

THE QUARTO

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ARNOLD AND ANDRÉ

Every country has an individual whose name springs to mind in response to the word “traitor.” In Greece, a degree in ancient history is unnecessary to recall Ephialtes of Trachis and his betrayal of Leonidas and the 300 Spartans at Thermopylae. Any Internet search for “Doña Marina” turns up countless references to La Malinche’s role in Spain’s sixteenth-century conquest of the Aztec empire. Guy Fawkes Day has become a light-hearted English commemoration of the failed 1605 Gunpowder Plot, but Mir Jafar, “The Wretched Traitor,” is reviled in India and Pakistan as a willing puppet of the British East India Company in the 1760s. Closer to our own time, the notorious collaborators of World War II—Vidkun Quisling in Norway, Marshal Pétain in France, Wang Jingwei in China—are national and international symbols of perfidy. When Dante Alighieri reserved the ninth and lowest level of Hell for traitors and placed Judas Iscariot, Marcus Junius Brutus and Cassius Longinus in the three mouths of Satan, he reflected a timeless human condemnation of those who betray their own.

For Americans, the name Benedict Arnold immediately follows any word-association mention of “treason.” For more than two centuries, popular opinion has viewed Arnold as the worst turncoat in the history of the United States. Despite fierce competition from presidential assassins (John Wilkes Booth, Charles Guiteau, Lee Harvey Oswald) and double agents (Aldrich Ames, John Walker Jr., Robert Hansson) whose espionage did far more harm to our country than Arnold’s scheming with John André, Arnold remains our epitome of faith-



This issue of The Quarto explores aspects of the lives of the primary players in America’s most notorious act of treason. The conspiracy of the gifted but flawed Benedict Arnold (1741–1801), shown here in British uniform, and the refined and popular John André (1751–80) would have surrendered the strategic post of West Point to the British. The print of André is based on one of his self-portraits.

lessness and treachery. Even Aaron Burr, perhaps Arnold’s closest contemporary counterpart in terms of stature and accomplishments preceding an unsuccessful plot against his country’s interests, has lacked Arnold’s staying power on the dark side of the national consciousness. While few Americans today can identify Nathanael Greene, Francis Marion, John Sullivan, John Stark, Israel Putnam, or most military leaders other than George Washington from the American Revolution, Benedict Arnold’s reputation remains “a hiss and a byword” more than 230 years after his attempt to sell West Point to the British.

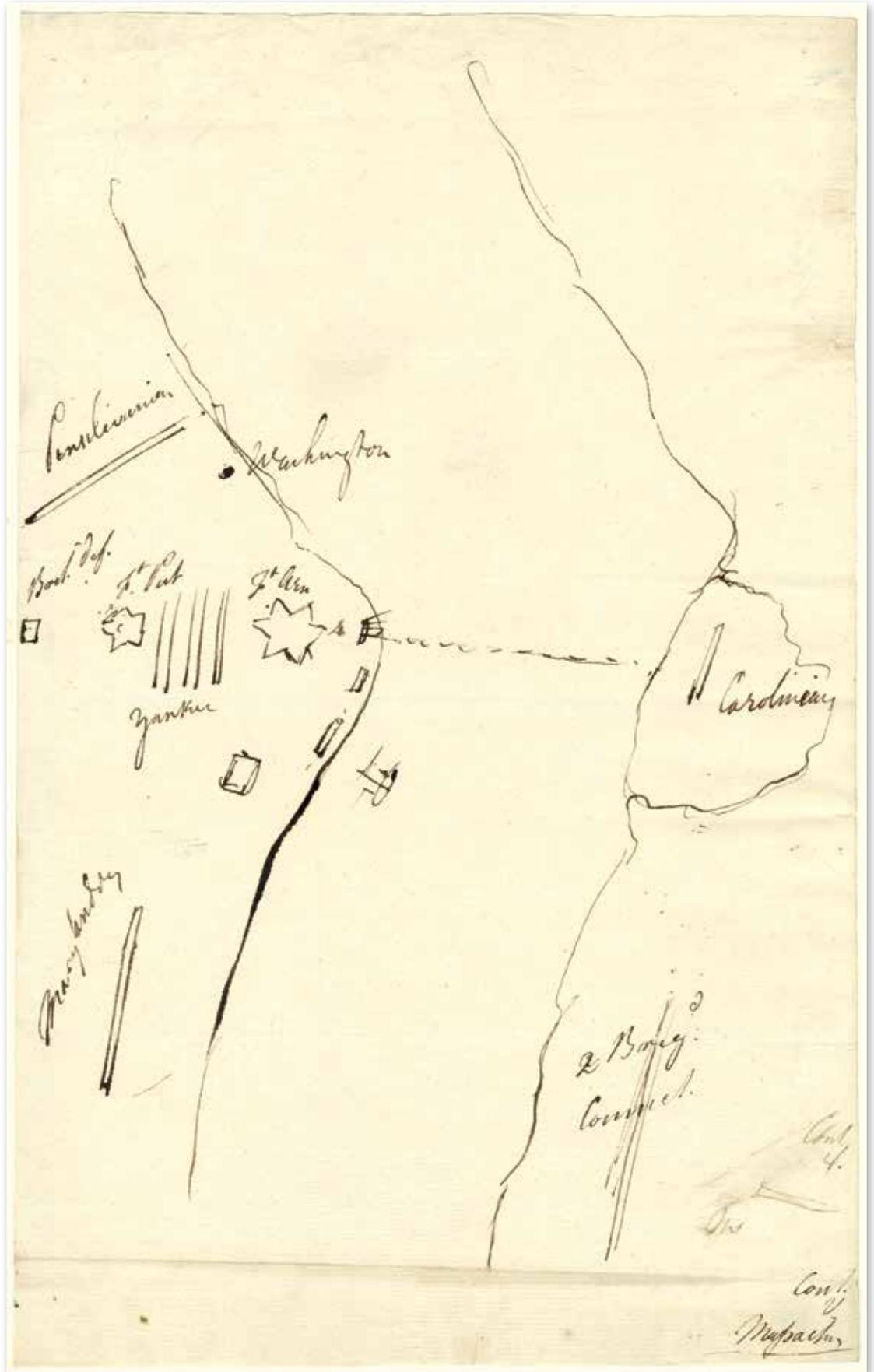
This issue of *The Quarto* looks at the world of Benedict Arnold and John André. Rather than rehash the details of their well-documented conspiracy, we’ve chosen to explore other aspects of the story. Earhart Foundation Fellowship recipient Arthur B. Cohn, the ranking expert on the underwater archaeology of the Champlain Valley, details Arnold’s extraordinary 1776 efforts to build an American fleet on Lake Champlain as the first line of defense against a British invasion from Canada, a remarkable act of leadership that contributed a good deal to his emergence as a national hero. Jayne Ptolemy writes about Peggy Shippen Arnold, whose role in her husband’s negotiations with the enemy merits considerably more attention than it has received thus far. In “Images of Treason,” Clayton Lewis delves into the Library’s holdings of pictures of the Arnold-André plot and its participants. Arnold’s checkered post-Revolution career, in which he failed to realize the promise and potential of his pre-1780 exploits, attracts the attention of Cheney Schopieray.



And in a dual effort Brian Dunning highlights a John André sketch in “André the Artist” and plumbs the depths of our extensive Revolutionary War map collection in “Mapping Arnold and André” to present the cartographic context of what the two young officers tried to make happen on the Hudson in the autumn of 1780.

