

Entering final page fields to index

Running of Cindex program

Editing of index

Submission of index to volume 9 to press

Verification, correcting, and proofing of microform texts completed

Submission of microform texts to publisher

Some proof work, indexing of microform texts, and preparation of cumulative index would probably remain to be done at the end of the grant period. However, if staff levels permit it during this grant, Gallagher would prepare the entries to the microform texts right after doing the entries for volume 9.

FINAL PRODUCT AND DISSEMINATION

As noted elsewhere in this proposal, in 1982 the editors accepted the recommendations of the Endowment's site visitors to reduce the edition from eleven comprehensive volumes to nine volumes and a concluding microfilm supplement. Volumes 7, 8, and 9 will be selective. A tentative selection of documents to be included in volumes 8 and 9 has already been made and will be revised as necessary as work on these final volumes goes forward. The microform supplement will consist of typescripts of documents omitted from the volumes. A cumulative index will conclude the series.

The three selective volumes are expected to contain approximately 50 to 70 percent of what would have been included in volumes 7-11 of the comprehensive edition initially projected. Of the approximately 5,900 official documents in the Morris edition, we have published about 2,700, leaving some 3,200 to go. As tentatively envisioned, therefore, the three selective volumes will contain approximately 2,100 documents, or roughly 700 documents per volume if apportioned evenly, making them each slightly larger than volume 6, which contains about 675 documents. Chronologically, however, we have attempted to arrange the new volumes 7 and 8 to contain roughly what was originally intended to be in volumes 7-9 of the comprehensive edition--or, in terms of dates, until the end of 1783. The new volume 9 is expected to contain material originally intended for volumes 10 and 11 in the comprehensive edition. Under the restructured organization, volumes 7 and 8 would each have fewer but more critically important documents. Volume 9 would include more than

700 documents, generally somewhat briefer but important for depicting the transition of the nation from war to peace and of Morris from public servant to private entrepreneur.

The format of the selective volumes remains the same, with the Diary providing the organizational basis of the series. Each day's entry will be followed as usual by letters and papers for that day, both outgoing and incoming. Most of the letters and papers selected for inclusion in the volumes will appear in 10-point type, but some kinds of documents (e.g., contracts, secondary letters from the receivers of Continental taxes, and possibly documents of a routine nature which nevertheless provide significant data on a major topic) would still be presented in 9-point type--a practice we began with volume 5.

The selection process for the letterpress volumes utilizes the following two criteria:

1. Significance. Each document will be assessed for its intrinsic significance and/or relationship to major themes or subjects in the series. The selection process would not apply to Diary entries, each of which would be printed in full in 10-point type. The question of private letters is taken up below.

2. Representativeness. The importance of this criterion arises with certain categories of documents. Examples of such categories include correspondence with the receivers of Continental taxes, the heads of army staff departments (e.g., the Quartermaster General and the Commissary General of Military Stores), public creditors and claimants, routine documents from the Marine Office, and letters of introduction. Representative documents in these categories will be included to give a

feeling for the nature and scope of Morris's correspondence and the wide-ranging activities of the Office of Finance.

The letters from the receivers of Continental taxes are a special case in point. Of the 11 receivers appointed by Morris, incoming correspondence of any consistency survives only for Alexander Hamilton of New York, William and Joseph Whipple of New Hampshire, and William Churchill Houston of New Jersey. Since Hamilton left office in November 1782, most of his letters have already appeared in our edition, but this is not the case with Houston and the Whipples. On the grounds of representativeness alone, virtually every letter from Houston and the Whipples should be published in the selective volumes, with significant items placed in 10-point type and secondary documents in 9 point. Since the Morris edition presents national affairs as seen from the Office of Finance in Philadelphia, the receivers' letters have a special character because they illuminate pervasive attitudes in the states that would not otherwise be represented and reflect the steady--in Houston's case almost weekly--pace of incoming mail, with their disappointing Continental tax receipts and attendant problems, both substantive and administrative, with which Morris had to grapple.

The Morris editors and the site visitors also considered the value of incorporating the private Morris documents into the edition. There are approximately 300 such additional documents beginning with volume 7. Up to now we have been publishing only those which shed light on Morris's transactions in the Office of Finance, with the expectation of merely listing in volume 11 of the comprehensive edition all of the private documents omitted from the series.

The editors considered two options for the restructured series:

1. Omitting the private documents altogether. This option would require a decision at some future date to determine whether funding could be obtained to publish the private documents for 1781-1784 in a separate volume after completion of the selective volumes and microfilm supplement.

2. Including the private documents in the selective letterpress volumes and microfilm supplement. In this case, private documents would be subjected to the same criteria as the official documents, with truly significant and representative items included in the selective volumes and the remaining documents consigned to the microfilm. In general, those documents which shed light on Morris's official transactions, postwar economic difficulties, and Morris's schemes for American economic development and international trade and finance would be judged significant.

Because potential for conflict of interest between his public and private activities was an enduring theme of Morris's public career, and because the number and significance of the private documents increase in 1783 and 1784, the Morris editors had already begun to question the original decision to omit his private documents. Since the edition was being recast, the second option was chosen because it seemed more desirable to allow the private documents to interact chronologically and substantively with the official documents both in the volumes and in the microform supplement.

Finally, it is necessary to consider other materials. Except where otherwise noted, the most significant documents in each of the following categories could be placed in volume 9 if rigorous selection and the

brevity of the documents included in that volume permit. Secondary items would be consigned to the microform supplement.

1. Addenda: official papers of Robert and Gouverneur Morris subsequently found (relatively few) and private papers omitted from volumes 1-6.

2. Letters and papers of Robert Morris, 1785-1790, relating to the settlement of his accounts with the United States as Superintendent and with Pennsylvania as agent for specific supplies.

3. Morris's official accounts as Superintendent:

a. Accounts as published by Morris in 1785

b. Accounts as published by Joseph Nourse in 1790

Whether in volume 9 or on microfilm, these accounts should be reproduced in facsimile. A handsome model of such a facsimile reproduction is the Massachusetts Historical Society edition of the Massachusetts House Journals.

4. Errata. If possible, these should appear in volume 9.

A cumulative index, published as a separate cloth or paper volume, would also be desirable if funding is available. The indexes in the first five volumes can be converted to machine-readable form for this purpose by means of optical character scanning.

The microform supplement will consist of clean, verified transcripts of the 30 to 50 percent of the documents not included in the selective volumes and some or all of the material mentioned above. Annotation will be kept to a bare minimum. It will include only a manuscript identification note listing type (e.g., ALS, ADft, LbC, Copy, etc.) and location of the original; whatever textual notes may be necessary; and the title, date, and location of documents mentioned in

the texts, or if not found, a note to that effect. Correspondents may be briefly identified. Microfilm is the probable format, but microfiche could be employed instead if that appears more feasible and/or marketable at the time of publication.

Preparation of a guide to the microform supplement would also be appropriate. Ideally, the guide would contain a brief description of the reels and a complete name and subject index of the contents of the microfilmed documents by transcript (i.e., page) number, frame number, or some other numbering system, to complement the indexes in the volumes. An index of this kind would minimize for users the difficulties of integrating the filmed documents with those in the volumes. Serious consideration, however, should be given to incorporating such an index as part of the cumulative index mentioned in the preceding section. If this is not a realistic option, at minimum the guide should contain a complete index to correspondents and/or a table of contents listing the documents in order of presentation.

A reviewer of a previous grant application asked about the relationship of the remaining three selective volumes and the concluding microform supplement: "Will the letterpress volumes and microfilms be coordinated? In other words, will all the omitted documents mentioned in volume 7 be on one (or more) rolls and will the volume and the roll(s) be sold as a package? It seems to be very desirable that a user be certain that any omitted material would be available at the same library in which he was using the letterpress."

Although we carefully considered this matter during and after the NEH site visit in 1982, in response to a query from the NEH staff the editors have thoroughly discussed it with Professor Clarence Ver Steeg,

our Editorial Advisor, and Catherine Marshall, the Managing Editor of the University of Pittsburgh Press.

Our strong feelings are these: the microfilm(s) should be saved until the end of the series, but should appear jointly with volume 9 or with the cumulative index, the marketing details to be left for later determination. For one thing, the number of documents expected to be consigned to microfilm in volume 7 (about 235) would not be sufficient to justify an individual reel. Moreover, the mechanics of having microfilms accompany the volumes as they appear are too clumsy and will only serve to slow our editing of the volumes. Meanwhile, as previously planned, each remaining volume will contain an appendix listing the documents omitted from it by correspondent, date, repository, and collection. Where appropriate, notes to the documents printed in the volumes will cross reference related documents consigned to microform. The phrase (Mfm) following an entry will be employed in the annotation to distinguish cross references to microfilm documents from references to documents printed in the volumes. Further access to the list will be provided in the indexes to each of the remaining volumes. We believe this is a reasonable solution for document integration that will preserve the design of the series and will satisfy scholars until the microform supplement becomes available upon completion of the edition. Meanwhile, we will devote our energies to the completion of the selective volumes and defer major work on the microfilm supplement until volume 9 is underway.

The level of editorial comment in the selective volumes was also addressed at the NEH site visit and by the visitors' reports. The consensus was that the volumes should have introductions and that

annotation of 10-point documents should continue in the manner of recent volumes, which won high praise from the consultants. Since it is the annotation which creates the greatest research demands on the editors, however, it will probably be necessary to limit further the extent to which even important subjects are annotated in volumes 8 and 9 if we are to meet our editorial schedule.

We have also proceeded with previous plans to reduce routine annotation. Except where there is confusion about names or the nature of the material requires special attention, reidentifications are no longer routinely made, the index taking up the slack wherever possible, although correspondents will continue to be reidentified briefly at each letter. Preliminary annotation is being prepared in as final a formulation as possible so that final review can proceed more expeditiously.

Project Files

Except for photocopies specifically restricted by donating repositories or collectors, our documentary files are open to the public. We regularly exchange information with other editorial projects and respond to inquiries and reasonable photocopy requests from researchers.

A number of scholars have used our collection for their dissertations: Barbara A. Chernow for her "Robert Morris: Land Speculator, 1790-1801" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1974); Ruth Bogin for "Abraham Clark and the Idea of Equality in Revolutionary New Jersey" (Ph.D. diss., Union Graduate School, Ohio, 1978; published 1983); Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, our Coeditor, for her study of "Congress and the Munitions Merchants: The Secret Committee of Trade during the

American Revolution, 1775-1777" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1979); and David Mattern for his dissertation on Benjamin Lincoln (Columbia University, 1990; accepted for publication by the University of South Carolina Press). We have also furnished material to Kenneth R. Bowling, for his book The Creation of Washington, D.C.: The Idea and Location of the American Capital (Fairfax, Va., 1990); to Forbes Magazine, for an article on Robert Morris (October 23, 1989); to Roland M. Baumann for his article on "John Swanwick: Spokesman for 'Merchant-Republicanism' in Philadelphia, 1790-1798," in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography for 1973; to Morris H. Saffron for his Surgeon to Washington: Dr. John Cochran, 1730-1807 (New York, 1977); to Morris U. Schappes for his study of Jews mentioned in Morris's Office of Finance Diary, which appeared in the American Jewish Historical Society Quarterly for 1977; to the National Portrait Gallery for their feasibility study of a proposed exhibit on "The Republican Court;" to the Philadelphia Maritime Museum for its book and exhibit on the early China trade; and to Independence National Historical Park for their programs for the Bicentennial of the Constitution. Our published volumes, as well as unpublished materials we supplied, were used by numismatist Eric P. Newman for an article on "The Official United States Circulating Currency of Robert Morris: A New Find in American Numismatics," which appeared in The Numismatist for 1977, for the revised version of his book on early American paper money (1990), and for a forthcoming paper on the origin and dissemination of the dollar sign.

