

THE QUARTO

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FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

George Washington composed one of the odder letters in his voluminous correspondence on July 20, 1776, as he and his men prepared to defend New York against the invasion that General William Howe was about to unleash. Hundreds of

Royal Navy ships rode at anchor in the harbor, and thousands of British and Hessian troops were encamped on Staten Island when the commander-in-chief wrote the following words to his old comrade-in-arms, Adam Stephen:

"I did not let the Anniversary of the 3d or 9th of this Inst[an]t [month] pass off[f] without a grateful remembrance of the escape we had at the Meadows and on the Banks of the Monongahela. [T]he

same Providence that protected us upon those occasions will, I hope, continue his Mercies, and make us happy Instruments in restoring Peace & liberty to this once favour'd, but now distressed Country." (Emmet Collection, The New York Public Library)

What makes this passage all the more curious is that on July 9th, the day he commemorated his "escape ... on the Banks of the Monongahela," Washington had also ordered his officers to read the newly-arrived Declaration of Independence at the head of each regiment. Yet nowhere in his letter did he mention the Declaration.

In other words, as Washington faced his greatest crisis yet as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, it was less the future of the United States than his personal history that was on his mind. The specific experiences were a pair of spectacular defeats that

War II did for Americans in the late 1950s or early '60s. The central public event of Washington's life to date, as for his generation, had been the destruction of New France, the stunning victory that had made Britain the greatest imperial power of the day. Yet victory

had somehow also created the conditions that had plunged the British Empire into civil war, just a little more than 12 years after the Peace of Paris.

Today, 250 years after the Seven Years' War began in America, we have almost forgotten the events that loomed so large for Washington in 1776. Chief among the reasons for this collective amnesia is the success of the American Revolution itself. "It is," Francis Parkman observed in the introduction to *Montcalm and Wolfe*, "the nature of great events to

obscure the great events that came before them." The Seven Years' War had, as a result, been "half lost to sight behind the storm-cloud of the War of Independence." Yet it is important for us today to understand the significance of that conflict and the role that Washington—a young man hungry for glory and eager to extend the authority of his king into the interior of North America—played in it, if only because there is no clearer reminder in American history of the ironies of imperial victory and the unintended consequences of war.