Readers who are familiar with the Clements Library may not need this issue’s reminder of the range and depth of our Revolutionary War holdings, but those who are new to *The Quarto* or whose historical interests do not revolve around 1763–1783 North America may welcome this introduction to the subject. For those of us who work with the collections every day, the primary sources that William L. Clements assembled on the Revolution evoke profound respect and delight. In each of our four collecting divisions—Books, Manuscripts, Graphics, Maps—the Library owns materials that no collector today, no matter how many billions he or she brought to the challenge, could hope to duplicate. From the papers of Sir Henry Clinton, General Thomas Gage, Nathanael Greene, George Germain, and Lord Shelburne, to an exhaustive collection of relevant British and American pamphlets, to hundreds of cartoons and prints on the events and participants in the war, to manuscript and printed maps of every battle, fort, city, town, and campaign, the Clements is a prime destination for research on the American Revolution. If this issue’s small-lens look at the Arnold-André affair piques your interest in the larger panorama against which that dark drama played out, make plans to come to the Library to see what else we have on the conflict that resulted in the independence of the United States.

— J. Kevin Graffagnino
Director



An undated and unsigned sketch map, drawn in the hurried style of a spy or deserter, illustrates the primary defenses of West Point, including the great chain across the Hudson. Randolph G. Adams attributed the handwriting on Clinton map 174 to John André.

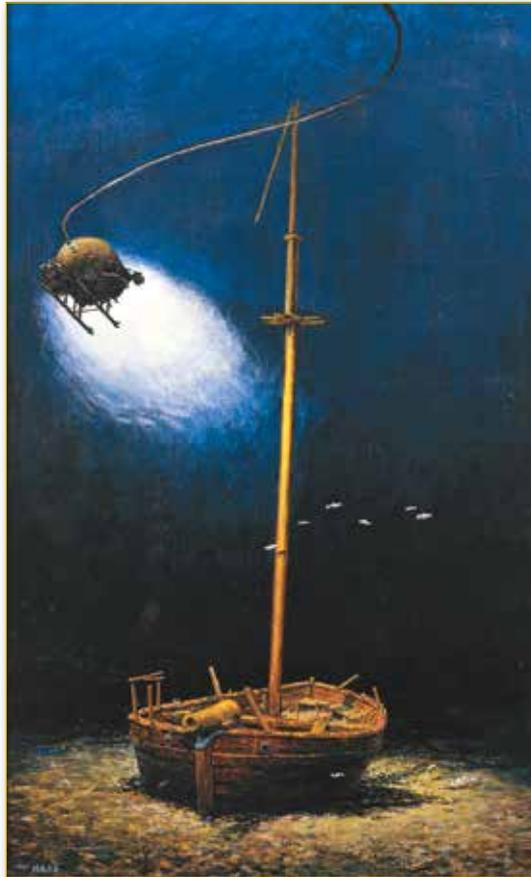
COMMODORE ARNOLD AND THE DEFENSE OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN

Benedict Arnold is a historian's gift. A person with such a complex record of life experiences provides endless opportunities to explore the texture of the human character. Good and evil, courage and cowardice, passion, love, hate, greed, self-doubt, and ambition all come together in this infamous Revolutionary War general. I have studied the archaeological record of the bottom of Lake Champlain for the past thirty years to glean clues to Benedict Arnold's character and times. The naval role Arnold played on the lake in 1776 is a little-remembered chapter of his story but one that has left us profound choices as we try to determine the fate of the gunboat *Spitfire*; a warship from Benedict Arnold's fleet.

On October 11, 1776, General Benedict Arnold with fifteen American fighting vessels engaged a British squadron in perhaps the most important naval contest of the American Revolution. Arnold was already a veteran of eighteen months of fighting. His exploits at Boston, Lake Champlain, and Québec had demonstrated his military leadership, courage, and the flaw in his character that would ultimately lead him to treason. But in the summer of 1776, Arnold, who had learned maritime skills as a merchant sailor aboard ships hailing from the Connecticut ports of Norwich and New Haven, was preparing to defend the fledgling United States of America from an imminent British invasion.

The fighting at Concord and Lexington, in April 1775, had put the American Rebellion into motion. In its aftermath, Benedict Arnold marched with his militia unit from New Haven to Boston. There, he persuaded the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to commission him a colonel and allow him to raise a company of troops and attack the Lake Champlain post of

Ticonderoga to secure its cannon for the coming struggle. In the early hours of May 10, Arnold, in a hastily negotiated shared command with Vermont's Ethan Allen (1738-89) and his Green Mountain Boys, surprised and took the fort. The



An undated and unsigned sketch map, drawn in the hurried style of a spy or deserter, illustrates the primary defenses of West Point, including the great chain across the Hudson. Randolph G. Adams attributed the handwriting on Clinton map 174 to John André.

thinly glued alliance between Arnold and Allen began to dissolve almost immediately thereafter. Fortunately for Arnold, some of his men arrived in the nick of time with a captured schooner, re-christened *Liberty*. Arming *Liberty* and several bateaux, Arnold sailed for St. Jean at the northern end of Lake Champlain to capture "the King's sloop," the only other large vessel on the lake. Surprising the small British force, Arnold took this warship, renamed her *Enterprise*, and, triumphantly reported, "I am under no Apprehension From the

Enemy at present, as we are Masters of the Lake."

The strategic advantage of a clear path to Canada, coupled with a belief that the French *habitants* would be inclined to join the rebellion, encouraged an invasion of Canada. The plan called for General Philip Schuyler (soon replaced, due to illness, by General Richard Montgomery) to lead an army down Lake Champlain to Québec. Arnold, having left Lake Champlain in a huff, was then in Boston lobbying new Commander-in-Chief George Washington for the opportunity to lead a second force through the Maine and Canadian wilderness. The plan called for the two armies to fight their way to Québec City. General Montgomery's successful sieges of St. Jean, Chambly, and Montréal gave cause for quiet optimism. The siege of St. Jean resulted in an ironic connection to the wider Arnold story; the beloved John André was one of the British officers made prisoner by its fall.

Arnold and his men marched to Québec, and the profound hardships they endured raised Arnold's reputation to almost mythic proportions. By early December 1775 both pincers of the American invasion force united before the strong walls of Québec City. But, with winter approaching and most of the soldiers' enlistments coming to an end, the promising start to the invasion of Canada was about to take a tragic turn.

Concerned that the New Year would leave them before Québec without an army, Montgomery and Arnold attacked the fortress during a blinding snowstorm. In this bold but disastrous assault Montgomery was killed, Arnold badly wounded, and hundreds made prisoner. Then, as a series of mediocre commanders rotated to the frontline, the desperate, under-supplied, and confused American army sickened with smallpox. When a British relief convoy arrived in the St. Lawrence River in the spring of

An intensive five-hour engagement with heavy casualties on both sides ended only when darkness intervened. With some sixty men killed and wounded and three-quarters of their ammunition gone, Arnold and his officers executed a daring nighttime escape past the British squadron. The American gunboat *Philadelphia* had already come to rest on the lake bottom at Valcour Island when the remaining vessels began their stealthy escape. As the survivors worked their muffled oars and concentrated on following the shrouded stern light in the boat ahead, single file they passed the British force undetected. The glow of the fire from the burning American schooner *Royal Savage* helped divert British attention. Remarkably, when the first light of morning appeared, the Americans had, as if by magic, disappeared, and the British were “mortified” that their enemy had left the nest.

But this was not the end of the Battle of Valcour Island. As Arnold and his battle-damaged fleet withdrew south to the protection of Ticonderoga, it became clear that two damaged gunboats could not remain afloat. So, they were consigned by their crews to the deep waters of Lake Champlain. One of them, the *Jersey*, did not sink and was discovered awash by the British the next day and added to their fleet. The other gunboat, now known to be *Spitfire*, was successfully sent to the deep lake-bottom. There, she spent the next 220 years in quiet anonymity until June of 1997, when the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum “Whole Lake Survey” team discovered the wreck. *Spitfire* was found to be resting upright on her bottom, with her mast standing full height and her bow cannon still in place. The mud-encapsulated interior protects an extraordinary collection of material culture frozen in place since the early morning hours of October 12, 1776.