The following citations to the published volumes in recent scholarly and popular works which have come to our attention indicate

the range of topics for which our volumes are proving invaluable: Tee L. Loftin, Contest for a Capital: George Washington, Robert Morris, and Congress, 1783-1791 Contenders (Washington, D.C., 1989); Charles W. Calomiris, "Institutional Failure, Monetary Scarcity, and the Depreciation of the Continental," The Journal of Economic History, XLVIII, No. 1 (March 1988), 47-67, and "The Depreciation of the Continental: A Reply," in ibid., no. 3 (September, 1988), 693-698; Richard B. Morris The Forging of the Union, 1781-1789 (New York, 1987); Richard Beeman, et.al. eds., Beyond Confederation: Origins of the Constitution and American National Identity (Chapel Hill, 1987); Forrest McDonald, Nova Ordo Seclorum (Kansas, 1985); John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill, 1985); E. Wayne Carp, To Starve the Army at Pleasure: Continental Army Administration and American Political Culture, 1775-1783 (Chapel Hill, 1984); Yukio Matsumoto, "The Bank of North America and Robert Morris's Finance, Laying Stress on Credit Business of the Bank," The Journal of Economic and Business Studies of Ryukoku University, XXIII (1983), 161-171, XXIV, 94-112; James A. Lewis, "Anglo-American entrepreneurs in Havana: the background and significance of the expulsion of 1784-1785," in Jacques A. Barbier and Allan J. Kuethe, eds., The North American role in the Spanish imperial economy 1760-1819 (Manchester, 1984), 112-126, and "Las Damas De La Havana, El Precursor, and Francisco De Saavedra: A Note on Spanish Participation in the Battle of Yorktown," The Americas, XXXVII (July, 1980), 83-99; Howard M. Maudaus, "Nova Constellatio: The Story of a Shared Heritage," a discussion of common design elements in the coins and flags of the American Revolution, in The Numismatist for July 1983; William G.

Anderson, The Price of Liberty: The Public Debt of the American Revolution (Charlottesville, 1983); John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978); Martha W. Dixon, "Divided Authority: The American Management of Prisoners in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1977); Eric Foner, Tom Paine and Revolutionary America (New York, 1976); Charles W. Royster, "'The Nature of Treason': Revolutionary Virtue and American Reactions to Benedict Arnold," in the William and Mary Quarterly for 1979, and A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and the American Character, 1775-1783 (Chapel Hill, 1979); Jack N. Rakove, The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress (New York, 1979); Douglas M. Arnold, "Political Ideology and the Internal Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776-1790" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976; published, New York: Garland Press, 1989); and Frederick Wagner, Robert Morris: Audacious Patriot (New York, 1976). Furthermore, many scholars are, to our knowledge, currently using our volumes in the preparation of work as yet unpublished.

The Morris Papers editors have also been actively disseminating the results of their research and seeking to address a wider audience. See the outreach section above.

COMPUTER EQUIPMENT

2 IBM Displaywriter workstations, 1 with telecommunications interface
1 IBM Displaywriter letter-quality printer with automatic sheet feeder
1 ADDS Viewpoint terminal
2 Racal-Vadic 300/1200 baud modems
2 Maxum PC's
1 Panasonic Near-Letter Quality Printer

COMPUTER USE

In April of 1983, the Morris Papers acquired the first of two IBM Displaywriter workstations, and a 5218 IBM letter-quality sheet-feed printer. The Displaywriter is a dedicated word processor now utilizing Textpack 6, a software program which closely resembles the more familiar PC version, Displaywrite. The system cannot be upgraded in any way and is no longer supported by IBM. Documents for all forthcoming volumes and for the microform supplement have been keyed onto the 8-inch diskettes the system uses. Annotation and index files are keyed in as they are prepared. Backup copies of all diskettes are made and kept current. The project inserted typesetting codes, both manually and through global search and replace functions or macros, into the manuscript for volume 7 and submitted it in machine-readable form.

The project also has an ADDS terminal and Racal-Vadic modem which it uses, along with one of the Displaywriter workstations which has been fitted with a telecommunications card, to access the mainframe computer at the City University Computer Center. Processing of the indexes for

volumes 6 and 7 was accomplished by uploading files to the mainframe and running the mainframe version of the CINDEK program there.

Computer Changes

The Morris Papers first computerized in 1983, using IBM Displaywriters, which are now old, increasingly obsolete, and too costly to maintain. The project therefore acquired its first PC in 1989 and a second in the summer of 1990. We are in the process of gradually converting from one system to the other, and from IBM software to Word Perfect 5.1, the system advocated and supported by the Queens College Computer Center and furnished to us without cost by Queens College under its multiple licensing system. Staff members will continue to use the Displaywriter system for rough drafts, correspondence, grant proposals, and clerical tasks for as long as it continues to function without maintenance.

Documents for all forthcoming volumes and for the microform supplement had already been keyed onto the 8-inch diskettes the Displaywriter system uses. The project inserted typesetting codes, both manually and through global search and replace functions or macros, into the manuscript for volume 7 and submitted it to the press in machine-readable form. However, it was necessary to convert the data on our Displaywriter diskettes files onto PC diskettes via the mainframe computer because the printer's system cannot utilize Displaywriter diskettes. This step will not be necessary under the new system. Furthermore, our printer (Huron Valley Graphics) also can read many more Word Perfect codes directly than it could Displaywrite codes; thus reducing the task of embedding typesetting codes. Trial conversion of some documents from Displaywrite 6 to Wordperfect showed that a few

codes do not transfer properly and have to be adjusted. Kathleen Mullen, assisted by the college computer center, therefore developed Word Perfect macros to effect these adjustments and to embed some typesetting codes not directly transferable from Wordperfect 5.1 to Hudson Valley Graphic's typesetting codes.

Some annotation, principally headnotes, was prepared in 1989-1990 on the Maxum PC in Word Perfect and therefore did not need to be converted. However, by the time the project acquired the first PC, much of the preliminary annotation for Volume 8 was keyed in Displaywrite. The Queens College Computer Center converted the document texts for volumes 8 and 9 and the microform supplement into Word Perfect and transferred the data to PC diskettes in 1989. It converted annotation into the new format once final editing progressed; the first half of the volume 8 was converted in the summer of 1990; the second half in the spring of 1991. Volume 9 will be converted once preliminary annotation is completed.

The conversion process took more time than anticipated. As our test run had revealed, margins needed readjustment, and some codes, notably centering and tabs, did not convert properly. Kathleen Mullen undertook all the necessary changes. Document names to the Displaywrite files were too long for PC files; Mullen had to rename each, a time-consuming process. Otherwise, shortened titles, created by the system's reproducing only the first eight letters of each title, were unrecognizable, or, even worse, came out the same as others and resulted in similarly-named documents writing over and replacing each other.

The project intends to use NLCINDEX, the PC version of CINDEX, to create and process the index for the remaining volumes on the Maxum.

The program was acquired in 1990, but the staff has not yet begun to use it. Any time spent learning the new version of CINDEK should be offset by the elimination of delays formerly caused by the cumbersome mainframe system used for volumes 6 and 7. Files prepared on NLCINDEK are compatible with the mainframe version of CINDEK and can be utilized in preparing a cumulative index of all volumes.

EDITORIAL METHOD AND SAMPLE DOCUMENTS FROM VOLUME 7

The editorial method and apparatus and the photocopies of original documents and printed pages from volume 7 which follow are provided as a sample of our methodology.

Editorial Method

Editorial Apparatus (except list of short titles)

Account of Expenditures of the Superintendent of Finance to
December 31, 1781 (facsimile)

Gouverneur Morris to John Jay, January 1, 1783 (collation)

Observations on the Present State of Affairs, [ca. January, 13,
1783] (headnote; undated and unsigned piece)

La Luzerne to RM, January 18, 1783 (French text with translation)

The Governor of Cuba to RM, March 1, 1783 (Spanish text with
translation)

Robert R. Livingston to RM, March 11, 1783 (reduced type)

Diary, March 12, 1783 (diary)

"Lucius" to RM, March 12, 1783 (newspaper polemic)

RM to John and Francis Baring, April 17, 1783 (private letter)

26/1

Governor Morris to John Jay

"Philadelphia" Jan 4 1795

64

Gown Jan 64

Dear Jay,

"I have received your Letter of the nineteenth of October from Paris. (I am daily convinced of the necessity of writing principally in Cypher because it will among other things tend usually to give one's Letters a safe Passage when it shall have been found that importunity or designing curiosity sacrifices her Talents in vain).

(relating to Oswald's commission)
That Part of your Letter to me in Cypher I have communicated only to Mr Morris and Mr Livingston; To them and to them only for Reasons which will be obvious to you. Your Letters to Congress (for such I call those you write to the Ministers of foreign Affairs) are what they ought to be and have the Effect you would wish. ^{Mr Livingston} You should remember however that the back Lands are as important in the Eyes of some, as the Fisheries ^{are} in those of others. Men are forgetful; and therefore it will be well by timely Declarations of your Sentiments to recall your Conduct while in Congress. You and I differ about the western boundary

Country, &c. but you and your Sovereign are of the same Opinion. —

" Gen^l M^r Doyall Col^l Brooks of the Massachusetts, &
 Col^l Eden of the Jersey Line, are now here with a Petition to Congress from
 the Army for Pay. The Army are now disciplined, and their wants as
 to food and clothing are relieved, but they are not paid. Their back Accounts
 are not settled. If settled the Balances are not secured by competent Funds.
 No Provision is made for the Half Pay promised them. Some Persons, &
 indeed some States pretend to dispute their claim to it. (The Army have
 Swords in their Hands - you know enough of the History of Mankind
 to know much more than I have said, and probably much more than
 they themselves yet think of). I will add, however, that I am glad to
 see things in their present train - Depend on it good will arise from the
 Situation to which we are hastening. And this you may rely on, that my
 Efforts will not be wanting. I pledge myself to you on the present occasion,
 and altho I think it probable, that much of Convulsion will ensue, yet
 it must terminate in giving to Government that Power, without which
 Government is but a Name. "Government in America is not possessed
 of it, but the People are well prepared. Wearied with the War, their
 Acquiescence may be depended on with absolute certainty, and

you

you and I, my Friend, know by Experience, that when a few Men of
Sense and Spirit get together, and declare that they are the Authority,
such few as are of a different Opinion may easily be convinced of their
Mistake by that powerful Argument the Majority. It is, however, a most
melancholy Consideration, that a People should require so much of
Experience before they will be wise. It is still more painful to think,
that this Experience is always bought so dear. On the Wisdom of the
present Moment depends more than is easily imagined. and when
I look round for the Actors — — — — — Let us change the Subject

Accept my sincere Wishes, that the Year now com-
mencing may prove to you and yours the kind Dispenser of every
human Felicity. present me on the Rhine to Mr. Jay affectionately.
Tell your Friends are well, and inform that you are in a Situation so
essential to America as that which you now hold. Some Persons have
insinuated to me, that you are too suspicious. I think they are much
mistaken. The Observation, if it proceeds from the Heart, shows only
that they are not so well acquainted with human Nature as you
are. So on, my good Friend, continues to merit the Crown of all good
Men

then, and give to every the his favorite food. When you are
 Lord of Europe, and have completed your business there, I will
 the language of
 invited you in, ~~the house~~, ~~language~~ P "Come, come, my friend,
 with haste, with generous blast, P'er age impart thee and let Gold
 afford"

"adieu."

