

# THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE



## AND HISTORICAL CHRONICLE

Published for the Edification and Amusement of Book Collectors,  
Historians, Bibliographers and the Discriminating General Public.

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## To Our Readers

WE commence the second year of *The American Magazine, and Historical Chronicle* with our first thematic issue. The primary subjects are Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver, two fascinating and enigmatic figures from our nation's colonial period about whose careers there has always been controversy and as many questions as answers.

Robert Rogers was one of our first authentic war heroes—a French and Indian War Sergeant York—who emerged from backwoods New Hampshire through a series of daring and heroic exploits and blazed a name for himself in the international press. A great admirer of Indian methods of warfare, he had organized a military force particularly adapted to frontier fighting, Rogers' Rangers, which made a lasting impression on the European-trained officers of the regular British army and served as a model and precursor of special forces, or guerilla outfits since. His snowshoe battle, his daring St. Francis raid against a previously untouchable group of Indians who scalped and murdered New England settlers for generations, and a variety of other exploits were feats of remarkable endurance. They captivated British newspaper readers and purchasers and reviewers of his published *Journals* (1765) and re-inspired readers of Kenneth Roberts' classic *Northwest Passage* in the twentieth century. He was a skilled map maker, an author, and a playwright. His proposals for a Northwest exploring expedition, while never realized, were sensible and ahead of their time, and had the plan received the official support needed, it most certainly would be Rogers rather than Mackenzie or Lewis and Clark who would grace the pages of school textbooks as pioneers of transcontinental exploration.

But Rogers had another side. He had, as a young man, been hauled into court for involvement with a counterfeiter, he had some penchant for carousing, and in his later years, an increasing affection for the bottle. Although briefly given administrative responsibility as commander at Michilimackinac, he disliked paperwork, despised bureaucratic red tape, and simply ignored authority when it went against his interests or desires. He was accused of plotting treason, thrown into prison for months, and although acquitted, he had a talent for arousing feelings of distrust and resentment in some of his superiors throughout his career. During the American Revolution, he took up arms against his native country, performed poorly, and died in exile in London, thoroughly tarnished in America and largely forgotten in England.

Jonathan Carver never cut as broad a swath in American history as did his sometime friend Rogers, but he shared many of the same characteristics. He was a New England native who fought in the French and Indian War. He clearly was a man of ambition, intelligence, and some education, and during Robert Rogers' commandship at Michilimackinac in 1766, he undertook an expedition to the area of the upper Mississippi, the first Anglo-American to visit and describe present-day Minnesota and Wisconsin. His published *Tra-*



John Cuneo (1911-1984) in Ranger uniform

*vels* (1778), not issued until near the time of the author's death, became a best-seller and a classic which was translated, read, and made a part of every respectable library around the world. Although the level of his skill and his exact involvement in some projects is difficult to figure, he was also a map maker.

Like Rogers', Carver's career was tainted by scandal and misfortune. His *Travels*, in various particulars, show that he was either a gullible innocent or a liar, probably both. His relationship with his "friend" Rogers is hard to document, but Carver would seem to have felt no remorse in consistently denying the former credit except when Rogers might seem to be of immediate usefulness. He was a bigamist, having wives on both sides of the Atlantic. He was party to a grand real estate swindle which would give rise to conflicting claims and schemes well into the present century in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and he died in poverty.

For a couple of questionable characters, Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver have been remarkably fortunate to have attracted the attention of highly skilled, careful biographers in the twentieth century. Rogers' reputation, which had been thoroughly destroyed in American eyes by his Toryism in the Revolution, was somewhat revived by Francis Parkman's colorful descriptions of his French and Indian War exploits.

In his 1914 introduction to a Caxton Club reprint of *Ponteach*, Rogers' play, Allan Nevins provided the first scholarly life of the frontiersman. Kenneth Roberts, who, although a novelist, was an exacting researcher, cast Rogers as the primary, essentially positive figure in the immensely popular *Northwest Passage* (1936-38), which, with the later movie version, created a seemingly permanent Robert Rogers cult among special forces veterans, military collectors, and reenactment soldiers, who have become important adjuncts to military site restorations of the past two decades.

Finally, after years of painstaking detective work, John R. Cuneo published the authoritative biography in 1959 which not only filled out the details of Rogers' remarkable career, but provided a well-balanced picture of his complex personality. Jonathan Carver, who less frequently got in the headlines during his lifetime, had to wait somewhat longer to receive extensive, sympathetic, scholarly treatment, but in 1976, John Parker, Director of the James Ford Bell Library at the University of Minnesota, did a remarkable job of putting the scattered facts of his life together in a masterful introduction to a new edition of the *Travels*, published by the Minnesota Historical Society Press.

Why are we devoting much of the present issue to these two historical figures at this particular time? Because, thanks to the appearance at Christie's Gallery in London in March, 1984, of a slim, bound volume of manuscript

letters and documents of the early 1770s concerning Rogers and Carver, information has come to light previously unknown to scholars. William L. Clements was fascinated by Rogers, and in 1918 he edited one of Rogers' journals for publication. The Clements has long owned an extensive group of Rogers' letters. The Library was able to purchase this new collection through a very generous, anonymous donation, and it is with the greatest pleasure we share some of the findings with our readers.

The letters and documents were collected by Richard Whitworth, member of Parliament from Stafford, to whom both Rogers and Carver turned for support of their schemes to explore and profit from the western territories wrested from France in the Seven Years War. Through them, we know a great deal more about Carver's projects, have documentation on the last stages of Rogers' Northwest expedition, a few more insights concerning his attitude toward the American Revolution, a bit more in the way of documentation of the relationship between the two men, and considerably more sense of their involvement with Whitworth.

It being the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of the first installments of Kenneth Roberts' *Northwest Passage*, a further look at Rogers and Carver would seem timely. For Carver, we have turned to the authority on the subject, John Parker, and we are confident that his new insights will be of great interest. John Dann has edited a number of new texts of Rogers on his Northwest Passage proposals, and Daniel Moerman, professor at The University of Michigan-Dearborn and expert in native botanical medicine, has edited a letter of Rogers which describes dyes and medicinal herbs and roots. David Bosse has provided an analysis and bibliography of the maps associated with Rogers and Carver.

Sadly, John Cuneo, the authority on Rogers, passed away two years ago. Having devoted much of his life to searching out every scrap of information on the man, he would have been tremendously excited by the discovery of new letters and documents. This past year, Mrs. Cuneo generously presented the Clements Library a group of research materials which her husband had collected on Rogers.

John Cuneo was a lawyer by profession who, in what time he could spare, brought tremendous enthusiasm, intelligence, and energy to research in military history. He was a true gentleman. He had a deep affection for the Clements Library and its collections and a lifetime appreciation for the friendliness and the encouragement provided by Howard Peckham, Colton Storm, and Bill Ewing. It was Randolph G. Adams who had inspired him to write the Rogers biography in the first place, and it was to Adams that he dedicated the book.

It is with humble respect, then, that we dedicate this issue of *The American Magazine* to John R. Cuneo (1911-1984), a true scholar in the best sense of the term, and a steadfast friend of the William L. Clements Library.

The Editors

# *New Light on Jonathan Carver*

JOHN PARKER

**J**ONATHAN Carver sailed for London late in February, 1769, to seek reimbursement for his work as a journalist, observer, and map maker during his sojourn in the western Great Lakes and upper Mississippi region in the service of Robert Rogers in 1766 and 1767. If the expedition suffered from a lack of official approval from the Board of Trade, or anyone else, and if it failed to achieve its primary objective of discovering a west-flowing river in the vicinity of fifty degrees north latitude, it, nevertheless, achieved significant results in the broad international publicity it gave to the region traversed through the many editions of Carver's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, first published in London, 1778.

This Massachusetts-born shoemaker, veteran of several campaigns in the French and Indian War, arrived in London with a letter of introduction from Samuel Cooper, a Boston Calvinist clergyman, to Benjamin Franklin, who represented Pennsylvania there. The learned Philadelphian expressed gratitude for the opportunity to meet "so great a traveler." Within the next decade Carver would find patronage at the hands of Joseph Banks, who sailed round the world with Captain James Cook, and was to become president of the Royal Society. He would become acquainted with other members of London's scientific community and with at least one member of Parliament. His frequent petitioning must have made him a familiar figure to members of the Board of

Trade and the Treasury. But he was by no means the only American in London with a plea to make regarding activities on the American frontier.

The western settlements of Franklin's Pennsylvania were on the brink of the wilderness in that part of British America. Thinly settled, they were a base for fur traders whose commerce reached some five hundred miles into indisputable Indian territory. Foremost among these frontier entrepreneurs was George Croghan, a vigorous trader who, nevertheless, saw the acquisition of land and the settling of farmers on the frontier as the real and lasting opportunity in the American West. Croghan had visited London in 1763, lobbying for confir-



*Capt. JONATHAN CARVER.*  
*From the Original Picture in the possession of H. Wilton M.D.*  
*Published in the 4th Edition by Robert W. Brown & Thomas Nelson, 1878, 1880.*

mation of a purchase of land he had made from the Six Nations in 1749. He failed, but he was not deterred. Back in North America, he joined with a group of Philadelphia financiers and merchants in 1766 to organize the Illinois Company, which sought a grant of 1,200,000 acres and the right to establish a colony in the Illinois country, a vast heartland area bounded by the Mississippi, Wisconsin, Wabash, and Ohio rivers. Benjamin Franklin, in London, was made a member of the company, but the Americans' proposal was rejected by the British government.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in 1764, a group of "Suffering traders," who had lost heavily in Pontiac's rebellion, perceiving themselves and their trade as an arm of British diplomacy and frontier policy, sent a delegation to London seeking reimbursement for their losses. They, too, failed and came home convinced that Indian land was the only source of reimbursement available to them. The Indiana Company was the result, and at Fort Stanwix in 1768 they negotiated a grant of three and a half million acres in what is now West Virginia. Their representatives, Samuel Wharton and William Trent, went to London the next year and had to deal there with rival claimants to some of the same land.<sup>2</sup>

The primary rivals were Virginians, who, as early as 1748, had organized the Ohio Company, whose objective was acquiring land near the source of the Ohio River. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia had given grants of western lands to soldiers in payments for their service.<sup>3</sup> George Washington had bought up many of these grants and was a leader among Virginians with land interests on the frontier. In an attempt to reduce opposition among Virginians to the Indiana Company's claims, Samuel Wharton took the lead in the proposal of 1769 to establish government in the disputed area under a new colony to be called Vandalia. This was the major concern of Americans in London in the months following Carver's arrival there. Benjamin Franklin was deeply involved. So were important members of Parliament. Indeed, the enterprise was called the "Walpole Company" for Thomas Walpole, a leading political figure.<sup>4</sup> If Carver kept company with other Americans in London, much of the talk he heard would have been about American western lands. Indeed, his associate, Robert Rogers, had received a grant of lands to the south of Lake Superior in 1760. He arrived in London in September, 1769.<sup>5</sup> And the talk continued in an optimistic vein until late in 1773. Carver could not have escaped its promise, for until 1773, the future seemed assured for the American petitioners and their English backers. Opportunity was caressed with legal sanction in the opinions rendered by Lords Camden and Yorke, who held that purchases from Indians gave valid title to land.<sup>6</sup>

But these were years of contradictory pressures within the British government. The optimists for western settlement had to contend with traditional British policy which favored settlement and intensive development of a limited area, the coastal region, encouraging high economic output with a minimum of expenditure for administration and defense. This was the opposite of the fast-traveling French program of extended interior trade centered on a few stations far removed from the major area of settlement and seat of government. With

*Whitworth* there was this day read at 11  
*London Dec<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1776*  
*1776*

*I have the pleasure to enclose you  
a letter from Major Rogers. It plainly appears  
that the Maj<sup>r</sup> has taken no other but the loyal  
part and is got fully engag'd in pursuit of the  
Northwestern Discoveries.*

*I hope you had a pleasant journey  
to Bathhouse, and continue in good health*

*I am*

*Yours*

*with respect  
Your most Obedient  
and Humble*

*Richard Whitworth Esq<sup>r</sup>*

*Wm<sup>r</sup> Carver*

Carver letter to Whitworth, mentioning Robert Rogers

the defeat of the French in 1763 and the cession of the interior of North America to Great Britain, that region was open to both the land-hungry, coast-bound farmers, and the fur-trading avant-garde, whose clients awaited the continued supply of European goods in remote places like Green Bay and Kaskaskia. In the late 1760s, official policy perceived no advantage in encouraging an aggressive approach toward the interior. General Gage regarded the fur traders as a dissolute batch of opportunists who persistently went their own way regardless of laws and regulations.<sup>7</sup> The mood of official London was still dominated by the spirit of the Proclamation of 1763, which set the western boundary of the colonies at the crest of the Appalachian Mountains and made legal moving and trading beyond it inconvenient. Specifically, trading rum and rifles to the Indians, or holding conferences with their

leaders was illegal.<sup>8</sup> The mood of the Americans, and of their supporters in London, was to move as fast and as far as possible beyond these restraints.

Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver represented the extreme position of the American point of view. They found a friend in Parliament in the person of Richard Whitworth, member for Stafford borough, to represent their proposals.<sup>9</sup> It was in 1773–1775 when they presented plans that have had an interest for historians, if not great consequences for empire policy: Rogers with a plan for westward exploration from the upper Mississippi Valley to find a west-flowing river to the Pacific; Carver with a grant of land in the area of Minnesota and Wisconsin, a plan for a mining monopoly in the northwest, and a proposal for exploitation of natural resources of that area through a distillery which would reduce the cost of getting liquor to the western Indians, thereby enhancing the profitability of the fur trade in the far northwest corner of Great Britain's North American territory, where settlement was not yet a realistic consideration.

Until now Carver's major proposals—the land grant and the distillery project—were presentations of Dr. John Coakley Lettson, who took charge of publishing the posthumous 1781 issue of Carver's *Travels*, a re-issue of the 1779 sheets with an introduction by Lettson which included the texts of the land grant and part of the proposal for the distillery enterprise. That these

texts, in Carver's handwriting, should be discovered among the papers of Whitworth, together with papers of Robert Rogers, is not entirely surprising, for in the Appendix to his *Travels*, Carver names Whitworth as the sponsor in 1774 of a proposal to explore northwestern North America. And furthermore, Carver petitioned in 1772 and 1773 for an appointment to accompany Rogers on the expedition.

Running the maze of British officialdom in quest of payment for his services had taken Carver at least a year. There is good evidence that he was paid £1,373 6s. 8d. in 1770. The petitioning time must have carried with it the cost of his living. We do not know whether or not he managed his finances carefully. We do know that on February 10, 1773, he was petitioning Lord Dartmouth for some position or employment to "git a support." His intention at that time seems to have been employment in North America, where his wife and family awaited him.<sup>10</sup> Nothing came of the petition. London had larger concerns in 1773. In that year the tide turned against the Vandalia proposal, and even that debate was diminished in importance by the Boston Tea Party. By March, 1774, Benjamin Franklin could observe, "we never had . . . so few friends in Britain."<sup>11</sup>

Carver's personal situation could not have been helped by this turn of events, and his colleague, Robert Rogers, left London to go back to North America, but still with hopes of leading a Northwest Passage expedition. Carver apparently lacked the means to return home, and his marriage in 1774 to Mary Harris, despite a wife and family in Massachusetts, suggests an alliance for temporary financial reasons, because his subsequently released plans for a distillery enterprise on Lake Pepin indicate his own intention to participate in it.

This low point in Carver's fortunes coincided with England's renewed interest in the idea most dear to his heart and in the plans of Rogers. In 1775, Parliament voted an award of £20,000 to the explorer who would discover a northern passage through North America. In that year plans were begun for the third voyage of Captain Cook, which had as a major purpose the reconnaissance of the northwest coast of North America to confirm or deny, finally, the existence of a navigable passage. If such a waterway existed, it had to be south of fifty-two degrees, because Samuel Hearne had traversed the territory north of that line to the Arctic in his overland expedition of 1769-1772. Carver had been to forty-five degrees on the upper Mississippi, and his and Rogers' plans in 1767 had focused on the rivers to the northwest of the source of the Mississippi.

Nothing had come of this revived Northwest Passage interest to help Carver by June 27, 1775, when we find him writing Richard Whitworth, M.P.: "Mr Wentworth was so kind as to inform me that he had seen you, and had receiv'd very kind encouragement respecting my having something done for me soon. Be assured that I esteem your friendship the happiest circumstance of my life—you will save me from a life of wretchedness, for which you may depend upon it my utmost thanks, and gratitude shall never be wanting, not in any

instance of my ability." This Mr. Wentworth was fellow American Paul Wentworth, a stock jobber with plantation interests in Surinam. A relative of Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, he served as agent for that colony in London in the early 1770s, and after the outbreak of the Revolution, as a Loyalist spy.<sup>12</sup> Richard Whitworth was also a member of the secret service. It is likely that Carver was also acquainted with Edward Bancroft, a member of the secret service, recruited by Whitworth, and author of *Essay on the Natural History of Guiana* (London, 1769), whom Carver cited in his *Travels*.

Obviously, Carver had sought Whitworth's help in securing some kind of employment. That there was a high level of trust of Carver by Whitworth is indicated in another letter from Carver to Whitworth dated May 25, 1775: "According to your desire I have been in search of books treating upon the situation of the Northwestern parts of America; have found Admiral De Fonte's Letters, with plans annexed, and likewise Dobbs's Account of Hudson's Bay, with abstracts of letters from adventurers in those parts; to be had at Messr Jefferys and Faden, the corner of St. Martin's Lane, these two books, I believe, will afford the best information, upon the subject of the N.W. passage, of any that can be obtain'd." This letter, like the one of June 27, 1775, bears the name of the Tennis Court Coffee House as the place of its origin,<sup>13</sup> yet in the upper right hand corner bears this inscription: "Saml. Smith Jewry Lane behind the Change agent to Dobbs who wintered in Hudsons Bay he has Dobbs Papers." This does not appear to be in Carver's hand, and is certainly of a different quill than the text of the letter. Whatever its provenance, it does associate Carver's and Whitworth's Northwest Passage interest with Samuel Smith, who was Arthur Dobbs' lawyer and agent. Dobbs had died eleven years earlier, after a stormy career of advocating the existence of a Northwest Passage and urging its discovery. The books Carver had found with Jefferys and Faden were Dobbs' *An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudsons Bay*, (London, 1744); and Thomas Jefferys' *The Great Probability of a Northwest Passage*, (London, 1768), which includes DeFonte's letters.

Whitworth apparently did have "something done" for Carver in 1775. He seems to have brought Carver and Isaac De Costa together in a map making project that year. In 1776, Carver was employed by Sayer and Bennett, prominent map publishers in London. Carver's own *Travels* was published in 1778 with some financial assistance from Joseph Banks.<sup>14</sup> A second edition appeared in 1779, as did Carver's booklet, *A Treatise on the Culture of the Tobacco Plant*, done for the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. It cannot be demonstrated that Whitworth was responsible for all of this good fortune, and it is not likely that any of these publications were highly remunerative, but they must have brought him above the "life of wretchedness" he envisioned in the summer of 1775. But surely Richard Whitworth was the one to whom Carver turned at the time of his greatest need, and it is to that low point that we must return to consider the primary Carver documents in the collection recently acquired by the Clements Library.

## THE LAND GRANT

The Clements Library copy of the Carver grant is the first document to become available which directly associates Carver and the grant. Heretofore we had it—in a very similar text—from Dr. John Coakley Lettson's introduction to the 1781 posthumous issue of Carver's *Travels*. Major errors in Lettson's biographical sketch of Carver raised doubt about the value of any of it, especially the grant. Subsequently, the grant was taken over and promoted by the Reverend Samuel Peters, whose integrity was far more questionable than Lettson's, and from there the grant-mongering descended to a host of hustlers, including members of Carver's family.<sup>15</sup> Now there exists no doubt that such a land grant document existed, written in Carver's own hand, and that he sent it to Richard Whitworth on June 27, 1775. It went to Whitworth along with "some suggestions that may in part be proper to form another petition upon" and an admission of failure in an attempt by Carver "to procure copies of the original petitions for a grant of royal mines in a certain district of North America." Clearly the grant, the mines, and other "suggestions" were associated in the minds of both men with Carver's unfortunate financial situation.

In this context, the grant makes sense as a fabrication by a desperate man in London, where there was an abundance of public talk about western land grants in North America as a means of getting money. So far as we know now, Carver had at no previous time during his long season of petitioning for payment, or in his correspondence from Michilimackinac with his wife Abigail, or during his sojourn in Boston, mentioned this grant of land. More importantly, in his journals, where he reports in great detail the ceremony at the great cave of the upper

To Jonathan Carver, a Chief under the Most Mighty and  
Great George the Third King of the English, and other Nations, the Son  
of whose Courageous Warriors have reach'd our ears, and has been more fully  
told us by our Good Brother Jonathan aforesaid, who we refer to as our  
among us, and bring us good News from his Country.

We Chief of the Mandowisip, who have hitherto set our Seal, Do  
by these presents, for our selves and heirs forever, in return for the  
many Presents, and other Good Services done by the said Jonathan  
to our selves and allies, Saw, Sawt, and Conoy, to him the said  
Jonathan, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain  
tract of ~~Country~~ of Land bounded as follows (viz) from the falls of  
said Anthony, running on the East Banks of the Mississippi some  
nearly or at least as far as the South end of Lake Supin, where the  
Chippaway River joins the Mississippi, and from thence Eastward  
five Days travel, amounting twenty English miles for Day, and  
from thence North six Days travel, at twenty English Miles for  
Day, and from thence again to the Falls of said Anthony, on a direct  
straight line. We do for our selves, Heirs and assigns forever,  
give unto the said Jonathan his Heirs and assigns forever, all said  
lands with all the Trees, Rocks and Rivers thereon, Reserving for  
our selves and Heirs the sole Liberty of hunting and Fishing our  
Land not Hunted or improved by the said Jonathan his Heirs and  
assigns, To which we have affixed our respective seals, At the great  
Cave May the first, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-  
seven.

This Copy  
taken June 1775

Tawapogistawin



Ottobongombolia



Original copy of Carver Grant in Whitworth Papers

Mississippi, with speeches between himself and the Sioux chiefs, he does not mention their granting him any land. Had he mentioned it in his *Travels*, he might have seemed to gain advantage of a prior claim over later arrivals, but he did not mention it there either. Revision of his journal was still going on after 1775. Indeed, the speeches made at the cave were added after 1775. But the grant did not surface for public airing during these revisions. There are some good reasons why it could not.

One needs to reflect on the nature of the grant—the deed as Carver called it—as it is presented in these Whitworth papers, which must have been directly or indirectly the source of Lettsom's text. If the grant was made on May 1, 1767, as claimed in the deed, it was a grant to land, nearly all of which Carver had not seen. It was defined as territory extending east of the mouth of the Chippewa River for 100 miles; then north for 120 miles; then southwest to the Falls of St. Anthony; and finally south along the east bank of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Chippewa River again. As of May 1, 1767, Carver had seen only that short leg of land along the Mississippi between the Falls and the Chippewa River. He had come this far in November of 1766, and had wintered westward from there along the Minnesota River. The eastern and northern dimensions of the grant were stated in English miles, or "days travel" at twenty miles per day. The Western Sioux would have understood nothing of miles, or "days travel" defined in mile equivalents. They would not have comprehended boundary lines that would not follow rivers or other natural features of the land. The most damaging feature of the deed is that it purports to be title to land that was actually the heart of Chippewa country, the land of the deadly enemies of the Western Sioux. If the Naudowessie made such a grant of Chippewa territory as a joke on Carver, or on the Chippewa, we are introduced to a sense of humor not heretofore suspected among these nations.

