

# BUSINESS ENTERPRISE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY ERA

BY

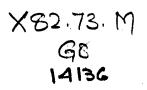
# ROBERT ABRAHAM EAST

No. 439 in the "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law" of Columbia University.

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To

MY WIFE .

ELIZABETH PADDOCK EAST

## PREFACE

Is seeking the origins of the corporate and other big business enterprises which appeared in steadily increasing numbers after the American Revolution, the first twelve chapters of this study really serve as an introduction to the last two, in which the earliest of those enterprises are analyzed. Such a study necessarily emphasizes the constructive rather than the destructive forces at work in the period, but this in no wise invalidates the thesis. For if the facts cited do not explain the results, what facts do? Surely not the destructive ones. Nor can it be argued that what happened after 1781 was due solely to the financial leadership of Alexander Hamilton. Not only were his ideas not to materialize for another decade, but he was then to appear more truly as the spokesman for, rather than as the creator of, a new business element.

It is inevitable that some discussion of politics should accompany a monograph like this, since politics and business are closely related. In the two chapters which deal with that subject, however, the thesis requires an emphasis on economic factors which results in the virtual exclusion of many others. Such a treatment therefore makes no pretence to finality, but rather to a tentative hypothesis, to be weighed in the light of subsequent research. I say subsequent, because I do not believe that there has as yet been sufficient study of the Revolution through which to evaluate a work of this type, even from the political angle. Documents of a particular kind abound, but only a few really critical interpretations, especially those made upon a broad basis of social facts, have been forthcoming. Such an unfortunate situation is largely due to a heavy crust of tradition, which has been only partially dispelled by the works of such men as William Graham Sumner, Charles A. Beard, J. Franklin Jameson, Joseph Stancliffe Davis, Allan Nevins, Edward Channing, Charles H. Lincoln, and Thomas P. Abernethy.

## 8 BUSINESS ENTERPRISE: REVOLUTIONARY ERA

It has been my good fortune to make this study under the direction of an historian fully aware of the need for further critical investigation. To Professor Evarts Boutell Greene of Columbia University I am indebted for my introduction to the problem, in his seminar on the Revolutionary Era. In the years of research since then, he has given me heavily of his time and advice, combining scholarly criticism with a wonderful amount of patience. In all fairness to him, and to those persons mentioned below, I should add that full responsibility for the development of the thesis, the research that lies behind it, and the form of its presentation, rests with myself alone.

Also of the Department of History of Columbia University, Professor John Krout gave me the benefit of two readings of the manuscript, Professor Harry Carman kindly criticized an early draft, and Professor Allan Nevins helped in several important ways to enable me to complete the work. A portion of Chapter Nine was developed in a history seminar conducted by Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, formerly of Columbia University, and now President of Union College. To Dr. Charles A. Beard of New Milford, Connecticut, I am grateful for the heartening encouragement that followed his reading of a draft, and to Professor Norman S. B. Gras, of the Graduate School of Business, Harvard University, for stimulating criticism that resulted in improvement of terminology and the avoidance of error on several points. From his spendid knowledge of manuscript sources in the period, Mr. Thomas Robson Hay, of Great Neck, Long Island, gave me generous information. The Jonathan Jackson papers were made accessible through the kindness of Mr. Austin Clark, of Washington, D. C., and helpful information from the New York State Library, Albany, was supplied by Miss Edna Jacobsen of that institution. Miss Josephine Mayer, of Teachers College, Columbia University, enlarged my knowledge about several important characters, and Mr. Joseph Bailey, of New York City, and Dr. Leith Skinner, M.D., of Albany, New York, both criticized portions of the manuscript. Through the aid of Mr. Gerald Snedeker

PREFACE

of The National Archives, Washington, D. C., the task of proof reading was lightened. The dedication of the book to my wife is inadequate tribute to the person most responsible for the ultimate completion of the work, not only by her steady encouragement but by her assistance in preparing it for the press.

As an invaluable guide to the problems and personalities appearing in this study, the index should be carefully noted by the reader. It is a product of the fine scholarship of Mr. David M. Matteson, to whom all students of history have long had so much reason to be grateful.