Yours

"Gow Morris"

Dr. Wm. L. M. J. 1844
 1843.

Philadelphia, 11 January 1783

69

Dear Jay

I have received your letter of the thirtieth of October from Paris. I am daily convinced of the necessity of writing principally in English because it will among other things tend virtually to give one's letters a safe Passage where it shall have been found that importunity, or designing Curiosity exercises her Talents in vain.

That Part of your Letter here in English I have communicated only to Mr. Monie and to Mr. Livingston. To them and to them only for Reasons which will be obvious to you. Your Letters to Congress (172. 353. 397. 251. 632. 385. 182. 599. 170. 186. 169. 482. 120. 26. 333. 312. 476. 393. 95. 130) are what they ought to be and have the Effect you would wish. (182. 243. 196. 333. 487. 487. 412. 565. 570. 557. 206. 169. 571. 237. 579. 435. 474. 393. 601. 501. 425. 50.

169. 2. 451. 2. 120. 126. 393. 169. 36. 296. 565. 251. Men are forgetful and therefore it will be well by timely Declarations of your Sentiments to recall your Conduct while in Congress. You and I differ about the Western Country but you and your Sovereign are of the same opinion.

Gen. M^r. Dearborn, Col. Brooks of the Massachusetts & Col. Ogden of the Jersey Line are now here with a Petition to Congress from the Army for Pay. The Army are now disciplined and their wants as to food and Clothing

237. 412. 32. 116. 560. 71. 412. 228. 170. 251. 421. 72. 429. 556. 54. 31. 186. 387. 226. 579. 206. 27. 76.
 35. 251. 18. 237. 251. 13. 658. 514. 502. 555. 503. 460. 75. 377. 609. 169. 64. 251. 362. 344. 120. 169.
 213. 455. 134. 250. 75. 523. 99. 429. 308. 251. 298. 524. 302. 601. 526. 54. 39. 185. 17. 251. 129. 133.
 580. 494. 75. 174. 169. 58. 116. — — — — — 120. 90. 397. 655. 169. 252. 251. 216. 503.)
 20.

Accept my Sincere Wishes that the Year now commencing
 may prove to you and yours the kind Dispenser of every human
 Felicity. permit me on the occasion to Mr. Jay affectionately
 All your Friends are well and rejoice that you are in a Situation so
 essential to America as that which you now hold. (126. 35. 460. 226. 423.
 555. 54. 503. 39. 186. 496. 206. 182. 474. 186. 353. 144. 602. 450. 90. 251. 169. 52. 579. 560.
 174. 363. 260. 325. 226.) The Observation, if it proceeds from the Heart,
 shows only that they are not so well acquainted with human Nature as
 you are. Go on my good Friend, continue them in the Possession of all
 good Things and give us Every his favorite Food. When you are tired of
 Europe and have completed your Business there I will invite you in
 Hurst's Language. Come come my Friend with Taste with
 Horius best, in Age impaired and in Gold allure —

Adieu

yours

Rec. 17 Feb. 1783

Philadelphia 1st Jan^y 1783

Dear Jay

I have received your Letter of the thirtieth of October from Paris. I am daily convinced of the necessity of writing privately in cypher because it will, among other things, tend eventually to give me Letters as safe as if they were written in plain text.

~~It is not a necessary consequence of this~~ I have

That Part of your Letter to me in cypher I have communicated only to Mr Morris and to Mr Livingston. To them and to them only for Reasons which will be obvious to you. Your Letters to

for which you call them you are to be the minutes of the Congress 174. 353. 397. 231. 638. 385. 1012. 599. 170. 186. 169. 482. 120. 26. 333. 312. 276. 393. 95. 130. are what they ought to be and have the Effect you would wish. 102. 243. 196. 75. 383. 407. 407. 412. 565. 572. 557. 206. 169. 571. 237. 520. 435. 474. 393. 601. 301. 225. 54. 169. 22. 451. 12. 120. 126. 393. 169. 36. 296. 565. 251. These are forgetful

and therefore it will be well by tenderly declaring them of your Sentiments to recall your Conduct while in Congress. You and I differ about the

Western

western country &c but you need your money

Gen^l M^r Douglass. Col^l Brooks of the Massachusetts and Col^l

Agents of the Jersey Line are now here with a Petition to Congress from
the Army for Pay. The Army are now disciplined and their wants
as to Food and Cloathing are relieved but they are not paid. Their
back Accounts are not settled. If settled the Ballances are not secured
by competent Funds. No Laundry Provision is made for the Half Pay
promised them. Some Persons & indeed some States pretend to dispute

promised them. Some persons & others
 their claim to it. *[The following text is heavily scribbled and illegible, appearing to be a list of names or descriptions.]*
 The present claim.

And thus you may rely on that my Efforts will not be wanting
I pledge myself to you on the present occasion

Friend continue to merit the esteem of all good men and give to Envy
 her favorite Food. When you are tired of Europe and have completed
 your Business there I will invite you in Sherston's Carriages home
 Come my Friend with Taste with Genius, blest 'ere Age impairs thee
 and 'ere Gold allure

Adieu

Yours

John Norton

Wm. M. Gay

4. Norton's 1/2
 Nov 17 1851

Observations on the Present State of Affairs. 133

America presents to our View an extensive Country, divided already into thirteen different Republics, and liable to further Divisions. From this situation it follows, that the States (if closely United) will become important and respectable; but otherwise they will be miserable at Home, and contemptible abroad.



Congress is the common Point of a Union, which must be maintained either by Authority, or by Influence, or by both. If it were by Authority alone, the general Council might engross all Power. The Country being too large for a single Republic, Anarchy might ensue, and then Dispolition. If Influence be the only Band of Union, it may prove too slender. The aggregate Power, therefore, ought to be compounded of both.

Congress should at least have an Authority competent to general Purposes of Commerce and War, as also to decide Disputes between different States. Their Influence should be such as to lead the States into Measures of general Utility, prevent a Dissolution of the federal Compact, and procure Obedience to their Authority without military Coercion.

To give Congress proper Authority, the Confederation should be amended. Influence may be obtained by funding the Public Debt, on general Revenues. A large Part of the Community would be thereby interested to support national Authority.

The federal Government of America is incompetent to the Purposes of Revenue. The Causes of this Debility need not be enumerated, for the Fact is clear. If the

States were prepared to pay the Interest of past Debts, and support present Operations they would not comply. And if to this were superadded the Requisition of Authority, instead of non-Compliance we might expect Refusal. These Objections therefore be singly pursued, in Succession. But which of them is to be preferred? —

To answer this it may be observed, first that a Petition for Power is seldom granted. The Discussion would be tedious, the Event uncertain, and the very Demand would excite jealousies of the most pernicious Tendency. —

It is to the next Point, it must be remembered that altho' Demands of money for present Operations may be agreed to in form, they will not be complied with in Effect. The several Legislatures, being ignorant of their own Resources and of the means to draw them forth, would do but little, even with the best Dispositions; and the Disposition of each is in great Doubt as to the Exaction of others. This necessary evil of unequal Quotas, is one Cause why great Requisitions produce only small Sums. But even if the Fact were otherwise, and Grants would not confer Influence, tho' they might afford

The Demand of permanent Funds for the Public Debt, is most likely to succeed, for it would be favored by many because it is just, and by many more because they are interested in it. The Clamors of the Army also might be found towards the attainment of that Object. The Success of this Demand is not only the most probable, but the most important. If proper Revenues are chosen, People will learn that much may be collected with little Inconvenience. If the Collection and

Trust would facilitate every subsequent measure. The Possession
 of Money will acquire Influence. Influence will lead to Authority,
 and authority will open the Purses of the People. But the favorable
 moment both to gain and establish Power, is at the close of a War.
 For all are then recently convinced of the necessity, and few are
 inclined either to dispute the Grant, or oppose the Caution.

The Situation of Things as to war or Peace is
 doubtful. But supposing the latter, this important question
 presents itself. What should be the Conduct of the French Court?

England will certainly attempt, either to deprive
 France of her new Ally, or to render that Ally useless. England will
 have in her Favor, the Identity of Language, the Similarity of
 Manners, and the Revival of ancient Connections. To these
 will be opposed the jealousy of neighbourhood, the Faith of Treaties,
 and the Feelings, the latter to their misunderstandings. It is natural
 therefore that the British Court should have a Faction in coming,
 and that the National Council should adhere to France. The
absolute Force of a Faction will depend upon Circumstances,
 but the Relative Force must be estimated by a Comparison
 with the Powers of Government.

The Present Union of America is from Necessity. It is a Vessel whose Parts are kept together by exterior Compression. When that is entirely removed, trivial Causes may burst it asunder. It is therefore a Matter equally delicate and important, to obtain for Congress the Influence and Authority which they stand in need of. Unless they have the Command of Money it is impracticable. But if the Army can be kept together in a respectable manner, it will be a great step towards the establishment of a permanent Government.

Collection of heavy Taxes, their Influence, joined to that of the
Public Creditors, will probably obtain Funds for the Public Debt.

The subsequent Grant of Authority may perhaps meet with
greater Opposition; but the Necessity of it will become daily more
apparent, and the Obstacles by Degrees be removed.

© May it not then be inferred, that after the Completion
of a Treaty of Peace, it would be the true Policy of France
to advance Money to Congress, that by Means of it, they may
obtain that Power which is alike necessary to perpetuate the
Alliance, and to Promote the Happiness and Greatness of America.

M^r Rob. Morris.Philadelphia, Pa.
le 18. Jan. 1783.

Philadelphia le 18. Jan. 1783.