On October 13, the escaping Americans were caught by the British in the vicinity of Split Rock Mountain and forced into a two-and-one-half-hour second engagement while running south. Arnold realized he could not prevail against the more powerful and professional British force and ordered his flagship Congress and four gunboats run aground in a small bay on the Vermont shore and, with flags flying in defiance, blown up to deny them to the enemy. With his surviving crews and area settlers, Arnold

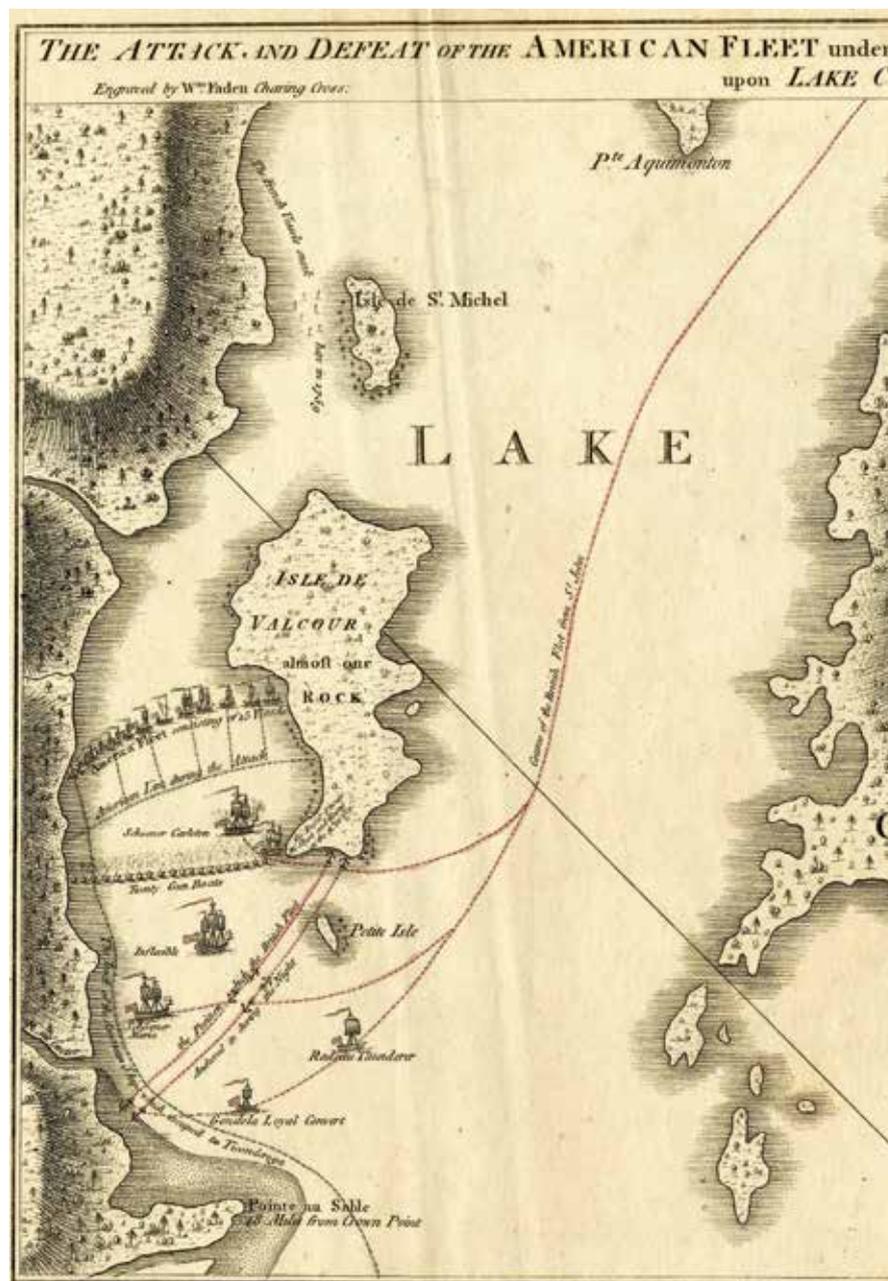
retreated to fight again. Back at Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence they strengthened their fortifications and awaited the British attack. Shock and joy ran through the American troops when a few days later it was confirmed that the British had withdrawn to Canada for the winter.

Benedict Arnold had proven an effective naval commander. “The Little Navy on Lake Champlain was wiped out,” wrote naval historian and theorist Alfred Thayer Mahan, “but never had

any force, large or small, lived to better purpose or died more gloriously. That the Americans were strong enough to impose a capitulation of the British Army at Saratoga was due to the invaluable year of delay secured by their little Navy on Lake Champlain.”

— Art Cohn, *Earhart Foundation Fellow*

*Co-founder & Director Emeritus,
Lake Champlain Maritime
Museum*



This detail of William Faden's 1776 map of the Battle of Valcour Island shows the defensive anchorage of Arnold's fleet. The British had sailed past the island before realizing that the American warships were behind them. Pringle then had to turn about and approach the American line from the south and against the wind. At left is the track of Arnold's masterful escape during the night following the battle.

ANDRE THE ARTIST

Major John André was an accomplished and multi-talented young man. He was by all accounts the epitome of the eighteenth-century officer and gentleman. Among his social graces was a creative personality that allowed him to conceive and carry through a complex theatrical pageant—the Meschianza—staged in occupied Philadelphia to honor General William Howe upon the occasion of his departure for England in the spring of 1778. Little wonder then that André was also accomplished at drawing. And not just topographical views such as were within the training and experience of many military and naval officers. He also produced informal portraits and more complex scenes populated with human figures. André is also well known for his self-portraits, including one drawn the evening before his execution.

The Clements Library holds what might well be the most ambitious composition rendered by John André. It is also the most puzzling regarding the event it depicts. The scene, executed in pencil while the artist was a lieutenant in the 7th (Royal Fusilier) Regiment of Foot stationed at Québec in 1775, shows a diverse and tightly packed group of people who have all the appearance of participating in a raucous social gathering. Within the sketch one can identify two soldiers (in the short uniform coat and cap of a light infantry company, probably of the 7th), an officer with sword and cocked hat, ten Native American men, two civilian men and

two women (presumably Canadians) and one small child. The rowdiness of the event has usually resulted in the drawing being described as a tavern scene—despite the absence of any drinking vessels, bottles, or architectural details beyond a single piece of furniture in the left foreground. The absence of warm outer garments on the figures suggests that the activity was taking place indoors.

The André sketch came to the Clements in 1978 as a purchase at the Sang collection sale of that year. A small group of other André-related items was also a part of the sale, among them a letter addressed by Lieutenant André to his sister, Mary, in Southampton, England. Written on March 5, 1775, the letter suggests some possibilities about the event depicted in the sketch. John reports that he was finding “time for drawing,” and that he was “very busy collecting figures of Canadians & Indians in their dresses.” These were to illustrate “the Journal of notorious Memory,” with which he hoped one day to amuse his sister.

To do this, André had to become better acquainted with the appearance and culture of the local Indians. He told Mary that he had already been to an Indian village (Lorette) about nine miles (actually thirteen) from the city, where he had seen them “dance & perform there [sic] Ceremony before the Governor [Guy Carleton (1724-1808)] the Gentlemen almost as lightly clad as our grandpapa Adam.” The dancers were, he noted, “smear’d all over with

Vermillion, blue black, & ca.” The dancing must have taken place indoors as early March was not yet the end of the Canadian winter and there was “Still 5 feet of Snow on the ground.”

Other details of the sketch remain a mystery. Why is the expression of the individual with the open candle (another suggestion that the merriment took place indoors) so concerned? What is the relationship (if any) of the woman in the center to the man to her left, who appears to have a large medical syringe tucked into his belt? Is he a physician or simply another reveler? Who is the small child at right—and where are his or her parents? Is it the child whom the person with the candle is looking for?