I am also indebted to the following institutions for opening their resources to me, and to their staff members who were uniformly courteous and helpful: The Essex Institute, Salem, The Baker Library of the Graduate School of Business, Harvard University. The Massachusetts Historical Society. Boston, The American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, The Connecticut State Library, Hartford, The Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, The New York Historical Society, The New York Public Library, The Library of the Chamber of Commerce of New York State, The New York Bank and Trust Company, The American Jewish Historical Society, The Library of Columbia University, New York City, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, The Library of Congress, The Division of Old Records of the War Department, The Treasury Department, Washington, D. C., and the Burton Historical Collection, in the Free Public Library, Detroit.

ROBERT A. EAST.

WASHINGTON, D. C. April, 1938.

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# APPENDIX A

# NEW YORK BANK STOCKHOLDERS, 1784 OR 1785 \*

Name	Shares	Name	Shares
Thomas B. Atwood	4	Matthew Cooper	2
Thomas & J. Arden	2	Stephen Crosfield	4
Philip Arcularius	5	Peter Clopper	2
Francis Atkinson	2	Isaac Cock	1
John Alsop	4	Elijah Cock	1
Thomas Buchanon	6	Ambrose Copland	1
Thomas Blane	2	Bryan Conner	2
Robert Bruce	1	George Douglass	4
James Buchanon	4	Robert Dunbar	2
Broome & Platt	2	William Depeyster	1
Samuel Broome	1	Thomas Duggan	1
Buchanon, Hunter & Co.	4	John Delancey	1
Thomas Bowne	1	John Delafield	1
Abraham Breevort	2	Richard Deane	1
Robert Bowne	4	Gesar Duyckinck	1
John Byvanck	1	William Dealing	2
Will Backhouse	1	Nicholas Delaplaine	1
Peter Byvank	1	George Embree	_
Corns J. Bogert	1	Elting & Varick	1
Berrien & Hunt	1	John Franklin	10
Abraham Bond	1	Samuel Franklin	10
Anthony L. Bleecker	2	John Fisher	1
John Broome	1	George Fisher	1
Theop Bache	2	James Farquhar	1
John Berry	4	Lewis Faugeres	6
Samuel Bard	2	Isaac Gouverneur	4
James Beekman	1	Archibald Gamble	2
Samuel Bayard, Jun	5	Galbreath & Thomson	4
Albion Cox	2	Thomas Goadsby	2
Isaac Cox	1	John Gasner	3
Cornelius Clopper	1	John A. Graham	4
John Charlton	1	Guyon, Carthy & Co.	1
John B. Coles	2	Robert Gault	1
Joseph Clement	1	Peter Goelet	1

• This list is undated, but internal evidence indicates that it was the original stockholders' list. It is in the vaults of the Bank of New York and Trust Co., and is furnished through the courtesy of that institution.

328	APPEN	DIX A	
Hugh Gaine	3	Robert McWilliams	2
John Glover	1	John Murray	6
William Hill & Co.	2	John Murray, Jun	5
Alexander Hosiack	2	Robert Murray	6
John Hone	1	Nathan McVicar	1
Daniel Hartung	1	Peter McDougall & Co.	2
Lion Hart	1	Lindley Murray	5
Alexander Hamilton	1	William Maxwell	8
Joseph Hallet	1	Isaac Moses & Co.	4
Daniel Hitchcock	1	Isaac Moses for M. Josephson	1
John Henry	1	Isaac Moses for I. Nathan	1
Thomas Haviland	1	David Masterton	1
Hugh Henderson	2	Christopher Miller	1
Henry Haydock	2	John Mowatt	1
Ebenezer Haviland	1	Alexander McDougall	5
Benjamin Haviland	1	Mangle Minthorne	1
Uriah Hendricks	2	Her Mulligan	1
John Jones	3	Thomas Maule	2
Joshua Jones	2	Jacob Mott, Jun	1
Johnson & Ogden	4	Jacob Morrell	1
Thomas F. Jackson	1	Henry Nash & Co.	2
Peter Keteltas	1	Elias Nexon	1
Nicholas Lowe	4	Henry Newton	4
John Lawrence	1	William Neilson	2
Abraham P. Lott	1	Robert Pemberton	1
William Livingston	1	Pearsall & Embree	2
Nicholas Lowe p PN.	16	Sarah Pell	3
Ludlow & Goold	4	Evelyn Pierpont	6
Thomas Lawrence	1	John Price	2
Lyde & Rogers	2	John Porteous	2
Hayman Levy	1	Daniel Phoenix	1
Gabriel H. Ludlow	1	William Patrick	2
W. H. Ludlow	1	Lewis Pintard	6
Daniel Le Roy	1	Daniel Parker	4
John Peter Le Mayour	2	William Post	1
Christopher L. Lente	2	Thomas Pearsall	4
Jonathan Lawrence	4	Edmund Prior	1
Tom & Laurence	2	James Parsons	1
John Laurence	2	Stephen Rapalje	1
Abraham Lott	12	Alexander Robertson	10
Joseph Lawrence	2	Moses Rogers	5
Daniel McCormick	3	Edward K. Roston	1
Jacob Morris	. 4	Cornelius C. Roosevelt	1
John Miller	2	Thomas Randall	2
David Mitchelson	4	Alexander Robertson for W. Les	ue 1