Nor is there any better place in the United States to investigate

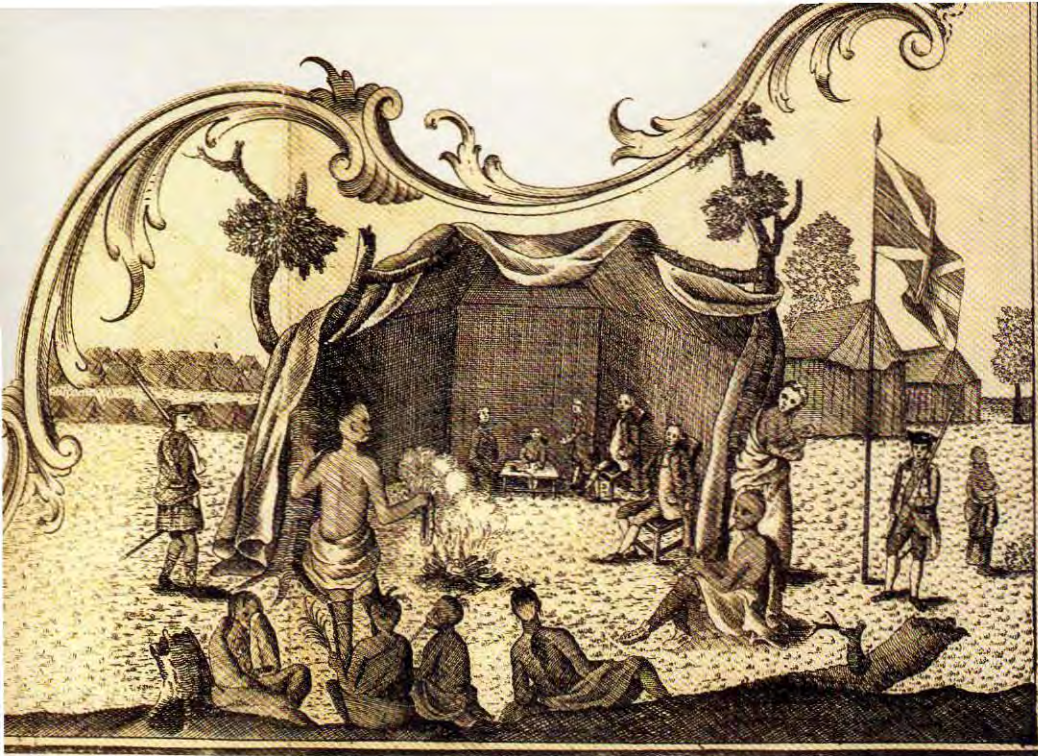


Sea power was critical to victory in America. By 1758 the Royal Navy dominated the Atlantic and could launch amphibious operations against the fortress port of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. A French squadron was trapped in the harbor. This 1771 print, from a scene by Richard Paton, celebrates a British raid on the night of July 26 that captured Bienfaisant (64 guns) and burned Prudent (74).

both he and Stephen had survived: the Battle of Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754, and the destruction of General Edward Braddock's army at the Battle of the Monongahela on July 9, 1755.

While it may puzzle us that Washington paused at the very moment of the Republic's birth to make "grateful remembrance" of the twin disasters that began his military career, it made perfect sense for him to do so. For Washington, as for many other middle-aged Americans in 1776, the Seven Years' War—what they called "the late French War" and later would name the French and Indian War—carried the same kind of significance that World





European military forces encountered Native Americans as both allies and enemies. A cartouche illustration, from Thomas Hutchins's map of the Ohio country, depicts a 1764 council between Colonel Henry Bouquet and local Indians. Additional details include a rare image of a Scottish soldier (left) and a military encampment.

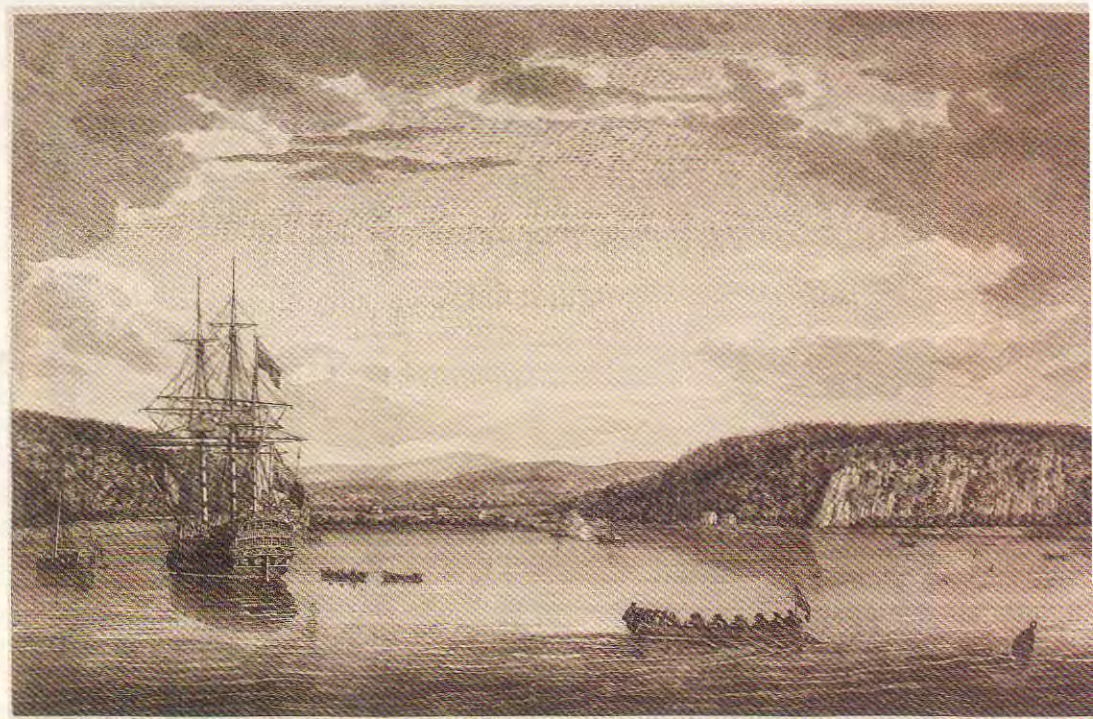
vival had depended upon it. These new, indiscriminate attitudes, soon to be reinforced by the bitter experience of the War of Independence on the northern and western frontiers, helped create the foundations of an American cultural and political identity separate from the older British one, even as they promoted and justified the annihilation of whole Indian peoples in the name of freedom, civilization, and peace.