John’s letter to Mary does not answer any of these questions or identify the time or place of the sketch, but it does suggest a possible location and activity. The Indian dancers are all as “lightly clad” as decency would allow, and none of the participants are dressed for the Canadian out-of-doors. The dancers and revelers are probably in a large room of a council house or similar building (possibly a tavern), most likely in Lorette though possibly in Québec itself. John André hoped to one day share this drawing and the rest of his “Journal of notorious Memory” with his sister. The unfortunate result of his involvement with Benedict Arnold ensured that the story behind his sketch is likely to remain a mystery.

— *Brian Leigh Dunnigan*
Associate Director & Curator of
Maps



ACCESSORY TO TREASON

“You must Not trust the Ladies any News,” an anonymous source warned the British in early January 1781, “for they often Come and tell Bad News in the Country.” While this Loyalist distrusted women in general, female informants acted on behalf of both the Americans and the British during the American Revolution. Working-class women took advantage of the position their gendered labor placed them in, providing military details gleaned as they attended to the domestic needs of the army, while women of the upper classes maneuvered within their social settings to gather and distribute information. Distrust was a necessary precaution.

John André, who would become chief intelligence officer for Sir Henry Clinton, proved aware of the role females could play in his network and took advantage of the information a well-placed woman could gather. While in British-occupied Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778, André developed relationships with the city’s prominent ladies as he circulated amongst Philadelphia’s elite families, not the least of which was that of Edward Shippen, a noted jurist. Edward’s economic, social, and political position brought him in touch with the leading military figures in the city, but it was his four beautiful daughters who made his home a particularly desirable stop in the social circuit. His youngest daughter, Margaret, known affectionately as Peggy, possessed youth, beauty, and a sparkling wit, which attracted John André’s attention. As a principal organizer of the Meschianza, a grand gala staged to celebrate General William Howe in May 1778, André orchestrated a theatrical display of knights defending their ladies as the loveliest in the land.

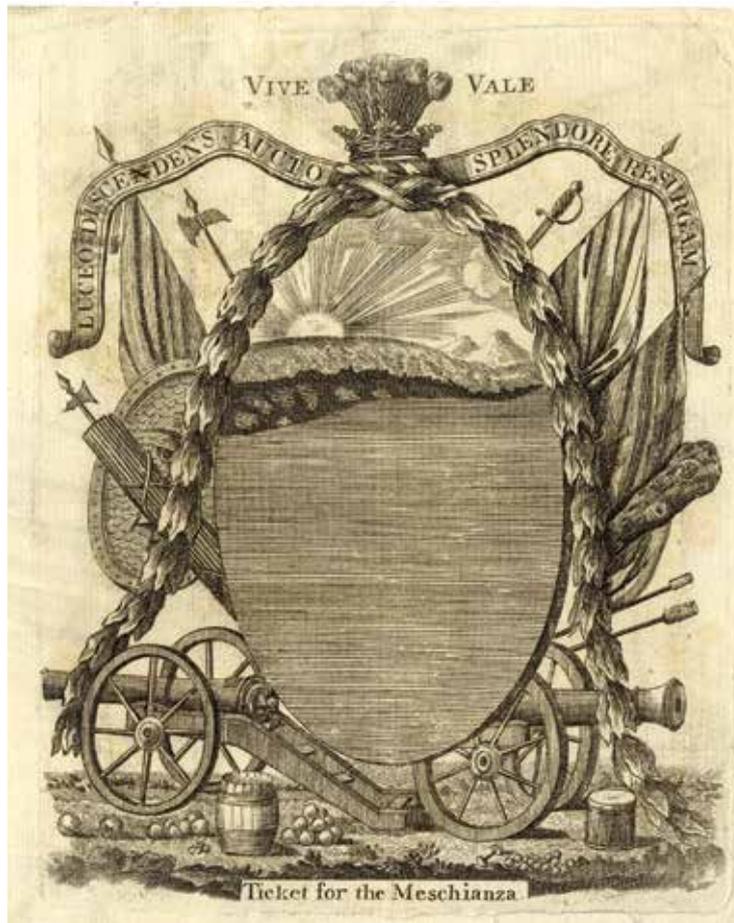
Peggy Shippen (1760-1804) was to have been one of the Ladies of the Burning Mountain, whom their knights proclaimed were “not excelled in beauty, virtue, or accomplishments, by any in the universe.” While Peggy’s father may have prevented her from attending the festivities, André nonetheless had

The extent of Peggy’s involvement in introducing her husband to André and subsequently facilitating their communication is disputed. Peggy Arnold’s qualities certainly extended far beyond her beauty. She proved to be an astute and capable woman, maneuvering deftly within the social norms expected of

ladies in order to advance her husband’s interests and to protect herself. The task of delivering and receiving letters across enemy lines was not an easy one, requiring a certain level of ingenuity, and Peggy’s cooperation could provide a shielded avenue for information to circulate.

Surviving documents implicate Peggy in the passage of intelligence between Arnold and André as the plot to surrender West Point to the British evolved. On May 10, 1779, John André wrote to Joseph Stansbury, Arnold’s intermediary, and made a revealing slip while using Arnold’s alias. “On our part we meet Arn Gen Monk’s ouvertures with full reliance on his honourable Intentions and disclose to him with the strongest assurances of our Sincerity, that no thought is entertained of abandoning the point we

have in view.” Crossing out identifying information, André continued by describing methods of furtive correspondence, including passing letters between women. “The Lady might write to me at the same time with one of her intimates She will guess who I mean, the latter remaining ignorant of interlining & sending the letter.” André’s crossed-out admission that he knew “Mr. Monk,” who was in fact Benedict Arnold, implies that he may have had Peggy Arnold in view as one of the suggested female “intimates.” A draft of



A ticket to the “Meschianza” (1778) suggests the pomp and ceremony of the lavish event in which John André intended Peggy Shippen to play a central role.

singled her out as one of Philadelphia’s shining beauties. The British evacuated Philadelphia shortly after the Meschianza, opening the city to American General Benedict Arnold’s command and putting him on a path to meet, court, and marry the stunning Peggy Shippen. André’s relationship with Peggy, however, would play a consequential role in the years following.

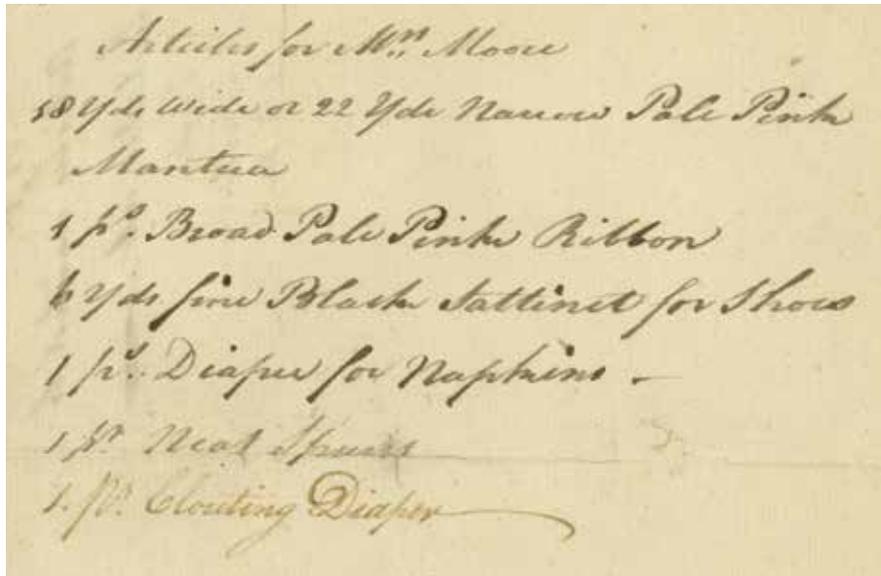
Peggy and Benedict Arnold married on April 8, 1779, and shortly thereafter he began his treasonous correspondence with John André.

a letter André intended to send to Peggy Chew, a fellow Philadelphian belle and friend of Peggy Arnold, supports this possibility. André bemoaned having to “abandon the pleasing Study of what relates to the Ladies; I should however be happy to resume it had I the same inducements as when I had the pleasure of frequenting yours and the Shippen Family... I trust I am yet in the memory of ...the other peggy now Mrs. Arnold who will I am sure accept of my best

suspicion that Peggy and André’s correspondence had a duplicitous meaning lingers. Was André writing to Peggy as a covert way to confirm his identity and his willingness to meet Benedict Arnold’s needs, using their social acquaintance and her gender to cloak his meaning? Either way, Peggy did not reply for several months, finally sending a cordial letter in mid-October following an alarming riot in Philadelphia that placed her family in danger. “Mrs

passing military news across enemy lines. One of the extracts seems to name her directly, as the author proclaimed that Arnold, “commands at W[est] P[oint] but things are so poorly arranged that your last important Dispatches are yet in her hands, no unquestionable Carrier being yet to be met with.” The men who planned the surrender of West Point included Peggy Arnold in their designs as they slipped letters to each other. If the correspondence was discovered in Peggy’s possession, it could be forgiven as a married couple’s indiscretion rather than the treasonous communication it was. Gender expectations, then, veiled the reality: Peggy Arnold may have played an integral role in their spy network.