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3.



si vous l. l. g. v. m. f. l. d. m. l. 13. de ce
 mois et je vous renvoie des détails dans lesquels
 vous êtes entré touchant l'état des finances des
 Congrès mais je suis prié d'être dans la simplicité
 de vous espérer que'il sera fier du pouvoir de l. M.
 de faire pour les États unis ce que vous yourself
 en attendez. La connaissance que j'ai des mesures prises
 à l'égard des fonds destinés à ce continent pour 1782
 ne me permet pas de vous laisser la plus légère
 espérance d'une augmentation de ce que l. M. a
 consenti à faire prêter au Congrès pour l'année
 dernière. Je desirer que vous en soyez aussi convaincu
 que moi pour vous éviter des demandes absolument
 inutiles et épargner aux Ministres de l. M. le
 désagrément de faire un refus à coup du Congrès.
 Soyez fermement persuadé l. M. que ces demandes
 seront non seulement superflues mais ne feront
 que démontrer de plus en plus la nécessité de ne
 pas s'écarter des arrangements ainsi arrêtés et
 de ne pas autoriser par une condescendance aussi
 extraordinaire l'usage trop longtemps pratiqué
 de tirer sur le trésor Royal sans le consentement
 de l. M. et ensuite lorsque les traites sont
 négociées de nous représenter qu'il importe au
 crédit et à l'honneur des États unis que nous
 nous chargions de les payer. Il est plus sûr et
 plus juste l. M. de ne rien négocier sans notre
 consentement préalable. Ainsi conformément
 aux instructions de l. M. je dois vous remercier

que toutes les traites que j'en aurai pas préalablement
 autorisées ou seront point payées desos fonds
 et que Vos Hautesse et Hautesse soient obligés d'
 s'en pourvoir ailleurs. Le juste mécontentement
 que des opérations de ce genre ont déjà
 occasionné me font desirer bien vivement qu'elle
 ne se répètent point. Tout ce que Vous me faites
 l'honneur d'en écrire touchant les dépenses
 inattendues auxquelles Vous avez été obligé
 et le dérangement occasionné dans Votre
 département par le fait d'autrui est applicable
 à nos propres finances et Vos opérations sont
 de nature à y produire les effets dont Vous
 Vous plaignez Vous-même. Vous êtes M^r très
 bien instruit de la nécessité de ne pas jeter
 la confusion dans les mesures prises par un
 Ministère des finances par des demandes
 impromptues et non autorisées pour que je doive
 insister plus longtemps sur les inconvénients
 sans nombre de votre démarche. Vous ne ferez
 donc point surprise si les Ministres des Etats
 unis en Europe Vous informent que ceux des N^s
 n'ont point l'oreille à aucune demande pour
 l'année 1742. Tout ce que je viens d'avoir l'honneur
 de Vous dire peut également s'appliquer à l'année
 courante et les mêmes causes doivent empêcher
 toute opération faite sans notre consentement.
 Je Vous déclare de bonne heure M^r que je ne
 suis en aucune manière autorisé à faire exposer
 des aunes d'argent pour l'année courante. J'en
 suis d'autant plus de mon devoir de ne pas Vous laisser

dans l'examen sur ce point que ce seroit Vous exposer
 à voir Vos traites rennir protestées si Vous ne
 comptés que sur nos ressources pour les acquitter.
 C'est Vous exposer au feu aux reproches de ceux qui
 les achètent et j'en vois d'autre moyen marche à
 suivre à cet égard que celle de ne tenir jamais
 pour une assurance de ma part que les fonds
 seront fideis pour acquitter Vos traites.

Vous me faites l'honneur même que Vous
 m'avez demandé pour l'année 1782. un subside ou
 prêt de 12,000,000. tout ce que je puis Vous
 répondre c'est que M. n'a pu en accorder que
 six. Je ne vois M. d'autre parti à prendre dans
 la circonstance actuelle que de Vous abstenir
 religieusement de requérir une seule traite par
 (dela celle qui l'ont été jusqu'à ce jour,
 d'attendre quelle en fera le fort et de conduire
 enfin les opérations de cette espèce de manière
 que ma Cour puisse enfin compter sur
 l'exécution des arrangements qu'elle arrête
 de concert avec les Ministres des Etats unis.
 Vous voyez M. que nous ne sommes nullement
 d'aussi sur le fond ainsi que Vous avez pu en
 le croire et un lieu d'être convaincu que Vous
 devez tenir je suis fermement persuadé que
 Vous ne devez pas le faire et que si Vous ne
 comptés que sur nos ressources Vous n'êtes
 nullement fondés à espérer le payement de
 Vos traites. Quant aux observations qui

terminent. Votre lettre touchant la situation
critique de l'armée; je la connois je sens combien
il importe de la tenir ensemble et les Etats
respectifs doivent la sentir encore mieux; mais
ceci est un point sur lequel je ne me permettrai
aucune réflexion.

Je ne puis Mr. finir une lettre que je n'aie
euille qu'avec peine sans vous assurer que
personne ne voit avec plus d'admiration que
moi le courage et l'habileté que vous avez
déployés dans la place importante qui vous
est confiée et les avantages immenses qui en
ont résulté pour les Etats unis. J'ai toujours
considéré comme un point essentiel la
certitude que les fonds avancés ou donnés aux
Etats unis soient administrés avec toute
l'économie et tout l'ordre imaginables, mais
je n'ai pu m'empêcher en même temps de désirer
que vos talens qui s'exercent si avantageusement
sur les dépenses publiques le fussent
aussi utilement sur la recette.

The Governor of Cuba to C.M., March 1, 1783

Havana Feb 28th 1783

A D.ⁿ Roberto Morris

pl
D.

Mi S.^r mío: Al tomar posesion de este mando el Sr. del anterior me entregó mi Antecesor en él la carta de v. s. de 27 de Novre. ult.^o en que se sirve recomendar al S.^r D.ⁿ Juan Brown comis.^{do} por v. s. por parte de esos Estados para negociar en esta Plaza letras de cambio por doscientos mil pesos contra la Casa de los Señores D.ⁿ Diego, D.ⁿ Luis y D.ⁿ Lorenzo de (Contenla

El Pádis ~~en la qual~~ habiendo
v. r. dado las disposi^{ones} neces-
rias para que haya en po-
der de ellos fondos suficientes
conquẽ satisfacerlas.
Y concurrir

Desearo Yo concurrir
à este servicio en quanto per-
miten mis facultades y edife
al Sr. de Brown, luego q. me
presento, practicare var. dilig.
que tubiese por conv. ^{tes} al logro
de su designio, y haviendola
concluido à su satisfaccion seun-
te he manifestado tengo. Yo
la de Ofrecer à U. d. con exte-
rior mi supuesta voluntad a.

Señor á vos estados vnidos
en quanto penda de mis facul-
tades, y á V. en quanto ~~en todo~~
lo que fuere de mi obsequio
Año 1788.

Diary in Office of Finance

(March 12.)

This Morning arrived the Ship Genl Washington bap.
Barney with Dispatches from our Ministers at Paris and with
six hundred thousand Livres in Cash on Account of the United
States in consequence of my Orders in October last; and this day
also appeared a virulent Attack on my Publick and private Character
signed Lucius in the Freeman's Journal, replete with the most
infamous Falsehoods. Assertions without the least shadow of truth
to support them, and insinuations as base and infamous as Envy
and Malignancy could suggest - I think I know the Author and
if my Conjecture is right, He is of that baneful Character which
brings dishonor to those whom he means to befriend and the reverse
to whom he opposes. —

His Excellency the Minister of France came to the Of-
fice respecting Dispatches from his Court which were delivered
to M.^r Marbois jun.^r for him. —

An Officer of the Dana Frigate applied to request that
I would order Capt Barney to deliver any french Seamen
he may have on board the Washington to the said Frigate com-
manded by Cap.^t Capellis. — Inquired of Cap.^t Barney who
says he has not any french Seamen. —

John Pierce Esq.^r Paymaster General for Money &c. —

Sam.^l Starbuck and W.^m Potete of Nantucket shewed
me their Memorial to Congress praying the Inhabitants of that

...inquired of Cap. Barney who
says he has not any french Seamen.

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John Pierce Esq. Paymaster General for Money &c. —
Sam^l Starbuck and W^m Potte of Nantucket shewed
me their Memorial to Congress praying the Inhabitants of that
Island may be permitted to pursue the Whale fishing Business
without interruption by American Cruizers, I think they ought to
be indulged, promised them any Assistance in my Power & furnished
a Copy of Admiral Digby's Report to one of their fishing Vessels that
had been taken by the Alliance.

Diary in Office of Finance

March 12. 1783.
L. R. Morris Esq. respecting the Dispatches and
the Treaty with Great Britain.

TO ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.
 "I have done the deed!" you may cry out like Macbeth, and with equal horror—"I have murdered public credit as she slept—I have murdered her, being my guest!" To your guardian ship, sir, she was committed. Where is she now? Does she exist? Has not your announcing to the public, that nothing but the most insupportable injustice governs the councils of this nation—that we are most dishonestly incurring our debts, as the prospect of paying them diminishes, stabbed her to the heart? If the public give any credit to your assertions, if they do not judge, and such judgment would be right, that the man who is capable of betraying the high secrets of his office, is unworthy of credit; who is it that will henceforth trust a single shilling to the United States of America?

Was this a time, sir, when a persuasion of the impracticability of succeeding had so balanced with the enemy the injury of losing us; that the scales of war and peace hung even—was this a time to make such a disclosure of our weakness to that enemy? Did your Tory friends deem it necessary to throw this into the scale of war, that all its horrors might be renewed upon us? That the enemy might be tempted to try once more, what force combined with seduction may do, against a people deprived of credit abroad by you, and thrown into convulsions at home? The able, the artful Carleton, stands ready for the purpose.

Could you, sir, be ignorant that these must be the effects of your publication? You cannot say you were. Ignorance made drunk could not but foresee it. Where then will your conduct find apology or atonement?

But what will the public think of you, when I show that your imputations are not founded in truth. Will you deny, sir, that at the time of your publication, Congress had resolved, that funding the public debts was proper; and that they were employed in preparing such a plan for it, as might be admissible in the States? Will you deny, that the payments from the respective States have been increasing as their abilities increased, and that the pressure of the war, and the almost total abolition of commerce, are the real reasons why their contributions are not fully adequate to satisfy the public demands? With what truth then could you say, that they are increasing their debts as the prospect of paying them diminishes; and that their minister must be guilty of injustice? Though I am not in the secret of government, yet I have such information that I defy you to contradict those facts.

Your partisans will say, you had a right to resign and to publish your reasons for it. In some measure this is true. But had you a right to calumniate Congress and deceive the public? I have shown that you have attempted both; and, as far as the secrets of the heart are disclosed by actions, you appear to have done it with the most malignant view.

Let us suppose, for I am willing to give you every advantage, that your opinion, with regard to the most proper method of paying the public debt, had not been adopted, would that warrant your accusing Congress or the States of dishonesty and artifice? Can you say with truth, that any State, or portion of a State, has shown the smallest inclination to defraud the public creditors? On what foundation then do your imputations rest? That your sovereign will should be received as law; that submission to your absolute titillation should be the only rule of government, are manifestly your sentiments. So much has a sudden and enormous acquisition of wealth, by speculating in the distresses of the war, puffed your pride and debilitated your understanding. Remember, sir, what you were and think what you may be. This admonition is the salutary admonition of a friend. There was a man, sir, and it is not long past, when you were compelled to atone, not only to Congress, but to individuals, by the most abject submission, for the injurious insolence of your conduct. Beware of a similar humiliation.