In that sense, the story of the Seven Years' War is much more than a phase in the early military career of George Washington and more than a prelude to the American Revolution with which we are familiar—the struggle for liberty against oppression, rights against power, independence against subjugation. It is also a darker story, one in which the very realization of imperial ambitions produces unpredictable results; in which victory breeds disaster for the victor; in which the evidently benign growth of a population of peaceable farmers leads to the wholesale destruction of native peoples. Those are as much a part of American history as the brighter, more familiar, more comfortable story of rights defended and liberty maintained. The fact that both stories meet in the person of George Washington is worth thinking about as we seek to understand the causes, character, and consequences of a war that no one wanted but which transformed their world forever.

— Fred Anderson
Professor of History
University of Colorado, Boulder

Years' War undermined, and ultimately destroyed, the ability of native peoples to resist the expansion of Anglo-American settlement. The war's violence and brutality, moreover, engendered attitudes and patterns of behavior on the frontier that encouraged whites to hate Indians as they had never been able to do in the pre-war world. In that earlier time of competition between empires, colonists had been required to make distinctions between friendly and hostile groups, if only because their sur-

Drawings by military and naval officers were the basis for the plates of Scenographia Americana, published in 1768. Many combine wartime events with dramatic scenery. This is Cap Rouge on the St. Lawrence River, nine miles above Québec, drawn by Captain Hervey Smyth.



the historical experience, and even the look, of the Seven Years' War than the Clements Library. Benjamin West's "The Death of General Wolfe"—his third rendition of the scene, completed in 1776—hangs over the elegant Main Room in solemn glory. It is only the most visible treasure in an unmatched collection of books, maps, images, and manuscripts relating to the war in America. Engravings, like a colored mezzotint from 1771 depicting the capture of the French line-of-battle ship *Bienfaisant* at the siege of Louisbourg in July 1758, capture the drama of military events. Other prints—notably the twenty-eight plates of the *Scenographia Americana: Or, a Collection of Views in North America and the West Indies . . . From Drawings taken on the Spot, by Several Officers of the British Navy and Army*—show contemporary views of cities and forts, seascapes and landscapes, and communicate the fascination of British subjects with the exotic locales in which the war was fought. If these images hint at the exultation of the British in the greatest military victory of their history, the Gage Papers and other manuscripts, including the diaries of common soldiers, speak with equal power of the grinding daily realities of the war experience and the terrors of battle.

What remains largely unseen in the images of the war, although not in the grittier world depicted in the manuscripts and maps, are those aspects of the conflict and its meaning that modern Americans might most profitably contemplate on the 250th anniversary of its beginning. In bringing to an end the French empire in North America, the Seven

A CONFLICT DOCUMENTED

Fred Anderson, who provides the introduction to this issue of the *Quarto*, is the author of *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York, 2000). His comprehensive study is one of the most recent of many works to draw on the rich resources of the Clements Library documenting the conflict most Americans still think of as the French and Indian War. Primary source material for the Seven Years' War in America may be found throughout the collections. This reflects the focus of William L. Clements, among whose many interests was the era of the American Revolution and the events that led to it. An early strength of the Library, the period of the Seven Years' War remains a collecting priority as we reach the 250th anniversary of the beginning of fighting in the forests of western Pennsylvania.