As we know, the plot collapsed when André was captured while carrying intelligence that linked directly to Arnold. Peggy’s role in the affair was once again shrouded under gendered beliefs about women’s behavior and capabilities. Richard Varick (1753–1831), Arnold’s personal secretary, recounted the day Arnold learned of André’s capture. Arnold “went upstairs and took leave (I suppose) of his more than amiable wife,—left her in a swoon and rode off to the lands.” Varick described Peggy as “raving (sick), mad to see him, with her hair dishevelled and flowing about her neck.” Peggy had a history of emotional volatility, but Varick described a woman on the brink, hallucinating and experiencing “hysterics and utter frenzy.” Whether sincere or not, her response convinced American military figures that she was completely bewildered by her husband’s betrayal. Not everyone was so persuaded. Aaron Burr’s posthumous memoirs recount a story told to him by his future wife, Theodosia Prevost, who claimed Peggy confided “that she was heartily sick of the theatrics she was exhibiting. She stated that she corresponded with the British commander... and that, through great persuasion and unceasing perseverance, she had ultimately brought the general into an arrangement to surrender West Point to the British.” The truth likely lies somewhere between these two poles—neither an innocent “Angel . . . incapable of doing wrong,” as her husband proclaimed, nor an “artful, and extravagant woman” putting on theatrics, but a self-contained, intelligent person working within the restricted



This list of difficult-to-obtain fabrics, written in Benedict Arnold’s hand and sent to John André in New York, suggests the continued relationship between André and the Arnolds. The reference to Peggy as “Mrs. Moore,” Arnold’s code name, raises questions about the extent of her complicity in the treasonous communications between her husband and John André.

respects and ... peruse not disdainfully this page meant as an assurance of my unabated Esteem.” While it cannot be proved that André sent the letter, that Peggy Chew received it, or that she in fact showed it to Peggy Arnold, the fact remains that André hoped to be in touch with Peggy Arnold.

The message seems to have been received in some form, for on May 23, 1779, Benedict Arnold sent a ciphered letter to André, passing intelligence along with the “particular Compliments” of his wife. Whether she knew the content of her husband’s treasonous letter or not, Peggy was certainly aware he was corresponding with André. She herself compiled a list of items to be acquired by André in British-held New York later that summer. André seems to have written directly to Peggy in August of 1779, offering his services in acquiring millinery supplies. While possibly indicating a sincere interest in material goods, the

Arnold presents her best respects to Capt André, is much obliged to him for his very polite and friendly offer of being serviceable to her,” she opened before assuring him, “that her friendship and esteem for him is not impaired by time or accident.” When her husband failed to secure American guards for their protection, Peggy may have found British offers of succor more agreeable.

The ambiguity regarding Peggy’s involvement in the ongoing Arnold-André affair seems to clear when Jonathan Odell (1737–1818), an intermediary, wrote to André in late August 1780, providing snippets of correspondence that Benedict had sent directly to Peggy. “You will observe,” Odell explained at the end of a letter, “that the above extracts are from Letters written to Mrs. Moore, but with a view of communicating information to you.” Whether wittingly or not, Peggy found herself at the heart of the system for

parameters her gender proscribed.

In Major John André's final letter to Sir Henry Clinton, he sought to provide for his "Mother & Three Sisters," looking to the "value of [his] Commission" to support them. While Benedict Arnold escaped execution, he, too, worried about providing for his family in his treason's aftermath. Arnold received some financial reward from the British government, but in the years to follow his business acumen proved unequal to the task of supporting both his family and his desire for luxuries. When Arnold died in 1801, he left his wife and their five children exiled from America and deeply in debt. Two years following Arnold's death, Peggy wrote to her stepsons in Canada, "Although I had much to be thankful for, during your Fathers life-time, I had much to struggle with," and settling his debts was one of the many hardships her

husband caused her. But in this, as perhaps in her involvement with the Arnold-André affair, Peggy proved up to the task. "I have rescued your Father's Memory from disrespect," she heralded to her stepsons, "by paying all his just debts." The historical record has failed to rescue Benedict's memory quite as Peggy had hoped and has proved ambivalent at best to her own memory. Regardless, Peggy Shippen Arnold showed herself to be a singular woman, skillfully negotiating the limitations the world placed on her, first as a young lady, then as the wife of a reviled traitor, and finally as a widow heavily in debt. A renowned beauty and suspected accomplice in one of the most famous betrayals in American history, Peggy Arnold remains an alluring, if coy, historical subject.

— Jayne Ptolemy
Curatorial Assistant



Peggy Shippen Arnold (1760-1804), shown here with one of her five children. Peggy held her family together while they lived in exile and withstood Benedict's failed business ventures and frequent absences

IMAGES OF TREASON

Certain events in American history have become fixed in public memory as images: Washington crossing the Delaware, the death of General Wolfe at Québec, the raising of the flag on Iwo Jima. The artists who created these images saw in the circumstances of these events an opportunity to state the value of patriotism, nationhood, and courage. September 23, 1780, presented another such opportunity when a man calling himself John Anderson, a merchant from New York City, was stopped by American militiamen near Tarrytown, New York, during the American Revolution.

John Anderson was the alias used by British Major John André (1750-1780), who remains one of the

most interesting and compelling figures on either side of the American Revolution. He was a stellar soldier and administrator, an artist, musician, and poet, known to be a charming womanizer, who seemed to have entranced all those that he encountered. His "stroking" of American General Benedict Arnold (1741-1810) towards a higher

treason reveals André to have been a brilliant manipulator. But he was far from infallible. André's confidence and dandyish leanings may have disguised the fact that he wasn't really cut out to be a spy in the field.

Arnold and André met once face to face, behind American lines near Haverstraw, New York, to plan the



Asher Durand's interpretation of the capture of John André was produced as a print by the American Art Union in 1845.

details of Arnold's defection and forfeiture of the American fort at West Point—a plan that is presumed to have included the capture of General Washington, then at the post. André was given diagrams of American troop dispositions, plans of the fort, and a handwritten pass from Arnold to get by American sentries. These hidden in his boots, André set out to return to British headquarters in New York City. His planned rendezvous on the Hudson River with the sloop HMS *Vulture* having failed (the vessel had

been driven off by American mortars), André changed out of his regimental uniform and slowly proceeded home on horseback.

Exactly what happened at this point depends on which account you choose to believe. It likely went something like this: American militiaman John Paulding stopped André on the road near Tarrytown at gunpoint, with Isaac Van Wart and David Williams for backup. Uncertain of the affiliation of Paulding, André flubbed his opportunity to either impress an American sentry with a pass from General Arnold or allow himself to be arrested by a British sentry and escorted to New York City where others could then vouch for him. André guessed wrong, revealed himself

to be British, and found himself quickly dismounted and shaken down. When he finally presented his pass, Van Wart exclaimed “damn the pass” and demanded money and André’s fine London-made, white-topped leather boots. By this point the hidden plans of West Point were revealed. In the American version of the story, André’s attempts to bribe his way to freedom were rebuffed by the virtuous patriots who sniffed out a spy. It is also possible that the patriot sentries stumbled onto the plans of West Point during a mugging, took André’s bribe, then decided to turn him in anyway. In any version, the jig was now up for John André.