In his subsequent northward travels through his "grant," Carver refers to the land in question repeatedly as Chippewa country, mentioning at times their wars with the Sioux, and at one point (*Travels*, 1781 ed. p.129) he claims that he was praised by the Chippewa for keeping the Naudowessie at peace with them. In Robert Rogers' grant of lands in northern Wisconsin, the Indian grantors stressed their long possession of the land "under God for many generations back, long before any white people came amongst us. . . ." This was Chippewa country too. Carver's grant, by comparison of text, is totally unconvincing. Surely Carver realized its weaknesses, which explains why he never included it in his journal or his *Travels*.

Why, then, if he was to fabricate a grant of land from the Western Sioux, did he not place it in their territory? Because he was keenly aware that as of 1763 the land west of the Mississippi belonged to Spain. He mentions this in his journal. Such land was hardly a good prospect for sale in London in 1775. Why not create a grant from the Chippewa, since it was their land he was claiming? He had no occasion among the Chippewa for a conference comparable to the May 1, 1767, meeting with the Western Sioux at the great cave. His wintering among the Sioux gave him the opportunity to create the appearance

at least of an obligation on their part by which a grant of land might be justified. Also, any Chippewa grant would likely have been made to Captain James Tute, who was in command of the expedition as it moved northward through their territory. Carver was its only member who wintered among the Western Sioux. The closest Carver got to having the Chippewa under any obligation to him was in his *Travels*, p.63, where he noted that they would like to have someone like him come and live between the two nations to keep them at peace. He was referring here to the area of his "grant," but he did not mention it. And this is a late addition to his text, subsequent to the fourth and last known manuscript version. In his journal, he referred to his peace-keeping efforts which both sides applauded.

The shallowness of the grant's legality is apparent in the chiefs' failure to assert at any point that the land is theirs to grant: "We Chiefs of the Naudowessie, who have hereto set our seals, do by these presents, for our selves and heirs forever . . . give, grant, and convey to him, the said Jonathan [Carver], and to his heirs and assigns forever, the whole of a certain tract or territory of land bounded as follows . . . reserving for our selves and heirs the sole Liberty of hunting and fishing on land not planted or improved by the said Jonathan. . . ." Only with difficulty can one imagine Western Sioux, who had known one English American for some six months, speaking in this typical English legalese. Their comprehension of their "liberty" to hunt and fish on land they hardly dared venture into is beyond belief.

In summary, one can only see this grant as an idea brought forward by Carver in a time of extreme need, with a view to selling rights in it as a long-range speculation in land that might turn out to be near the location of the Northwest Passage, being sought in latitudes just to the north and west of it. And he may have had some success. Indeed, if Samuel Peters is to be believed at all, we may credit his report of 1805: "I find Captain Carver Sold a Quarter of the whole to R. Smith—and two thirds of the whole to A.B.C. and D. and gave deeds accordingly."<sup>16</sup> Peters' honor is questionable in his relationship to the grant, but he was the most active promoter of its validity, and there is no reason to question his statement, now that a copy of the deed in Carver's hand has been found and in a context indicating his intended use of it.

### THE GRANT OF MINES

Carver's reference in his June 27, 1775, letter to his futile search for "copies of the original petitions for a grant of the Royal Mines in a certain district of North America" was surely another effort at a money raising enterprise, and the presence of such a petition in the Whitworth Papers, in Carver's hand but unsigned, leaves us to conjecture whether he found it in a continued search and copied it, or subsequently reconstructed it from memory. Mineral deposits had interested him in his western travels, and he was not alone in that interest. Robert Rogers had promoted mining in northern Michigan in association with Alexander Henry, Rogers having secured a grant of land from the Indians in the Ontonagon region. Henry Bostwick, a trader at Michilimackinac, was



Detail of map in Carver's *Travels* with reference to Lake Superior copper deposits

associated with Alexander Baxter, who had come out from London to Michilimackinac with mineral prospecting in mind. When Carver sent his first reports of his travels to London late in 1767, it was Baxter who carried them, along with papers from Rogers. Henry Bostwick sailed with him. So Carver was known to these prospectors who subsequently had petitioned the government for mining rights in the Great Lakes area.<sup>17</sup>

The petition as preserved in the Whitworth Papers is clearly a trial run. Addressed "To the Kings Most Excellent Majesty in Council," it begins: "The petition of \_\_\_\_\_, Most Humbly Sheweth, That your petitioner apprehends there is, in the unsettled part of North America, within Your Majesty's Province of Quebec, some mines, and rich ores, that are, at present, in a state of obscurity, which when discovered, might be made very servicable to Your Majesty. . . ." The petition states that a royal grant of these undiscovered mines "to able proprietors" would insure against their being lost to "stragling parties who may have it in their power, as they are frequently traversing those parts, not under inspection of government, to make a property of the same to themselves. . . ." The petitioner therefore requests a royal grant "of all and every of the Royal Mines, or ores of gold and silver, that are at this time or may hereafter be discovered, within the following limits or boundaries. . . ." These boundaries are the northern bank of the Illinois River from its juncture with the Mississippi to the source of the Illinois; from there to the southwest corner

of Lake Michigan; and from there on a line to the west end of Green Bay; and from that point on a line to the west end of Lake Superior and northward from there to fifty degrees; then westward to the line of longitude which represents the general westwardness of the Mississippi from forty degrees to its source. The objective here is clear: to monopolize all mining of precious metals in the northwestern part of the North American empire. The petitioner offers to pay one tenth of the net produce of all mines which would be opened and operated in this region.

The petition ends in an incomplete sentence, and this, together with its anonymity, and its use of "Quebec" as the name for the region, confirms its nature as an early draft of an exploratory piece in Carver's efforts to produce a project that would gain him employment or money. It did not, I believe, get beyond this preliminary stage.

### THE DISTILLERY PROJECT

The other "suggestions that may in part be proper to form another petition upon" offered by Carver to Whitworth in the enclosure with his June 27, 1775, letter show more creativity than the land grant. They comprise a proposal for an enterprise, to be based on Lake Pepin, in which Carver was to be a participant. Others were to supply the capital. His appraisal of its potential success begins with a review of the natural resources of the area.

"Lake Pepin is about twenty miles in length, and five broad, through which the Mississippi runs, and is about two thousand miles by its course from the entrance into the Gulph of Mexico, and nearly the same distance westerly from Quebec, Boston and New York. Is situated between forty two and forty three degrees of north latitude. The country round has very spacious plains and meadows open and fit for immediate cultivation, a plenty of rice of a spontaneous growth, numerous droves of buffaloe, elk, deer and other quadrupeeds, with fowl and fish in their seasons, likewise beaver, otter, mink, martins, sable, and musk rats. Near this place are very large groves of maple, with the sap of which the Indians make great quantities of sugar. The country abounds with grapes of a good sort sufficient for any quantity of brandy."

This appraisal of the land is in keeping with Carver's journal statements. In the original draft of the journal, he reports more briefly on it, citing islands of "large and good land" in the lake; and "on each side is several open plains covered with grass"; he reports "the valleys have some groves of trees, chiefly oak and walnut." In enlarging upon this in his revision of the journal for publication he is more exuberant, citing abundance of wild animals and fowl, concluding that this area "might well contain to sixty or eighty thousand settlers."

In continuing his appraisal for Whitworth's perusal, in the draft from the Clements Library's Whitworth Papers, Carver cites two thousand Indian hunters in the area, who could supply a fur-trading operation there with 200,000 pounds of furs per year, "besides skins, horns, and other articles, which will easily raft down the Mississippi to West Florida."

In reviewing French trade in the Lake Pepin area, Carver observed that they "never attempted the very lucrative part, of making spirituous, or strong drink, by reason of its being contrary to the doctrine of their missionaries to sell such to the Indians." Acknowledging the ideals of the churchmen, Carver went on to the realities of merchandising: "But notwithstanding some has been carried as far as this place, tho two thousand miles of difficult carriage [from the West Indies], and sold to good advantage." He went on to contend that "upwards of two thousand gallons of rum and brandy can be made [on] the spot as cheap as in the West Indies," thereby avoiding transportation costs at an estimated saving of two thousand percent, in addition to which there would be the advantage of "having it on the spot at the most convenient time for sale." Carver estimated that every gallon of spirits would produce ten pounds worth of goods in London. Thus an annual income of £20,000 to "the company" was a distinct possibility, and more was likely, but it must be managed so as not to "overstock the market so as to lower the price." The appraisal drifted into the concept of "the company," and that agency would be well supplied with provisions for operations on Lake Pepin by the abundance of fowl, fish, meat, and products of the fertile soil.

This appraisal, which Carver sent to Whitworth, was, directly or indirectly, the source for Dr. Lettsom in his preface to the 1781 *Travels*. He follows the description of Lake Pepin's environs closely, but holds back from the distillery aspect somewhat. "It may be doubted in a moral if not in a political view, whether such a traffic of rendering the means of inebriation more easily attainable, should meet with the encouragement of the legislature." Carver was dead when these words were published, and so, in fact, was any likelihood that the British legislature would ever have anything to say about future developments at Lake Pepin. Dr. Lettsom also dropped the reference to the West Florida outlet for northwestern products, noted below, for reasons less apparent.

Carver offered the following proposal for turning opportunity into profit. A capital stock of £4,000 would launch the enterprise, which would require eighteen months after a westward departure from Montreal to produce a return of goods to London. Low quality furs and skins—buffalo, bear, deer, etc.—should be rafted down the Mississippi to Pensacola and Mobile, "and from thence shipped for the colonies for sale as the company may think best." How the furs were to be transported from the Mississippi River to Mobile or Pensacola is not discussed. Goods shipped "for the colonies" presumably means to east coast ports and the West Indies. High quality furs, beaver primarily, were to be sent to Montreal to be forwarded to London, or elsewhere, depending upon opportunity for profitable sale.

The "residing partners" at Lake Pepin should dispense trade goods as the business required and should annually give notice of further requirements of trade goods to carry on the enterprise. This resident cadre was to consist of "about 32, besides conductors, clerks, etc., the common men to be hired by the year or during the companys time of trading at that place, and such men as are

used to navigating the lakes and rivers, and trading with the Indians."

At the head of the operation was to be Carver himself, "who was lately employed in taking surveys at Lake Pepin, and the heads of the Mississippi, and was adopted a chief of the Naudowessie a powerful nation to whom this country belongs, whose general knowledge in Indian affairs and extraordinary influence over the nations in those parts will likely render the situation of trade more safe than any one else." His second in command was to be Peter Fowler, whose duties would include superintending the distillery.<sup>18</sup>

The remainder of the administration would be two representatives of the stockholders, who would keep the records of finances and act as advisors to Carver and Fowler in council. In all meetings of this council, Carver was to have two votes. Records of council were to be kept in writing and signed by council members. As for distribution of profits: "those who supply the stock for the proposed trade, shall receive one moiety of the neat proceeds of all the trade and advantages of trade that may arise both from the sale of English goods, and from the liquors made at that place or carried there."

The stockholders, in agreement with Carver and Fowler, were to appoint agents to transact business for the company, and these agents were to keep regular accounts and report their transactions back to the stockholders. The investment of the stockholders was to be for a five-year period, and no stockholder was to withdraw his stock with less than a year's notice, or eighteen months from the beginning of operations. In the matter of distribution of profits, Carver was somewhat vague, allowing that the stockholders might deduct their investment and the profits on it "at a time when the situation of the company may be most convenient," and these profits "shall be equally divided between the proprietors of the said stock and the conductors of the trade, their several heirs and assigns, all which may be more fully agreed upon by the company in their more particular contracts hereafter."

To those provisions for the conduct of the company's affairs, Carver added a *nota bene*, allowing the conductors (major administrators, presumably) and the council members to make as much liquor for private use "as they may have real occasion for," without compensating the company, but "hired men" were to pay for their liquor supplies at a price to be set by the council.

It was a grand scheme, notably short on specifics. How was distilling equipment to be transported to the upper Mississippi? Building rafts capable of a downriver voyage to the Gulf of Mexico would have been a major undertaking, and the rafting not less so. Producing 2,000 gallons of liquor from wild grapes must have called forth a great crew of pickers—presumably Indian women, who had other things to do in the tribal economy. And if rum was to be made from maple sugar, the primary industry of collecting and boiling sap had to be perfected first. One is left wondering if the grand object was to build a distilling industry in the far northwest or to find opportunistic investors who might unwittingly provide Jonathan Carver with a means of returning to North America.

We do not know what questions Richard Whitworth asked of Carver's pro-

posals. But out of the distillery and land grant schemes, Whitworth made a try at formulating a petition to George III. Undated and unsigned, the draft petition found in his papers probably never got beyond this preliminary stage. It begins: "To the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council. The Humble Petition of Richard Whitworth, Esquire. Shew: That your Majesties Petitioner being well informed that a very advantageous trade may be carried on at some of the head branches of the river Mississippi in North America, with the natives of that place, which trade will consist of valuable furs and skins which may be purchased with merchandize of the manufactory of Great Britain. . . ." Using trade as the selling point and distance as the chief obstacle to its development, Whitworth goes on to propose the enterprise for trade as a civilizing influence among the Indians, inducing them "to observe a proper subordination as leige subjects to Your Majesties government," with the added benefit to "inculcate religious as well as moral principles among such natives." Whitworth chose not to mention the distillery project. But he went on to ask for royal assistance in the form of a grant of land, within Carver's grant, but without mention of Carver. Whitworth asked that he be given a tract extending eastward thirty miles from the mouth of the Chippewa River, then northward on a line parallel to the Mississippi River "to a place on the north west side of the river St. Croix; from whence a line may be drawn west to a place on the northward side of the river Mississippi opposite the north side of the entrance of the river St. Pierre into the river Mississippi." This slice of land lying along the east bank of the Mississippi would have been thirty miles broad at its southern base, about fifteen miles across at its northern end, a small fraction of the land claimed in Carver's grant. No reason can be adduced for these dimensions unless Carver had others interested in the remaining portions, or wished to keep it for himself, and the allocation to Whitworth was his fee for the assistance he was giving Carver. It was land Carver had seen and admired. Whitworth returns to the purpose of his petition: ". . . for the purposes of effecting a settlement and such other matters\* as your petitioner his heirs or assigns shall think necessary, for carrying on a trade with the natives. . . ." The asterisk is not followed in the petition by any expansion upon "other matters," but it suggests a point in the petition that Whitworth thought subject to greater detail, and may be an unwritten allusion to the distillery project.

Whitworth's petition is not known to have come before the council, and it surely would not have been presented in this form, with its four attempts at spelling "parallel" and the asterisk unexplained. As Robert Rogers' proposal for a Northwest Passage expedition faded from sight, with the American Revolution becoming the dominant concern of British-American affairs, so such proposals as Whitworth's would have seemed irrelevant to the then current North American scene. Carver, with Whitworth's assistance, found other things to sustain him, and in his letter to Whitworth written December 30, 1775, he makes no mention of land grants, mines, or distilleries, as he writes, "I have the pleasure to enclose you a letter from Major Rogers. It plainly appears that the Major has taken no other but the Royal part and is yet

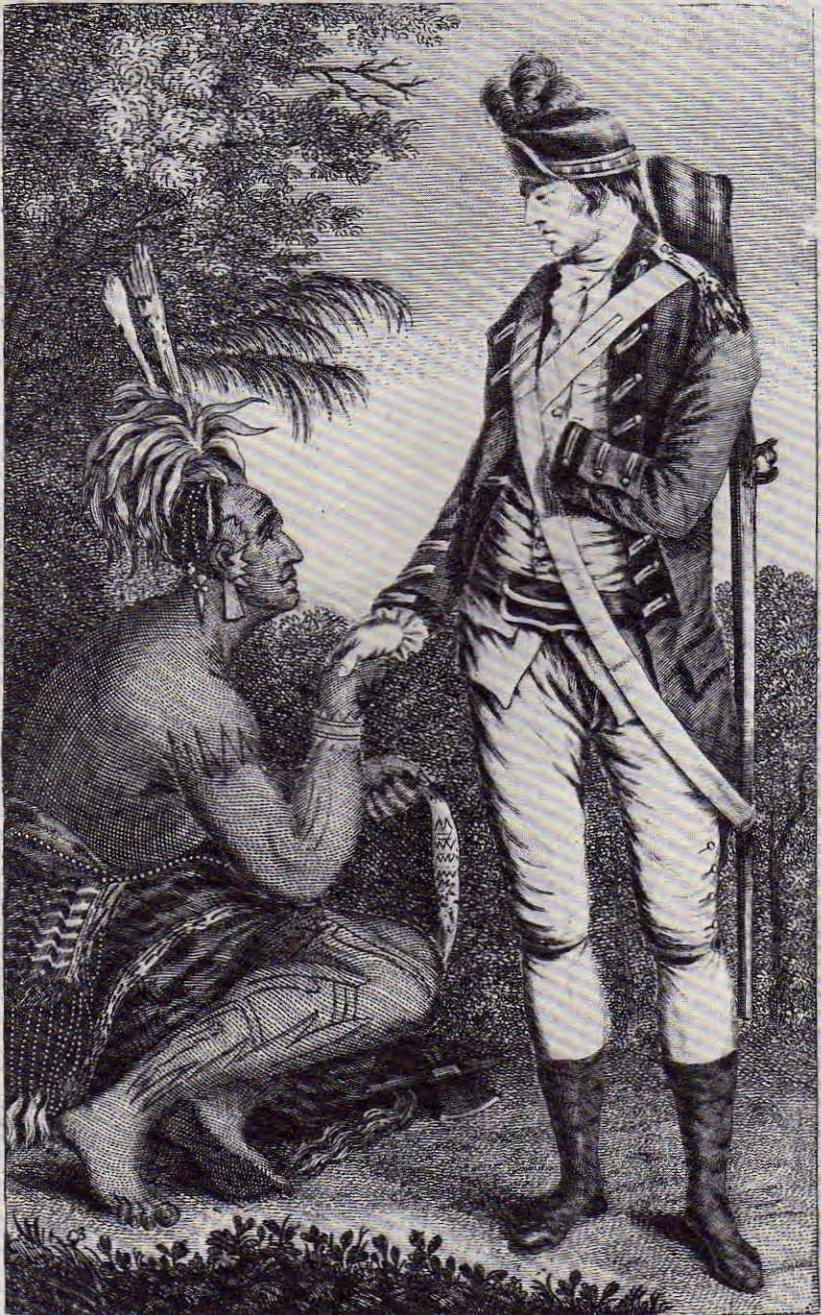
fully engag'd in pursute of the Northwestern Discoveries. I hope you had a pleasant journey to Batchacre, and continue in good health."

The Whitworth Papers contain no subsequent communications from Carver. Until his death on January 31, 1780, he was largely engaged in map making and in publishing. He died in extreme poverty, we are told by Dr. Lettsom, his various proposals for the upper Mississippi unproductive, but his *Travels* a success, being the only reason he is remembered.

## NOTES

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2. George E. Lewis, *The Indiana Company, 1763-1798* (Glendale, Calif., 1941).
3. Louis K. Koontz, *Robert Dinwiddie, His Career in American Colonial Government and Westward Expansion* (Glendale, Calif., 1941).
4. Kenneth P. Bailey, *The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement* (Glendale, Calif., 1939).
5. John R. Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* (New York, 1959), pp. 138-140.
6. Volwiler, pp. 296-299.
7. John Parker, ed., *The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents* (St. Paul, Minn., 1976), p. 11.
8. Volwiler, pp. 170-172.
9. A biographical sketch of Whitworth is in Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The History of Parliament. The House of Commons, 1754-1790*. 3 vols. (London, 1964) 3:634-635.
10. Parker, pp. 23-24.
11. Lewis, p. 140.
12. Biographical sketch of Paul Wentworth, *Dictionary of American Biography*.
13. The Tennis Court Coffee House was variously described in the eighteenth century as being located "in the Cockpit, Whitehall"; "near Treasury Passage, Whitehall"; and "at the northern end of the tennis court near Treasury Passage." References to it are recorded from 1708 to 1812. Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses* (London, 1963), p. 572.
14. Parker, p. 25.
15. Milo M. Quaife, "Jonathan Carver and the Carver Grant," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June, 1920) 7:3-25. The grant was invalidated in January, 1825, by a House of Representatives committee on private land claims.
16. Quaife, pp. 7-13.
17. Cuneo, pp. 138-140; Parker, p. 19.
18. The identity of Peter Fowler remains unknown. He was probably an American, like Carver, in London seeking passage home.





Major General L. Rogers

## *North West Passage Revisited*

Edited by  
JOHN C. DANN

THE publication of Kenneth Roberts' *Northwest Passage* (1937) stands as one of the greatest achievements in American historical fiction. Roberts had the unusual ability as a novelist to satisfy lay readers and historians alike. His own experiences as war correspondent and intelligence officer in World War I and the Siberian campaign of 1919-20 had given him a sure feel for the timeless features of army life. His love of his native Maine wilderness and coastlines had enriched his portraits of the magnificence and the harsh realities of the rugged terrain and climate of the country inhabited by his literary personae. He was a consummate researcher, who never embarked upon an historical tale without mining libraries and archives, collecting every historical fact he could lay his hands on.

On the surface, *Northwest Passage* was an improbable title for what was essentially a biographical study of Robert Rogers. The most noteworthy action of the book was the St. Francis raid of 1757, a daring exploit of the French and Indian War. The reader is well into the book before the Northwest Passage theme, a project close to Rogers' heart for taking an overland expedition of his trusted Rangers by way of the Great Lakes to the Pacific to explore the northwestern coast for a navigable passage into Hudson Bay, fully materializes, and it is never close to being realized.

Roberts' Robert Rogers is unforgettable to anyone who has read the book—an almost superhuman force of energy, daring, and reckless courage, a brilliant leader who inspired intense loyalty among his frontiersmen followers. At the same time, he was at times vain, somewhat pompous, careless to extreme in financial matters and family responsibilities, and, near the end of his life, a hard drinker. While he moved boldly for a time in the highest circles in London, he always retained the rough edges of a frontiersman, and his lack of refinement clearly alienated those of a more correct outlook and upbringing. His latter years in England, some of them spent in prison, seem to have been a pathetic end to a brilliant, heroic career as Commandant of the Rangers in the French and Indian War.

From a literary point of view, the Northwest Passage idea served Roberts as the ennobling dream of an otherwise, often flawed character, which neither General Gage, portrayed as a small-minded bureaucrat, nor Sir William Johnson, a jealous, avaricious petty tyrant, nor even Robert Rogers' inherent defects, nor his later misfortunes, could kill. In the novel, Rogers' Northwest Passage was the timeless search of the exceptional individual for a goal far greater than himself; as Roberts said in the Foreword, "On every side of us are men who hunt perpetually for their personal Northwest Passage, too often sacrificing health, strength, and life itself to the search; and who shall say they

are not happier in their vain but hopeful quest than wiser, duller folks who sit at home, venturing nothing and, with sour laughs, deriding the seekers for that fabled thoroughfare?"