APPENDIX A

		-	-
Isaac Roosevelt	3	Peter Schermerhorn	1
John J. Roosevelt	1	Willet Seaman	1
Alexander Robertson for I. Smith	2	William Talman	1
Henry Remsen	1	Joseph Taylor	2
John Rogers	4	Thomas Ten Eyck	2
Nicholas Romayne	1	William Thomson & Co.	2
Cornelius Ray	1	John Thomson	1
John Remsen	2	Thomas Tucker	1
Christopher Robert	3	John Turner & Co.	2
Thomas Roach	2	Jacobus Vanzandt	4
Ezekiel Robins	1	John Vanderbilt	5
Riddell, Colquhoun & Co.	2	Andrew Vantuyl	8
Hecter St. John	6	William Ustick, Jun	2
Thomas Stoughton	6	Gulian Verplanck	2
John Stites	2	Richard Varick	1
Robert and G. Service	2	Elting & Varick	1
John Shaw	2	Simon Van Antwerp	1
Bernard Swarthout	1	Viner Vanzandt	2
Peter Stuyvesant	2	Andrew Underhill	1
James & A. Stewart	1	Tobias Vanzandt	1
Comfort Sands	6	Hubert Van Wagener	2
Joseph Stringham	2	Willson & Saidler	2
James Scott & Co.	2	James Woodhull	1
Chua & R. Stewart	1	Benjamin Waddington	6
Josiah Shippey	1	Joshua Waddington	4
Edmund Seaman	2	Henry Waddington	4
John Staples	1	George Warner	2
Robert Smyth	1	Capt. John Walker p Wm. Max-	
William Shedden	4	well	1
Richard Sharp	2	Richard Willets	2
John Staples p W. Maxwell	1	Richard Warner	1
Jacob Sarly	4	Robert Watts	2
William Shotwell, Jun	1	William Young	2
George Scriba	1	Alexander Zuntz	1
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The sources used in the foregoing pages are here cited, with some critical evaluation of the manuscript material.

It will be noted that attention was focused upon the manuscripts, in an effort to bring out new facts. Newspapers of the period were not neglected, the *Providence Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Packet*, the *Maryland Journal*, and others having been consulted for information on specific problems and years. Since, however, they were not systematically examined for the whole period, they are not listed below.

The great mass of genealogical material which was gone through is likewise left out of this bibliography. The contribution of single genealogical works is usually of microscopic value for any one period of history, and a citation of the works would be misleading. Nevertheless, no student can afford to ignore them if he would appreciate the intricacy of the family patterns which frequently lay behind economic and social activities in the colonial and Revolutionary periods. There are family genealogies mentioning many of the persons cited in this work (as the footnotes indicate), but only an examination of the index file of such a great genealogical repository as the New York Public Library can do justice to the subject. The publications of the various genealogical societies are full of scattered but vital information and most of them were gone through for this study. Few family genealogies are as valuable for the purposes of social and economic history as Lloyd Vernon Briggs, History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family, 1475-1927 (two vols., Boston, 1927). On Philadelphia families, Frank Willing Leach, "Old Philadelphia Families," newspaper articles in the Philadelphia Sunday North American (Phila., 1907-1913) are the most complete, although John W. Jordan, Colonial Families of Philadelphia (two vols., Chicago and New York, 1911) is a monumental piece of work. On Massachusetts, Mary C. Crawford, Famous Families of Massachusetts (two vols., Boston, 1930), is a readable summary; and Thomas B. Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown (Boston, 1879), is one of the most valuable of its kind. There is no single comprehensive and scholarly treatment of the genealogy of the New York families.