Arnold, preparing for breakfast with Washington, was among the first to

get word of André’s arrest. A quick word to his wife, and he ran for British lines. Washington, incensed, offered to trade André for Arnold, but British General Henry Clinton declined, knowing that it would halt any other Americans from ever considering switching sides. He also expected a later parole or exchange, as was often done with officers. André’s subsequent execution astounded and shocked both British and Americans alike. No less a patriot than Alexander Hamilton petitioned General Washington to spare his life.

This saga contains all the ingredients for a human drama not to be topped in the annals of the American Revolution. It involves the contrasting personalities of urbane André, vain Arnold, volatile Margaret Shippen Arnold, and grave Washington. The tumultuous events of Arnold’s treason, and André’s capture, trial, and execution, followed by the reappearance of Arnold in a red coat make the story even more complex. If this wasn’t enough, the still unresolved questions surrounding a previous relationship between André and Mrs. Arnold add more spice to the soup.

In the aftermath of the revolution, competing narratives were authored and published. As expected, American histories emphasized the noble cause of liberty and the veracity of the founding fathers. George Washington looms large. Arnold’s betrayal and André’s capture make for a convenient chapter in this patriotic narrative, as it led to ambitions unfulfilled and a lesson in human fallibility. The tale of André’s initial attempt to bribe his way to freedom, followed by his stoicism in the face of execution, was spun to inspire and instruct the young American nation in the value of fidelity and the high cost of justice. American illustrators relished the chance to reinforce and expand these themes in pictures.

Early appearances of the capture of Major André as a popular image include the simple engravings in the many editions of Mason Locke Weem’s *Life of Washington*, which was enormously popular for the first decades of the nineteenth century. Best known for the young George and the cherry-tree story, this moral fable dressed up as history also includes the André-Arnold



The tragic fate of Maj. John André, an important subtext to the story of Benedict Arnold’s treason, soon became part of American historical lore. The story was familiar enough to most citizens to require no elaboration when this image of the major’s capture was run on the front page of the Illustrated News in 1852.



The bucolic village of Tarrytown on the Hudson River was known to most Americans through Washington Irving's stories—and as the site of the apprehension of Maj. André.

affair, represented by a simple engraving (woodcut?) of André's arrest.

Accomplished and sophisticated painters of the early nineteenth century such as Jacob Eichholtz (1776–1842) and Thomas Sully (1783–1872) also tackled the subject. Popular print publishers like Nathaniel Currier found an enduring market for prints of the capture of André. Perhaps the best-known depiction is by American artist Asher Brown Durand (1796–1886).

As a young man, Durand was apprenticed under engraver Peter Maverick, best known for his accurate facsimile of the signed Declaration of Independence. Durand then produced an impressive plate of John Trumbull's masterpiece oil painting of the Declaration's signing, but his finest achievements came after he abandoned the engraving tools for brushes and palette. Durand painted at least two versions of "The Capture of Major André" in the 1830s before being commissioned by the American Art Union to produce another to be reproduced as an engraving. This painting was included in the Art Union's annual members' lottery of 1845, where it was won by Cornelius Van Horn of New York. It then disappeared, only recently surfacing in a private collection. It is now at the Birmingham Museum of Art in Alabama.

The Art Union printing plate for

Durand's *The Capture of Major André* was produced by a team of top-rank engravers. The main figures in the print were produced by Alfred Jones (1819–1900), a New York banknote engraver famous for his 1843 reproduction of William Sidney Mount's *The Farmers' Noonning*, also for the AAU. The background of *The Capture of Major André* came from the hands of James Smillie (1807–1885), and Robert Hinshelwood (1812–?). Smillie, who also engraved banknotes, was a landscape specialist responsible for the plate for Thomas Cole's *Voyage of Life*. Hinshelwood, another banknote guy, was Smillie's brother-in-law. Jones and Smillie were both elected to the National Academy. No surprise that the Durand print came out handsomely and was widely distributed through the Art Union.

Durand's composition in *The Capture of Major André* follows the pattern set by his predecessors by showing the tense moment when André's fate was teetering, his pleas being rebuffed by the incorruptible American militiamen. The standing figure of Paulding, holding the documents removed from the captive's boot, seems to have just arrived at the moment of realization of what the stakes really are. His hand is up towards André, palm out, in a universal gesture of refusal. Van Wart and Williams await direction. The Hudson River snakes through the background to

the west. The trail leads back into the distance to a steeple, perhaps representing safe-haven for André, tantalizingly close, but not to be obtained.

The didactic qualities of Durand's *The Capture of Major André* were a good fit for the American Art Union and its mission to promote visual literacy and contemporary American artists. A membership organization, the AAU had a partiality for distributing prints with nationalistic themes. The AAU didn't last long, running from 1839 to 1851, but it had a significant impact on the developing tastes of middle-class Americans.

A nearly identical painting by another established American history painter, John Blake White (1781–1859), exists in the Clements collection (*The Quarto*, No. 31, p. 7). It's most likely a copy of the popular Durand print. Like Durand, White also produced paintings for reproduction by the American Art Union, but his best-known works are scenes from the revolution in the collection of the United States Capitol. Among them is *General Marion Inviting a British Officer to Share His Meal*, and *The Siege of Fort Motte*. In keeping with themes of American virtue and self-sacrifice, White depicts American General Marion offering to share his meager sweet potato dinner with an enemy officer, and patriot civilian Rebecca Brewton Motte directing Generals Marion and Lee to burn her plantation home in order to expel its British occupiers.

Being a southerner, lawyer, playwright, and portrait artist, who was elected to the South Carolina legislature, White had a particular interest in the southern campaigns of the Revolutionary War. His vision of history was shaped by four years in the London studio of the top history painter of the era, Benjamin West (1738–1820).

It could have all gone very differently. Had André slipped through to safety, West Point would have almost certainly fallen to the British, isolating the New England colonies from the rest. The outcome of the Revolution could have played out very differently, possibly interrupting and canceling any need for lessons in American virtue and fidelity.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials

AFTER THE TREASON

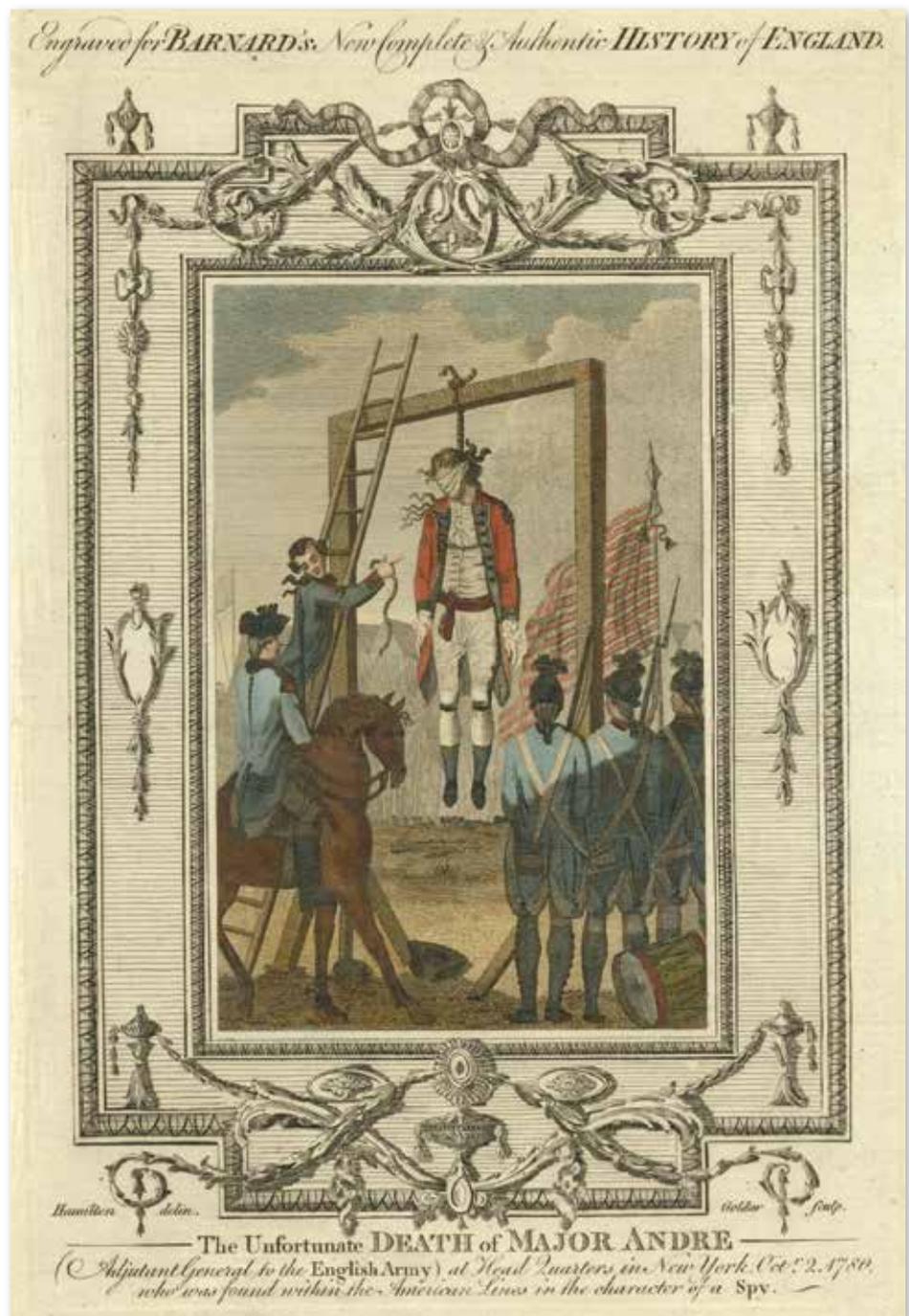
When six trunks filled with the papers of British General Sir Henry Clinton arrived at William L. Clements's home in Bay City, Michigan, in January 1927, he was not aware that their contents would unravel the details of Benedict Arnold's treasonous interactions with British Headquarters. Nor did he anticipate the evidence suggesting Peggy Arnold's involvement in her husband's exploits. From the first announcements of the existence of the Arnold correspondence—in newspapers and pamphlets of the late 1920s and 1930s—interpretations, explanations, descriptions, and re-interpretations of the dramatic story of Benedict Arnold, Peggy Shippen Arnold, and John André have commanded public attention. The Henry Clinton Papers, however, are voluminous and are not limited to this one component of Arnold's career. In conjunction with other holdings, the Clements Library cares for significant documentation of Arnold's post-treason stint in the British Army.

As an active former officer of the Continental Army, partly responsible for the defeat of Burgoyne's forces at Saratoga; as a potentially untrustworthy soldier, capable of treason; and as a man instrumental, however circumstantially, in the death of the beloved adjutant-general John André, Arnold found his acceptance into the British Army less welcoming than perhaps he would have hoped. Nevertheless, from his new residence in occupied New York he set to work drafting public letters and proclamations, which announced his allegiance to the British Army, attempted to recruit Continental soldiers and officers to a corps of cavalry and infantry under his command, and explained the motives for his change in allegiance (stressing his desire for peace, the tyranny of the Congress, and the "insidious" offers of French support). Nowhere did he mention the profits or personal benefits he had hoped to gain from his actions. During the last months of 1780, Arnold also sought an increase in rank, offered intelligence to Secretary of State George Germain, and otherwise attempted to

gain favor in his new environment. He also pressed General Clinton for an opportunity to command in the field.

In December 1780, Benedict Arnold received orders from Clinton to lead a military contingent to Virginia to establish a base of operations at Portsmouth and obtain as many loyalist

recruits as possible. In the process, the general hoped to divert resources from General Nathanael Greene's campaign in the South. Clinton also gave Arnold permission to raid inland rebel properties, provided that the security of Portsmouth would not be compromised in the process. Revealing his wariness of the



John André's mortal connection with Benedict Arnold came to its end on October 2, 1780. Arnold had escaped to British lines, while André was apprehended and executed as a spy.

List of Prizes taken at two boats on James River April 27, 1781 by a Detachment of the Army commanded by Brigadier General Arnold.

Ship <i>Phoenix</i>	26 Guns, supposed	250 Tons	100 Hogheads Tobacco
Ship <i>Tempest</i>	20 Guns	200 Tons	Ballast
Ship <i>Lively</i>	8 Guns	120 Tons	106 Hogheads Tobacco
Ship <i>Hart</i>		130 Tons	130 Hogheads Tobacco
Ship <i>Hart</i>	4 Guns	120 Tons	100 Hogheads Tobacco
Ship <i>Stump Sloop</i>	Name unknown	100 Tons	110 Hogheads Tobacco
Ship <i>Sloop Nancy</i>	35 Tons, 20 or 30 Tons		Cordage &c &c
Ship <i>Willing Maid</i>		20 Tons	15 Hogheads Tobacco
			5 Barrels of Salt and some Corn.
Ship <i>Hawker</i>		40 Tons	loaded with Corn
Ship <i>Sloop Nancy</i>		50 Tons	165 Barrels Flour
Ship <i>Washington</i>	30 or 40 Tons		16 Hogheads Tobacco
Ship <i>Killy</i>		40 Tons	loaded with Sails & Rigging
<i>taken up the Chickahominy</i>			
		657	
		250	
		907 Hh ^s	Tobacco

A list of vessels and cargo captured on the James River of Virginia by troops of Benedict Arnold's raiding force in the spring of 1781. Such "prizes" were usually sold and the proceeds distributed according to a formula among the participating officers, soldiers, and sailors. This document was found in the Shelburne Papers.

Tabor Kempe attempted to follow the distribution of the prizes taken in the expedition he found an abundance of missing captured goods and proceeds from sales of cargo.

Phillips and Arnold conducted another successful raid in April, capturing the important communications hub of Petersburg on the 25th. There, after a tentative effort to again assault

Richmond, they waited for reinforcements. Benedict Arnold had another opportunity to serve as the primary officer of the Virginia contingent when William Phillips, who had been suffering from a "teazing indisposition," died at Petersburg on May 13th. Around a week later, Charles Cornwallis arrived and assumed command of the army. A case of gout prompted Arnold to return

to New York on the first available transport, thus ending his destructive and relatively productive time in Virginia.

Brigadier Arnold would have one more opportunity to serve the army in the American War when Henry Clinton ordered him to lead around 1,700 men in an attack on New London, Connecticut, in an effort to divert George Washington's attentions from Cornwallis's army in the South. The September 6, 1781, action proved to be another black mark on Arnold's record, with high British casualties, a merciless destruction of the town, and an apparent continuation of the attack after the American surrender.

The American and British military careers of Benedict Arnold are at times overshadowed by the almost theatrical drama of his "treason of the blackest dye" and by his reputation as the very personification of the *traitor*. The Clements Library is home to the most important evidence of his treason and also the caretaker of primary source materials relevant to the entirety of his life as a soldier.

— Cheney Schopieray
Curator of Manuscripts

DEVELOPMENTS

The Clements Library has lost a number of good friends over the last few months. April saw the passing of yet another, A. Alfred Taubman, a supporter of the Library for decades. He most recently contributed to the acquisition of Audubon's *Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, the last gift of so many that he made to the University of Michigan.