Whether this system of permanent funds, the establishment of which you demand in the tone of a sovereign more than of a servant, be eligible, I shall not present enquire. But as this system, however near it bears, did not originate with you, since you expressly stipulated to take no part in past transactions, seems unaccountable that these actions should be the reason of your resignation. Why should

you now be so anxious about these debts, which you stipulated to have no concern with at your entrance into office. Is it that you are engaged in those deep speculations, that have been made in loan office certificates. Must these speculations be secured in the possession of princely fortunes, or the United States be thrown into convulsions, and, as far as you can effect it, their credit ruined? Your former speculations had nearly ruined the worthy citizens of Boston; your present ones strike at the whole Union. Perhaps then it will be found that all this boast of honesty and patriotism, is prompted solely by the interest you and your friends have in these certificates, not as original subscribers, but as purchasers from the distressed possessors, at an immense depreciation.

But whether folly, or faction, or private interest, or public enmity, were the real motives of your publication, the act itself is so replete with mischief that it ought to destroy you for ever in the opinion of a discerning people.

LUCIUS.

Boston April 7 1778

Gent^l

It is with the most sensible pleasure that I take of this period in these first dawning of Peace to renew a Correspondence that was formerly of some importance to the parties concerned in it which may possibly become so again. — The great Contest which has so long obstructed our intercourse is now settled and I presume that a Treaty of Commerce between the Two Nations will soon put in the power of Individuals to engage freely in such Mercantile pursuits and inclination prospects of Mutual gain, or other Circumstances may invite them to. — It is under this View of things that I am induced to inform you of the dissolution of the Partnership of Willing Morris & Co. on the 31st day of December 1777. at which time I was an exile from this City. — but on my return to it in the Summer of 1778. — finding the Mutual Friendship & attachment which had subsisted for many Years between Mr. Willing and myself had rather gathered strength by that temporary separation, we agreed to preserve our connection by a new establishment, and took Mr. Saml. Jones as a partner in this House to which we assigned a sufficient Capital and committed to him the sole management of the business which he has conducted from that time to this very successfully much to our satisfaction and equally so to all persons with whom he has done business under the firm of Saml. Jones & Co.

This House are entitled to every Confidence & credit that can be derived from solicitude, Integrity, punctuality and Industry. — Under this assurance I beg leave to introduce them to your Correspondence. They will have the pleasure to forward this letter with such additions as they may think proper. —

I have the Honor to remain

Yours Most Obedt.
Whole Servant
Robt Morris

Mrs. Sarah Francis Baring.

National Endowment for the Humanities
BUDGET FORM

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| | |
|--|---|
| Project Director
Elizabeth M. Nuxoll | If this is a revised budget, indicate the NEH application/grant number: |
| Applicant Organization
Queens College and the Research Foundation of CUNY | Requested Grant Period
From <u>7/92</u> to <u>6/94</u>
<small>mo/yr mo/yr</small> |

The three-column budget has been developed for the convenience of those applicants who wish to identify the project costs that will be charged to NEH funds and those that will be cost shared. FOR NEH PURPOSES, THE ONLY COLUMN THAT NEEDS TO BE COMPLETED IS COLUMN C. The method of cost computation should clearly indicate how the total charge for each budget item was determined. If more space is needed for any budget category, please follow the budget format on a separate sheet of paper.

When the requested grant period is eighteen months or longer, separate budgets for each twelve-month period of the project must be developed on duplicated copies of the budget form.

SECTION A — budget detail for the period from 7/92 **to** 6/93
mo/yr mo/yr

1. Salaries and Wages

Provide the names and titles of principal project personnel. For support staff, include the title of each position and indicate in brackets the number of persons who will be employed in that capacity. For persons employed on an academic year basis, list separately any salary charge for work done outside the academic year.

| name/title of position | no. | method of cost computation
(see sample) | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
|---|-------|--|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Elizabeth M. Nuxoll/
Proj. Director-Coeditor | [1] | 12 mos. FT @ (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$ | \$(b) (6) |
| M. Gallagher/Coeditor | [1] | 11 mos. FT @ (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| K. Mullen/Asst. Editor | [1] | 52 wks. x 15 hrs. x (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| Student Aide | [1] | 52 wks. x 10 hrs. x (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| Research Assistant | [1] | 10 mos. x 20 hrs. @ stipend (b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |
| | [] | | | | |
| | [] | | | | |
| | [] | | | | |
| SUBTOTAL | | | \$ 70,454 | \$ 35,155 | \$ 105,609 |

2. Fringe Benefits

If more than one rate is used, list each rate and salary base.

| rate | salary base | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 23 % of \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |
| 0 % of \$(b) (6) | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SUBTOTAL | | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |

3. Consultant Fees

Include payments for professional and technical consultants and honoraria.

| name or type of consultant | no. of days
on project | daily rate of
compensation | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----|-----------|
| Clarence L. Ver Steeg/
Editorial Advisor | 9 | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| | | \$ | | | |
| | | \$ | | | |
| | | \$ | | | |
| | | \$ | | | |
| SUBTOTAL | | | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |

For each trip, indicate the number of persons traveling, the total days they will be in travel status, and the total subsistence and transportation costs for that trip. When a project will involve the travel of a number of people to a conference, institute, etc., these costs may be summarized on one line by indicating the point of origin as "various." All foreign travel must be listed separately.

| from/to | no. of
persons | total
travel
days | subsistence
costs | + transportation
costs = | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| NYC/Philadelphia | [1] | [3] | \$ 125 | \$ 125 | \$ 250 | \$ _____ | \$ 250 ✓ |
| NYC/Washington, DC | [1] | [3] | 125 | 125 | 250 | _____ | 250 |
| _____ | [] | [] | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | [] | [] | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | [] | [] | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | [] | [] | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | [] | [] | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | [] | [] | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| SUBTOTAL | | | | | \$ 500 | \$ _____ | \$ 500 ✓ |

5. Supplies and Materials

Include consumable supplies, materials to be used in the project, and items of expendable equipment; i.e., equipment items costing less than \$500 or with an estimated useful life of less than two years.

| item | basis/method of cost computation | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|--------|----------|----------|
| Computer Supplies | @ \$350 per year | \$ 350 | \$ _____ | \$ 350 |
| Expendable Supplies | @ \$250 per year | 250 | _____ | 250 |
| Research Materials | @ \$200 per year | 200 | _____ | 200 |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | SUBTOTAL | \$ 800 | \$ _____ | \$ 800 ✓ |

6. Services

Include the cost of duplication and printing, long distance telephone, equipment rental, postage, and other services related to project objectives that are not included under other budget categories or in the indirect cost pool. For subcontracts over \$10,000, provide an itemization of subcontract costs on this form or on an attachment.

| item | basis/method of cost computation | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------|----------|------------|
| Computer Repair | @ \$700 per year | \$ 700 | \$ _____ | \$ 700 |
| Duplication | @ \$385 per year | 385 | _____ | 385 |
| Mainframe Computer
Timesharing | @ \$1,000 per year | _____ | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | SUBTOTAL | \$ 1,085 | \$ 1,000 | \$ 2,085 ✓ |

7. Other Costs

Include participant stipends and room and board, equipment purchases, and other items not previously listed. Please note that "miscellaneous" and "contingency" are not acceptable budget categories. Refer to the budget instructions for the restriction on the purchase of permanent equipment.

| item | basis/method of cost computation | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
|----------|----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | | \$ | \$ | \$ |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| SUBTOTAL | | \$ | \$ | \$ |

8. Total Direct Costs (add subtotals of items 1 through 7) \$ 90,285[✓] \$ 42,700 \$ 132,985[✓]

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]

If indirect costs are to be charged to this project, check the appropriate box below and provide the information requested. Refer to the budget instructions for explanations of these options.

- ☒ Current indirect cost rate(s) has/have been negotiated with a federal agency. (Complete items A and B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal has been submitted to a federal agency but not yet negotiated. (Indicate the name of the agency in item A and show proposed rate(s) and base(s), and the amount(s) of indirect costs in item B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal will be sent to NEH if application is funded. (Provide an estimate in item B of the rate that will be used and indicate the base against which it will be charged and the amount of indirect costs.)
- ☐ Applicant chooses to use a rate not to exceed 10% of direct costs, less distorting items, up to a maximum charge of \$5,000. (Under item B, enter the proposed rate, the base against which the rate will be charged, and the computation of indirect costs or \$5,000, whichever sum is less.)

A. Dept. of Health and Human Services April 28, 1989
 name of federal agency date of agreement

| rate(s) | base(s) | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <u>69.4</u> % | of \$ <u>90,285</u> | \$ <u>38,823</u> [✓] * | \$ <u>23,835</u> | \$ <u>62,658</u> |
| <u>69.4</u> % | of \$ <u>42,700</u> | | <u>29,634</u> | <u>29,634</u> |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS | | \$ <u>38,823</u> | \$ <u>53,469</u> [✓] | \$ <u>92,292</u> [✓] |

10. Total Project Costs (direct and indirect) for Budget Period \$ 129,108[✓] \$ 96,169 \$ 225,277[✓]

*Requested at only 43%; the balance is cost-shared.

National Endowment for the Humanities

BUDGET FORM

Page 4

| | |
|--|--|
| Project Director

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll | If this is a revised budget, indicate the NEH application/grant number: |
| Applicant Organization
Queens College and the Research Foundation of CUNY | Requested Grant Period
From <u>7/92</u> to <u>6/94</u>
mo/yr mo/yr |

The three-column budget has been developed for the convenience of those applicants who wish to identify the project costs that will be charged to NEH funds and those that will be cost shared. FOR NEH PURPOSES, THE ONLY COLUMN THAT NEEDS TO BE COMPLETED IS COLUMN C. The method of cost computation should clearly indicate how the total charge for each budget item was determined. If more space is needed for any budget category, please follow the budget format on a separate sheet of paper.

When the requested grant period is eighteen months or longer, separate budgets for each twelve-month period of the project must be developed on duplicated copies of the budget form.