What are the known facts concerning Robert Rogers' quest for this fabled sea route to the north of the American continent, unconquerable except by submarine, and unconquered until the mid-twentieth century, which captivated the attention of explorers for four hundred years? In the fall of 1761, Rogers was in North Carolina, where he met and favorably impressed Governor Arthur Dobbs, who unsuccessfully petitioned William Pitt to appoint Rogers as British Commissioner for Indian Affairs for the Southern Department. Dobbs had been obsessed with finding the Northwest Passage, backed two expeditions to Hudson Bay in the 1740s, and published books and pamphlets on the subject in which he laid particular blame on the Hudson's Bay Company for denying him success. While no clear documentation of Dobbs' direct influence on Rogers has yet come to light, the criticism of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly in the first document edited here clearly suggests Dobbs' influence on Rogers' thinking. Less than half a year after their meeting, Rogers advertised over a Charleston, South Carolina dateline in Boston and New York newspapers for subscribers of a four-volume set of his memoirs, which would include "some proposals for the Discovery of the North-West-Passage by Land."

In 1765, while in England, Rogers submitted a petition to "the Kings most Excellent Majesty and his Ministers" for funding a three-year expedition of 229 officers and men to cross the continent by way of the Great Lakes, the headwaters of the Mississippi, and the Ouragon River, to explore the "Western Margin" northward until the passage into Hudson Bay was found. The projected cost of the expedition, £32,182, rendered it an unlikely luxury in a nation deeply concerned with indebtedness incurred by the Seven Years War. Although it received close attention and elicited considerable support among prominent British politicians, it died on the tables of ministerial committees.

One particular of the proposal, requesting Rogers' appointment as "Governor Commandant of His Majesty's Garrison of Michlimakana" was acted upon. The appointment proved to be his undoing for life. He incurred vast indebtedness, which would later send him to prison in London, and the jealous wrath of Sir William Johnson and General Gage, who had him removed from command, brutally imprisoned, and court-martialed, although he was later acquitted. During his brief tenure, he did commission Jonathan Carver, James Tute, and James Stanley Goddard to conduct explorations to the northwest coast. Carver made it only to present-day Minnesota, but this was later used by Rogers to bolster the practicality of his proposals.

Rogers was deeply involved in clearing himself at the court-martial, politicking in London against Johnson and Gage, and evading creditors in the five years after the Michilimackinac fiasco, but on February 11, 1772, he submitted a revised petition to "the King's most excellent Majesty in Council." Greatly trimming his projected force to 58 persons and his budget almost in

half, he now proposed starting at Schenectady, traveling by way of the Mohawk, Lake Oneida, the Onondaga River to the Great Lakes, the "Sakis," Wisconsin, Mississippi, St. Pierre (Minnesota), Missouri, and "Ourigan" Rivers. After exploring the northwest coast, he proposed returning by way of Siberia and Russia to Great Britain! Like the 1765 petition, it received the encouragement of several influential men, made the rounds of various committees, and then died without funding. Rogers shortly thereafter went to debtors prison.

Until the recently acquired Whitworth Papers came to light, the only suggestion that scholars have had that Rogers' Northwest Passage expedition proposal surfaced again was in the appendix of Jonathan Carver's *Travels* (1778), where he outlined Rogers' plan, although characteristically failing to give him credit, indicating that Whitworth, he, and Rogers had made serious plans in 1774 to undertake the expedition. He indicated that "the grants and other requisites for this purpose, were even nearly completed, when the present troubles in America began, which put a stop to an enterprize that promised to be of inconceivable advantage to the British dominions." John Cuneo, in a footnote to his biography of Robert Rogers (the footnotes were not published in the book, but the typescript exists at the Clements Library), also noted the intriguing but unexplainable fact that the printed copy of the 1772 petition in the archives of the Foreign Office has a manuscript endorsement date of 1775.

The Whitworth Papers include five documents and a number of letters by Rogers which provide considerable detail on the Northwest Passage proposal, making it clear that the project was revived in early 1775, and, incidentally, giving us new insight on Robert Rogers' intentions and activities when he returned to America in the summer of 1775 until he joined the British army in July of 1776. This has always been a very shadowy period in his career, which has been subject to a variety of contradictory interpretations.

Richard Whitworth, as a member of Parliament, did have the potential, at least in Rogers' and Carver's eyes, to be of some influence and support. In the appendix to his *Travels* (1778), Carver describes Whitworth as "a gentleman of an extensive knowledge in geography, of an active enterprizing disposition, and whose benevolent mind is ever ready to promote the happiness of individuals, or the welfare of the public," who, "from the representations made to him of the expediency of it by myself and others, intended to travel across the continent of America." The enactment of a Parliamentary award of £20,000 to the discoverer of a Northwest Passage in 1775, which Whitworth may have had inside information about some months before its formal enactment, may have been the inspiration for the Whitworth-Rogers and Whitworth-Carver acquaintance and undoubtedly created new enthusiasm for Rogers' proposal, which had failed twice previously.

There simply is not sufficient correspondence, none by Whitworth himself, to be certain whether Carver or Rogers made the acquaintance of Whitworth first. It probably was Carver, because as was true in most of their dealings over

the past decade, Rogers could be far more useful to Carver than *vice versa*, and it would have served his purposes to bring Rogers and Whitworth together.

Whatever Rogers' misfortunes of the past few years, his name still commanded a degree of respect and awe. Even his bitter enemies conceded that in trekking through the wilderness, in crossing through hostile Indian territory and living off the land, he had no equal. Whitworth apparently had a personal interest in participating in such an expedition. Carver's primary interest seems to have centered on the land encompassed in his deed and the various real estate, trade, mining, and manufacturing schemes associated with it. By bringing Rogers together with Whitworth, Carver would have provided the latter with a preexisting, well-thought-out proposal for a Northwest expedition, a name which still might attract influential support, a natural leader for the exploring party, and, incidentally, a means for accomplishing his own projects, in which he had involved Whitworth. Rogers, on the other hand, had nothing to gain by associating Carver with his Northwest expedition, other than to curry favor with Whitworth, and while Carver mentions Rogers in one of his letters to Whitworth, Rogers never mentions Carver.

His enthusiasm aroused by the prospect of discovering the Northwest Passage with Rogers, thereby claiming the Parliamentary prize, and achieving financial gain through the land and commercial ventures Carver had suggested, Whitworth began buying books and collecting information from persons who might be party to the expedition proposed for the spring of 1776.

Rogers, who seems to have met Whitworth for the first time in May, 1775, pulled out and recopied verbatim for Whitworth the 1772 Northwest Passage petition, making no revisions similar to those he had made between the 1765 and 1772 versions. What he did do, however, was draw up five new documents, one in letter form and four in the form of draft memoranda, which clearly were aimed at providing Whitworth with facts and arguments for defending the proposal in its existing form, incentives for attracting broad support, and guidelines for shaping the final form of ministerial instructions to insure the project's success when sanctioned and funded by the government.

Rogers had only emerged from Fleet Prison in August, 1774. He undoubtedly appreciated that his own reputation was too thoroughly tarnished to lobby successfully for the proposal himself, as he had done in 1765 and in 1772. Whitworth was not a particularly fortunate patron, however enthusiastic he may have been for the project. He was not a figure of political prominence in the House of Commons, he lacked influential ministerial connections, and it is

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JOURNALS

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Major ROBERT ROGERS:

CONTAINING

An Account of the several Excursions he made under the Generals who commanded upon the Continent of NORTH AMERICA, during the late War.

From which may be collected

The most material Circumstances of every Campaign upon that Continent, from the Commencement to the Conclusion of the War.



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MDCCLXXV.

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doubtful he could have achieved success in getting funding for Rogers', Carver's, or his own proposals, even had the American Revolution not intervened. The Northwest Passage expedition of Robert Rogers was as hopeless in 1775 as it had been in previous years. But Rogers, like Carver, was financially desperate and at heart an eternal optimist. At least someone was excited about his proposals, which had not been the case for a number of years, and Rogers threw himself into the scheme with his accustomed enthusiasm.

Rogers was not a genius, certainly not given to contemplation or abstract thought, but he did have a good and inquiring mind, a sincere interest in geographical and natural discovery, and an attractively naive, modest style of writing. However careless he may have been in financial matters at certain stages in his career, when it came to exercising command in the field, or planning an expedition such as that projected for the North West, he showed clear organizational ability.

Within a month of composing the documents published here, along with the letter accompanying Professor Moerman's article to be found elsewhere in this issue, Robert Rogers sailed from Gravesend on June 4, 1775, and arrived in Maryland in August, leaving the politics of securing the support for the Northwest expedition in Richard Whitworth's hands.

As was true with other travelers from Britain at this period who have left records of their impressions, Rogers was taken by surprise when he observed the degree to which Americans were excited by the political events associated with the coming of the Revolution and the depth of hostility against the Mother Country. There is every reason to believe that a primary reason for his return to America was to recruit volunteers and support for the proposed expedition. He would have quickly discovered that his former Rangers, a group of rather tough characters who were quick to resent insult from any quarter, were largely among the ranks of the violently disaffected Americans who were quite ready to shoulder arms against Great Britain.

Rogers' movements between August, 1775, and June, 1776, mystified Revolutionary committees, Continental Congress, and Washington himself, as they have historians since. He was spotted in Pennsylvania, New York, New Hampshire, and New Jersey. He was suspected of holding a British military commission and spying, and was picked up and questioned on several occasions but released on parole. While in New York, he visited Royal Governor Tryon.

His peregrinations were, in part at least, motivated by his ever-pressing necessity of improving his financial situation, as is documented by correspondence with his wife. Contrary to the belief of Washington and the Revolutionary committees, as well as later historians such as Allan Nevins, there is no evidence to suggest that he had any desire or intention to join the British army to fight *in America* until he was virtually forced to take that course of action by being imprisoned in June, 1776. As John Cuneo argues, he seems to have honored his paroles, swearing not to take up arms or abet the enemy, until his arrest.

The Whitworth Papers contain three letters of Rogers to Whitworth written after his return to America. On September 24, 1775, from New York, Rogers wrote:

I had not been long in America before I was made a prisoner of War, and obliged to Sign my Parole not to Act against them during the present Contest between Great Britain and America, otherwise go into Prison, the latter I have had too much of already, but I have leave by this Parole to go to any part of the Different Colonies I please of to Great Britain.

I am exceedingly chagrin'd at my present Situation and the more so on Account of our intended Expedition for the discovery of the North West passage, as the present times will not permit it to be carried on unless affairs were Settled between the Mother Country and her Colonies. For in the present Situation of affairs every man wou'd be made prisoners.

A week later, on October 3, 1775, Rogers again wrote Whitworth from New York:

The pleasing expectation when I left London of being favoured with your Company next Spring on a Tour thro' North America in Quest of a North West Passage seems on my Arrival here to be disappointed by the great Confusion and troubles which appear in most parts of America, but as I set out with a full intention to prepare matters for the undertaking I shall hold myself in readiness and Consult with such persons whom I may find proper to be Employed in the Business, tho' I fear that without a Reconciliation between Great Britain & her Colonies nothing can be done therein to Effect. I have great reason to wish for such a reconciliation having not the least Dependance here Except the above Business shou'd be carried into Execution, & if it shou'd miscarry I must crave your friendly Interest in getting me into the East India Companys Service, a Pension from Government, or some Employ that will enable me to support myself & Family. If affairs shou'd be settled so as to produce Peace in America, the Instructions for engaging persons proposed or any other you Command will come Safe to my hands under Cover to His Excellency Govr. Tryon.

There is, in the Whitworth Papers, a brief note from Jonathan Carver, still in London, dated December 30, 1775, which apparently forwarded either the September or October Rogers to Whitworth letter, or another Rogers letter now lost, which says, "It plainly appears that the Majr. has taken no other than the Royal part And is Yet fully engag'd in pursute of the Northwestern Discoveries." What he probably meant by this was that Rogers had not joined the American army, as suggested by contemporary rumors in London, even as late as September, 1776.

In his last surviving letter to Whitworth, also from New York, dated February 22, 1776, Rogers communicated that:

I sincerely wish you might be one of the comisioners should any be sent to this cuntry to settle those disagrable Broyls. I am not at liberty to write any particulars, but hope one day to have the happiness to persue that much wishd for tour through North america, for the Discovery of the Interior cuntry, but by no means attempt it by the way of the mississippi. Partys are sent that way to intrupt any party, that go that way.

These letters do not provide as much detail on Rogers' movements as one would like, and they are written to a patron he wished to please. But there is no reason not to believe Rogers when he suggests that the quest for the Northwest Passage was his motive for returning to America. He viewed the American Revolution as a disagreeable impediment to his primary object, clearly not as an opportunity for further military employment against his native land. His frequent visits to Gov. Tryon, which rendered him so suspect in the eyes of Washington, can be more fully explained when it is realized that the Governor was his appointed means of communication with Whitworth. When he does mention alternative employment, should the war render the exploring expedition impractical, the clear indication is that he was not considering military service in America.

Rogers could not, of course, divulge his Northwest scheme to the Revolutionary War committees and officers who periodically questioned him between August, 1775, and June, 1776. Without the knowledge of what his principle mission was, it is not surprising that Washington and Congress saw treason, in his secretiveness and his constant movement, where there was none.

Kenneth Roberts chose his subject well, in making Robert Rogers the central figure of *Northwest Passage*. He was such a remarkable individual, a backwoodsman of modest origins, who rose to international prominence on the basis of exceptional abilities and charismatic personality. In his publications and in his proposals for the North West expedition, he displayed exceptional ambition and a broad vision which did surpass the smaller minds of men like Gage and Johnson and most of the generation of British politicians who failed to act upon the project.

Rogers' career does have a strong element of tragedy associated with it. Kenneth Roberts portrays him as a classic tragic figure, magnificent, but brought down by inherent flaws in his character. Roberts based his assessment largely on Allan Nevins' biography, the only one then available. Nevins' study is based upon superb research in primary sources and is beautifully written. But there were vitally important sources not available to him, particularly the Gage Papers and additional personal letters from Rogers to his wife. John Cuneo thoroughly mined these collections at the Clements Library, had access to a more complete record of the Rogers' court-martial than Nevins, and uncovered many new bits and pieces in court records and newspapers. Jeffrey

Amherst, Rogers' primary patron, had first sowed the seeds of Rogers' indebtedness by disallowing certain seemingly reasonable expenses associated with the Rangers during the French and Indian War. Cuneo conclusively proved that Gage, from the beginning, had an aversion to, and perhaps jealousy of Rogers which was deep, personal, unfair, and unrelenting. He took every opportunity to defame Rogers' character, to turn subordinates and superiors against him, to entrap him, and to destroy him financially. Rogers was exonerated in his court-martial, but, in the long run, Gage sufficiently blackened Rogers' reputation and encumbered him with such enormous debt as to destroy his career.

Robert Rogers was not a saint, but there is no concrete evidence to suggest that he was an extraordinary sinner either. The basic problem for the historian is that most of the documentation of Rogers' personal character is to be found in statements of enemies—remarkably vicious enemies at that. He had been slightly involved with a counterfeiter as a very young man, but not in a way which suggests more than a youthful and sincerely regretted indiscretion. In an age when alcohol, in large quantities, was a normal part of daily diet, there is no reliable documentation that he was unusually addicted to excess until quite late in life. Although accused of being a womanizer, largely on the basis of an obscure phrase in a divorce petition filed by his wife in 1778, after he had joined the British army, there is no proof or even clear hint of sexual scandal in his life.

His various land and business schemes, hardly exceptional for military and political officials in the eighteenth century, were motivated by a desire to relieve himself of an extraordinary burden of indebtedness incurred during legitimate public service. His mercenary, or acquisitive tendencies and talents, while there, paled in comparison to men like Sir William Johnson, or, for that matter, George Washington, and he obviously was neither talented enough, nor interested enough to be any good at lining his own pockets. His fault, in financial matters, was not his extraordinary interest in them, but his failure to pay them sufficient attention. It is a quality which men who are careful with money, such as Gage, tend to view as a serious moral defect. Robert Rogers' god was not money, but action, and gaining the authority, the freedom, and the support to embark upon grand adventures and discoveries which would gain international respect and fame.

There obviously was some quality in Rogers' makeup which aroused strong feelings of hostility in certain people. Common soldiers and average men loved him, the Indians were in awe, and his Rangers were intensely loyal. London society, including the leading politicians and military officers of the 1760s, found him interesting and amusing, and they took him sufficiently seriously to write glowing letters of recommendation. Rogers obviously enjoyed adulation and had something of the demagogue in him, and it was probably this quality, along with the fact that as a poor boy from New Hampshire he had dared to forget "his place" in society, to go over the heads of his officers to the center of imperial power, to establish a popular following with his publications, to build

a personal base of power with his men and with the Indians irrespective of the chain of command, which brought out such deep hostility on the part of a number of his military superiors in America.

In a private letter of January 13, 1766, to Sir William Johnson, in the Schoff Collection at the Clements Library, Gage criticized Rogers for being "wild, vain, of little understanding, and of as little Principle, but withal has a share of Cunning, No Modesty or veracity and sticks at Nothing." The same choice of words might have been applied to Julius Caesar or Franklin Roosevelt by their bitter enemies! Men like Rogers, who are careless of protocol, procedure, and time-honored "principles," who dare to establish their own bases of power and play to the crowd, have always threatened men like Gage or Johnson. From the Gage-Johnson perspective, Rogers was indeed a danger to the system they had created and honestly believed in.

Robert Rogers' crimes were not, in the normal sense of the term, immorality or dishonesty. These attributions were products of the character assassination plot engineered by Gage and Johnson to destroy Rogers' career, although, in fact, from their perspective he was both immoral and dishonest. His real faults were to think in too large terms for a mere American frontiersman, to openly challenge "the system," to be too ambitious. He certainly paid the price for his audacity.

Allan Nevins and Kenneth Roberts, while not hostile to their protagonist, based upon the sources available to them at the time, accepted the portrayal of Rogers as given to excess, and they describe the man who emerged from Fleet Prison in August, 1774, as broken by years of debauchery, mentally and emotionally but a shell of his former glory. The once proud man was pictured as willing to sell his soul to anyone or any party which could provide him with employment, a salary, and alcohol. The Whitworth Papers documents of May, 1775, suggest otherwise.

One of the five documents, the letter of May 8, 1775, which makes it possible to date the others, is edited separately with the next article because of its specialized content. The four documents published here are a memorandum arguing why the overland expedition by the Great Lakes-Missouri-Oregon route was superior to all others (perhaps, in part, an effort to compete with Cook's third voyage for governmental support?), a "Memorandum for forming Instructions for the intended Expedition," which was aimed at eliminating potential interference from the likes of Gage and Johnson, a draft of "Instructions for Major Robert Rogers," which he would use to recruit his Rangers for service, and "An Estimate of Necessaries," which is a fascinating, carefully thought out, and economical enumeration of equipment needs. The fifth document, the letter edited by Professor Moerman, which describes roots and plants in America which might be developed to medical or economic advantage, was written to interest the gentlemen scientists, such as Joseph Banks, who had such influence in supporting voyages of discovery, and to hold out something more than the questionable Northwest Passage as a potentially profitable product of the expedition.

The memorandum defending the route of travel and the letter on roots and plants are a little naive, as were all of Rogers' literary productions. But taking this group of documents as a whole, in their content, their comprehensiveness, and their motivation, it is not the product of a besotted mind or a broken man.

The Robert Rogers who embarked for his native land on June 4, 1775, was returning with all the same buoyancy of spirit, the same dreams of conquest and greatness, and the same abilities with which he had set forth on the St. Francis raid sixteen years earlier. Perhaps his health would not have been up to the journey anyway, but one cannot help thinking, if Rogers had been blessed with a more peaceful time, and with more influential supporters, had he actually embarked upon his transcontinental journey, that he would have triumphantly succeeded.

NOTE

The factual detail for this introduction is taken from: Robert Rogers, *Ponteach, or the Savages of America, A Tragedy . . . With An Introduction, and a Biography of the Author*, by Allan Nevins (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1914); Kenneth Roberts, *Northwest Passage*, 2 vol. ed., (Garden City, N.Y., 1937); John R. Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* (New York, 1959); Whitworth Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.



Memorandum for Mr. Whitworth

It is unanimously agreed that the North West Passage is to be Sought for in the Northern Latitudes, and the Men who are to bear themselves through the Fatigues of such a tedious enterprise ought to be collected from amongst those whose Constitutions from their residence in them Countrys are seasoned to those climates. They must be also Excellent markes men perfectly Acquainted with Hunting, and above all compleat in every part of the Batteau Navigation. It will therefore be very reasonable and necessary that the proposer should (from his experiences as former commandant of His Majesties Rangers in North America and knowledge of that Country) be authorized to Nominate and appoint such people as he thinks and knows to be capable of assisting in the undertaking, as they must Chiefly consist of Men that's to be procured and Collected from the back Settlements of the Middle Colonies, and as much as possible from among those whom the late War inured to those purposes.

The Route proposed is rather an Expedition by Water than otherwise, as the Portages from River to River are few and Short, and the great Lakes constitute a great part of the distance. Such Rivers as are to be Stem'd are in general tolerably practicable, and the passage where the course of Stream is to be followed, and that of the Lakes Coastwise Surprisingly quick, by an easy use of the Oar or by Sail in Case of fair Wind.

In the portages acrost from one River to another, the party parcels out their Amunition and other Stores in lots of about One hundred Weight each, & five Men to a Batteau make the carriage easy enough. Guards are Stationed at each Extemity of the distance And in this manner with tolerable weather, a portage

of Twenty miles is to be compleated in about Ten or Twelve days, especially as Indians can always be had to assist at these portages, in carrying over both the Stores Implements &c if found necessary, or if occasion requires Carts can be made on those portages and drawn with Men as the Ground is in General level.

The Country thro' which the party is to pass abounds in Deer Buffalo &c and great plenty of Game—both of the Animal and Feathered Creation, The lakes and Rivers are Stock'd with great Variety of Fish and there is plenty of wild Rice and Indian Corn to be bought of the Savages. From these circumstances it is evident that the Men will have fresh provisions at their pleasure, which will prevent any Scorbutic complaints prevailing among them, and consequently will be conducive to their good health and Constitutions: and they will be thereby enabled to persue their Journey with Spirit in quest of the passage wish'd for. And by Verging along the Western Margern of the North American Continent it will flusterate any Views or designs the Hudsons Bay Company may have to prevent the discovery, who have already applied to the Lords of His Majesty's Council for a copy of the proposers Memorial on this Subject, under a pretence of aiding and assisting in the Business, but in fact their intention was to defeat and Stagnate the Plan, and Practicability of the undertaking all in their power. The Hudsons Bay Company ingross the Lucrative Trade to themselves only by sending out four Ships a year, but if the discovery was compleated Fifty or a hundred might be Annually Employed & the Revenues of the Crown wou'd be thereby considerably augmented. Importation of Beaver and other Furrs wou'd at least be Twenty five times what it is at present. The Manufactory of Hatts which has been declining for these Twenty Years will be revived, And Trade to those unexplored parts will in short be laid open, and Government it is to be Supposed with their eyes open wou'd not suffer such a Valuable Commerce to be intirely Ingrossed by an inconsiderable tho' wealthy Company which may be carried thro' those Straits to Japan and China with the greatest ease.

It is Evidently clear that the proposer has provided for every contingency, and has, reference to every difficulty with regard to the Safety and preservation of the party and certainly of the intended discovery by the Route proposed.