The student who seeks a complete guide to the official records, as well as references to the social history of the period, should consult the thorough bibliography in Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution* (New York, 1924), pp. 679-691. A great bibliography touching on much of the vital economic history of the Revolutionary era, is that in Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations* (two vols., Cambridge, 1917), vol. II, 347-395.

#### I. UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

- In the American Antiquarian Society:
  - The Andrew Craigie Papers. A box of miscellaneous correspondence, a box of legal documents, a box of bills, notes of hand, etc., and the earlier 1780 letters to Craigie (in a number of boxes of alphabetically arranged correspondence) were gone through. The collection contains virtually nothing on Craigie's war-time career, but it is rich in details concerning public security and land speculations in the 1780's and 1790's.
- In the American Jewish Historical Society:
  - Haym Salomon Letter Book, 1781-1783. Short and inadequate for an understanding of his work as a bill broker in Philadelphia.
- In the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Free Public Library:
  - Account Book "A" of Macomb, Edgar and Macomb, covering the Revolutionary war years when this firm furnished great quantities of supplies to the British army and Indian Department in and about Detroit.
- In the private possession of Mr. Austin Clark of Washington, D. C.:
  - The Jonathan Jackson family papers. Contain occasional references to business matters.
- In the Columbia University School of Business:
  - Charles Crooks' Estate Settlement Book. Shows the investments of a pre-Revolutionary business man of New York.
- In the Connecticut Historical Society:
  - The Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers. Include a mass of the great Hartford merchant's correspondence, arranged in boxes by date, 1767-1804 (referred to in the text as Wadsworth Corresp.); account and waste books of various kinds, of Wadsworth with the U. S., of Wadsworth and Carter with the U. S. and with the French forces, during the war. Most of this was consulted for this study, but some was not, including a mass of miscellaneous papers, receipts, etc. This is the most valuable collection of material of the Revolutionary era, for the purposes of intelligent economic history. (There is a small collection of Wadsworth Papers in the New York Historical Society.)
- In the Connecticut State Library:
  - The material in the Division of Revolutionary Records was used, secured through an index. Connecticut commissary agents' records are valuable.

In the Essex Institute:

- Boston Ship Insurance Book, 1747-1756. The most complete record of its kind now available for eighteenth century America.
- Derby Family Papers. Those relating to the Revolutionary years were looked over, but not much material was found for this study.
- In the Manuscript Room of the Baker Library of the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University:
  - N. Barrell and Company Ledger, 1784-1795, and a companion waste book. They contain entries for a variety of commercial and securities' speculations by this eminent Boston firm, and indicate a large income from interest money.
  - Codman-Smith Letter Book, 1780-1783. It reveals the international trading interests of a Boston firm and its Philadelphia associates.
  - John Codman, Jr. Letter Book, 1783-1785. Pertaining especially to the foreign commerce of Boston. This firm was known as Codman and Smith during the Revolution.
  - Massachusetts Bank Records. Fairly complete and invaluable for that reason. Include Directors' Minutes, Stockholders' Minutes, a Dividend Book, etc., from 1784.
  - Daniel Parker Letter Book, 1781-1783. Enlightening material on the activities of William Duer's Massachusetts army contracting partner, later an internationally known speculator in Europe.
  - John Welsh, Jr. Letter Book, 1781-1786. Pertaining especially to the foreign commerce of Boston, like the Codman Book. It mentions several transactions with the French forces during the war.
- In the Massachusetts Historical Society:
  - Amory Family Papers. Some of them relate to the period under survey, including a valuable Ship Account Book for 1777, 1778.