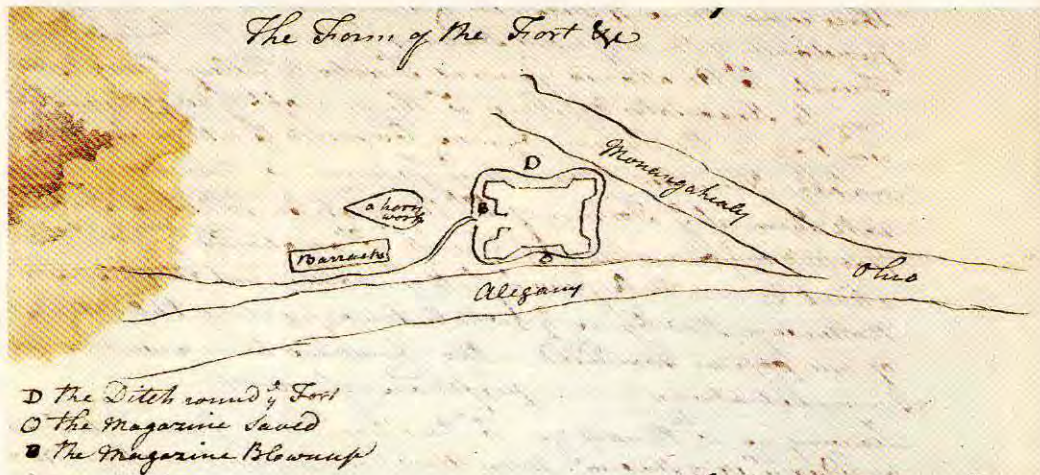
The holdings of the Clements Library are typically diverse on this period of American history. Our Book Division has copies of American and British political imprints of the time, magazines, sermons relating to the war, narratives justifying territorial claims of the competing powers, military texts, histories written soon after the war, and much more printed material. The Map Division holds hundreds of printed maps illuminating the military or political situation. There are dozens of manuscript maps and plans and hundreds more represented by facsimiles of originals from other collections. The Graphics Division contains portrait prints of participants, cartoons, and engravings of events, topography, and cities produced from drawings sent back to Europe by participants in the war.

The Manuscripts Division is particularly rich in unique collections that document the conflict at many different levels. Descriptions of these collections are accessible through the Clements Library web site (www.clements.umich.edu), but a review of them will give some idea of their scope and perhaps whet the appetite of scholars who wish to consult them during the coming years. The collections have been grouped into rough categories, though most are likely to contain documentation on a variety of subjects. Italics indicate the names under which collections will be found on the web site.

The War in America: Festering North American boundary disputes helped lay the

powder train for war, and the Library has the letterbooks and papers of *William Mildmay*, one of the British commissioners appointed to determine the boundaries of Acadia. A recent acquisition also relates to the beginning of the conflict. Sometime in 1757 an American colonist, probably Virginia provincial officer *William Trent*, drew on his own experiences to prepare a ten-page critique of a French account of the early events of the war in western Pennsylvania. He discusses the French seizure

Lower levels of command may be glimpsed in the *Browne Brothers Papers*, the correspondence of lieutenants Richard and Francis Browne, who describe, respectively, events in Germany and in Nova Scotia, the West Indies, and Cuba. The sinews of the war are revealed in the *James Furnis Letterbook* of 1755–58 containing the writings of an officer who served as commissary of stores and paymaster in Albany and later comptroller of ordinance in North America. The *Miscellaneous*



John W. Oglethorpe served on the successful 1758 expedition against Fort Duquesne. Upon his return, in January 1759, he described his experiences to Samuel Wyly and included a sketch of the ruins of the French fort. Wyly forwarded the letter to South Carolina Governor William Henry Lyttelton, in whose papers it survives.

of the Forks of the Ohio and the defeat of George Washington at Fort Necessity. Another manuscript narrative, *Jean Chalon's* "Histoire abrégée de la conquête du Canada," provides an account of the British conquest of the colony.

The perspective of a senior British officer is represented in the papers of *Thomas Gage*, who fought as a regimental commander and brigadier. His papers are most useful for his command at Albany and Oswego in 1759, the conquest and occupation of New France in 1760–63, and the progress of Pontiac's War in 1763–64. Complementing Gage's papers are some of *Jeffery Amherst's*, who commanded in America from 1758 to 1763. These contain some details on the French and Indian War and much on the subsequent Indian uprising. The Library is also fortunate to have the papers and letterbooks of *William Henry Lyttelton*, governor of South Carolina from 1755–60 and Jamaica from 1760–66. These are exceptionally rich in inter-colonial correspondence and southern Indian affairs.