It will appear to every descerning person that should Vessels be sent up Hudsons Straits along the Bay, to the Latitude of Seventy, and send Boats to reconiter the Straits in Question the Hudsons Bay Company wou'd in course send their Indians and Emissaries to obstruct the Party in their Route, and very probably destroy them all, besides the Climate being so very inhospitable will render it impossible for Vessels to remain there any length of time, and that even shou'd the party escape abovementioned obstruction, from the incessant floating of the Ice, to fly to the Southward, and consequently leave them behind, and then they wou'd inevitably perish—for it will be impossible for the Vessell to Arrive there untill the Month of June and continue there any longer than to the latter end of August in which time the party wou'd be unable to explore the Straits in Question.

Shou'd the party have provisions sufficient during the Course of the Winter, they must unavoidably, from the intense Frosts that prevail in that Country, House themselves by digging under Ground, for at Least eight Months, and all that time live on Salt Provisions and snow water, does it therefore seem consistent with reason, that those Men wou'd be after them hardships, fit for anything the Summer following, when Eat up with the Scurvey, and one half at least Dead, Whether or not can they Penetrate the Country Reconiter the Bays and Inlets, speak a single word of the Indian Tongues, or withstand the fury of the Indians shou'd they be refractory. They will be obliged, at the opening of the Spring, to coast towards our Posts in Hudsons Bay, in order as soon as possible to avoid the inhospitable climates, and another Seige of a long Winters Sufferage by living in huts under Ground.

It plainly appears that a party sent this way will have no Effect nor prove of any manner of Service but must certainly fall under the attempt.

And Whereas it may be Argued that the party may be taken on board Vessels, and in the length of a Summer reach the Straits of Anian, by running round Cape Horn, or thro' the Straits of Magaline to the South Seas, and then to coast Northwardly the Western Margern of America—But it is urged that the men will be obliged by this Route to cross the Equinoctial Line twice in the Course of their Voyage, And it is fact that they can't have or by any means procure but very little fresh provisions, And that the Ship can touch at no place after leaving our Islands in the West India Plantations Except that of Falcalns Island or the Islands of Juan Fernandes the Mandroon Islands &c which belongs to the Spaniards, and consequently if they were to touch at any of them places, they wou'd be taken by the Spaniards as they claim a right to the navigation of those Seas, by Virtue of a Grant that one of Kings of Spain had from a late Pope—but supposing the Vessel did arrive Safe at the Straits of Anian, it is not probable and beyond any manner of doubt that the Men will be by the Length of the Voyage, passing from one Climate to another Eat up with the Scurvey, and on their Arrival at the Straits of Anian, be rendered intirely unfit to face the cold Climates, and the frozen Icy Seas towards the North Pole and Hudsons Bay.

As this Argument will defeat the proposal of sending the Men by Sea it will without doubt be argued that a Ship may be sent round Cape Horn with every necessary that may be wanted to meet the party for their Wintering at the Straits of Anian, but that will be as absurd as useless, for a Ship being sent round will only alarm the Spaniards and surely will be watched by them and perhaps taken.

The proposer will want no assistance from any Vessel that might be sent to meet him at the Straits of Anian, as the party takes everything that is necessary for their own support and Safety, and depends entirely thereon, and on their knowledge of accumulating the Friendship of the Indians from place to place, and Nation to Nation, through the Country they are to pass.

And it will be Argued that the party may be Equip't at Montreal and proceed up the North or Ottawa River, and down French River to Lake Huron, as

much Shorter and nearer than the proposer has fixt his Route, but that Route is as absurd as impossible, there being Sixty Three carrying places on the Route, between Montreal and Lake Huron. English Men are not well Skill'd in managing bark Canoes, the only Vessel that can be used on that Route. It never was intended by the proposer to employ Canadeans in the service but to collect and chuse the men from amongst the Rangers that now live on the Frontiers of New York and New England, which men he has perfect Confidence and assurance in, and that they will (from often having Risqued their lives under his Command) Stand by him thro' the Course of the Expedition when Canadians wou'd not.

It will also be said that Batteaus may be provided and Built at Montreal, and that the Party may Embarke there, and ascend the River St. Laurence to Lake Oswago. This is not so Eligible nor so practicable a Route as the proposers, as there is very Rapid and Shole, water a considerable part of the way, in consequence whereof the men must Wade, and by that means Cease their Boats as it will be impossible to Row against the Stream, and as the water is very cold in the Spring of the year, it will Shrill the Men so very much, that they will when Passing the Lakes and Exposed to the Sun take the Fever and Ague. It is plain that the health of the Men is a point that must be Guarded and preserved with care, as the whole Success of the Voyage intirely depends on them, but by taking the Route the proposer has Determined upon, from Schinactady, one Month will be gained as the Spring opens much sooner on the Mohawk River, it being at Least 3 Degrees to the South of Montreal. The men wou'd take near one month to get over Lake Champain to Montreal, which wou'd be a needless Expense and great loss of time and an unnecessary fategue to the Men. But by the Mohawk River every necessary can be had from the Bordering Inhabitants, And as there is Carts and Waggon to be Hired at Fort Stanwix or Nigeria [Niagara] at a small Expense, the men will not have one half the Fatigue that they otherwise wou'd have by going through the Rifts of St. Laurence to Osswago. The Proposer having Travelled by both of those Routs, and a tolerable knowledge of those Countrys can with propriety ascertain that his method of the intended discovery, is by far the best and most practicable.

Against that by the Mouth of the Mississippi It is presum'd the Jealousy of the Bordering Savage Nations, Still under French influence by their priests &c, and the Spanish Garrison, at the Mouth of the Missouri are unsurmountable objections. The impracticability of stemming that astonishing Rapid Stream to any length stands demonstrated an absurd attempt, and Particularly Authenticated as such by his Majesty's Sloop the Nautilus, but were it otherwise our infant Settlements there wou'd not neither cou'd they Supply the proper Men that must be Seasoned for the Emence Labor of such an Enterprize; And the many changes of Climates from North to South wou'd unavoidably cause a Mortality against which the proposer has by his Route Completely provided



Memorandum for forming Instructions for the intended Expedition.

As the Plan for discovering the North West Passage was form'd from the most deliberate and Mature consideration, it will be advisable that all Orders respecting it's Execution should Originate from His Majesty and Ministers, without the Interference of any intermediate person or Authority.

That the Commander in Chief in North America, Governors of provinces thro' which the Party is to pass and all Commanding Officers of posts in the Interior part of the Country must by Virtue of the Instructions be Commanded to give every aid and assistance as Occasion may require, And that they on no Pretence or Account whatsoever Presume to Impede or Obstruct the Party in their way onwards, or on their return should it so happen. And that the Superintendants of Indian Affairs in America for the Northern Department, and their Deputies, Commissary, &c. be also commanded to give every Aid and Assistance thats necessary in their several Departments.

The proposal and Estimate are so explicit, and minutely Particularized, that Government may be enabled by refering thereto, to give orders in respect to the Route to be taken, and Conduct of the People.

And it will be necessary that each adventurers Daily pay be inserted in the Instructions, as also the Rank they are to take among each other, and that they have a reasonably Advance paid them to provide them with necessaries. It will be also proper that the Instructions in a particular manner direct the Conduct to be observed to the Commissioner or Agent that may be intrusted with the Money and Supplies for the payment and Equipment of the Party.



Instructions for Major Robert Rogers late Commandant  
of our Rangers in North America

A CONCISE  
A C C O U N T  
O F  
N O R T H A M E R I C A :

CONTAINING  
A Description of the several BRITISH COLONIES  
on that Continent, including the Islands of  
NEWFOUNDLAND, CAPE BARTON, &c.

AS TO  
Their Situation, Extent, Climate, Soil, Produce, Rite,  
Government, Religion, Profest Branches, and  
the Number of Inhabitants Supposed to be in each.

ALSO OF  
The Interior, or Western Parts of the Country, upon the  
Rivers St. LAURENCE, the MISSISSIPPI, CHESAPEAKE, and  
the Great Lakes.

To which is Supplied  
An Account of the several Nations and Tribes of Indians  
residing in those Parts, as to their Customs, Manners, Gov-  
ernment, Numbers, &c.

Containing many Useful and Entertaining Facts, never before  
related of.

By Major ROBERT ROGERS.

L O N D O N :  
Printed for the AUTHOR,  
And sold by J. MILLAR, Bookeller, near Whitehall.  
MDCCLXV.

Whereas it is thought proper by us to Employ a Number of able Bodied Men for the discovery of a North West passage from the Atlantic into the Great Pacific Ocean who are to assemble at Schenactada, and pass thro' the great Continent of North America by the way of Lakes and Rivers from that place to the Straits of Anian And from thence trace the Western Margern of that Continent up to the Latitude of      and on their way search every nook and Bay untill the passage in question is found, or evince and affirm that there is no passage at all.

And Whereas we having an intire confidence in your skill and knowledge of the Men most fit for the service doth by Virtue hereof nominate and appoint you to Engage such a number of able Bodied men as are Deemed capable and Sufficient

for the undertaking, And to Instruct them that they are not to engage for a less Term than three years or untill the Expedition is Intirely determined and Ended And do hereby Constitute and Confirm you Conductor and Director of the Party for which you are to have £ 3 per day. For your first associate £ 1.5.0, For your Second Ditto £ 1.5.0, For two Draftsmen 15s. each; For one Skilful Surgeon 10s. And for Fifty Common Hunters 4s. each per day—All which men shall receive pay from the day of their engagement and on your Arrival at Schinactada. Our Commissioner or Agent for the undertaking will provide you with every necessary for the Expedition and pay the party the Amount of One year's pay Advance by whom you will receive our further Instructions.



### An Estimate of Necessaries for Major Rogers Expedition.

#### Ordinance Stores

For 55 Men 60 lbs. of powder Each 3300 lbs. at P.  
 To be put into half Barells made for the  
 purpose Hooped with Copper & Cased  
 Shott and Ball \_\_\_\_\_ 9900 lbs. at Pr Pound  
 To be Tied in strong Canvas Bags 100 lb. in each Bag  
 55 Carabines or Fuzees with Bayonetts Cartouch Boxes Straps &  
 55 Cutlasses with Belts, 12 Blunderbusses  
 8 Wallpieces & four Swivells  
 2 Compleat Setts of Carpenters Tools  
 2 Ditto of Coopers Tools  
 40 Adges Small and Large  
 20 Broad Axes Small and Large  
 100 Felling Axes  
 100 hand Hatchetts  
 30 Bill Hooks  
 22 Iron Wedges for Splitting Timber  
 60 Beetle Rings of different Sizes  
 100 Chissells and Gauges  
 100 Augers of different Sizes  
 a Box of Gimblets and Tapbourers containing 100 cwt.  
 Ten Pick Axes  
 55 Spades  
 A Box of Gun Screws  
 Two Compleat Setts of Blacksmiths Tools  
 Ten thousand Single Tens, Twenty thousand Lathing  
 Nails, and five thousand Double Tens all in  
 Casks not Exceeding 100 ct. each  
 a Box of Claw and Stone Hammers of various Sizes  
 8 Masons Trowells

# THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE

a Box of hand Saws Course & fine to contain abt. 100 cwt.  
 a Box of Cross Cutt saws and Tennant Saws  
 4 Whip Saws with Boxes  
 Two mill Saws with Boxes  
 a Box of Files and Rasps of different Sorts  
 5 Dozen Moulds for Candles & 500 cwt. of Cotton for Do.  
 100 Lanthorns of Different Sizes  
 100 cwt. of Brass Wier Small and large  
 200 cwt. of the best German Steel  
 400 ct. of Iron  
 100 cwt. of Drawing Knives  
 4 Dozen large Copper Kettles  
 1 Dozen Frying pans  
 1 Hundred Medals 50 of Silver and Fifty of  
 Brass, with the Kings head on one side and  
 the pipe of peace with the British flag on  
 the other. The Silver to Weigh about three  
 half Crowns, the Brass of the same Size.

## Naval Stores

Two Suits of sails and Rigging for two Schooners of 25 Tons each including Anchors and every other Material, to be Built at the Straits of Annian in the South Sea	
540 feet of Inch & 1/2 Rope for Tows or Seizes for 18 Battoes and 10 Bolts of Canvas No. 8, together with proper Cordage for Rigging the Battoes	
Two Reflecting Telescopes 24 Inches long with Equatorial Motions divided to every Minute	120..0..0
Two Astronomical Quadrants £ 42	84..0..0
One of the best Sextons	15.15. 0
Three Common Quadrants	12-12- 0
Pocket Compasses one for each Man	56- 0- 0
Three Theodolites for Surveying at £ 20 Each	
Second Sort at £ 15 & a plain one at £ 12 in all	48..0..0
Six Gunter's Chains Gunter's Scales Parrl. Rules, Cases with Instruments Plain Table	12..0..0
Indian Ink Pencils &c about	10. 0. 0
Paper of Different kinds for Writing and drawing Lead &c about 5 or 6 pounds	6. 0. 0
For Other Instruments Night Glasses Magnifying Glasses Small Telescopes and other Materials &c	20. 0. 0
	<hr/>
Carried over	384 7 0

	Brot. forward	384..7..0
Magnifying Lanthorns a Pr. of 18 globes		9..9..0
£ 9.9.0		<hr/>
		393 16. 0

NB the Prices of the above Instruments  
was given by Mr. Watkins Optician at Charing Cross

Vermillion Red	100..0..0
Glass Beads of different Colours	50..0..0
Rings of different Sorts Sett with Course	
Stones and Brass Broaches	10..0..0
Tin Kettles of different Sizes	40..0..0
Tin Plates and dishes 5 or 6 Doz. & other	
Materials of the same kind	10..0..0
Twine for Fish Netts and Cordage for the same	30..0..0
Two hand Mills for Grinding Corn and Rice	10. 0. 0
Two Small Stills for Experiments in Destilling	40..0..0
Ten Gross of Fish Hooks of all Sizes with Lines	
for the same	15..0..0
Knives Large and Small Packed in Boxes	40..0..0
Scissars Razors Needles Pins &c	20..0..0
Tobacco in Carrots	200..0..0
Course Woolen Cloth called Strouiding of Red	
and Blue	100..0..0
Linnen of Various Qualities	80..0..0
Ribbons Garters Gimp and Worsted Lace	40..0..0
Worsted and yarn thread	10..0..0
A Box of Sythes and Syckles	10..0..0
To be laid out in America for the purchase	
of Silver Work for the Indians Wampum,	
Beaver Traps, Battoes or Canoes, and	1103..4..0
other necessarys to Equip the party	
	<hr/>
	£ 2302..0..0

Provisions to be delivered from the Commissary of Stores for Victualling his Majesties Troops at the place from whence the Party may Embarke for Six Months at Least and that Orders be given to the Commanding officer at the Different posts to Supply the Party with Fresh provisions if Occasion should require.

Robert Rogers.



# *“Herbs, Plants, and Shrubs that possess uncommon Virtues”: Robert Rogers on the Dyes and Medicines of the American Indian*

Edited by  
DANIEL E. MOERMAN

*[Editor’s Note: The career and personality of Robert Rogers, as well as the history of Rogers’ renewed interest in the Northwest Passage expedition in connection with Richard Whitworth in 1775 has been discussed at length in the previous article by Professor Dann. There is no need to repeat the narration, other than to emphasize that the manuscript discussed here, a letter from Rogers to Whitworth, dated May 8, 1775, is one of five documents which Robert Rogers drew up to explain, support, and amplify the proposal for governmental support of an overland Northwest Passage exploration in the spring of 1776. Rogers clearly intended that Whitworth would use the letter, along with the other documents edited by Mr. Dann, to generate broad support for the proposal as he lobbied for its approval by ministerial and Parliamentary committees.]*

ON May 8, 1775, Robert Rogers, of French and Indian War fame, sat down and composed a letter of considerable historical and botanical interest to Richard Whitworth, member of Parliament and would-be promoter of an overland Northwest Passage expedition. The date is of considerable interest. Internal evidence suggests that Rogers had met Whitworth for the first time only the previous week. This may be true, or it may be a fiction, included to explain the existence of the letter and give an impression of detachment on Rogers’ part for political reasons. Although the document is in letter form, it is essentially a promotional tract, written with



Portrait of Robert Rogers published in London, 1776

the clear purpose of garnering support for the expedition from those who would take an interest and see the economic possibilities in the dyes and medicines described.

Rogers started the letter by briefly detailing his earlier unsuccessful efforts to fund his quest. He buttressed his proposal this time with an interesting argument that the expedition should be accompanied by "proper persons Skil'd in Pharmary Chymistry and Botany," for, he continued, "by my own Slender Judgment and intimate Converse with the Indians I acquired a knowledge of Several Herbs plants and Shrubs that possess uncommon Virtues" as medicines and dyes which might be "of the utmost advantage to Great Britain." He proceeded to "particularize" several plants to Whitworth, describing their uses as medicines and dyes.

The northeastern Indians of Rogers' experience used large numbers of plants as dyes and particularly as medicines. An account for the general reader of many of the medicinal plants used by native Americans can be found in Daniel E. Moerman, *Geraniums for the Iroquois: A Field Guide to American Indian Medicinal Plants* (Algonac, Mich., 1982). Rogers was, of course, not the first to show an interest in the medicinal plants of North America.

Europeans came to the New World for many reasons—religious, political, and commercial. The last may have been the most important. Many sought gold or furs. But one of the great avenues to wealth was through what we now call drugs. Recall, for instance, that Columbus was, indeed, seeking "spices." It is reported in his journals that he took with him samples of important plants—among them pepper and cinnamon—and had his men circulate among the natives to try to find their sources. For details, see Clements Markham, *The Journals of Christopher Columbus . . .* (London, 1893; New York, 1971). Although no one ever found pepper or cinnamon in the Caribbean, they found instead a whole new world of drugs.

We moderns rarely consider "Pharmary Chymistry and Botany" in one breath, as did Rogers. This is a measure of our distance from both nature and medicine. For indeed, a great many of our medicines *do* come in one way or another from plants. We may be aware that opium (and subsequently morphine) comes from poppies, or that digitalis, an important heart medicine, comes from the foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*). But a great many more medicines than these come from plants, or are minor chemical modifications of substances derived from them.

Consider aspirin, probably one of the greatest wonder drugs of all time—marvelously effective, and exceedingly safe. Aspirin is acetylsalicylic acid, a synthetic drug which is a minor modification of salicin, a natural product which occurs widely in nature, especially in the willows, black birch, wintergreen, and various members of the genus *Spiraea*. Salicin has essentially the same pharmacological qualities as does aspirin—both act as analgesic, anti-inflammatory and antipyretic agents, reducing pain, inflammation, and fever. The difference is that aspirin is a good deal less toxic than salicin, which is usually used these days only in various liniment-like preparations designed to

be applied externally to sore muscles or joints. Note that the name "aspirin" is derived from the name of one of its natural sources, "Spiraea," and that the name "salicin" is derived from the name of the genus of the willows, "*Salix*."

Hundreds of other such cases could be listed. We are generally unaware of this because we tend to derive our medicines not directly from nature as did our ancestors, but from drug stores, in pills, the contents of which are usually unknown to us. We rely on professionals to take care of these matters. In the not distant past, such professionalization had not occurred, and many more people knew of the medicinal bounty of nature. Rogers' generalization was certainly true for his time, and preceding centuries: "It has been allowed by most of our Philosophers Moral as well as Natural that the Vegetable World affords Herbs and Plants for the Cure and relief of almost every Decease incident to the human System, in this Opinion I am thoroughly . . . to concur. . . ."

His views were shared by many newcomers to North America who found great virtue in its bounty of plants. Unfortunately, there has been very little historical research on the colonial interest in medicinal plants and drugs. For a few initial comments on the matter, see: David L. Cowen, "The British North American Colonies as a Source of Drugs," *Veroffentlichungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft fur Geschichte der Pharmazie*, 28(1966), pp. 47-59; George E. Gifford, "Botanic Remedies in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820," *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620-1820*, Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 57(1980), pp. 263-288.

As an example, consider sassafras, one of the first "boom crops" of the New World. Europeans found it useful for a variety of illnesses including syphilis and the plague. As early as 1602, one of Sir Walter Raleigh's ships returned to England with a cargo including sassafras and sarsaparilla, as did another ship from New England. Sassafras was exported throughout the entire colonial period; in 1770, some 76.5 tons were exported to England alone. It was part of western medicine for a long time, listed in one form or another in the U.S. Pharmacopoeia from 1820 until 1955, recommended for a wide variety of purposes. Perhaps the most ironic part of the story is that in the early 1960s, saffrole, the key ingredient in medicinal oil of sassafras, was shown to cause cancer in rats!

Sassafras was not alone as a commercial drug produced for export to the Old World. Other important exports during colonial times included bayberries, various snakeroots, Jimsonweed, and wild cherry bark.

What were the plants that Rogers described? He divides his letter into two sections, first detailing three dyes, and then identifying a series of medicines.

He describes several interesting plants as part of a complex mixture "To Dye a Beautiful Red." The first has a long description which may refer to moonseed (*Menispermum canadense*). This, he says, is mixed with willow roots, hemlock bark, alder buds, and the roots of another herb "pick'd from the Earth with a green Stalk and a large hairy leaf (which Stalk) when broke destills a Red juice resembling the Colour of Claret." This is in all likelihood the bloodroot (*San-*

*guinaria canadensis*), an early spring wild flower of noticeable beauty, which would, indeed, make an exceptional dye. The plant was used as a dye by a number of native American groups, including the northeastern Chippewa. It was, moreover, widely used as a medicine, as was moonseed, although Rogers does not mention this.

To make a yellow dye, says Rogers, one uses "a moderate quantity of the yellow Ash Bark, which is a Timber peculiar to the Banks of the Great Lakes and those of the Misissippi, the Bark of this Tree is 5 or 6 Inches thick, and will stain the fingers Yellow in handling, this mix'd with the Bark of the Heoggon or yellow Walnut, and that of the Oil Nut Tree boiled in Water with the stalk of an Herb that grows on the plains. . . ."

His "yellow Ash" is probably a reference to what is now generally called white ash (*Fraxinus americana*), which, although the bark is not "5 or 6 inches thick," does yield a yellow pigment. Alternately, Professor Richard Ford of the University of Michigan Ethnobotany Laboratory notes that in the past, a preferred common name of the black oak (*Quercus velutina*) was yellow oak. Rogers may have erred, and referred to it as yellow ash. The black oak does produce a yellow or even orange pigment. Most species of walnut produce brown pigments and have been used for a long time to dye that color; Rogers' "Oil Nut tree" is probably the butternut (*Juglans cinera*), a type of walnut with a very oily nut, which also produces a brown pigment. There is no way to know what the "Herb that grows on the plains" was; some herbs which contain yellow pigments include various species of dock (*Rumex*), as well as several barberries (*Berberis*), goldenrod (*Solidago*), and smartweed (*Polygonus*). A dye produced with these ingredients would probably be more like what we would call an olive than a true yellow, although the color could vary depending on just how the mixture was prepared.

Rogers' black dye is particularly interesting and hinges on the identification of the "stone that is found on the Banks of most of the lakes." If the stone were some sort of iron oxide, then grinding it and boiling it with birch and maple barks (as sources of tannin) and butternut bark (as a source of brown) could produce a fairly rich black. An alternative suggestion with regard to the stone, made by John A. Dorr, professor of geology at the University of Michigan, is that limestone (calcium carbonate) or dolomite (calcium magnesium carbonate) was used as a fixing agent for the dye produced by the other ingredients.