 Caleb Davis Papers. A large collection of mercantile records of all kinds, including those of William D. Cheever, in this period.
 Lee-Cabot Papers. Give information on trade and privateering.
 Sandeman-Barrell Papers. Not very valuable for this study.

- In the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York:
  - Insurance Book of William and Jacob Walton. Covers most of the Revolutionary as well as pre-Revolutionary years. Contains suggestions as to the commerce of New York City during the war.
  - Minutes of the Chamber of Commerce, 1784-1818. Use was made of the unpublished typewritten copy for the immediate post-war years. Important for names of merchants, resolutions on commerce, etc.. These continue John A. Stevens, Colonial records of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York (New York, 1867).

#### In the New York Historical Society:

- John de Neufville Letter Book of correspondence with American merchants during the American Revolution. Throws light on war trade with Holland.
- William Duer Papers. Include a Lumber Book, 1774-1778, two bound volumes of papers (referred to in the text as Duer Papers), many boxes of letters arranged chronologically (referred to in the text as Duer Corresp.), many boxes with an unarranged miscellany, and three books of business transactions and speculations of Duer and Walter Livingston, 1782-1795. Invaluable for information regarding the greatest speculator of the day.
- Day Book of the New York agent of Glassford, Gordon and Monteath, of Glasgow, Scotland, 1777-1782. In account with merchants in the West Indies, Norfolk, Savannah, Philadelphia, and New York, through their agent. One of the few remaining records pertaining to the commerce of New York City during the Revolution.
- Commissary's Day Book of the British Army, 1777-1779. One of the few records regarding army supplies in New York City, but disappointing in details about the local merchants.
- Letter Book of Henry Davies, Victualler of the British Fleet in New York, 1780-1782. Contains a little information on the supply work of certain New York merchants.
- Hugh Hughes Letter Books on Continental Army supplies, 1776-1782. A number of volumes giving valuable information as to supplies of the patriotic forces in the Hudson Valley, especially for the Northern Department, 1780-1782.
- New York State. Abstract of Sales for the Southern District, by New York Commissioners of Forfeitures. One volume.
- O'Reilly Documents on the settlement of central New York. Transcripts, largely. Volume V especially good for land speculations of Oliver Phelps and others mentioned in this study.
- Samuel Osgood Papers. Not very valuable for this study.
- Account Book of John Saunders and Jacob Glen of Schenectady, 1752-1777. Also another account book of John Saunders, 1749-1783. Concern business matters in the Mohawk Valley. Disappointing for Revolutionary material.
- Account Book of John Tayler, 1776-1777, for a general store of Albany, New York. Includes some accounts with the Continental Army. Also a day book of John Tayler, 1776-1777, with references to purchases made by military officers and agents. (Some of his correspondence is in the N. Y. P. L.)
- Letter Book of Daniel Weir, Commissary General of the British Forces stationed at New York, 1778-1780. Good for the connection between certain local merchants and the British army.

Abraham Evertse Wendell Day Book, 1760-1793. On the business of an Albany lumber trader who brewed beer during the Revolution. Jeremiah Wadsworth Papers. A small miscellaneous collection.

There are other miscellaneous collections, such as the Rufus King Papers, the Lamb Papers, etc., to which occasional reference was made through a card index.

In the Manuscript Room of the New York Public Library:

- The Samuel Adams Papers. Selections made between 1783 and 1790 contain interesting comments on general conditions and on the course of politics.
- Elias Boudinot Ledger, 1760-1814. Shows some of the financial interests of a lawyer-capitalist.
- William Edgar Papers. A vast collection of photostated letters relating to the western career and post-Revolutionary interests of the fur trader who moved to New York City.
- Emmet Collection. A calendar, published in 1900, describes its contents.

Nalbro Frazier Letter Book, 1784-1799. International trade letters of the Philadelphia partner of Tench Coxe, 1784-1790.