SECTION A — budget detail for the period from 7/93 to 6/94 mo/yr mo/yr

1. Salaries and Wages

Provide the names and titles of principal project personnel. For support staff, include the title of each position and indicate in brackets the number of persons who will be employed in that capacity. For persons employed on an academic year basis, list separately any salary charge for work done outside the academic year.

| name/title of position | no. | method of cost computation
(see sample) | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
|---|-----|--|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Elizabeth M. Nuxoll/
Proj. Director-Coeditor | [1] | 12 mos. FT (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |
| M. Gallagher/Coeditor | [1] | 11 mos. FT (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |
| K. Mullen/Asst. Editor | [1] | 52 wks. x 15 hrs. x (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| Student Aide | [1] | 52 wks. x 10 hrs. x (b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| Research Assistant | [1] | 10 mos. x 20 hrs. @ stipend (b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |
| | [] | | | | |
| | [] | | | | |
| | [] | | | | |
| SUBTOTAL | | | \$ 49,944 ✓ | \$ 59,545 | \$ 109,489 ✓ |

2. Fringe Benefits

If more than one rate is used, list each rate and salary base.

| rate | salary base | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 23 % of \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |
| 0 % of \$(b) (6) | | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| SUBTOTAL | | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) |

3. Consultant Fees.

Include payments for professional and technical consultants and honoraria.

| name or type of consultant | no. of days
on project | daily rate of
compensation | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------|-----|-----------|
| Clarence L. Ver Steeg/
Editorial Advisor | 36 | \$(b) (6) | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |
| E. James Ferguson/
Reader | honorarium | \$ 1,000 | 1,000 | | 1,000 |
| | | | | | |
| SUBTOTAL | | | \$(b) (6) | | \$(b) (6) |

[illegible]

| item | basis/method of cost computation | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------|----------|--------|
| <u>Computer Supplies</u> | @ \$350 per year | \$ 350 | \$ _____ | \$ 350 |
| <u>Expendable Supplies</u> | @ \$250 per year | 250 | _____ | 250 |
| <u>Research Materials</u> | @ \$250 per year | 250 | _____ | 250 |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | SUBTOTAL | \$ 850 | \$ _____ | \$ 850 |

| item | basis/method of cost computation | (a) | (b) | (c) |
|--------------------|----------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Computer Repair | @ \$750 per year | \$ 750 | \$ _____ | \$ 750 |
| Duplication | @ \$400 per year | 400 | _____ | 400 |
| Mainframe Computer | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| Timesharing | @ \$1,000 per year | _____ | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | SUBTOTAL | \$ 1,150 | \$ 1,000 | \$ 2,150 |

7. Other Costs

7. Other Costs
Include participant stipends and room and board, equipment purchases, and other items not previously listed. Please note that "miscellaneous" and "contingency" are not acceptable budget categories. Refer to the budget instructions for the restriction on the purchase of permanent equipment.

| item | basis/method of cost computation | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
|------|----------------------------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | | \$ _____ | \$ _____ | \$ _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | SUBTOTAL | \$ _____ | \$ _____ | \$ _____ |

8. Total Direct Costs (add subtotals of items 1 through 7)

\$ 70,187 \$ 72,700 \$ 142,887

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]

9. Indirect Costs [This budget item applies only to institutional applicants.]
If indirect costs are to be charged to this project, check the appropriate box below and provide the information requested. Refer to the budget instructions for explanations of these options.

- ☒ Current indirect cost rate(s) has/have been negotiated with a federal agency. (Complete items A and B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal has been submitted to a federal agency but not yet negotiated. (Indicate the name of the agency in item A and show proposed rate(s) and base(s), and the amount(s) of indirect costs in item B.)
- ☐ Indirect cost proposal will be sent to NEH if application is funded. (Provide an estimate in item B of the rate that will be used and indicate the base against which it will be charged and the amount of indirect costs.)
- ☐ Applicant chooses to use a rate not to exceed 10% of direct costs, less distorting items, up to a maximum charge of \$5,000. (Under item B, enter the proposed rate, the base against which the rate will be charged, and the computation of indirect costs or \$5,000, whichever sum is less.)

A. Dept. of Health and Human Services April 28, 1989
name of federal agency date of agreement

| | | | | | | |
|----|---------------|----|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| B. | | | | NEH Funds
(a) | Cost Sharing
(b) | Total
(c) |
| | rate(s) | | base(s) | | | |
| | <u>69.4</u> % | of | \$ <u>70,187</u> | \$ <u>30,180*</u> | \$ <u>18,530</u> | \$ <u>48,710</u> |
| | <u>69.4</u> % | of | \$ <u>72,700</u> | | <u>50,454</u> | <u>50,454</u> |
| | | | TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS | \$ <u>30,180</u> | \$ <u>68,984</u> | \$ <u>99,164</u> |

10. Total Project Costs (direct and indirect) for Budget Period

\$100,367' \$141,684 \$242,051'
229,475 467,328

*Requested at only 43%; the balance is cost-shared.

SECTION B — Summary Budget and Project Funding**SUMMARY BUDGET**

Transfer from section A the total costs (column c) for each category of project expense. When the proposed grant period is eighteen months or longer, project expenses for each twelve-month period are to be listed separately and totaled in the last column of the summary budget. For projects that will run less than eighteen months, only the last column of the summary budget should be completed.

| Budget Categories | First Year/
from: 7/92
to: 6/93 | Second Year/
from: 7/93
to: 6/94 | Third Year/
from:
to: | TOTAL COSTS FOR
ENTIRE GRANT
PERIOD |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|---|
| 1. Salaries and Wages | \$ 105,609 | \$ 109,489 | \$ _____ | = \$ 215,098 |
| 2. Fringe Benefits | (b) (6) | (b) (6) | _____ | = (b) (6) |
| 3. Consultant Fees | (b) (6) | (b) (6) | _____ | = (b) (6) |
| 4. Travel | 500 | 500 | _____ | = 1,000 |
| 5. Supplies and Materials | 800 | 850 | _____ | = 1,650 |
| 6. Services | 2,085 | 2,150 | _____ | = 4,235 |
| 7. Other Costs | _____ | _____ | _____ | = _____ |
| 8. Total Direct Costs (items 1-7) | \$ 132,985 | \$ 142,887 | \$ _____ | = \$ 275,872 |
| 9. Indirect Costs | \$ 92,292 | \$ 99,164 | \$ _____ | = \$ 191,456 |
| 10. Total Project Costs (Direct & Indirect) | \$ 225,277 | \$ 242,051 | \$ _____ | = \$ 467,328 |

PROJECT FUNDING FOR ENTIRE GRANT PERIOD**I. Requested from NEH:**

Outright \$ 199,475
 Federal Matching \$ 30,000
TOTAL FROM NEH: \$ 229,475

II. Cost Sharing:¹

A. Third-Party Contributions \$ 30,000
 B. Applicant Contributions \$ 137,853
TOTAL COST SHARING: \$ 167,853 24%

III. Funding from Other Federal Agencies: \$ 70,000

**TOTAL COST SHARING AND FUNDING
 FROM OTHER FEDERAL AGENCIES (II + III): \$ 237,853 51%**

TOTAL PROJECT FUNDING (Total of I + II + III) ² = \$ 467,328 ✓

¹ Under Cost Sharing, line II.A. should indicate the amount of contributions to be made by third parties (including any third-party cash gifts that will be raised to release federal matching funds). On line II.B., indicate the amount that will be contributed to the project by the applicant institution. NOTE that the Endowment's cost-sharing expectations may be met either through contributions from third parties or from the institution's own resources.

² Total Project Funding should equal Total Project Costs.

Institutional Grant Administrator

Complete the information requested below when a revised budget is submitted. Block 11 of the application cover sheet instructions contains a description of the functions of the institutional grant administrator. The signature of this person indicates approval of the budget submission and the agreement of the organization to cost share project expenses at the level indicated under "Project Funding."

 Name and Title (please type or print) Telephone (_____) _____
 area code

 Signature Date _____

NEH Application/Grant Number: _____

BUDGET JUSTIFICATION

Background

The Summary Budget for this proposal lists the expected funding sources for the project.

The National Endowment has provided the bulk of the funding for the Morris Papers since its inception in 1968. Annual supplemental funding has been provided by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission since 1976. Although the level of its future appropriations from Congress remains uncertain, we have projected an annual grant from NHPRC in the Summary Budget.

Justification for specific items in the budget follows:

Salaries and Wages

Editorial staff. Salary increases have been calculated at 4 percent. Compensation for the editors falls at the low end of the current average salary range for each rank according to figures compiled by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. One staff position, that of the associate editor, has been eliminated.

Clerical and Research Assistants. Kathleen Haslbauer Mullen will return on a part-time basis to assist with complex computer, administrative, and proofreading tasks, while a student aide will perform lesser clerical duties. A research assistant valued at between (b) (6) and (b) (6) annually (depending on the stipend allotted the student) is assigned to the project by the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. For budget purposes the allocation is listed at (b) (6) the approximate stipend of our current assistant.

Consultants

Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Professor of History and former Dean of the Graduate School of Northwestern University, had been serving as Editorial Advisor to the Morris project since its inception. A distinguished scholar and author of a prize-winning study of Robert Morris, Dr. Ver Steeg is thoroughly familiar with his papers. Professor Ver Steeg reads and comments on important notes while they are in progress and, as before, reviews and comments in detail on the entire manuscript when it is sent to the press. During the two years for which funding is requested in this proposal Professor Ver Steeg will be reading and criticizing work in progress on volume 9; he will also read volume 9 in its entirety before it is submitted to the press in machine-readable form. He has been readily available to give advice to us. We confer with him on all major issues affecting the project.

Retired and living in California, E. James Ferguson is now Editor Emeritus and Emeritus Professor of History at Queens College. He assists us by commenting both on annotation in progress that is particularly related to his special expertise in early American financial history and on volumes as a whole when sent to him after our final editing. The consultant's payment in the second year of this proposal represents compensation to him for reading and commenting on the manuscript of volume 9.

Travel

Most of the unpublished documents or artifacts needed to annotate or illustrate the Morris Papers volumes are on deposit in institutions either in Washington, D.C., or in Philadelphia. Research trips to these places continue to be necessary occasionally to complete the final verification of texts that prove unreliable or are unreadable from the

photocopies or microfilms in our office, to do research for annotation, and to locate and arrange for the duplication of illustrations. We have, therefore, included in the budget funds for trips to Philadelphia for research at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, American Philosophical Society, and other Philadelphia repositories, and to Washington, D.C., for research in the Library of Congress and the National Archives.

Supplies and Research Materials

An editorial project like the Morris Papers consumes an appreciable quantity of office supplies. Many of these are now supplied by the college but some items are not among those stocked by their supply department. Chief among our expenditures in this category are computer supplies (print-wheels, ribbons and diskettes), duplication supplies, and paper and stationary supplies of varying kinds.

The annotation of Morris's diary and correspondence requires us to resort to a variety of specialized research materials not readily available in our office, the Queens College Library, or New York City. During the preparation of a volume requests go out to research libraries, historical societies, and state archives throughout the country and abroad requesting copies of relevant eighteenth-century documents either in photocopy form or microfilm. We must also have on hand for ready reference pertinent articles from scholarly journals. Some books and Ph.D. dissertations prove so useful that copies must be purchased for continuous reference.

Services

We have dropped maintenance agreements and budgeted \$1,450 to cover any necessary parts and repairs for our computers. Time-sharing costs

on the CUNY mainframe, contributed by Queens College, are also listed. The mainframe is presently used primarily for Bitnet communications with other projects and with a computer network of scholars specializing in the 18th century. It also remains in reserve for the cumulative index of the series should that prove too large for the PC version of CINDEK.

Indirect Costs

The approved federal indirect cost rate for Queens College is 69.4 percent. As part of the increased institutional support of the project, indirect costs are budgeted at 43 percent of Modified Total Direct Costs and the balance will be cost shared.