The first of the medicinals he discusses he calls "Cohush Root." Today, the term Cohush or, more generally, Cohosh, usually refers to *Caulophyllum thalictroides*, the blue cohosh. This member of the barberry family is closely related to the common May apple (*Podophyllum peltatum*) and, like it, was widely used in early American medicine. Blue cohosh was used by women to regulate menstruation. The Ojibwa used it to alleviate menstrual cramps, while Menominee, Potawatomi, and Fox women used it to control profuse menstruation. It was also used to facilitate childbirth by Potawatomi and Cherokee, and, indeed, the plant is still called "Papoose Root" in some parts of the country. These uses are quite consonant with Rogers' discussion of his

knowledge of the plant. The root, he says, was used by men for "Seminal weaknesses," presumably infertility, while the women used it to facilitate delivery, reduce labor pains, and prevent postpartum colds. The problem is that Rogers' description does not match the plant very well.

In the past century, the term Cohosh was also applied to baneberry (*Actaea rubra* and *A. pachypoda*). It seems most likely that Rogers was referring to the latter, the white baneberry, known in some parts of the country as "Doll's Eyes"; he says the plant produces "a berry about the Size of a Pea, and not to be rival'd by any thing in Whiteness, with a Black Spot on the point." Various northeastern Indians used the baneberry for colds, coughs, toothaches, stomach complaints, sores, and a number of other ailments. There are also some reports of its use by the Ojibwa to "clear up the system after childbirth" and by the Potawatomi to "purge the patient of the afterbirth." Although he may have been simply describing the *Actaea*, he may, alternately, have confused the two genera, giving the *uses* for blue cohosh (*Caulophyllum*) and *describing* the baneberry (*Actaea*).

The next plant he discusses he calls "Ever Green." He gives a very brief description of a small evergreen shrub which "has a small round and smooth leaf the bark is mottled white and brown." It is hard to know what plant he is referring to, although it suggests a shrub of the Heath or Ericaceae family (which includes the rhododendrons and azaleas), perhaps American laurel (*Kalmia* sp.) or leatherleaf (*Chamaedaphne calyculata*). Various laurel species were used by native Americans as tonics or for bowel complaints, headaches, and sprains, while leatherleaf was used by the Potawatomi for the treatment of fevers and inflammations. The author is not aware of any more contemporary information suggesting their use as a cure for venereal diseases.

Rogers' next plant, "Fever Bush," is equally difficult to identify. The Spice Bush, or Fever Bush, (*Lindera benzoin*) was used by a few tribes to treat fevers, but it is not an evergreen as Rogers asserts. The sweet bay (*Magnolia virginiana*) is closer to his description (it *is* evergreen, at least in the southern portion of its range), and it is reported to have been used to treat fevers by the Houma Indians of Louisiana. Interestingly, the Rappahannock Indians of Virginia are said to have inhaled the odors of the sweet bay as a mild hallucinogen.

With Rogers' "prickly ash," we have no difficulty identifying the plant, which is quite certainly the American prickly ash (*Xanthoxylum americanum*), also known as "Toothache Tree." While the Comanche have been reported to use prickly ash to treat fevers, it is perhaps an exaggeration to say that it rivaled the "so much esteemed Jesuits Bark," that is, quinine, from the South American Cinchona tree. Prickly ash bark has been widely used by native Americans and many others for treating toothaches, colds, sore throats, and as a liniment for rheumatism, and is still in use among country people in the American South for such purposes.

We can similarly have some confidence in our identification of Rogers' second fever remedy, "the high Cranbeery," which is probably high-bush

cranberry (*Viburnum opulus*), which was used by the Iroquois for treating fevers. Other species of this genus were used the same way by the Cherokee, and these groups and many others found numerous additional uses for the genus.

What can we say about Rogers as an ethnobotanist? All the plants he mentions, insofar as we can have some idea of what they were, actually did see use as dyes or were used medicinally by native Americans in the eastern United States, although probably not in exactly the ways he suggests. He clearly had discussed the matter with Indians, and he certainly had examined some of the plants. At the same time, some of his descriptions seem a bit confused, and his claims somewhat exaggerated. That some of the details seem not quite right is not entirely surprising, since he was probably writing from memory of discussions and observations made at least ten, and perhaps fifteen or twenty years earlier. Similarly, his enthusiasm is understandable in that he was writing to provide a new argument enhancing the possibility of achieving his fondest dream of a great expedition of discovery. Recall, too, that he was asking for *help* on his proposed expedition, which he wanted to be accompanied by persons "Skil'd in Pharmary Chymistry and Botany," who could make a proper study of the matter.

All in all, then, his letter is a particularly intriguing document, showing that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, there was still interest in finding newly useful plants on the frontiers of the New World. Robert Rogers is remembered as a daring soldier of the frontier. He was clearly an opportunist. But beyond the quest for immediate gain, his letter does indicate a serious, scientific curiosity on his part, which adds to the complexity and fascination of one of America's most colorful figures of the colonial period.



#### Robert Rogers to Richard Whitworth

Sir.

In Consequence of the Conversation I had with you last Week, Acquaints you that for ten years last past I have at diffirent times Sollicited Government to Trace and investigate the Interior and Northen parts of North America, thereby hoping to realize the Existence of a North West Passage, from the Atlantic, to the Pacific Ocean, And altho' great attention has been given to my proposals by Administration as will appear by the Copies with the references and remarks, made upon them by the Kings most Excellent Majesty in Council, and by the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, before whose boards my proposal has been Considered, yet I have not been happy enough to obtain my wish of proceeding on this very important discovery (which I have much at heart and engages my most anxious Concern, from the great probability that Occurs to me of attaining the desired End) owing as I conceive to a mistaken mode of application, being since informed that the matter more immediately belongs to a Naval department, as the Several Expedients neces-

sary to be exercised on such an Expedition for Effectually ascertaining the wish'd for discovery must be conducted the greatest part of the way in boats: As I have not been able hitherto to get them Properly introduced and recommended to Earl Sandwich so as to induce his Lordship interrestingly to move the Business to his Majesty for His Instructions to immediately begin the attempt and go thro' with it, I therefore Impress'd with a due sense of your Judgment Submit to your Consideration whither it may not prove an Object highly worthy Government Attention to Encourage and promote a discovery that so fairly promises important returns to the present and future Ages, And to equip me with proper persons Skil'd in Pharmary Chymistry and Botany for that purpose, for during a long residence in that Country, by my own Slender Judgment and intimate Converse with the Indians I acquired a knowledge of Several Herbs plants and Shrubs that possess uncommon Virtues, and properties for General Utility in the Medical Physical and Commercial States; many of which may be rendred of the utmost advantage to Great Britain, and a few of them whose Virtues is well known to me I take the liberty of particularizing here.

To Dye a Beautiful Red not unworthy some observation as the Archile and Cochineal Trade so apparently decay and are found Difficult to Procure. A certain Root which grows in Swampey Grounds and Shoots a Vine that runs on the surface of the Earth with a Small smooth leaf of a Deep Green and shaped like a Horses Hoof; in the Month of May it produces a small Yellow flower, and the Root hangs in small threads to the different Joints, where the Vine unites to the Earth Spreading therefrom in different directions, and different lengths, some to the length of a yard, and some Shorter, when pull'd up, and wash'd in Water, it wears the hue of a pale Reddish Silk but when dried the outside looks Black, tho' the inside retains its Original Colour which appears on breaking it. These Roots when well washed, are put into cold Water with some Roots of Red Willow a Native of America, a small quantity of Hemlock Bark and buds of Alder, which Joined with an Herb pick'd from the Earth with a green Stalk and a large hairy leaf (which Stalk) when broke destills a Red juice resembling the Colour of Claret, but of a thick and Glutenous substance form a most beautifull Red Colour after a few Hours boiling together, this has been most uncontestably proved by the deep impression it has given to feathers, hair Leather and Wood, and cou'd not be discharged by Water, nor dislodged by the Effects of the Elements or weather.

To Dye a most beautiful Glossey Jett Black. A moderate quantity of the inside Rhind of the white Birch Tree, the same of the Bark of Maple, and the Oil Nutt Tree assisted by a stone that is found on the Banks of most of the lakes, and is easily reduced to powder well boiled together has been proved to give as deep, and fix'd a Black to any Article Steep'd therein as Art has yet produced, and cou'd never be discharged.

To Dye Yellow. A moderate quantity of the yellow Ash Bark, which is a Timber peculiar to the Banks of the Great Lakes and those of the Mississippi, the Bark of this Tree is 5 or 6 Inches thick, and will stain the fingers Yellow in

handling, this mix'd with the Bark of the Heoggon or yellow Walnut, and that of the Oil Nut Tree boiled in Water with the stalk of an Herb that grows on the plains, constitute the brightest yellow and will make its impression even on Metallic substances. The Dyes of America or rather those Spoke of and first invented and brought to perfection by the Indians are made in the Spring of the year when the sap runs up the Trees, they are preserved for eventual use by boiling them to a substance that form into Cakes, and dessolve Occasionally as use requires by hot water, retaining all their Virtues and properties for years as has been experienced by the Indians dyeing their Beaver, blankets, Deer skins, Turkeys Beards, Moose hair, and Porcupine Quils, at all seasons and the above recited Colours as fancy Leads. These are the three favorite Colours with the Indians, tho' sometimes they exhibit a Sky blue in painting their Ornaments But as I am not sufficiently acquainted with the different Compositions of that Dye Waves the attempt of describing it, but if what I have already touch'd on claims Notice I can Venture to say a sufficiency of Dyes may be procured to answer the uses of Great Britain Ireland and Scotland.

It has been allowed by most of our Philosophers Moral as well as Natural that the Vegetable World affords Herbs and Plants for the Cure and relief of almost every Decease incident to the human System, in this Opinion I am thoroughly led to concur, from the indubitable proofs I had amongst the Indians, whose ignorance of Medicine or Physical compasitions of any sort, and quick and infallible Cures acquired from the Vegetable Creation strongly Argue. The Physical Herbs used by the Indians are many, but the Cohush Root, so called by them, stands foremost in Estimation as a sovereign panacea, and according to its virtues must be indeed deem'd inestimable. The Men take it for Seminal weaknesses and are sure to receive a perfect Cure from it. The Women fly to it as their general preserver on the approach of Lying In, they prepare a Tea or decoction made of it, which amazingly facilitates delivery, and exempts them from any or the least Labour pains, and also prevents their taking Cold. The stalk which grows from this Root is about a foot and an half high, looks like lovage and sometimes shoots two Three or more Stalks from it's Root, the part of the Stalk most contiguous to the Root is of a Dark Brown, the Middle of a Green Colour, and the Top about 8 Inches red, about 3 Inches beneath the Top, Issue Several Sprouts or stems incircling the stalk, at the End of each, grows a berry about the Size of a Pea, and not to be rival'd by any thing in Whiteness, with a Black Spot on the point, in those berries, or misletoe are found a number of black seeds, in shape like Onion Seed, but larger, the bottom of this Root is covered with a fine black pile or velvet like Substance; it grows in an Oval form like a cluster of knots knit together, the Taste is a pleasant bitter, and bears the sway from all other Roots for its General healing and Salutary Qualities.

In Venereal Cases a certain Cure is obtained by Ever Green, which grows in most of the Swampy Grounds throughout America, this Ever Green is remarkable for it's efficacious Virtues in the above Malady, has a small round and smooth leaf the bark is mottled white and brown, and never grows above

two or three foot high those Ever greens infused with the Sprouts of the Young Maple Tree are boiled in water till four Gallons are reduced to one, this decoction is the patients constant drink for at least four days, and operates by Urine or perspiration, it opens the passages attenuates the Juices and Stimulates a constant discharge of Urine which never fail to remove the Virulent and acrimonious Symptons, after which a drink is prepared of the Buds of Spruce, and the bark of the white Pine Tree that together with the Buds of Alder act as bracers and restorers whilst the spruce and pine combine to heal all the parts, so that an Indian accomplishes the Cure of a Gonorrhœa in the few days before mentioned. The Fever Bush so called by the Indians is a cooler and deluter and answers every purpose of that Nature, it is boiled in water, and gives Speedy relief, it is an Ever Green and grows in the Swamps and never runs more then Seven feet high has a Smooth Bark and a narrow smooth Leaf the wood when broken has a most fragrant Spicey affluvia. For a Remedy against Fevers the Prickley Ash bark is found infallible a Shrub that grows on the high banks of Rivers and sides of Mountains, this Shrub has a leaf exactly like an Ash Key, the Bark is covered with a Grey Prickley down and may justly boast the Trumpeted Virtues of the so much esteemed Jesuits Bark, The high Cranbeery boughs and the Berries thereof are brought in as very friendly assistants in this disorder and the Berries form'd into a broth proved to be exceedingly nutritive. There are many more Herbs Trees Plants and Vegetables that are Adapted to different Deceases too numerous for Insertion here.

I can assure you that with Zeal Candour and assiduity, Governments Instructions to me shall be attended to. But leaves to observe that the long and painful Imprisonment I underwent for the Space of two years for Debts contracted in the service with all the attending Miseries Incident to such a Situation, together with present very great Necessities, compell me much against the Natural Tendency of my desposition, to intreat you to make all the Intercession with Government that's consistent with your influence, to View my immediate necessities, and you will ever oblige

Your faithfull humble Servant

Robert Rogers.

Charles Street St. James's  
Square 8th. May 1775



## *The Maps of Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver*

DAVID BOSSE

MUCH of the eighteenth-century mapping of the British possessions in North America was done with an eye to imperial claims and aspirations. As an important tool of government, especially the administration of a vast and little-known territory, maps were relied upon by monarchs and ministers. This resulted in a great demand for geographical knowledge to answer the needs of commerce, defense, and propaganda. General maps produced in the publishing centers of Europe, often of questionable reliability or veracity, were of limited use. Eventually, military concerns and the contentious nature of colonial land grants necessitated an increased availability of detailed maps.

The Anglo-Americans who undertook the task of mapping the colonies can be placed in two general categories. The first, consisting primarily of trained surveyors and military engineers, represents a formalized European cartographic tradition. This group was responsible for surveying, charting coasts and waterways, planning roads and fortifications, platting settlements, and delimiting political boundaries. The other, less readily defined, had in common a naive cartographic ability. These individuals were often explorers or backwoodsmen, whose mapmaking was directly related to their travels or military service. It would be a mistake to think that the native genius of this second group evolved completely independently of the first. Some familiarity with cartographic concepts and conventions may be assumed among even the rudest of its practitioners. Their maps were often important primary documents of colonial cartography. Such is the case with the works of Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver.

There is nothing to indicate that either Rogers or Carver had any training in cartographic techniques. In his manuscript journals, Carver states that he "privately procured some books" with which to inform himself on geography and drafting.<sup>1</sup> This he did in preparation for a career as an explorer, following the French and Indian War. What little is known of Rogers' early life indicates that his education was limited to village schools. Rogers' biographer, John Cuneo, mentions his being one of twenty men who surveyed and marked a road through western New Hampshire in March, 1753.<sup>2</sup> Although the role he played in the venture may have been no more than that of an axman, Rogers, an astute observer, may have profited from the experience. As provincial officers serving with the British, both men undoubtedly had some exposure to maps.

Much has been written about the redoubtable Rogers' actions against the French and Indians, but his place in the cartographic history of the war has been largely overlooked. He and his Rangers were expert woodsmen, and they

were utilized most of the time to gather intelligence—some of it topographical, some of it relating to troop strengths, positions, and fortifications. While much of this information was transmitted orally, with maps laid open at headquarters, it occasionally resulted in ephemeral sketch maps. The earliest existing Rogers map is a reconnaissance sketch made on February 2, 1756. Acting under orders of Colonel Glasier,<sup>3</sup> Rogers and fifty men proceeded from Lake George to Crown Point to ascertain the enemy's strength. From a concealed vantage point a simple planimetric outline of the French works was drawn. Neither in his published *Journals* nor his report published in volume 4 of *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1851), does Rogers claim authorship of the map. The plan, however, is inscribed by him and states: "Sr: This is Minuts of the fort at Crown Point and of the redoubts Built Round it which I took on the Mountain to west of Crown Point abt. a Miles distance." The handwriting and signature do not appear to be Rogers', but this should not be interpreted as meaning the map is not his. Manuscript maps were often copied, and this may have survived while the original has perished.

Rogers' initiative and daring at the war's beginning won him widespread recognition and notoriety. Notices in the *Boston News-Letter* in the spring of 1756 were effusive in their praise.<sup>4</sup> It is little wonder, then, that mention of Rogers and his Rangers immediately begins to appear on contemporary maps. First evidence of this is a manuscript *Plan of the country from Fort Edward to Crown Point* by British engineer Harry Gordon, locating a village near Crown Point "burnt by Capt. Rogers." This raid occurred on February 3, the day after Rogers reconnoitered the French position.

On June 28, 1756, Rogers took fifty men in five whaleboats north from Fort William Henry. Between July 2 and 3 they followed an Indian portage from Lake George to Wood Creek, effecting a crossing at that point. Their foray into French controlled territory resulted in the capture of eight prisoners and the destruction of a schooner loaded with foodstuffs. Despite the triviality of the event in terms of its military consequences, Rogers' crossing appears on manuscript maps of 1756 and 1757 and a printed map of 1759. This, perhaps, is indicative of the general interest in Rogers, one of the first heroes of the war.

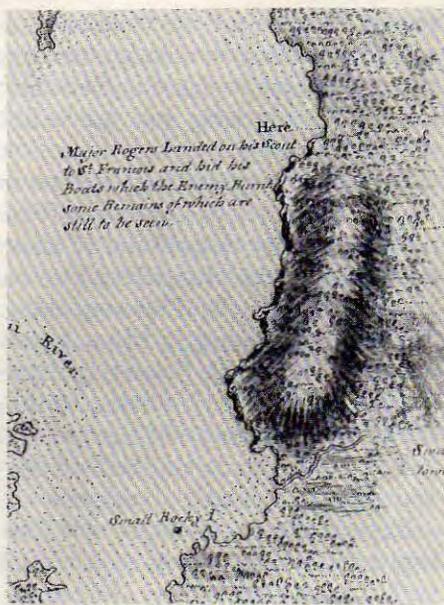
Of the three known maps drawn by Rogers, the most remarkable is that which depicts the route of his justly famous St. Francis raid. For years a group of Christianized Abenaki, living in the village of Odanak on the St. Francis River, had, with French encouragement, terrorized frontier settlements in New England. Rogers' covert attack, generally believed to have been ordered by General Jeffery Amherst, was in retaliation for past atrocities and the recent murder of two officers ostensibly on a truce mission.<sup>5</sup> On September 13, 1759, Rogers left Crown Point and proceeded north on Lake Champlain. Following an arduous journey of twenty-two days, Rogers and his command of 141 men and officers attacked the village before dawn, by his own account killing 200 warriors. Suffering the loss of but a single man, they hurriedly began an overland retreat, their boats having been discovered and destroyed by the French.

The return march of nearly 250 miles through dense wilderness was attended with great hardship and loss of life. Survivors of the expedition eventually reached safety by early November. Rogers sent Amherst a report of the raid on November 5 and was in turn asked to provide a plan of his route. This he did on March 20, 1760. The resulting map of the area of northern Vermont and southern Quebec is a landmark in the early mapping of New England.<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly the work of Rogers, the map, in accuracy and detail, surpasses contemporary British and American maps. With little other than reports of travelers and Indian captives to rely on, these early maps at best provided vague representation of this formidable northern expanse. Given this

state of mapping, there is no reason to believe that Rogers had access to surveys which would materially aid him in the construction of his map. His rendering of the St. Lawrence, however, may be based on some other source, and from this the scale was established. Rogers declares the distance on the map from Montreal to Quebec city to be 160 miles and "The Other Part of it is Drew in Proportion."

Rogers' plan exhibits an uncanny knowledge of drainage systems and, to a somewhat lesser extent, topography. Thanks to Rogers, the area north of Lake Memphremagog was no longer *terrae incognitae*. The lake itself is realistically portrayed, as are the Coös or Cohase Intervales along the Connecticut River. Of the Lower Cohase, Rogers' notes on the map state, "in my Opinion the best Lands that Ever I have Travell'd Over." Although signed by Rogers, these notes and others are not in his hand, indicating that the map is a copy. Regardless of this, it may be considered the finest map of its time for that region.

Following the destruction of the St. Francis village, Rogers participated in the invasion of Canada and was present at the capitulation of Montreal in 1760. He was then ordered west by Amherst to accept the surrender of French garrisons. Rogers and two companies of Rangers departed in September, their voyage up the St. Lawrence commemorated on Thomas Davies' *Draught of the River St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Montreal*. Rogers arrived at Detroit on November 29, 1760, having stopped at Fort Pitt to receive instructions from General Robert Monckton. His successful return to New York in February, 1761, was further testament to his extraordinary abilities as a woodsman and



Detail of Brasier manuscript map referring to St. Francis raid

leader. Rogers and his command traversed nearly 2,000 miles of country, unknown to him, at a dangerous time of year with but a single casualty. Later that year he married and immediately returned to duty in the Carolinas, where a Cherokee uprising was quelled. During Pontiac's War, in 1763, Rogers returned to Detroit, where he assisted in relieving the siege of the fort.

Hopeful of opportunity abroad and seeking some reward for his service, Rogers journeyed to London in 1764. There he published two books, *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* and *A Concise Account of North America*, the latter containing a map of the British colonies. An identical map was published nine years earlier in the *Universal Magazine*, so it clearly bears no relation to Rogers. His interest in maps, however, is made explicit in these books. An advertisement in his *Journals* proposed a second volume, containing, "correct plans of all the British forts upon the continent." Similarly, a second volume of the *Concise Account* was intended, including maps of the colonies and interior, "in which the faults and deficiencies of those already extant will be corrected and supplied." Neither work was ever published.<sup>7</sup>

Rogers' literary pursuits were, in part, intended to build a case for the exploration of the newly acquired British domains in North America. In particular, he aspired to lead a search for the Northwest Passage. Rogers' belief in the existence of a passage between Hudson Bay and the Pacific may well have been fostered by Arthur Dobbs, governor of North Carolina. In his biography of Rogers, John Cuneo suggests that a meeting between the two men in 1761 left Rogers afflicted with a passion for this fabled route.<sup>8</sup> Dobbs had instigated and organized expeditions in 1741 and 1746 to search for an inland water passage from Hudson Bay, publishing a map and pamphlets supporting his contention. His notions of theoretical geography, defended by English cartographer Emanuel Bowen and taken to an extreme by French geographer Philippe Bauche, evidently intrigued Rogers. Rather than look for a connecting "Sea of the West," Rogers contrived an overland route aided by river travel.

A petition dated August 12, 1765, presented Rogers' details for an expedition and his impeccable qualifications for leading it. Considered too expensive, the project was refused. With the backing of Amherst and Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Rogers was successful in his appeal to the Board of Trade, which on October 12, appointed him commander of Michilimackinac. These developments in no way diminished Rogers' ambition, for this westernmost British post would serve as an ideal base of operations. The interest shown in his project and subsequent appointment were viewed by Rogers as tacit approval. Returning to America in 1766, he contacted fellow Ranger officer James Tute with an offer to explore the region west of the Great Lakes. Apparently through Tute, Rogers met Jonathan Carver in Boston, and his services were also enlisted.