Collection contains a variety of letters and documents relating to the war, including correspondence of Sir William Johnson, William Eyre, Thomas Pownall, and others. Additional miscellaneous letters relating to the course of the war are in the *Howe Brothers Papers* and those of *Charles Townshend*.

World War: Other Clements Library collections contain correspondence and documents concerning the war at sea and in Europe. The *Ligonier Letterbook* of 1758–60 has much on army affairs in the correspondence of Lord John Ligonier, commander-in-chief under Prime Minister William Pitt. Politics and early military actions are discussed in 62 letters in the *George Grenville Papers*. Further correspondence concerning the progress of the war occurs in the *George Germain* and *Earl of Shelburne Papers*. The Shelburne Papers also contained manuscript maps from both the American and European theaters.

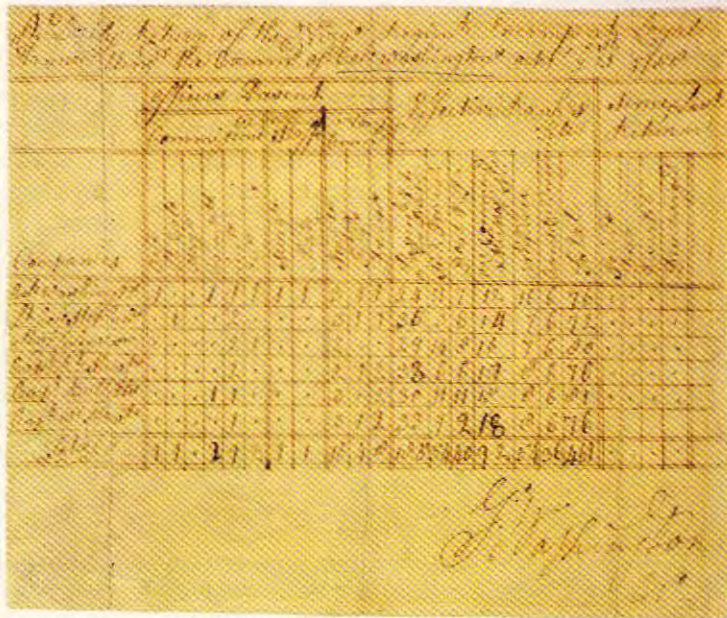
Although the papers of *Henry Clinton* are known for their extensive documentation of the American Revolution, a part of them

pertains to his service in Europe as aide-de-camp to Lord Ligonier and the Duke of Brunswick. The *Frederick Mackenzie Papers* also focus on the American Revolution, but one volume has his compilation of articles of capitulation for fortresses surrendered in America and other parts of the world during the Seven Years' War. At sea, the *James Douglas Papers* relate to a naval officer who participated in the Rochefort expedition of 1757 and served at Québec in 1759 and in the West Indies in 1762.

Native Americans:

The role of Native Americans was so central to the French and Indian War that virtually every collection includes something, and in the cases of Gage, Amherst, and Lyttelton the information is extensive. The correspondence of

Part of the formal articles of capitulation for Niagara, signed July 25, 1759, as recorded in the papers of Frederick Mackenzie.



George Washington commanded the Virginia Regiment from 1754 to 1758. He signed this troop return at Fort Ligonier (Loyal Hannon) in October 1758.

George Clinton, royal governor of New York, has useful material on colonial relations with Native Americans at the beginning of the war. The papers of William Knox, a colonial official and agent for Georgia, include correspondence about his management of the Indian trade. James Sterling's letterbook reveals the workings of an Indian trader in Detroit in the years around Pontiac's siege of 1763. The *Native American History Collection* includes separately acquired documents, some of which relate to the French and Indian War, most notably a letterbook of the commissioners of Indian affairs at Albany from 1753-55.