Avid ephemera collector Jerry Maxson passed away in February. He and his wife, Charlotte, were dedicated friends of the Library and regularly drove to Ann Arbor from Midland to attend CLA programs and field trips.

Last fall Library staff hosted "Adopt a Piece of History" at our temporary quarters on East Ellsworth Road. Guests had the opportunity to examine newly acquired material, enjoy a tour of our conservation facility led by Julie Fremuth, talk with staff, and "adopt"

collection items to enable their purchase or conservation. We are grateful to those friends who "adopted" new acquisitions: Elizabeth Bishop, James and Joanna Davis, Joanie Knoetzer, Jack and Carmen Miller, and Richard and Susan Sobota. Conservation adopters were Doug Aikenhead and Tracy Gallup, John and Cheryl MacKrell, Friedrich and Evelyn Port, and Ellen Ramsburg. Many thanks to these good friends and to so many others who were unable to attend. If you would like to learn more about our "Adopt a Piece of History" program please contact me at abhelber@umich.edu.

A gift from The Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation has enabled the Clements to hire a project archivist to

This nineteenth-century steel engraving depicts Arnold making the fatal suggestion that André hide incriminating documents in his boot.

process and catalog the Henry Burbeck Papers. We are happy to welcome Louie Miller, a second year student in the U-M School of Information, who will spend his summer greatly enhancing the accessibility of the voluminous Henry Burbeck collection.

Finally, on a bittersweet note, we



say goodbye to our director of development, Ann Rock, who has resigned from the Clements to take a position at the Grosse Pointe War Memorial, an institution much closer to her home. Ann was the Clements Library's first-ever development officer, and during her six years with us was instrumental in raising over \$13,000,000. The staff will miss Ann and wish her great success in her new endeavor.

— Anne Bennington Helber
Development Generalist

THE GORMAGUNT REVEALED

Dr. Kevin Hurley of New York City was the winner in our drawing from correct answers to the riddle of the Gormagunt (The Quarto, no. 42). Francis Grose's *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (numerous editions) provides a contemporary definition, though under the spelling "Gormagon." The answer is "a man on horseback, with a woman behind him." The riddle sometimes specifies five legs on one side and so, of course, would have the woman riding side saddle. One wonders how many colonial rubes were gulled by this one at Curler's Hook, New York, in the winter of 1761.

By a happy coincidence, a sculpture of the European gormagunt (equally as rare as its North American cousin) was discovered and photographed last March in a square in Nuremberg, Germany. Mr. Audubon, eat your heart out.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Thomas M. Dziuszko

On March 30 the Library lost its one-man booster club and expert ambassador of the Avenir Great Room. Thomas (aka "Tom" or "Tommie") Dziuszko was devoted to the Clements and gave countless hours of his time as a docent and as a member (since 2002) of the CLA Board of Governors. A native of Danvers, Massachusetts, Tommie never abandoned his allegiance to the Patriots, Celtics, Red Sox, and Bruins—and all the Wolverine teams. Tom came to Ann Arbor as a freshman in 1967 and never left, enjoying a full career as a

computer specialist for University Hospitals.

James M. Klancnik

We regret to announce the loss of yet another member of the CLA Board of Governors. Jim Klancnik was our longest-serving active governor when he passed away on March 24. He began his service to the Library in 1972, and, though practicing law in Chicago and Dallas, he faithfully attended nearly every board meeting. Jim had a deep and abiding love for the Clements, and his family has suggested that memorial contributions be directed to the Library.

Jacob M. Price

The Spring-Summer issue of *The Quarto* traditionally includes a list of successful applicants for the Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowship, so it seems an appropriate place to record the passing of its namesake. Jacob Myron Price was a distinguished historian of the early modern Atlantic economy who joined the University of Michigan's history faculty in 1956 and served until retiring in 1991. During that time he won numerous honors and awards. He was a member of the Clements Library Board of Governors from 1990 to 2015 and a generous supporter of the fellowship that bears his name. A significant part of Jack's legacy is the opportunity his fellowships have provided to bright young historians (nearly 175 since 1995) to utilize the primary source material available only at the Clements Library.

Price Fellow Wins Pulitzer

It is a particular pleasure to announce that Elizabeth Fenn has won the 2015 Pulitzer Prize in history for her book *Encounters at the Heart of the World: A History of the Mandan People*. She is professor of history at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and, proud to say, was a 1997 Price Fellow at the Clements Library. Congratulations "Lil."

2015 POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWS

The generous support of the Earhart Foundation, the Upton Foundation, and several anonymous donors has allowed the Clements Library to offer a fourth year of post-doctoral research fellowships. Eight fellows from institutions in three countries will visit the Clements to

mine its rich collection of primary sources. We thank our supporters for making the fellowship program possible.

Dr. Trenton Cole, an American Antiquarian Society Post-dissertation Fellow, is the recipient of the Howard H. Peckham Fellowship on Revolutionary America for his topic, "Captives of Liberty: Prisoners of War and the Radicalization of the American Revolution."

Dr. Arthur Bruce Cohn, director emeritus of the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, has been selected for an Earhart Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, "Connected by History: Sir Henry Clinton and Benedict Arnold During the Revolutionary War."

Dr. Mary Stockwell, an independent scholar, has been granted an Earhart Foundation Fellowship on American History for her topic, "Unlikely General: 'Mad' Anthony Wayne and the Battle for America."

Prof. Wil Verhoeven of the University of Groningen (Netherlands) has been granted an Earhart Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, "The Revolution of America: The Ideological Origins of the American Exceptionalism."

Dr. Justin duRivage of Stanford University will receive an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, "Revolution Against Empire: Taxes, Politics, and the Origins of American Independence."

Dr. Julie Flavell, an independent scholar, is the recipient of an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for her topic, "Breed of Heroes: Inside the Howe Dynasty."

Dr. Christopher Minty, a New-York Historical Society Post-doctoral Fellow, has been granted an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, "United by Association: Partisanship and the American Revolution."

Prof. Ben Wright of Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College has been awarded

an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic “Antislavery and American Salvation.”

2015 PRICE FELLOWS

The junior scholars who are awarded a Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowship represent the next generation of American historians. Access to the Clements Library’s collections is crucial for many of them as they conduct research for their dissertations. We welcome ten Price Fellows in 2015.

Prof. Friederike Baer of Penn State University, Abington, for her topic, “The Hessians and Other German Auxiliary Troops in the War of American Independence.”

Brooke Bauer, University of North Carolina, for her dissertation, “The Effects of Eighteenth-Century War on the Lives of Catawba Indian Women.”

Anna Brinkman, King’s College, London, for her dissertation, “Agency of War: Prize Law and British Foreign Policy, 1756-1784.”

Dr. Stephen Brumwell, an independent scholar, for his topic, “Honor and Treason: Benedict Arnold and the Crisis of American Liberty.”

Frank Cirillo, University Virginia, for his dissertation, “ ‘The Day of Sainthood Has Passed:’ American Abolitionists and the Golden Moment of the Civil War.”

Emilie Connolly, New York University, for her dissertation, “The Kingdom of God and the Transformation of American Religious Imagination, 1830–1877.”

Mary T. Freeman, Columbia University, for her dissertation, “Letter Writing and Politics in the Campaign Against Slavery in the United States, 1830-1870.”

Nancy O. Gallman, University of California, Davis, for her dissertation, “American Constitutions: Life, Liberty, and Property in Colonial East Florida.”

Toni Pitock, University of Delaware, for her dissertation, “The Struggle for Cuba: Slavery, War, and Empire in the Eighteenth Century.”

Neal Polhemus, University of South Carolina, for his dissertation, “A Culture of Commodification: Hemispheric and Intercolonial Migrations in the Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade, 1660–1807.”

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

August 31, 2015: Final day of reading room operations at 1580 East Ellsworth location.

September 1, 2015 – December 23, 2015: Library closed for move of staff and collections to 909 South University.

October 6, 2015: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors meeting.

January 4, 2016: Anticipated resumption of full reading room operations at 909 South University.



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