Rogers' tenure at Michilimackinac was brief and tempestuous. He arrived with his wife on August 10, 1766, wasting no time drafting Carver's commission to "take Surveys of the Different Posts, Lakes, and Rivers, as also the Mountains . . . and exact Plans of the Country."<sup>9</sup> Instructions for Tute,

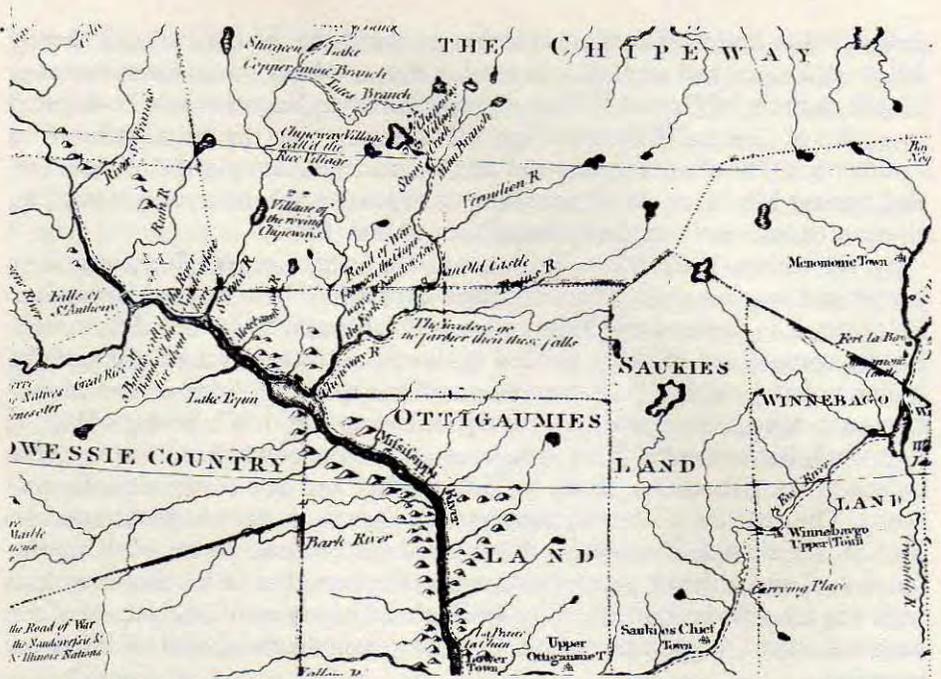
designated as leader of another detachment searching for the Passage, shortly followed. Rogers had now set into motion events which would forever change his life and that of Carver. Within eighteen months, Rogers would be arrested by order of General Thomas Gage. This action was the culmination of a summer and fall of accusations and minor incidents. Among the charges leveled against him were the undertaking of expensive schemes and projects, an allusion to the costly explorations of Carver and Tute.

By December, 1767, when Rogers was confined, Carver, Tute, and their parties had long returned, and their maps were probably in Rogers' possession. Evidently it is these to which he refers in a memorial to Lord Hillsborough. Rogers complained of being robbed at the time of his arrest of maps of the Indian country, which he had taken at great expense.<sup>10</sup> Another confiscated item may have been a manuscript map of November, 1767, perhaps Rogers' own work, but not in his hand. It is a general map of North America, from the mouth of the Mississippi north to Hudson Bay and east to the Atlantic seaboard. The districts of Michilimackinac and Detroit, as they existed under the French, are shown. Because it accompanied his proposal to establish a combined civil and military government, with inference that he be chosen to lead both, the map has been identified with Rogers. Only an unofficial record of the proposal exists, suggesting that it was never sent to the Board of Trade as intended.

The fate of the remainder of Rogers' maps and papers is unclear. A note appended to a copy of his 1772 petition to discover a passage to the Pacific reads: "lent the two Plans to Capt. Carver 15 Feb. 1775."<sup>11</sup> These may have been returned to Rogers after his acquittal in 1768 and are conceivably maps drawn by Tute, Carver, or Rogers himself. While this remains speculative, it is highly likely that Carver requested to see them while compiling the map he would later publish.

Carver's map and journal are, in a sense, a product of Rogers' vision. Carver's journey from Michilimackinac began on September 3, 1766, in the company of William Bruce, a Montreal fur trader. Faithful to Rogers' instructions, they proceeded to the Mississippi via Green Bay and the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. Tute and James Stanley Goddard, another Montreal merchant, who left two weeks later, were expected to rendezvous with Carver and Bruce at the Falls of St. Anthony. The parties never met, and Carver continued up the St. Pierre (Minnesota River), where he wintered with the Dakota or Sioux Indians. In the spring Carver joined Tute and Goddard at Prairie du Chien, from there traveling north to the Brule River and Lake Superior. On July 19, 1767, they arrived at Grand Portage, expecting supplies from Rogers. These were not forthcoming, and after a three-week wait, they resolved to return to Michilimackinac and forfeit the expedition.

No doubt encouraged by Rogers' publishing success, Carver spent the winter of 1767-1768 working on his notes and preparing a manuscript map of his travels. According to a letter from Carver to his wife, printed in *The Boston Chronicle*, February 15-22, 1768, part of his plans and reports had been sent to



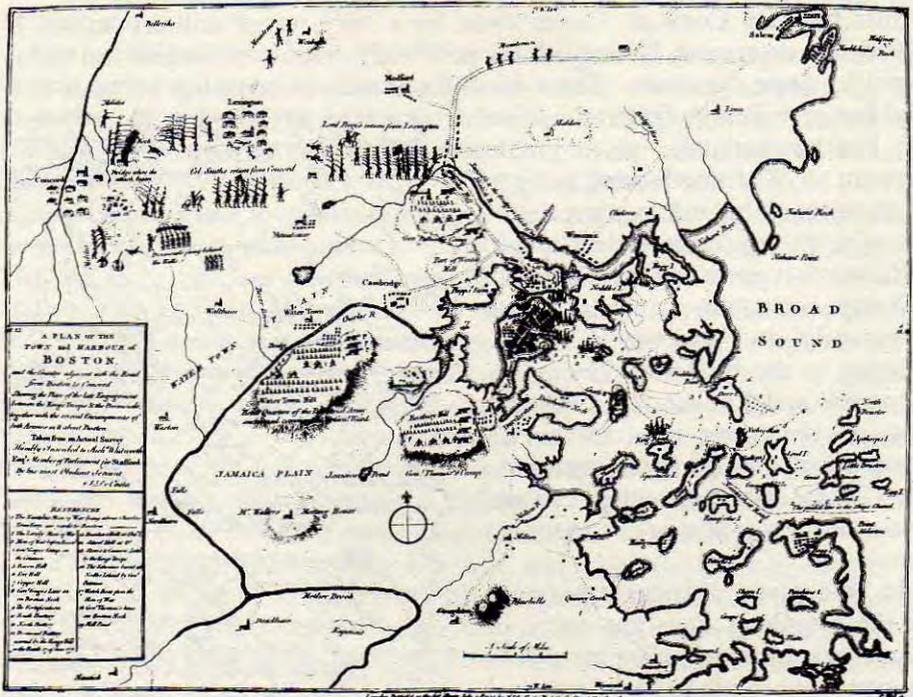
Detail of *A Plan of Captain Carver's Travels*, London, 1778, showing area of Carver's explorations

Rogers by some Indians. Rogers reputedly forwarded these to the Board of Trade shortly before his arrest, but their whereabouts is unknown, lending a conspiratorial air to the entire proceedings. The remainder of Carver's notes were retained by him with the intention of producing a book. In the summer of 1768, he returned to Boston, advertising in the September 12 issue of *The Boston Chronicle* for subscriptions to an exact journal of his travels at a cost of two Spanish dollars. A similar notice had also appeared in the August 15 edition of the *New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*. There was little interest, so in February, 1769, Carver sailed to England. In June, he petitioned the Board of Trade for recompense for his service in hope of raising sufficient capital to publish his map and journals. A reduced manuscript copy of the original map, presumably made in preparation for engraving, accompanied the petition but failed to impress the commissioners, who felt it exhibited no new discoveries of general national importance.

Sometime during the remainder of 1769, Carver engaged Thomas Kitchin, engraver of John Mitchell's famous 1755 map of America, to produce a copper-plate. The resulting map, bearing no title, was dedicated to the Earl of Hillsborough and the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Carver's supplications met with success, for in 1770 he was granted approximately £1,300. Contingent upon this, however, was his surrendering all maps, plates, and journals to the Board. This contributed to the delay in publication of his *Travels*, which did not appear until late in 1778, less than two years before his death.

Carver's life in London previous to the publication of his journals was hardly spent in idleness. Along with petitions and memorials designed to promote his book, secure a post, or finance another expedition, his interests included cartographic projects. Carver's involvement in the earliest of these, *A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston*, published by Isaac De Costa, has never been defined. Although his name in no place appears upon it, evidence linking Carver to the map is found in a letter from Isaac Foster to Robert Rogers, dated August 8, 1775. "Carver and Dacosta," Foster wrote, "have finished a new plan of Boston at the request of Whitworth."<sup>12</sup> Richard Whitworth, Member of Parliament for Stafford, figures significantly in Carver's London years. Indication of Carver's dealings with Whitworth is found in the group of manuscript and printed material recently purchased by the Clements Library. Included is a letter from Carver expressing his gratitude to Whitworth and correspondence relative to their proposed Northwest Passage venture. In his published *Travels*, Carver states that Whitworth had agreed in 1774 to lead an expedition through North America. Both Carver and Rogers were to accompany him, but the idea was abandoned in light of the political unrest in the colonies.

The De Costa map, published in London on July 29, 1775, is credited with being the first printed battle plan of the American Revolution. The identity of De Costa has been a source of speculation for some time, most historians



De Costa map of Lexington and Concord, London, 1775

concluding that he is unknown. Like Rogers, De Costa served with the provincial forces at Lake George in 1755. From 1758 to 1764 he was master at the navy yard in Halifax.<sup>13</sup> His association with Carver is clearly documented on the latter's petition, dated May, 1772, requesting appointment on an expedition to search for the elusive Passage. De Costa's father, John, was a Boston landowner and Loyalist. In all likelihood it is his property which is identified on Thomas Page's 1775 map of the city as "d'Acosta's Pasture." Isaac De Costa's familiarity with Boston may have both induced him to publish his map and provided necessary information.

The map, engraved by Charles Hall and presumably drawn by Carver, was "Taken from an Actual Survey." It would appear to be copied from a manuscript map of the same title now in Lord Percy's collection at Alnwick Castle. It is probable that this map was made by order of Percy, who skillfully directed the British retreat from Lexington. William Cumming has suggested that although the manuscript is unique, another copy must have been in the possession of De Costa. The Percy manuscript, which was reproduced by Cumming in *British Maps of Colonial America* (Chicago, 1974), is remarkably similar to De Costa's published plan. Aside from stylistic differences and area of coverage, the printed map extending farther to the north, east, and south, the singular feature of the De Costa map is its inclusion of news of the battle at Bunker Hill. Since it was published within six weeks of that event, it may be concluded that the latest intelligence was hastily added to the plate.

Just how De Costa or Carver came by a very recent military survey is difficult to determine. Whitworth is a possibility, but his minor political status provides cause for doubt. There is no discernible relationship between him and Percy, or Percy's father, the Duke of Northumberland, which might account for Whitworth being privy to such cartographic information. Interestingly, among the recently acquired Whitworth papers at the Clements Library are some curious notes, apparently in Whitworth's hand, relating to the battles of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. What, if any, relation these have to the De Costa map is an intriguing question. De Costa's influence, either in London or Boston, is also open to speculation.

In 1776, a year after the appearance of the De Costa map, the name of Carver was brought before the public on two maps published by Sayer and Bennett. Samuel Dunn's *A Map of the*

Notes on American Revolution in Whitworth Papers

3000  
7400

of the weapons in our possession by carrying  
them to the place of the battle of Bunker Hill  
on the 17th of June 1776  
3000 in all  
Gen. Conway

Dorchester 5000  
Cambridge 5000  
Roxbury 7000  
Charles Town 3000  
Malden  
recommended a Plan to  
take possession of Roxbury  
hill Roxbury

Charles town, upon fire  
by the Bombs from Boston  
& Concord

Gen. Howe comm'd the  
right & Pigott the left.

5 Pieces of Cannon  
& 200 men of  
War Capt. Hall in Boston

Notes on American Revolution in Whitworth  
Papers

*British Empire in North America* . . . improved from the *Surveys of Capt. Carver* is especially notable. The association between Dunn, a mathematician turned geographer, and Carver is as yet uncertain, it being quite possible that they were brought together through their common publisher. Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, was also acquainted with both men and may have been responsible for their meeting. Whatever the circumstance, some degree of collaboration resulted. Carver's impact on the map's contents is rather minimal, being confined to a few place names along the upper Mississippi, a reshaping of West Bay in Lake Superior, and the location of "Carvers Wintering 1766." With the exception of scale, the map differs little geographically from Dunn's 1774 *North America, as Divided amongst the European Powers*.

If, indeed, Dunn consulted a copy of Carver's map of his travels, his use of it was sparing. Since the exact date Carver's documents were released by the Board of Trade is unknown, Dunn may not have had the opportunity actually to see the Carver map before its publication. One may surmise that either the restrictions on the Carver map were lifted before August of 1776, or Carver had an active hand in the making of Dunn's map. A tantalizing bit of information in the map's title cartouche is suggestive of the latter. Just above the linear scales is pictured a jumble of boxes tied with rope. On the sides of two of these are the letters P F and C D. A possible explanation is: Phillips *Fecit*, Carver *Delineator*. A certain J. Phillips, an engraver employed by Sayer and Bennett, is a logical candidate, and Carver was capable of drafting a fair copy for engraving.

Also in 1776, *A New Map of the Province of Quebec, according to the Royal Proclamation, of the 7th. of October 1763* was issued, claiming Captain Carver as author. It is based on earlier French maps of D'Anville and Robert de Vaugondy, adding little new information. Despite this, the map was reissued by Le Rouge (1777), Robert Sayer (1788), and Laurie and Whittle (1794). Again, it is difficult to ascertain the role Carver played in the creation of the map. The full title would seem to imply that Carver and "Other Officers in His Majesty's Service" made surveys in the area following the French and Indian War. There is, however, neither evidence that Carver's military service took him to Canada, nor that he made maps before his western exploration.<sup>14</sup> And while he was acquainted with Banks and Whitworth, men of greater influence, it is questionable whether the loan of his name to the map would greatly enhance its appeal. Given that Carver was hard pressed for income throughout his later life, especially so before the publication of his book in 1778, his seeking employment as a draftsman and authority is a reasonable supposition. Such exposure could only enhance his credibility.

Such efforts notwithstanding, Carver's truly significant contribution to American cartography is the map illustrating his explorations. The *Plan of Captain Carvers Travels in the interior Parts of North America in 1766 and 1767* included in his book is not Kitchin's 1769 version. Due to errors in Carver's measurement, it and the previous two manuscript versions exaggerated the longitudinal extent of the western Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley.

This and certain problems in latitude were improved in the 1778 map at the cost of aesthetics. The earlier printed map, including more notes and place names, is generally a better crafted item. The maps are quite similar in terms of their geographic content, the greatest variance being in the area of Lake Michigan. Here the most damaging change is the addition of the fictitious mountain ridge in the lower peninsula of Michigan.

The published version of the *Plan of Captain Carver's Travels* is notable on several counts. It is the first Anglo-American map of the region based on personal reconnaissance. In the introduction to his *Travels*, Carver disparages the false and inaccurate French maps upon which the English have had to rely, but it is clear that he resorted to them himself, or at least to British maps based on them, in compiling his map. His own observations and those of native informants, however, distinguish the map. The location and extent of tribal lands and settlements is a significant feature, as is the identification of traditional routes followed by war parties. Some information provided by Indians but questioned by Carver is qualified. Certain rivers are "but little known," and of a chain of lakes west of Lake Superior he states, "The Indians inform me of this string of Lakes but uncertain what Communication they have with one Another."

Of particular importance are Carver's notes and toponymic nomenclature. Along the south shore of Lake Superior, seemingly at the mouth of the Ontonagon River, is the first mention of copper in that locale on a printed map. The French were aware of the mineral's abundance along the lake as early as 1636, and a few manuscript maps of the late seventeenth century note its presence. In 1664 Pierre Du Val published a map of Canada which placed a copper mine on an unnamed island in the unrecognizable "grand lac des Hurons." Twenty-four years later Jean Baptiste Nolin's reissue of the Coronelli map, *Partie Occidentale du Canada ou la Nouvelle France*, indicated that copper was mined on I. Minong (Isle Royale) in Lake Superior. Carver's map nearly pinpoints the location of the richest copper deposit in the eastern United States.<sup>15</sup>

With regard to place names, Carver has the distinction of being the first to use the name Oregon on a map. It appears just west of Red Lake (Minnesota) as "Heads of Origan." The headwaters of this fabled River of the West are absent from his first three versions and may have been added to the published map in an attempt to create interest in further exploration. In doing so, Carver again drew upon the inspiration of Robert Rogers. As noted previously, an expedition to discover the Northwest Passage was proposed by Rogers in August, 1765. His petition to the King's Privy Council discusses the "River Ouragon," apparently the first use of that name.<sup>16</sup> Later petitions of Rogers (February, 1772) and Carver (May, 1772) also contain variations of Oregon. Carver's *Travels*, an immensely successful book, gave the name permanence.

In the 1778, 1779, and 1781 London editions of the *Travels*, and the 1838 New York edition, are found *A New Map of North America From the Latest Discoveries, 1778. Engraw'd for Carver's Travels*.<sup>17</sup> There is little resemblance

between the area south and west of Lake Superior as shown on this map and that of Carver's *Plan*. The North American map is probably the work of Thomas Kitchin. Although differing from Carver's map in several respects, it somewhat supports his notions of a River of the West and Shining Mountains (Rockies). The river is clearly marked, but the mountains, believed by Carver to begin in Mexico and extend northward to 47 or 48 degrees latitude, are not so portrayed. This map has been identified with Carver largely because of the eleven new colonies he proposed in the appendix of his *Travels*. These are numbered and outlined on the map, starting on the Mississippi River in present-day Minnesota and continuing east and south to the area of Kentucky and Tennessee.

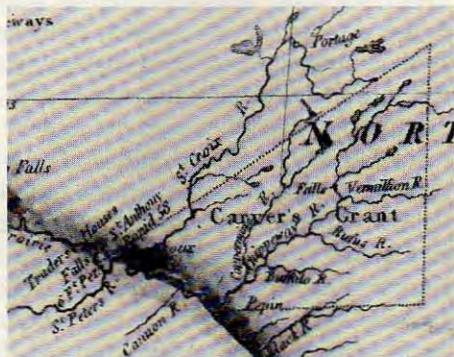
The favorable reception given to Carver's book and its international popularity are well documented. What influence his map may have enjoyed is less well known. It was reproduced in German (1780), French (1784), Dutch (1796), and American (1838) editions of the *Travels*. His impact on contemporary cartography, however, was greatest in America. Abel Buell's *A New and Correct Map of the United States of North America layd down from the Latest Observations and Best Authorities*, published in Philadelphia in March, 1784, is the first American map based on Carver. Buell incorporated many of the notes on Carver's map and included the headwaters of the Origan along with several place names. Later that same year, William McMurray published a map of the United States which relied more extensively on Carver, as evidenced by his configuration of Lake Superior and the upper Mississippi Valley. In a note above a dashed line running from Green Bay to the Mississippi below where the Rock River joins it, McMurray states: "All N.W. of this line is taken from Carver, compared with later *Travels*."

John Fitch, in 1785, published a curious and now rare map derived from those of McMurray and Thomas Hutchins. He, too, depicted the source of the Origan and noted the abundance of copper south of Lake Superior. As late as 1796, the Oregon appeared on Amos Doolittle's map of North America, published by Jedidiah Morse in *The American Universal Geography*. Osgood Carleton's 1791 map, *The United States of America Laid Down from the Best Authorities*, is perhaps the last American map to be compiled from Carver. Lake Superior and the area west of Lake Michigan are virtually identical to Carver's rendering.

European usage of Carver tended to be confined to place names. John Cary's 1783 map of the United States incorporated several features named by Carver, showed his route, and identified the general area where Carver wintered in 1766. Textual comments on *A Map of the United States of North America Drawn From a Number of Critical Researches*, published in 1796 by Aaron Arrowsmith, included two lengthy quotes from Carver's *Travels* and manuscript journal. A third note explains that, through Sir Joseph Banks, Arrowsmith was given access to Carver's manuscript maps and journal. Several of Carver's place names were utilized by Arrowsmith, who praised his exactness. With the exception of Michigan's Keweenaw Peninsula, Carver's design and

location of Lake Superior was quite accurate, but this is not reflected on subsequent European maps. Elsewhere, Carver expanded distances and was less reliable. What cartographers most often borrowed is the river bearing his name. This small tributary of the Minnesota River, christened by Carver during the winter of 1766, can be found on over thirty European maps and nearly as many published in this country.

A significant category of maps are those showing Carver's controversial Indian grant. During his lifetime Carver was never fully able to exploit this huge tract of land in Wisconsin and Minnesota, but his descendants and their agents expended a great deal of time and energy attempting to legitimize their claim. Knowledge of the grant was not made public until 1781, in an edition of Carver's *Travels* brought out by his benefactor, Dr. John Coakley Lettson. Carver did not include the grant on his maps, for political reasons, thus hindering cartographic dissemination. Its first known appearance is on John Melish's 1815 *Map of the United States of America*, published in the first volume of his *Travels Through the United States*. In Europe, evidence of the grant is not seen until 1820, on maps of William Faden and Pierre Francois Tardieu. The grant then persists until the mid-nineteenth century.



Melish map, 1815, showing Carver Grant

The maps of Jonathan Carver have received limited notice by historians of cartography; those of Robert Rogers, even less. Regardless of this, their maps are part of a cartographic genre which was of fundamental importance to the exploration and conquest of North America. The following list contains all known maps made by Rogers and Carver and the most significant maps which include references to their exploits or explorations. It does not take into account maps with reference solely to "Rangers," the modern maps of the Lake George region which include features named for Rogers, nor derivative maps simply showing Carver's River or grant. The importance of Robert Rogers and Jonathan Carver is reflected in their cartographic legacy.

NOTES

1. John Parker, ed., *The Journals of Jonathan Carver and Related Documents, 1766-1700* (St. Paul, Minn., 1976), p.58.
2. John Cuneo, *Robert Rogers of the Rangers* (New York, 1959), p.10.
3. Beamsley Glasier (Gleasier, Glazier) was made adjutant general of the provincial forces at Lake George in September, 1755. The following month, forty-five Massachusetts officers demanded that he be relieved of command. This was refused by William Johnson, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who made Glasier a lieutenant colonel in the New York provincial regiment. Glasier later served as commandant of the garrison at Michilimackinac from July, 1768, to May, 1770, relieving Robert Rogers of his post.
4. See, for example, issues of March 25, April 1, and May 20.