Elizabeth Miles Nuxoll

EDUCATION:

Ph.D., 1979. CUNY Graduate Center, New York, New York
 Major: American History; Minor: Eastern European History
 M.A., 1965. University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming
 Major: American Studies; Minor: International Relations
 B.A., 1964. Marymount Manhattan College, New York, New York
 Major: History; Minors: Education, Economics, and Political
 Science

EDITORIAL EXPERIENCE:

Papers of Robert Morris, CUNY Research Foundation and Queens
 College of CUNY, Flushing, New York
 1987 to date: Project Director and Coeditor
 1981 to 1986: Associate Editor; 1977-1980, Assistant Editor;
 1968-1971, Research Assistant and Assistant Editor

TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, Fall 1984
 Adjunct Associate Professor
 (American History survey to 1865)

Lehman College of CUNY, Bronx, New York, 1972-1974
 Adjunct Lecturer and Graduate Reader in American History

Hunter College of CUNY, New York, New York, 1969-1970
 Lecturer in American History

Queens College of CUNY, Flushing, New York, 1967-1969.
 Adjunct Lecturer in Contemporary Civilization I
 (European History and Culture until 1789)

Mephram High School, Bellmore, New York, 1965-1967
 Social Studies Teacher, 10th and 11th Grade (American History,
 American Studies, and European History)

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS:

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784, vol. I (1973), V (1980),
 (Assistant Editor); VI (1984), VII (1988), (Associate Editor)

Doctoral Dissertation: "Congress and the Munitions Merchants: The
 Secret Committee of Congress during the American Revolution."
 Published by Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985, in its
 series Dissertations in American Economic History

Master's Thesis: "U.S. Cultural Relations: Exchanges in the Arts,
 1954-1964"

ARTICLES:

"The American Navy, the War of Finance, and the Quest for Specie," New Interpretations in Naval History (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1989).

Biographical and bibliographical sketch of Robert Morris in Research Guide to American Historical Biography (Washington, D.C.: Beacham Publishing, 1988).

Biographical sketches of Josiah Quincy (1772-1864), David Low Dodge (1774-1852), Isaac Tatem Hopper (1771-1852), and Elizabeth Sanders (1762-1851) in Great American Reformers (1985).

"The Bank of North America and Robert Morris's Management of the Nation's First Fiscal Crisis," Business and Economic History, XIII (1984), 159-170.

"Congressional Investigation of Government Corruption during the American Revolution" (with E. James Ferguson), Congressional Studies, VIII, number 2 (1981), 13-36.

"Colonial America: The Eighteenth Century," (Review Article), Trends in History, I (Spring/Summer, 1979), 171-183.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS:

"The American Navy, the 'War of Finance' and the Quest for Specie," paper presented at Eighth Naval History Symposium, U.S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, September 25, 1987.

Commentator for panel on "The Economics of the American Revolution and Constitution" at the meeting of the Social Science History Association, St. Louis, Missouri, October 17, 1986.

"Robert Morris and the Dilemmas of Nationalist Party Leadership: Newburgh as a Test Case," paper presented at the Columbia University Seminar on Early American History and Culture, September 9, 1986.

"Freneau, France, and the Office of Finance," paper presented at the conference of the Northeast American Society for 18th Century Studies, Providence, Rhode Island, November 2, 1984.

"The Bank of North America and Robert Morris's Handling of the Nation's First Fiscal Crisis," paper presented at the Business History Conference, Hartford, Connecticut, March 10, 1984. Published in Business and Economic History, 1984.

"Robert Morris and the Handling of the Nation's First Fiscal Crisis," paper presented at Duquesne University History Forum, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, October 22, 1982.

Commentator, substituting for Rebecca Gruver, Panel on Reviewing

American History Survey Textbooks, Organization of American Historians Conference, Philadelphia, April 3, 1982.

"Illegitimacy, Family Status, and Property in Revolutionary America: The Morris-Croxall Family as a Case Study," paper presented at The Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, June 18, 1981.

"The Munitions Merchants and Franco-American Relations during the American Revolution," paper presented at the conference of the Northeast American Society for 18th Century Studies, C.W. Post Center, Long Island University, October 18, 1980.

Recent Trends in Early American Political History" (with Catherine Silverman), paper prepared for panel on New Directions in Political History, at conference on New Frontiers in History, Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey, April 17, 1979.

AWARDS AND HONORS:

N.Y. State Regents Scholarship; Marymount College Scholarship; Graduated cum laude; U. of Wyoming Fellowship; N.Y. State Regents Fellowship; Alternate for NHPRC Fellowship in Historical Editing (1977-1978).

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS:

Association for Documentary Editing; Columbia Seminar in Early American History; Institute of Early American History and Culture

ADDRESS and TELEPHONE

Elizabeth M. Nuxoll

(b) (6)

(b) (6)

Papers of Robert Morris
Queens College
65-30 Kissena Blvd.
Flushing, New York 11367
718/670-4200/4208

MARY A. Y. GALLAGHER

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION

Latin America: Colonial Period
 United States: Colonial Period
 Iberian Peninsula: 18th Century

EDUCATION

Ph. D., 1978: Graduate School and University Center of the
 City University of New York
 Major: Latin American History; Minor: American History,
 Colonial Period

M.A., 1967: University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana
 Major: Latin American History; Minor: American History

B.A., 1966: Notre Dame College of Staten Island, New York
 Majors: History, Music; Minor: French

AWARDS AND HONORS

University Fellowship, University of Notre Dame, 1966-1967
 Fellowship for Doctoral Study, SUNY, Stony Brook, 1968 - declined
 Research Assistantship, CUNY Graduate Center, 1968-1971
 Fulbright-Hays, Spain, 1970 - declined
 CUNY Research Subsidy, Peru, 1972
 AAUW Shirley Farr Dissertation Fellowship, 1977
 Mellon Post-Doctoral Award, First Alternate, CUNY, 1978

WORK EXPERIENCE

Papers of Robert Morris, Queens College of the City University of
 New York

1987 to date: Coeditor
 1985 to 1986: Associate Editor
 1981-1985: Assistant Editor
 1979-1980: Editorial Assistant
 1973 to date: Translator
 1971-1973: Assistant Editor

Hunter College of CUNY

1986 to date: Adjunct Assistant Professor, Latin American and
 American History

Notre Dame College of Staten Island, Staten Island, New York,
 1967-1968: Instructor in History, Latin American and American
 History

Stamford Catholic High School, Stamford, Connecticut

1963-1966: Social Studies Teacher, European History

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784, vols. I (1973), II (1975), and VI (1984), as assistant editor; VII (1988), as associate editor; VIII (proj. 1993), as coeditor.

Doctoral Dissertation: "Imperial Reform and the Struggle for Regional Self-Determination: Bishops, Intendants and Creole Elites in Arequipa, Peru (1784-1816)"

"Padre Antonio Vieira and the Role of the New Christians in Portugal, 1640-1668," The Journal of the American-Portuguese Cultural Society, Vol. IV, Nos. 3-4, 1970, pp. 14-30, 58-62.

"Aristocratic Opposition to the Establishment of a Foundling Home in Arequipa, Peru," Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture, (University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), Vol. IX, pp. 45-58.

"Interactions," Trends in History, Vol. I (Fall, 1979), pp. 153-164.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS

"Aristocratic Opposition to the Establishment of a Foundling Home in Arequipa, Peru" at the Convention of the Northeast American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, October, 1977.

"Women and the Establishment of the Foundling Home in Arequipa, Peru, 1780-1805" at the Fourth Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, August, 1978.

"The Conflict over the Appointment of Parish Clergy to Ecclesiastical Benefices in Peru: The Case of Arequipa, 1784-1795" at the Convention of the Northeast American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, October, 1978. Re-presented at the Seton Hall University Conference, April, 1979.

"Imperial Reform and Creole Ambition: The Conflict over Higher Education in Peru, 1750-1825" at the Convention of the East-Central Region of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, November 1979.

"Indian Emancipation and Arequipenan Enterprise, 1785-1795" at the Convention of the Northeast American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, October, 1980.

"Naval Pay and Captain's Privilege during the American Revolution" at the Eighth Naval History Symposium, September, 1987.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Association of Documentary Editors, 1981-
Associate Member of the Columbia University Seminar on Early
American History and Culture, 1991-

NELSON S. DEARMONT

AREAS OF SPECIALIZATION IN HISTORY

Early United States
 17th and 18th-century British
 History of Ideas/History of Science

EDUCATION

Ph. D., 1975: Graduate School and University Center of the City
 University of New York

Major: American History to 1860
 Minor: Modern British History/History of Science

Graduate Studies in History, 1958-1959: Brown University

Undergraduate Studies, 1948-1958

Duke University, 1948-1949
 Westminster College, Fulton, Mo., 1949-1950
 Education interrupted 1951-1955, by service in U.S. Air Force
 Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1955-1958; B.A. Magna cum
 laude, April 1958. Major: Philosophy

AWARDS AND HONORS

Francis Wayland Scholar (Brown University) in 1956 and 1957
 Phi Beta Kappa
 Queens College Graduate Fellowship, 1965-1966
 NDEA Graduate Fellowship, 1966-1969

WORK EXPERIENCE

Papers of Robert Morris, Queens College of the City University of
 New York

1980-1981, 1987 to date: Associate Editor
 1973-1980, 1984: Assistant Editor

Queens College of CUNY
 1980 to date: Adjunct Assistant Professor in American History

Hunter College of CUNY
 1970-1973: Adjunct Instructor in American History

Program for Loyalist Studies and Publications, Graduate School and
 University Center of CUNY
 1971: Researcher

WORK EXPERIENCE (Continued)

Queens College of CUNY
1965-1966: Graduate Assistant

Roberts, Rutter and Company, New York, New York
1959-1965: Portfolio analyst, investment advisory department

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

Doctoral Dissertation: "Secrecy in Government: The Public Debate in Congress during the Formative Years of the American Republic"

"Federalist Attitudes toward Governmental Secrecy in the Age of Jefferson," The Historian, XXXVII (February 1975)

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), vol. III (1977), IV (1978), and VII (1989) as assistant editor; V (1980), and VI (1984), as associate editor

"Tunis Wortman," in American Writers Before 1800: A Biographical and Critical Dictionary (London & Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983)

"Gouverneur Morris, 1752-1816," in Research Guide to American Historical Biography (Washington, DC.: Beacham Publishing, 1988)

Reviews:

Richard L. Blanco, The War of the American Revolution: A Selected Annotated Bibliography of Published Sources (New York: 1983) in American History: A Bibliographic Review (1985).

Wayne Cutler, ed., North for Union: John Appleton's Journal of a Tour to New England Made by President Polk in June and July 1847 (Nashville: 1986) in Journal of the Early Republic (Summer 1987).