- Robert Henderson Letter Book, 1780-1784. The New York business of an immigrant Scotch merchant who later moved to Philadelphia. (The subsequent volume of his letters is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania).
- Lawrason and Fowle Collection. Some ninety volumes of an Alexandria, Virginia, concern, 1770-1877, known in the Revolutionary period as Jenifer and Hooe, and Hooe and Harrison, and whose business records were gone through for this period.
- Loyalist Transcripts. Copies of claims for losses of American loyalists in the Revolution, originals in the British Public Record Office. Over fifty volumes. Invaluable for an understanding of the economic interests of certain members of colonial society.
- Hudson-Rogers Papers. Various mercantile records of a New Hampshire-New York concern during and after the Revolution.
- Robert Morris Papers, 1768-1803. A valuable collection, part of which Sumner used for his *Financier*.
- Stewart and Jones Letter Book, 1784-1786. Affairs of a ship chandlery, mercantile firm of New York in the depression years. (The following volume of their letters is in the N. Y. H. S.)
- Philip Schuyler Papers. An enormous and miscellaneous collection of letters to Schuyler, partly calendared, papers on land investments, military accounts, canals, family accounts, etc. Indispensable for an understanding of almost any kind of economic activity in the war and post-war years.
- John Tayler Correspondence, in Tayler-Cooper Papers. Contains a few Revolutionary letters of the Albany trader. (Other records of his are in the N. Y. H. S.)

- John G. Van Schaick Letter Book, in the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection. Letters relating to the war years do not appear, but those from 1784 to 1792 have some bearing on business conditions.
- Richard Varick Papers, in the Tomlinson Collection. Contain a few letters in the 1780's of this New York lawyer, which have some value for this study.
- Wallace, Johnson and Muir Letter Book, 1781-1783. Relates chiefly to the American-French tobacco trade of this firm of Annapolis and Nantes, but also mentions Baltimore and Philadelphia merchants concerned with them.
- There is also a miscellaneous collection of Mercantile Papers, arranged by cities, in the N. Y. P. L. Miscellaneous letters filed under authors' names; and other collections, such as the Bayard-Pearsall-Campbell, all contain scanty material on economic and commercial matters in the Revolutionary era.
- In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:
  - Breck and Green Journal A. Pertaining to supplies for the French squadron furnished by this Boston firm in 1781.
  - Chaloner and White Papers. Include three letter books covering 1778-1780, dealing with Continental army supplies in the middle states. The miscellareous collection is less valuable, in these years.
  - Benjamin Fuller Letter Book, 1784-1787. Pertains to the business interests of this insurance office-keeper.
  - Robert Henderson Letter Book, 1784-1790. An extremely unfavorable account of Philadelphia business in these years, by a newcomer who had been in New York City during a part of the war.
  - Stephen Higginson letters to Le Roy and Bayard, 1790-1794. Concerning securities purchasing for Dutch capitalists.
  - Morris-Hollingsworth Collection. Of enormous size. For this period, letter books covering 1780-1782, 1786-1791, relate to miscellaneous business affairs. Some notion of the extensive flour factor business of Levi Hollingsworth may be gained from a Flour Inspection Book, 1774-1777; a Flour Ledger B; a Flour Journal, 1777-1781.
  - Miscellaneous items were taken from the Gratz, Etting, Dreer, and Society collections, through use of a card index.
- In the Rhode Island Historical Society:
  - The Moses Brown Papers. Volumes II, III, IV, covering 1775-1784, were gone through. They give but meagre information on the war-time business of Providence. (The great Brown collection is in the John Carter Brown Library, but is inaccessible at present.)
  - The Nightingale-Jenckes Papers, 1750-1800. Two miscellaneous volumes. They give little information on the war years. A Samuel Nightingale Account Book, 1765-1785, mentions some of the private and public securities he held before and during the war.