5. A letter from Rogers to Amherst, dated December 12, 1759, indicates otherwise. The loss of men on the raid caused Rogers to fear Amherst's censure, "as the going against that place was my own proposal. . . ." Quoted in Kenneth Roberts, *Northwest Passage Appendix* (New York, 1937), p. 12.
6. The original map, which is apparently in private hands, has not been available for study. It is reproduced in the auction catalog of Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, for October 20, 1970.
7. Rogers kept a journal at Michilimackinac intermittently from September, 1766, to July, 1767, which he may have hoped to publish.
8. Cuneo, pp. 152-53.
9. Carver's warrant from Rogers, dated August 12, 1766. Quoted in Roberts, pp. 112-13.
10. Memorial to Hillsborough, December 21, 1768, in Public Record Office. Quoted in Allan Nevins' introduction to *Ponteach, or the Savages of America* (Chicago, 1914), p. 140.
11. Quoted by T.C. Elliot, "The Origin of the Name Oregon," *Oregon Historical Society Quarterly*, 22 (June, 1921), p. 110.
12. Calendar of the Dartmouth Papers, quoted by John T. Lee, "Captain Jonathan Carver: Additional Data," *Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings*, 1912, p. 101.
13. Information on De Costa can be found in E. Alfred Jones' *The Loyalists of Massachusetts, Their Memorials, Petitions and Claims* (London, 1930).
14. A view of Fort Niagara, published in *The Royal Magazine* for September, 1759, has by some been credited to Carver, but this remains conjectural.
15. While in Detroit in December, 1760, Rogers, with the aid of Jean Cadotte, negotiated a transaction with the Chippeway Indians whereby he was granted 20,000 acres of land on the south shore of Lake Superior. In London, Rogers sold part of it to Charles Townshend in 1765. Since Carver's journey did not take him to that part of the lake, the note concerning copper was probably suggested by Rogers to promote his tract.
16. Elliot, p. 93.
17. The 1779 Dublin edition of the *Travels* contains a single map, titled: *A New Map of North America*. It is unlike the map in the first edition and is not the work of Carver.

#### A. Maps By and Relating to Robert Rogers

"Minutes of the Fort at Crown Point." By Robert Rogers, 1755.

*Manuscript pen and ink sketch in the Library of Congress, Peter Force Map Collection. Earliest known Rogers map.*

[Map of Lake George and Wood Creek, c. 1756.]

*Anonymous manuscript map in the British Museum, Crown Collection, cxii 22. Includes note: "Where Rogers carried his boats across."*

"Plan of the country from Fort Edward to Crown Point." By Harry Gordon, [1756.]

*Manuscript map in the British Museum, Crown Collection, cxxi, 28. Includes note: "Village 4 1/2 mile from Crown Point burnt by Capt. Rogers." Gordon later became Chief Engineer for the British in North America.*

[Map of Lake George and Wood Creek, 1757.]

*Anonymous manuscript map in Public Record Office, Chatham Papers, Bundle 95. Includes note: "Here Capt. Rogers carried his boats across to Wood Creek."*

"Plan of the Encampment, Intrenchment and their [sic] Environs at Lake George."

*Anonymous manuscript map, c. 1758, in the Germain Map Collection, William L. Clements Library. This finished topographical map shows the British forces assembled at the south end of Lake George before the attack on Ticonderoga in July, 1758, and indicates the camp of Major Rogers' Rangers.*

*A Map of the Country between Crown Point and Fort Edward. London, 1759.*

*Engraved map accompanying "Particulars of Major Robert Rogers's [sic] last Expedition against the Enemy," in The Gentleman's Magazine: for May, 1759. Indicates, by letter code explained in the text of a magazine article, where Rogers carried his boats across.*

[Map of Rogers' route of the St. Francis raid.] By Robert Rogers, 1759.

*Highly detailed manuscript map showing relief and drainage in the area of northern Vermont and southern Quebec. Rogers' route from Missisquoi Bay to the Odanak village and return to the British post on the Connecticut River (No. 4) is shown. Believed to be in a private collection.*

"Draught of the River St. Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Montreal." By Thomas Davies, 1760.

*Finely drawn, colored manuscript map in the Gage Map Collection, William L. Clements Library. Includes note: "The way Major Rogors [sic] went to Niagara," his route from Montreal indicated by a dashed line.*

"A survey of Lake Champlain including Lake George, Crown Point and St. John." By William Brasier, 1762, copied by William Test, 1776.

*Magnificent, colored manuscript map of the entirety of Lake Champlain in the Gage Map Collection, William L. Clements Library. This highly detailed survey includes numerous notes, among them, "On this part of the shore Major Rogers had an Engagement with a large Party of French and Indians June 1760," and "Here Major Rogers Landed on his Scout to St. Francois and hid his Boats which the Enemy Burnt, some Remains of which are still to be seen."*

*A Map of the Province of New York, with Part of Pensilvania, and New England, From an Actual Survey by Captain Montessor, Engineer, 1775. By John Montessor. Engraved by P. Andrews. London: Andrew Dury, 1775.*

*Includes an inset map of Lake Champlain, derived from the Brasier map of 1762, which notes the location of Rogers' defeat of the French and Indians in 1760.*

*A Survey of Lake Champlain including Crown Point and St. Johns. By William Braiser. London: Sayer and Bennett, 1776.*

*Engraved map based on the Brasier manuscript, with an inset map of Lake George by Capt. Jackson. Includes the note of the engagement of June, 1760, but omits the note concerning the St. Francis raid. The map was reissued by Robert Sayer (1788) and Laurie & Whittle (1794).*

[Plan of part of North America showing the Districts of Detroit and Michilimackinac during the French Regime.] By Robert Rogers, 1767.

*Manuscript map in the Public Archives of Canada, showing, in rough outline, the eastern portion of North America, from Hudson Bay to Florida.*

## B. Maps By and Relating to Jonathan Carver

*A View of Niagara Fort, taken by Sir William Johnson, on the 25th. of July 1759. Drawn on the Spot in 1758.*

*Perspective view accompanying "Account of the Fort of Niagara," in the September, 1759, edition of the Royal Magazine. The Account was signed J.C--r., leading some scholars to believe the view to be Carver's work. What is known of Carver's military service raises serious doubt concerning the attribution.*

[Map of the upper Mississippi Valley and western Great Lakes.] By Jonathan Carver, 1767.

*Manuscript map in the British Museum drawn by Carver during the winter of 1766-67, illustrating his travels.*

[Map of the upper Mississippi Valley and western Great Lakes.] By Jonathan Carver, c. 1769.

*Manuscript map in the British Museum, a reduced and corrected version of the above map.*

*To the Rt. Honble. the Earl of Hillsborough & the rest of the Lords, Commissioners for Trade & Plantations. This Plan is most Humbly Dedicated.* By Jonathan Carver, 1769.

*Printed but unpublished version of Carver's second manuscript map, engraved by Thomas Kitchin. Only known copy in the British Museum.*

*A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston.* London: Isaac De Costa, 1775. Engraved by Charles Hall.

*First printed battle plan of the American Revolution. Attributed to Jonathan Carver.*

*A Map of the British Empire in North America.* By Samuel Dunn. London: Sayer and Bennett, 1776.

*Claiming to be "Improved from the surveys of Capt. Carver," this is the first published map to show his route, wintering place, and river. The map was reissued in 1786 as A New Map of the United States of North America with the British Dominions on that Continent.*

*A New Map of the Province of Quebec According to the Royal Proclamation of the 7th. October 1763, from the French Surveys Connected with those made after the War. By Captain Carver and other Officers in His Majesty's Service.* By Jonathan Carver. London: Sayer and Bennett, 1776.

*Map of the St. Lawrence Valley compiled from French sources. Reissued by Le Rouge (1777), Robert Sayer (1788), and Laurie & Whittle (1794).*

*A New Map of North America from the Latest Discoveries, 1778. Engrav'd for Carver's Travels.* By Jonathan Carver. London: Jonathan Carver, 1778.

*A general map of North America showing Carver's proposed colonies. Published in Carver's Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America. Also in 1779 and 1781 London editions, and the 1838 New York edition.*

*A Plan of Captain Carver's Travels in the Interior Parts of North America in 1766 and 1767.* By Jonathan Carver. London: Jonathan Carver, 1778.

*Published version of the maps portraying the upper Mississippi Valley and western Great Lakes. Published in Carver's Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America. Also in German (1780), French (1784), Dutch (1796), and American (1838) editions under variant titles.*

*An Accurate Map of the United States of America, with Part of the Surrounding Provinces agreeable to the Treaty of Peace of 1783.* By John Cary. London: John Cary, 1783.

*First British map of the United States to adopt Carver's nomenclature and notes. Shows his route and wintering place.*

*A New and Correct Map of the United States of North America Layd Down from the Latest Observations and Best Authorities.* New Haven: Abel Buell, 1784.

*First American map to adopt Carver's nomenclature and notes.*

*The United States According to the Definitive Treaty of Peace Signed at Paris, Sept. 3d. 1783.* By William McMurray. Philadelphia: William McMurray, 1784. Engraved by Robert Scot.

*The entire northwest quadrant of the map is compiled from Carver. To date the most extensive use of his map.*

*The United States of America laid down from the best Authorities Agreeable to the Peace of 1783.* By Osgood Carleton. Boston: John Norman, 1791.

*Perhaps the last American map extensively compiled from Carver.*

"*Idee Topographique des Hauts du Mississipi et Missouri.*" By Antoine Souldard, 1795.

*Manuscript map in the Bibliotheque du Service Hydrographique. This is a French version of an important map of Spanish Louisiana. The original Spanish map was made by order of Governor Carondelet in preparation of Jean Baptiste Truteau's expedition up the Missouri River. Carver's route is noted on the map.*

*A General Map of North America from the best Authorities.* By Amos Doolittle. Boston: Jedidiah Morse, 1796.

*Published in Morse's The American Universal Geography, this is perhaps the last American map to show the source of river Origan.*

*A Map of the United States of North America Drawn from a number of Critical Researches.* By Aaron Arrowsmith. London: Aaron Arrowsmith, 1796.

*The first known map to utilize both Carver's printed and manuscript material. Includes lengthy quotes from Carver's Travels and shows Carver's route.*

*A Map of the United States of North America.* By John Melish. Philadelphia: John Melish, 1815. Engraved by Henry S. Tanner.

*First appearance of Carver's grant on a printed map. Published in Melish's Travels Through the United States.*

*A Map of the United States with the Contiguous British and Spanish Possessions.* By John Melish. Philadelphia: John Melish, 1816. Engraved by John Vallance and Henry S. Tanner.

*Popular map which disseminated existence of Carver's grant.*

*Carte de la Louisiane et du Mexique.* By Pierre Francois Tardieu. Paris: P.F. Tardieu, 1820. Engraved by Antoine Francois Tardieu.

*First French printed map to show Carver's grant.*

*The United States of North America with the British Territories.* By William Faden. London: William Faden, 1820.

*First British printed map to show Carver's grant.*

"Plan of Jonathan Carver's Land Purchased from the Nawdowissie Indians in 1767."

*Anonymous manuscript map, c. 1845, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A highly stylized map showing range and township lines and identifying some landowners within the grant.*





THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE  
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*From the Kitchen*  
by Jan Longone

"As American as Apple Pie." Bah! Humbug! And pshaw! I propose that the credentials for "As American as Indian Pudding" are far more compelling. It is true that in Amelia Simmons' *American Cookery* (Hartford, 1796), considered to be the first American cookbook, there are two recipes for Apple Pie. These are, however, recipes of English origin, using ingredients readily available in England and on the Continent as well. Furthermore, recipes for Apple Pie abound in cookbooks published in England prior to the nineteenth century.

On the other hand, the three recipes for Indian Pudding which appear in this first American cookbook have been considered by historians to be not only the first printed recipes in English for that homely yet delicious food but also the first for any dish using corn meal as an ingredient.

We do know that the techniques used in making Indian or Hasty Pudding are age-old; gruels, potages, porridges, frumenties, and puddings were made from earliest times. We also know that specific pudding recipes very similar in nature to those for Indian Pudding appear in early English cookbooks, but these use wheat flour, rye flour, oatmeal, ground rice, crumbled bread or cake, or other cereals and starches in place of the corn meal. Further, there are records that various Indian tribes and civilizations in the New World were making some form of corn meal gruel or pudding, oftentimes sweetened with honey or native berries. But it is exactly the combination of the ancient techniques with the indigenous New World crop, corn, flavored with the colonial products of ginger, nutmeg and molasses, which I believe makes Indian Pudding a contender for our national dish.

Although the first recipes for Indian Pudding did not appear in print prior to 1796, we know that Americans had been eating it for about 150 years before that time. The *Dictionary of Americanisms* (Chicago, 1951) records the first printed usage of the words "Indian Pudding" to be in the March 17-26, 1722, edition of *The New England Courant*, the third newspaper printed in Boston and the fourth in the British colonies. Examination of this newspaper in the Clements Library archives

did, indeed, uncover the following news article, datelined Boston, March 26, 1722:

"We are at present amus'd with a very odd Story from Martha's Vineyard, which however is affirm'd for a Truth by some Persons lately come from thence. viz. That at a certain House in Edgar Town, a Plain Indian Pudding, being put into the Pot and boil'd the usual Time, it came out a Blood-red Colour, to the great Surprise of the whole Family. The Cause of this great Alteration in the Pudding is not yet known tho' it has been Matter of great Speculation in that Neighbourhood."

The scientific curiosity expressed in this news article surprised me until I discovered that the probable author was none other than Benjamin Franklin, who was at that time working on *The Courant* as an apprentice to the editor, his brother James.

It should not seem radical to suggest that a recipe using corn be our national dish. Throughout the length and breadth of this hemisphere, Indians were using this native grain in a variety of ways before the Europeans arrived. When the colonists did come, they were immediately introduced to corn; it sustained them and played a decisive role in making permanent settlement possible. The earliest personal letter in English in the Clements Library reveals how quickly the new arrivals accepted corn, although we see the letter writer's fear that his wife might not be pleased with this unknown grain when she arrived in America.

Written "from Newbery in New England this 11th of the 8th month called October, 1638," Henry Biley sent a letter to his "deare & Lovinge wife, Mrs. Rebecca Biley in Sarum." Mr. Biley had come to the colonies sometime early in 1638 but had to leave his wife back in England as she was pregnant. In this letter, he tells her of his life and progress in Newbery, "for I am confident that there is noe Country under the Sunn where men may more Comfort[ably] subsist if they be industrious." He tells her that he eagerly awaits her coming and then admonishes:

"& to the end you may the more comfortably subsist heere, I would wish you to bring with you one hogshead of meale [I assume he means wheat], one barrel of oat meal, one hundred of ramish cheese with a firkin of suet, for I doubt whether this Country Corne may be so well liking unto you though for my part

I like exceedingly well of it & so doe the most of the new Comers."

Should our nation accept Indian Pudding as its national dish, we would not be alone in our choice of a homely pudding as our culinary symbol. Any student of Scottish history knows that Robert Burns immortalized the "Great Chieftain o' the Puddin' Race" in his *Ode To Haggis*. Throughout the world on January 25, Haggis Dinners are given to commemorate the poet's birthday—and the national pudding.

The American language and literature are filled with poems, stories, and references to corn. It is our national grain. Among the many poems of praise to corn, I would like to discuss two which illustrate the almost mystical role that corn plays in the American ethos. Both were penned when their authors were abroad and homesick for their native land. It was corn which they longed for and which they considered to be the symbol of their homeland.

On a cold and bitter January day in 1793, Joel Barlow, diplomat and later author of the epic nationalistic poem *The Columbiad*, found himself in the town of Chambéry (then part of Savoy, now in eastern France). There he was unexpectedly served a dish of corn meal mush. In a moment of whimsicality and homesickness, Barlow wrote *The Hasty Pudding*, a poem on the virtues of this favorite New England version of Indian Pudding. First published in *The New York Weekly Magazine*, January, 1796, and widely reprinted thereafter, *The Hasty Pudding* became Barlow's most popular work. Because the poem actually contains a recipe for Indian Pudding, it is routinely cited in cookery bibliographies.

The poem is a delight to read, even today. In addition to the recipe for Hasty Pudding, Barlow discusses the planting, growing, harvesting, milling, and husking of corn as well as the role of Hasty Pudding in colonial life. Throughout the poem are paeans of praise for the discoverer of corn and all who work with it:

. . . what lovely squaw, in days of yore,  
(Ere great Columbus sought thy native  
shore)

First gave thee to the world . . .

and to:

Some tawny Ceres, goddess of her days,

First learn'd with stones to crack the  
well-dry'd maize,  
Thro' the rough sieve to shake the golden  
show'r,  
In boiling water stir the yellow flour.

There is praise for the corn itself ("generous  
maize") and for Hasty Pudding ("my morning  
incense") and a charming verse:

And all my bones were made of Indian  
corn.  
Delicious grain! Whatever form it take,  
To roast or boil, to smother or to bake,  
In every dish 'tis welcome still to me,  
But most, my Hasty-Pudding, most in  
thee.

A century and a half later, Paul Engle, poet  
and longtime director of the Creative Writing  
and International Writers Programs at the  
University of Iowa, found himself homesick  
in England—homesick enough to write his  
poem, *Corn*, published in *Corn: A Book of  
Poems* (New York, 1939). In it, he recalls the  
"thousand-mile field, midwest, plowed with-  
out end" and the "autumn prairie blonde with  
corn." He complains that he had:

. . . grown tired of that dull foreign food,  
Wanting the piled-high plates of August  
corn,  
Golden like nothing in the English earth,  
Sweet with the rain and yellow with the  
sun.

He says at last:

. . . I have come back  
To land I carry in my bones as corn  
Eaten when a child . . .

and:

. . . My life is  
To be at home here by the cornfield's edge,  
Under the big light of American sky . . .

And so we close our nomination for Indian  
Pudding (or at least, some preparation utiliz-  
ing corn) as our national dish with thoughts  
by Mark Twain, that most American of writ-  
ers. In *A Tramp Abroad* (Hartford, Conn.,  
1878), Twain tells of returning to America  
craving, yearning for, lusting after, certain  
American foods. Among them are six corn  
dishes: Hominy, Succotash, Hot Hoe-Cakes,  
Hot Corn-Pone with Chitlings, Green Corn,  
cut from the ear and served with butter and  
pepper, and Green Corn on the ear (Corn on  
the Cob).

100 YEARS OF INDIAN PUDDING  
RECIPES FROM THE FIRST  
AMERICAN COOKBOOK IN 1796 TO  
THE FIRST EDITION OF FANNIE  
FARMER'S BOSTON COOKING-  
SCHOOL COOK BOOK IN 1896

I have selected for your delectation a sam-  
pling of recipes for Indian Pudding from the  
hundreds to be found in early sources. Note  
the great variations possible. The Pudding  
can be baked or boiled; made hastily or in  
twelve hours; prepared in a pot, a dish, a pan  
or a pudding cloth. It must contain corn meal  
and a mixture of some of the following ingre-  
dients: milk, water, butter, lard, molasses,  
sugar, salt, suet, raisins, currants, apples,  
whortleberries, dried peaches, cranberries,  
pumpkin, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, and/or  
grated orange or lemon peel. The recipe styles  
vary from the elegant, explicit directions of  
Miss Leslie to the bare admonitions of Fannie  
Farmer. It is suggested that the Indian Pud-  
ding be eaten with a wide variety of accompa-  
niments: wine sauce, sugar and cream, butter  
and molasses, or a sauce made from powdered  
white sugar, fresh butter, nutmeg, and lemon  
or orange juice. For my part, the definitive  
paring is that from my Boston childhood—hot  
Indian Pudding and a large cone-shaped scoop  
of Ice Cream, either Peach, Tutti Frutti, or  
Frozen Pudding.

*A Nice Indian Pudding*

No. 1. 3 pints scalded milk, 7 spoons fine  
Indian meal, stir well together while hot, let  
stand till cooled; add 7 eggs, half pound rais-  
ins, 4 ounces butter, spice and sugar, and  
bake one and half hour.

No. 2. 3 pints scalded milk to one pint meal  
salted; cool, add 2 eggs, 4 ounces butter, sugar  
or molasses and spice q.s. it will require two  
and half hours baking.

No. 3. Salt a pint meal, wet with one quart  
milk, sweeten and put into a strong cloth,  
brass or bell metal vessel, stone or earthen  
pot, secure from wet and boil 12 hours.

Amelia Simmons, *American Cookery* (Hart-  
ford, 1796).

*Baked Indian Meal Pudding*

Boil one quart of milk, mix in it two gills  
and a half of corn meal very smoothly, seven  
eggs well beaten, a gill of molasses, and a good

piece of butter; bake it two hours.

#### *Boiled Indian Meal Pudding*

Mix one quart of corn meal, with three quarts of milk; take care it be not lumpy—add three eggs and a gill of molasses; it must be put on at sun rise, to eat at three o'clock; the great art in this pudding is tying the bag properly, as the meal swells very much.

Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife* (Washington, 1824).

#### *Baked Indian Pudding*

Indian pudding is good baked. Scald a quart of milk (skimmed milk will do,) and stir in seven table spoonfuls of sifted Indian meal, a tea-spoonful of salt, a tea-cupful of molasses, and a great spoonful of ginger, or sifted cinnamon. Baked three or four hours. If you want whey, you must be sure and pour in a little cold milk, after it is all mixed.

#### *Boiled Indian Pudding*

Indian pudding should be boiled four or five hours. Sifted Indian meal and warm milk should be stirred together pretty stiff. A little salt, and two or three great spoonfuls of molasses, added; a spoonful of ginger, if you like that spice. Boil it in a tight covered pan, or a very thick cloth; if the water gets in, it will ruin it. Leave plenty of room; for Indian swells very much. The milk with which you mix it should be merely warm; if it be scalding, the pudding will break in pieces. Some people chop sweet suet fine, and warm in the milk; others warm thin slices of sweet apple to be stired into the pudding. Water will answer instead of milk.

#### *Hasty Pudding*

Boil water, a quart, three pints, or two quarts, according to the size of your family; sift your meal, stir five or six spoonfuls of it thoroughly into a bowl of water; when the water in the kettle boils, pour into it the contents of the bowl; stir it well, and let it boil up thick; put in salt to suit your own taste, then stand over the kettle, and sprinkle in meal, handful after handful, stirring it very thoroughly all the time, and letting it boil between whiles. When it is so thick that you stir it with great difficulty, it is about right. It takes about half an hour's cooking. Eat it with milk or molasses. Either Indian meal or rye meal may be used. If the system is in a restricted state, nothing can be better than *rye* hasty pudding

and *West India* molasses. This diet would save many a one the horrors of dyspepsia.

Lydia Maria Child, *The American Frugal Housewife* (Boston, 1836).

#### *Indian Fruit Pudding*

Take a pint of hot milk and stir in sifted Indian meal till the batter is stiff; add a tea-spoonful of salt and a little molasses; then stir in a pint of whortleberries, or the same quantity of chopped sweet apple. Tie it in a cloth that has been wet, and leave room for it to swell, or put it in a pudding pan, and tie a cloth over—boil it three hours. The water must boil when it is put in.

You can use cranberries, and eat it with sweet sauce.

J.Q. Jackson, *Valuable Receipts: Or, Secrets Revealed!* (Boston, 1846).

#### *Ann's Indian baked pudding*

One cup of meal, with one quart of Milk, a pint of which make hot and scald the meal, the other half add cold, three Eggs, a lump of butter the size of a large walnut, sugar Cinamon, and nutmeg to your taste bake it one hour: you may add a little ginger if you like it—

Either Wine sauce or butter & sugar mixed together.