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Historical Association
Institute of Early American History and Culture
Society for the History of the Early American Republic
American Association for the History of Medicine
Columbia University Seminar on American Civilization
Association for Documentary Editing

ABBREVIATED VITA

CLARENCE L. VER STEEG

Professor of History

Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois

GENERAL INFORMATION

Born:

(b) (6)

Degrees:

B.A. Morningside College, Sioux City,
Iowa (1943, in absentia because of
early induction into United States
Army Air Forces)

M.A. Columbia University (1946)

Ph.D. Columbia University (1950)

Post-Graduate
Education:Northwestern University Law School
(1974-1975), currently in good
standing

War Service:

1942-1945, USAAF; combat as radar
navigator in heavy bombardment
squadron, Southwest Pacific; decorated:
Air Medal with three Oak Leaf Clusters

PRINCIPAL SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

1. Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954. Manuscript awarded the Beveridge Prize by the American Historical Association, 1952.
2. A True and Historical Narrative of the Province of Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1960. Edited with Introduction.

3. Committee for the Future, Organization of American Historians, 1963-65
4. American representative to the Anglo-American Historical Committee, 1964-65
5. Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial of the American Historical Association, 1963-73; Chairman, 1969-73
6. Elected Chairman of the Nominating Committee, American Historical Association, 1965-68
7. Member of the National Research Panel, the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, D. C., 1967-68; 1969-72
8. Member of the International Council on the Publication of the Loyalist Papers, 1968-74
9. Appointed member of the Nominating Committee of the Southern Historical Association, 1970-72
10. Member of the Advisory Planning Committee for the Newberry Library, 1970-73

SPECIAL PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Most members of a university faculty participate in an endless variety of department, school, and university-wide committees. This vita assumes this type of activity as a given. Only those activities which can be properly identified as unique are listed.

1. Chairman, Northwestern Faculty Committee to Plan and Build the New University Library, 1961-70
2. Chairman, Northwestern University Faculty Committee to Plan the Future of the University, 1962-65, that developed a "Plan of the Seventies" that has been largely implemented
3. Chairman, Faculty Committee to Advise the Illinois State Board of Higher Education in Preparing the Master Plan for Higher Education for Public Institutions of the State, 1962-64

4. Research Fellow, Huntington Library, 1955
5. National Fellow, American Council of Learned Societies, 1958-59
6. John Simon Guggenheim Fellow, 1964-65
7. Visiting Member, Institute for Advanced Study, 1967-68
8. Senior Fellow, National Endowment for the Humanities, 1973

TEACHING AT OTHER UNIVERSITIES

1. Columbia University, Lecturer, 1946-48; Instructor, 1949-50
2. Harvard University, Visiting Professor, 1959-60
3. Lecturer in American History, Summer Institute sponsored by Stanford University for teachers of American History in Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East, Alpach, Austria, 1966

CAREER AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Instructor, 1950-52
 Assistant Professor, 1952-55
 Associate Professor, 1955-59
 Professor, 1959-
 Dean, The Graduate School, 1975-86

PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES IN HISTORY

1. Council of the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1961-64; 1968-72; Chairman, Executive Committee, 1970-72
2. Manuscript Committee of the Frederick Jackson Turner Prize of the Organization of American Historians, 1964-65

3. The American People: Their History, Harper and Row, 1961, 1964.
4. The Formative Years, 1607-1763, Hill and Wang, 1964; published in England by Macmillan, 1965.
5. The Story of Our Country, Harper and Row, 1965.
6. Great Issues in American History: From Settlement to Revolution, 1584-1776, Vintage, Random-House, 1969, edited with Richard Hofstadter.
7. Investigating Man's World, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1969, co-author.

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|------------|-------------------------------|
| Volume I | Family Studies |
| Volume II | Local Studies |
| Volume III | Metropolitan Studies |
| Volume IV | Regional Studies |
| Volume V | United States Studies (1970) |
| Volume VI | Inter-American Studies (1970) |
8. A People and a Nation, Harper and Row, 1971, co-author with Richard Hofstadter, most recently revised 1981.
9. The Origins of a Southern Mosaic: Studies in the Early Carolinas and Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1976.
10. World Cultures, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1977.
11. American Spirit, Follett Publishing Company, 1982.
12. Publications Other Than Complete Books:
 - A. "The Launching of the New Government" in Problems in American History, edited by R. W. Leopold and A. S. Link, Prentice-Hall, 1952, 1957, 1966.
 - B. "Alexander Hamilton: His Contribution to Constitutional Government" from Representative American Speeches, 1956-57, edited by A. Craig Baird, H. W. Wilson Company, 1957.

- C. "The North American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, 1688-1763" from Interpreting and Teaching American History, W. H. Cartwright and R. L. Watson, Jr., co-editors, National Council for Social Studies, 1961.
- D. "The Founding of America" in The Democratic Experience, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1963, most recently revised, 1981.
- E. "Historians and the Southern Colonies" from The Reinterpretation of Early American History, edited by R. A. Billington, The Huntington Library Press, 1966; reprinted by W. W. Norton and Company, 1968.
- F. "The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States of America, 1787" from An American Primer, edited by Daniel J. Boorstin, University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- G. Approximately 15 articles, perhaps the most significant of which is "The American Revolution Considered as an Economic Movement" published originally in the Huntington Library Quarterly, but since republished in ten different anthologies.
- H. More than 100 book reviews of which about 50 have appeared in learned Journals.
- I. Editorial consultant, The Papers of Robert Morris, 1969--; Volumes I-VI published 1973--, Volumes VII-IX in preparation.

HONORS

- 1. National Fellow in Economic History, Social Science Research Council, 1948-49
- 2. Albert J. Beveridge Prize awarded by the American Historical Association, 1952
- 3. George A. and Eliza Gardner Howard Foundation Fellow, 1954-55

4. Member, Board of Directors, The Center for Research Libraries, 1980-1985
5. Member, Graduate Record Examinations Board, Educational Testing Service, 1981-, Chairman, 1984-
6. President, The Association of Graduate Schools in The Association of American Universities, 1984-
7. Member, Board of Directors, The Council of Graduate Schools in the United States, 1983-
8. Member, Steering Committee, Consortium on Financing Higher Education Graduate Research Project, 1981-
9. Member, Government-University-Industry Research Roundtable Working Group on Talent, National Academy of Sciences, 1984-
10. Member, Higher Education Policy Advisory Committee to OCLC, Online Computer Library Center, Inc., 1984-

RECENT ACTIVITY REGARDING INTERNAL EVALUATION AT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

1. Chairman, Committee to Review the Future of the School of Education, 1977
2. Chairman, Task Force on the Life Sciences, 1977-78

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW
VOLUME LXVII, NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1990

The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784. Volume 7: November 1, 1782-May 4, 1784.
Edited by John Catanzariti. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988.
Frontispiece, illustrations, introduction, editorial method, editorial apparatus, editors'
acknowledgments, appendixes, index. Pp. lxi, 893. \$55.00.)

The publication of this volume is an especially welcome occasion because its contents document, among other important topics, the financial and political repercussions of the transition from war to peace. Specifically, the volume provides abundant evidence of Robert Morris's waning public influence as the arrival of peace sapped nationalist aspirations and momentum. The more than seven hundred items in the volume depict, moreover, the mixture of optimism and pessimism, of excitement and turmoil and uncertainty that accompanied the end of the long and difficult struggle to achieve political independence. More narrowly but of particular interest is material that details the army's dissatisfaction and that bears directly upon—if, as the editors take care to acknowledge, it fails to resolve—the enigmatic and probably forever impenetrable episode that came to be called the Newburgh conspiracy. An appendix provides early records of the bank of North America.

This seventh volume in the series has been editorially restructured in a mold to be continued throughout the projected nine volumes remaining in the series. Because of financial and other considerations, the editors have deleted items judged to be routine or specialized in nature. A list of deletions from the period covered by this volume is provided as an appendix, as will be the case for subsequent volumes, and all deleted items will be made available in microform following the publication of the final volume. A second reason for this restructuring is that, with the coming of peace, the editors believe that it is essential that all of Morris's private papers be included so as to shed light on postwar economic development and Morris's ambitions for and role in that development.

In this recasting of the series as in all other respects, this volume benefits, as have its predecessors, from a truly magnificent editorial effort. Thoroughness and prudence are two of the hallmarks of that effort. This volume is a valuable research reference and should also be useful in providing selected documentation in courses specializing in the period.

James R. Morrill

University of Louisville

Statement of History of Grants

Please summarize previous support the project has received from federal or nonfederal sources.
The applicant may include information about individual contributions.

I. NEH Grants: Continuous funding from February 1, 1968 to the present.
17 grants totalling \$1,749,455*
6 grants carried matching funds
See below

II. NHPRC Grants

Continuous funding since 1976 except for a brief period in 1982 when no funds were available. In recent years the grants have fluctuated between \$27,000 and \$33,500 per year.
15 grants totalling \$377,665

III. Professional Staff Congress Grants (City University of New York)
7 grants between 7/1/77 and 6/30/84.
Total: \$45,466

N.B. The Papers of Robert Morris are no longer eligible for this grant because no current staff member is a full-time faculty member of CUNY.

IV. Private Contributions

| | |
|--|----------|
| 1. Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc. | \$30,000 |
| 2. Gifts, NEH Grant Period 4/1/77-9/30/80 | 3,000 |
| 3. Gifts, NEH Grant Period 10/1/82-6/30/84 | 29,739 |
| 4. Gifts, NEH Grant Period 10/1/84-6/30/86 | 51,095 |
| 5. Gifts, NEH Grant Period 7/1/86-6/30/88 | 30,000 |
| 6. Gifts, NEH Grant Period 7/1/88-6/30/90 | 30,000 |
| 7. Gifts, NEH Grant Period 7/1/90-date | 23,130 |

\$196,964

QC/CUNY Cost Sharing, previously estimated as averaging 25% of the project's total budget, now averages about 32% of the budget.

* This figure includes \$23,130 in matching funds from the current NEH grant (7/1/90-6/30/92). If the entire \$52,000 of the matching offer is raised, this figure would total \$1,778,325.

LIST OF SUGGESTED REVIEWERS

Please list the names and addresses of eight potential reviewers.

1) Name: Professor John J. McCusker
Institution: University of Maryland
Address: Department of History
 College Park, Maryland 20742

2) Name: Professor Gordon S. Wood
Institution: Brown University
Address: Department of History
 Providence, Rhode Island 02912

3) Name: Dr. Janet Riesman
Institution: State University of New York at Stony Brook
Address: Department of History
 Stony Brook, New York 11794

4) Name: Dr. George Rappaport
Institution: Wagner College
Address: Department of History
 Staten Island, New York 10301

OVER/

- 5) Name: Dr. Richard Bushman
Institution: Columbia University
 Address: Department of History
 New York, New York 10027
- 6) Name: Dr. Michael Crawford
Institution: Editor, Naval Documents of the American Revolution
 Address: Naval Historical Center
 Washington Navy Yard, Building 57
 Washington, D.C. 20374
- 7) Name: Dr. Richard K. Showman
Institution: The Papers of Nathanael Greene
 Address: Rhode Island Historical Society
 110 Benevolent Street
 Providence, Rhode Island 02906
- 8) Name: Dr. James Lewis
Institution: Western Carolina University
 Address: Department of History
 Cullowhee, North Carolina 28723