- Two typed copies of manuscripts: "Memoir of Welcome Arnold," by his son-in-law, Tristram Burges; "Thomas Lloyd Halsey's Account of his Part in the Revolution," in supplying the French fleet and troops. Both are invaluable primary material, but they are very short.
- In the Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts, consisting of many volumes of miscellaneous material, are scattered items of importance for which there is a card index.
- In the Library of Congress:
  - The Continental Congress Papers. Volume 192, Papers relating to the Quartermaster's Department. Only slightly used.
  - The Ephraim Blaine Papers. Correspondence, 1774-1794. That part relating to war supplies was slightly used.
  - Robert Morris Papers: The Financier's Official Diary, three volumes, and the Financier's Official Letter Books, volumes A, B, C, D, E were used.
  - Robert Morris Personal Correspondence, 1777-1781. Especially valuable for his war business with William Bingham.
  - Woolsey and Salmon Letter Book, 1774-1784. An excellent record of the business of a new Baltimore firm.
- In the Archives of the United States government:
  - In the Adjutant General's Office: Division of Old Records. An enormous mass of documents pertaining largely to Continental army supplies. It is impossible to describe the contents of this collection, for its thousands of documents are inadequately indexed. Use of it was made through a crude index.
  - In the Treasury Department: Various records pertaining to Loan Office Certificates issued during the war, and to Funding. Part of an enormous and miscellaneous collection of early U. S. fiscal records of great value, but apparently incomplete for this period. Not used extensively for this work, but only an occasional enlightening volume. Such were books of the Pennsylvania Loan Office during the Revolution. Such were record books of certificates presented for the Domestic Loan of 1790, in Massachusetts (two volumes), in Rhode Island (one State Loan and one Domestic Loan Book), in Maryland (one volume), and one journal of accounts of the South Carolina Loan Office, 1791, 1792. (This collection was recently catalogued and removed to the National Archives.)

#### II. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

- (Adams) Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams during the Revolution. C. F. Adams, ed. New York, 1876
- -----, Warren-Adams Letters, being chiefly a correspondence among John Adams, Samuel Adams and James Warren, 1743-1814. Mass. Hist. Soc. Two vols. Boston, 1917-1925

American Museum, The. Mathew Carey, printer. Phila., 1789-1792

- (Aylett) "Correspondence of Colonel William Aylett, Commissary General of Virginia." Earl G. Swem, ed. Tyler's Quart. Mag., 1 (1919-1920)
- (Biddle) Autobiography of Charles Biddle. Phila., 1883
- (Blanchard) The Journal of Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French Auxiliary Army Sent to the United States During the American Revolution. Thomas Balch. ed. Albany, 1876
- (Bloodgood) The Sexagenary or Reminiscences of the American Rebellion. By Simeon D. Bloodgood. Albany, 1866
- (Bond) "Letters of Phineas Bond, British Consul at Philadelphia, to the Foreign Office of Great Britain, 1787, 1788, 1789." J. F. Jameson, ed. Annual Rep. Amer. Hist. Assoc., 1896, I
- (Boston) Records Commissioners Reports of the City of Boston. XVIII, XXVI. Boston, 1887, 1895
- Bowdoin-Temple Papers. Pt. II, 7 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., VI Boston, 1907

(Breck) Recollections of Samuel Breck. Horace Scudder, ed. Phila., 1877

- Brissot de Warville, J. P. New Travels in the United States of America. Two vols. London, 1792
- (Browne) The Letter Book of James Browne of Providence, Merchant: 1735-1738. With a biographical sketch by John Carter Brown Woods. Providence, 1929
- (Chamber of Commerce) Colonial Records of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, 1768-1784. John A. Stevens, ed. New York, 1867
- —, Earliest Arbitration Records of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York. New York, 1913
- Chastellux, F. J., Marquis de. Travels in North America. Two vols. Dublin, 1787
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# VITA

ROBERT A. EAST was born May 16, 1909, in Lima, Ohio, and received his early education in the public schools of that place. He attended Williams College from 1927 to 1931, receiving the B.A. degree from that institution in the latter year. From 1031 to 1034 he studied history at Columbia University, doing seminar research under Dr. Evarts B. Greene and under Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, receiving the M.A. degree in 1932 from that institution. He taught history in the University Classes. Columbia University, 1934-36, in evening classes at the College of the City of New York, fall of 1036, history and economics at the Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia Kansas, spring and summer of 1937. He has since been employed at the National Archives, Washington, D. C., as Assistant Archivist in Classification. He is the author of "Economic Development and New England Federalism, 1803-1814," in The New England Quarterly, X, September, 1937; co-author of "The Settlement of Alexander Hamilton's Debts: a Footnote to History." in New York History, XVIII, October, 1937; and co-author of "An Early Anglo-American Financial Transaction," in the Bulletin of The Business Historical Society, XI, November, 1937.