Elizabeth C. Kane, *Manuscript Receipt Book* (1822-1852), Clements Library.

#### *An Excellent Indian Pudding without Eggs (A Cheap Dish)*

Take seven heaping spoonfuls of Indian meal, half a tea-spoonful of salt, two spoonfuls of butter or sweet lard, a teacup of molasses, and two tea-spoonfuls of ginger or cinnamon, to the taste. Pour into these a quart of milk while boiling hot. Mix well, and put it in a buttered dish. Just as you set it in the oven stir in a teacup of cold water, which will produce the same effect as eggs. Bake three quarters of an hour, in a dish that will not spread it out thin.

Catherine Beecher, *Miss Beecher's Domestic Receipt Book* (New York, 1852).

#### *A Boiled Indian Pudding*

Boil a quart of milk, and stir in meal to make it a thick batter; put in a tea-spoonful of

salt, a tea-cup of suet, a spoonful of sugar; mix these well together, add two eggs, well beaten. If you have dried peaches, soak them; sprinkle them with dry flour, and put them in, or put in raisins, previously rubbed with wheat flour—beat it well; have your pot boiling, scald the bag, flour it, and put in the pudding;—it will boil in two hours. Eat with sugar and cream, molasses, or any kind of pudding sauce.

Elizabeth Lea, *Domestic Cookery* (Baltimore, 1853). [A Quaker cookbook].

*Baked Corn Meal Pudding*

A pint of sifted Indian meal.—Half a pint of West India molasses.—A quarter of a pound of fresh butter.—A pint of milk.—Four eggs.—The yellow rind of a large fresh orange or lemon grated.—A tea-spoonful of powdered cinnamon and nutmeg mixed. Boil the milk. Sift the Indian meal into an earthen pan, pour the boiling milk over it, and stir them well together. Cut up the butter into a small sauce-pan; pour the molasses over it; set it on the fire, and let them warm together till the butter is soft, but not oiled. Stir them well, and mix them with the milk and Indian meal. Set the pan in a cool place. In a separate pan beat the eggs very light, and when the mixture has become cold, add the eggs to it, gradually. Then stir in the spice, and grated orange or lemon peel. Stir the whole very hard. Put the mixture into a buttered white dish and bake it well. Serve it up hot, and eat it with a sauce made of powdered white sugar, and fresh butter seasoned with nutmeg and lemon or orange juice, and stirred together to a cream; or with a liquid sauce of melted butter, wine and nutmeg.

This quantity of ingredients will make a small pudding. For a large one, allow a double portion of each article, and bake it longer.

It will be improved by gradually stirring in at the last, a pound of Zante currants or of sultana raisins, well dredged with flour.

*Pumpkin Indian Pudding*

Take a pint and a half of cold stewed pumpkin, and mix into it a pint and a half of Indian meal, adding a table-spoonful of ground ginger. Boil a quart of milk, and as soon as you take it from the fire, stir into it a pint of West India molasses. Then add to it gradually the mixture of pumpkin and corn meal, and stir

the whole very hard. It will be much improved by adding the grated yellow rind of a large orange or lemon. Have ready over the fire a large pot of boiling water. Dip your pudding-cloth into it; shake it out; spread out the cloth in a broad pan: dredge it with flour; pour the mixture into it, and tie it fast, leaving about one-third of the space for the pudding to swell. Boil it three hours or more—four hours will not be too long. Turn it several times while boiling. Replenish the pot as it boils, with hot water from a kettle kept boiling for the purpose. Take up the pudding immediately before it is wanted for table—dip it a moment in cold water, and turn it out into a dish. Eat it with butter and molasses.

This pudding requires no eggs in the mixture. The molasses, if West India, will make it sufficiently light.

Eliza Leslie, *Miss Leslie's New Receipts* (Philadelphia, 1854).

*Baked Indian Pudding*

Boil one pint of sweet milk, stir in one cup of meal while boiling, pour into a baking dish and add one-half cup of molasses, two table-spoonfuls of sugar, one teaspoonful of ginger, one-half teaspoonful of salt, and a little nutmeg. Then add one pint of sweet milk with one egg well beaten. Put into the oven and bake one hour.

*Hasty Pudding, or "Mush"*

We place this first as the most common and most easily made. No one ever "took sick" from eating mush and milk, or fried mush in any suitable quantity. (We knew a student well, who left the active labors of the farm to pursue his studies in an Academy. The first term he used a variety of food, and was in poor health. The next term of 11 weeks he ate *only* mush and milk, for breakfast, dinner, and supper, and actually grew fat on it, while he lost all headache, and though pursuing five heavy studies, he was first in his class, and went through the term strong and vigorous, without an hour of lost time, though he worked enough in the field and garden, at 8 cents an hour, to pay all his expenses.) "Mush and milk" is seldom relished, because few people know how to make the mush. The whole secret is in cooking it thoroughly. Rightly made it is not "hasty pudding." A well made "mush" is one that has boiled not less than a

full hour. Two hours are better. The meal needs to be cooked; then it is both good and palatable. The rule is: Mix it very thin and boil it down, avoiding any burning or scorching, and salt it just right to suit the general taste. Prepare a good kettle full for supper, to be eaten with milk, sugar, molasses, syrup, or sweetened cream, or sweetened milk. If a good supply be left to cook, and be cut in slices and fried well in the morning, the plate of wheaten bread will be little in demand. It must be fried well, not crisped, or burned, or soaked in fat. If thoroughly soaked through in the kettle, it will only need to be heated through on the griddle. If not cooked well in the kettle, longer frying will be necessary.

*The Nebraska Farmer & Western Educational Advocate*, December, 1861.

*Plymouth Indian Meal Pudding*

Mix one cup of yellow corn meal, one cup of molasses, and one teaspoonful of salt. Pour on one quart of boiling milk, add one tablespoonful of butter, three pints of cold milk, and one cup of cold water, or two eggs. Bake in a deep, well-buttered pudding-dish, holding at least three quarts. Bake very slowly seven or eight hours. Do not stir, but cover with a plate if it bake too fast. One cup of currants may be used to give variety.

*Baked Indian Meal Pudding (made quickly)*

Boil one quart of milk. Pour it gradually on three tablespoonfuls of granulated Indian meal. Put it back in the double boiler, and boil one hour, stirring often. Then add one heaping tablespoonful of butter, one teaspoonful of salt, half a cup of molasses, two eggs, and one quart of cold milk. Mix well, pour into a well-buttered dish, and bake one hour. Eat with cream or butter.

Mary J. Lincoln, *Mrs. Lincoln's Boston Cook Book* (Boston, 1884).

*Indian Pudding*

5 cups scalded milk. 1/2 cup molasses.  
1/3 cup Indian meal. 1 teaspoon salt.  
1 teaspoon ginger.

Pour milk slowly on meal, cook in double boiler twenty minutes, add molasses, salt, and ginger; pour into buttered pudding-dish and bake two hours in slow oven; serve with cream. If baked too rapidly it will not whey.

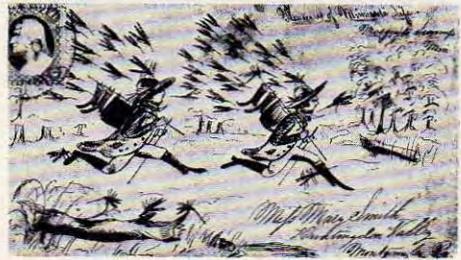
Ginger may be omitted.

Fannie Farmer, *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book* (Boston, 1896).



*Mosquitoes*

One of the delightful aspects of American postal history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is to observe the diversity of what actually made it through the mails. Europeans might simply address relatives by city or even country, without any street addresses, and the letters would reach their destination. During the Civil War, vast numbers of patriotic envelopes were used, covered with cartoons, multi-colored maps, and patriotic devices. Advertisers would cover the entire front sheet of envelopes with engravings of their products, making addresses all but impossible to find, and yet the postal officials persevered and delivered the mail.



The above envelope, from a western immigrant of the 1850s to his sister or girlfriend, illustrates the "Pleasures of Minnesota Life." It is, sadly, one aspect of frontier life with which we can still identify.



*Hunting Shirts and Ostrich Plumes*

The Revolutionary War pension files at the National Archives are a rich source of incidental factual material and anecdotes concerning the war, in addition to more substantial historical narratives.

The following brief quotations, which relate to uniforms and dress, might be of considerable interest to military history enthusiasts.

*Frederick Unsell* enlisted in August, 1779, as a private in Captain James Hughes' company of Colonel Gibson's Pennsylvania regiment. "We had coatees or very short blue coats trimmed with white & the button holes worked with white thread."

*Jacob Kittle* was born July 26, 1757, in Sussex County, New Jersey. While living in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, he enlisted and served as private with the Pennsylvania troops from February 19, 1776. His service included membership in Captain Thomas L. Byles' and George Tudor's companies in Colonel Cadwalader's regiment.

"The Pennsylvania troops to which he belonged were laid off into Battalions, he belonged to the 3d. Battalion of the Pennsylvania regulars, he recollects that the buttons worn by those who belonged to his Battalion had on them a figure 3. & letters P.B. he also recollects that the uniform of each Battalion was different, he thinks the uniform of the 1st was a pale blue coats faced with white, 2d. he thinks were blue coats faced with red but can not be certain, the 3d. were brown coats faced with white, the uniform of the 4th. is not recollected but he is inclined to the belief that they were deep blue coats faced with white, the 5th. wore brown coats faced with white their buttons he recollects had on them the figure 5. & letters P.B."

*James Fergus* (1756-1837), enlisted in Captain Thomas Clark's company, "I Think it was in the Month of June '76 that we enroll'd ourselves as a Volunteer Rifle Company, in Col. Frederick Watts Militia Regiment 84 in Number including Officers; every Officer in the Battallion enrolled themselves as privates, & then we elected by vote our Officers to command us the present tour. Our uniform was a dark purple colored Hunting shirt & pantaloons; a good Rifle & Powder horn & shot pouch, Tomahawk & belt were our equipments, all furnished by ourselves."

*Thomas Layton* was born May 11, 1765, in Morristown, New Jersey.

"When I first served as a Soldier I was living

in the county of Northumberland in the State of Pennsylvania—I Served two years a militia man on the frontiers of Pennsylvania at the age of about 13 or fourteen years. . . . I was in actual Service from the 4th of May 1779 to the first of December 1783. I remember that we drew our winter clothing about three weeks before I was Discharged which as aforesaid was in December.

"I cannot Say what Regiment I belonged to but I know that General James Patten was general of the Brigade to which I belonged—we drew our clothing & provisions from the State—I suppose it was from the State, I know we got them & I considered myself in the Service of the State of Pennsylvania we Drew Short coats or coatees of blue trimmed with white—we found our own guns—we were riflemen—our officers wore blue coats with red facings or trimmings—we got our powder & lead from the State—we drew catridges once or twice but we had to empty them & ram the lead into Balls to suit our Rifles."

*Enos Morse* (1761-1838), served as a private with six different companies of Massachusetts troops from 1777 through 1781.

"General Lafayette was in command of the Infantry & marched with the troops from West-point and was with them during their campaign in the Jerseys—He presented each of the troops with an Ostrich feather as a mark of respect."

*Eli Seymour* enlisted in the Spring of 1780, in Captain Heath's company, Colonel Samuel Wyllie's regiment, Connecticut Line.

"In the early part of the year 1781 (if my memory is correct) the Soldiers receivd twenty Four dollars each drew more clothing, our clothing was Rifle Frock and Linnen Pantaloons for Summer. I recollect the organizing of La-Fayettes Light Infantry and all the Officers having gold gilt hilted Swords, and Caps with white Horse-hair on the Top, and black plumes, with a small red Top which was worn by all his Soldiers; it was said that La-Fayette brought them from France."

*William Rains* enlisted at Caroline County, Virginia. In August 1846, Caroline Hogans, testifying on behalf of his wife Elizabeth, who was seeking his pension, stated: ". . . this affidavit was not at the time entirely grown, but she

recollects as well what passed at the time as if it had only happened a few days back; and she recollects particularly the clothes he had on upon his return (that is to say those William Rains had on) and more especially his Coat, which was a very long shirted one with a double Row of very large Buttons on each side, and another row on each sleeve. That these Buttons were so very large that she in a jocular way asked him to give her one to drink her Coffee out of. . . ."



*Move Over, John Hancock!*

Edward Shippen (1703-1781), Philadelphia-born merchant, leading citizen of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and non-resident founder of Shippensburg, began his illustrious career as a merchant apprentice to James Logan.

THE  
**Merchant's Magazine :**  
OR,  
**Trades-Man's Treasury**  
CONTAINING,

- I. **Arithmetick** in Whole Numbers, and Fractions, Vulgar and Decimal; with the Reason and Demonstration of each Rule; Adorn'd with curious Copper-Cuts of the chief Tables and Titles.
- II. **Merchants Accounts**, or a most concise Way of Casting up the Value of Merchandize, Tare and Trest, Interest of Coin, Rule of Barter, Loss and Gain, Fellowship, Equations of Payments, and several Matters relating to Exchange, never before made Publick.
- III. **Book-keeping**, after a Plain, Easy, and Natural Method, shewing how to Enter, Post, Close and Balance an Account, and how to discover from thence if any Error hath been in any one Account.
- IV. **Partments** concerning Bills of Exchange, Factors and Passages. The Law concerning Brokers, their Business, &c.
- V. The **Post of Letters** to and from Foreign Countries; and the Days when Mails are sent to, and due from those Countries.
- VI. An Account of the **Commodities** produced by all Countries: Their chief Towns of Trade, and Bigness of the Country compared with England.
- VII. A **Merchant or Trader's Dictionary**, explaining the most difficult Terms used in Trade. The value of Coins, Weights, and Measures.
- VIII. **Precedents** of Merchants Writings; as Bills of Lading, Invoices, Bills of Exchange, Letters of Credit, Charter Parties, &c. With many other Things not Estard before, as by the Table of Contents appears.

Accommodated chiefly to the Practice of Merchants and Tradesmen: But is likewise useful for Schools, Banks, Division of Gentlemen, Business of Mechanics, and Officers of the King's Custom and Excise.

**The Eighth Impression Corrected and Improved.**  
By **E. HATTON, Gent.**

*Autore desecta quavis ligna colligit. Juven.*

LONDON, Printed for J. HARTON, R. KNAPLOCK, J. SPAIN, D. MIDWINTER, R. ROBINSON, W. and J. INNES, J. ORDEAN and T. LONGMAN. M. DCC. XXVI. 4

were a few "how to" books available to supplement practical training. Edward Hatton's *The Merchant's Magazine* (London, 1695-1734) achieved considerable popularity in the British world, going through nine editions and selling something over 12,000 copies. It taught basic mathematics, weights and measures, tare (allowance for weight of containers) and tret (waste), exchange, interest, book-keeping, bills of exchange, factorage, broker's fees, postal rates, and business forms.



Engraving in Hatton's book

Writing with "a fair and legible Hand" was an essential talent of an aspiring merchant, and to encourage the habit, Hatton's work was illustrated by nine penmanship plates embellished by a variety of fantastic and irrelevant gargoyle-like copperplate doodles which must have captivated apprentices.

*which will be in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy seven. And I do by these presents ordain, constitute and declare*  
*John HATTON*

*of all and singular the Goods, Chattels and Credits of the said deceased the limits aforesaid, having heretofore and for ever administering me and all us against all other persons by reason of your administration aforesaid, and very one their rights. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my Hand my seal of Office at Lancaster, the seventh Day of July*  
*the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and*



Edward Shippen's signature

Edward Shippen most likely studied Hatton as a young man, for in 1770, nearing seventy years of age and thirty-six years after the last edition of *The Merchant's Magazine* appeared, his decorative signature as Register of a deed bears striking similarity to the sturgeon-like motif in the plate opposite Chapter 5 on "Division of Whole Numbers." It has to rank as one of the most unusual colonial autographs. Did Hancock have any similar model?



Mercantile apprenticeship in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries primarily was a process of learning on the job, but there

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT  
 Of Three New SPECIES of PLANTS  
 FROM  
 A M E R I C A,  
 To be Sold by DAVIDSON and HANSON,  
 No. 110, Upper THAMES-STREET, LONDON, viz.

**U**LMUS CANADENSIS RUBRA, RED CANADIAN ELM, grows naturally on moist Land, by the Banks of the River Berthie in Maskinongie Lake, and the Island of Bevers, to the Height of One Hundred and Thirty Foot; the Tree is very erect, of as quick Growth as any of the Tribe, and has broad Leaves, the Trunk is generally One Hundred Foot, when at Maturity, and the Branches, which are as large as ordinary Trees, form a most agreeable Canopy, as these Trees are very hardy, will grow upon Land, where few other Trees will prosper; and are also ornamental, being one of the most stately Trees that grow in Canada, 'tis thought they will be in general Esteem, as soon as sufficiently known in this Country, the Wood has beautiful Veins of a reddish Colour, is very hard and ponderous, and is at present in great Esteem with the Canadian Carpenters.

**POPULUS BALSAMIFERA**, or BALSAM POPLAR, is a most beautiful Tree, grows on wet Land, by the Banks of the Rivers Ya-Machice, and Maskinongie; it is a very quick Grower, produces Leaves of five Inches broad, and nine in length, and shoots of five Foot and upwards in a Season. This was ascertained by Observation made upon one of the Trees imported by the Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in Scotland, and planted in the Botanic Garden at Edinburgh. The Leaves are of a dark green Colour on the upper-side, and white on the under, and have a very healing Quality, if applied to a Wound immediately. This Tree rises to the Height of One Hundred and Twenty Foot.

**POPULUS BACCIFERA**, or the BERRY-BEARING POPLAR; grows naturally, on very wet Land, at the Borders of the Thousand Islands, on the Lake of the Two Mountains; and also on the Island of Bears in Lake St. Peter's desert Islands, in Canada; they grow to the Height of One Hundred and Fifty Foot, and are one of the most beautiful Trees in Nature, and of the quickest Growth. The Leaves are serrated, heart-shaped, and supported by long Foot-stalks, and terminate with an acute Point. The Berries are pretty large, and contain a Kind of Down which is fit for Beds; the Tree grows quite erect, and is without Branches to a considerable Height; the Bark is deeply furrowed in straight Lines, the whole Length of the Trunk; the Head of the Tree terminates in a pyramidal Form, and the Leaves are almost in continual Motion.

N. B. The above being AQUATICS, they should only be planted in a moist or watery Soil.

Where also may be had the following Articles, viz.

- PLANTS** Of the Red Canadian, Hungarian, and Cornish Elm.  
 Variegated Elm, three Sorts.  
 Balsam Pine, and Balm Gilead. ditto.  
 Black Canadian Spruce, and White ditto.  
 Scarlet Hornbeam, and American Sugar Maple.  
 Black Canadian Ash, and White ditto.  
 Yellow Thorn, which bears large Fruit.  
 Black and Scarlet, ditto.  
 Cætis, the Nettle or Lote Tree.  
 Black Hicory, and the true Swamp Birch.  
 With all Kinds of Forest and Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and Plants.  
 Hardy American, and other Tree Seeds, loose and in Cones.  
 Flower Roots for the Ground and Glasses, of all Sorts.  
 Garden, Grass, Tree, and Flower Seeds.  
 Seed Corn, Millet, Tares, and Lentiles.  
 Split Pease, and superfine Durham Flower Mustard, loose, and in Bottles  
 Flower, Bell, and Shade Glasses.  
 Large double Archangel Mats.  
 Small Russia, ditto  
 Utensils of all Sorts for gardening.



# THE AMERICAN MAGAZINE

## MANUSCRIPTS

### A. Collections and Bound Items

Dutchess County, New York, Militia. Orderly Book, Sept. 26, 1776, to Nov. 6, 1776. Company-level, probably kept by Capt. Abraham Schenck, for troops raised in the Fishkill area, assigned to Jacob Swartout's regiment.

Ogden-Dubois-McIlvaine Papers. Extensive correspondence of Sarah Platt Ogden Dubois (1782-1836), wife of wealthy New York merchant Cornelius Dubois. She was descended from the prominent New Jersey Ogden family. Primarily family letters from her husband, children, and a wide range of relatives and friends; Bishop Charles P. McIlvaine (1799-1872) correspondence, including both family letters and letters from leading historical and Episcopal Church figures of the 1840s-1860s; letters of George W. Dubois (1822-1910), Civil War chaplain and Episcopal clergyman. Gift of Koert D. Burnham, "Highlands," Keesville, N.Y.

Richard Whitworth Papers, 1772-1776. Bound collection of 29 manuscript and printed items, largely concerned with the efforts of Whitworth, Robert Rogers, and Jonathan Carver to undertake a Northwest expedition, or to receive a lucrative Royal grant to territory in present-day Minnesota and Wisconsin to profit from the fur trade, a distillery, and from mineral rights. Whitworth was a member of Parliament. The collection includes 6 letters and documents in Carver's hand, including the notorious "Carver Grant," 4 letters and 6 documents of Robert Rogers. Anonymous purchase for the Clements Library.

William Maxwell Evarts Correspondence, 1852-1875. 16 letters of Evarts, primarily to E.R. Hoar, about political issues in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods. Gift of Duane Norman Diedrich, Muncie, Ind.

## MAPS

Torrey, Jason. *A Map of Wayne & Pike Counties, Pennsylvania*. Eng. by H.S. Tanner. Phila., 1814. Accompanied by 7 individual maps of newly divided townships in

Wayne Co., c. 1820-1830, engraved by P.E. Hamm, Phila.

Zakreski, Alex. *The Only Correct & Fully Complete Map of San Francisco*. San Francisco, 1853.

*Plan of the Philanthropic Burial Ground, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia, c. 1815-1830. Hand colored, engraved map of cemetery between 12th St. and Passyunk Rd.

## F I N I S .

- Cover: "The Landing of Columbus," Theodor de Bry, *America*, Pt. 4, Plate 9.
- Page 2. Clements Library Collection.
- Page 4. Frontispiece, Jonathan Carver's *Travels* (London, 1780).
- Page 6. Jonathan Carver to Richard Whitworth, London, December 30, 1776. Whitworth Papers, Clements Library.
- Page 9. Whitworth Papers, Clements Library.
- Page 12. Carver *Travels*, 1778.
- Page 18. Frontispiece, *Hibernian Magazine* (Dublin, 1776).
- Page 22. Robert Rogers *Journals* (London, 1765).
- Page 32. Robert Rogers *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765).
- Page 36. Mezzotint engraving, published by Thomas Hart, London, October 1, 1776. Clements Library.
- Page 47. William Brasier *A Survey of Lake Champlain* 1762. Copied by William Test, 1776. Gage Maps, Clements Library.
- Page 50. Carver *A Plan of Captain Carver's Travels*, in *Travels* (London, 1778).
- Page 51. De Costa *A Plan of the Town and Harbour of Boston* (London, 1775).
- Page 52. Whitworth Papers, Clements Library.
- Page 56. John Melish *A Map of the United States of North America* (Philadelphia, 1815).
- Page 67. Clements Library Collection.
- Page 69. E. Hatton, *The Merchant's Magazine*, (London, 1726).
- Page 69. Edward Shippen, D.S., July 8, 1770. Clements Library.
- Page 70. Whitworth Papers, Clements Library.

All of the printers' ornaments in this issue are taken from the first editions of Robert Rogers' three published works: *Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (London, 1765); *A Concise Account of North America* (London, 1765); *Ponteach* (London, 1766).

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