Orderly Books: Orderly books present the dry bones of army life in their records of orders, regulations, and punishments meted out to offenders. The Library holds two for this period in the *Orderly Book Collection*, most significantly that for Colonel Henry Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians in 1764. Sergeant John Frizell kept the other in Halifax, Nova Scotia, during 1761. Frizell's book continues with a post-war topic—his personal account of the settlements of Dedham and Annapolis Royal in 1762-63.

Diaries and Journals: If orderly books record what was to have happened, diaries and journals give voice to the actual experiences and opinions of common soldiers. The Library has a cross section of examples. In the *Graham Family Papers* are the diaries of Reverend John Graham, who served

as a provincial chaplain at Fort Edward in 1756 and Havana in 1762. Jonathan French was another Massachusetts soldier at Fort Edward in 1757. Samuel Morris served in the disastrous campaign against Ticonderoga in 1758 and the victorious sweep down Lake Champlain the following year.

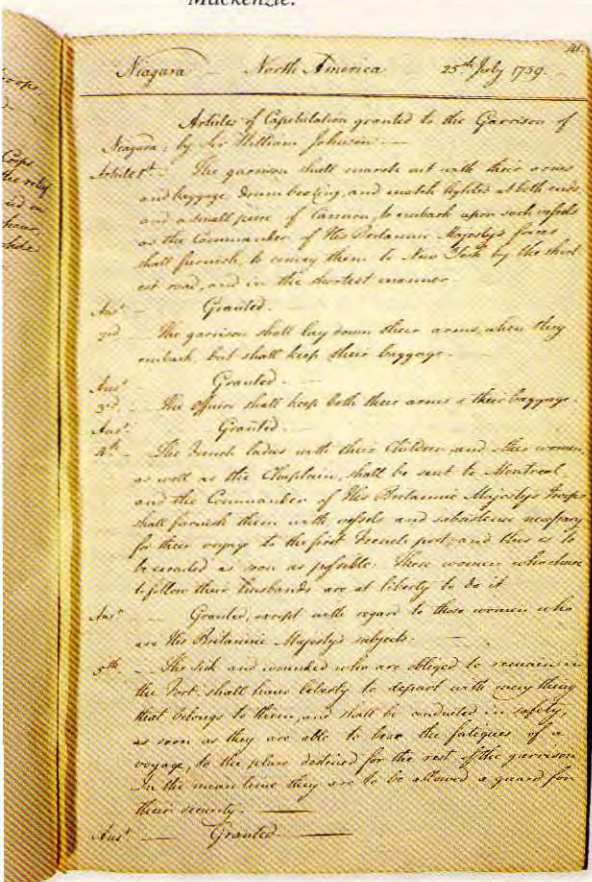
Provincial soldier Seth Tinckham also marched against Ticonderoga in 1758 and spent the following year on garrison duty in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, to release regular troops for the attack on Québec.

His volume includes orderly books as well as his diaries. Nathaniel Fuller participated in the 1760 campaign in Canada. The Massachusetts ship carpenter spent his time constructing boats and naval vessels on Lake Ontario, an essential task on the waters of North America. Lieutenant Jehu Hay also kept a diary on the Great Lakes, although his describes Detroit during Pontiac's siege of 1763.

People: A few collections relate more to specific individuals than to the war itself. The *Robert and Elizabeth Rogers Papers* is a small but important collection of personal letters of one of the best-known figures of the war. It includes a few written during the war and others from the 1760s as he tried to capitalize on his reputation. Even the *African American Collection* casts some light on at least one individual who fought in this world war. It includes a pension request by Scipio Wood, an African American sailor impressed at New York for service in the Royal Navy.

These are the main collections of the Clements Library that document the French and Indian War. As we reflect on the events that sparked a worldwide conflict 250 years ago this spring, it is a pleasure to invite scholars to utilize these resources to broaden their knowledge of a critical period in the shaping of America.

— John C. Harriman
Assistant Editor



FORTIFIED PLACES

The North American conflict that came to be known to Americans as the French and Indian War was played out across the northeastern mainland in the years between 1754 and 1763. This confrontation between France and Britain, their respective American colonists, and their Native American allies began in the disputed wilderness of the upper Ohio Valley and concluded a decade later with a struggle between British military forces and the Indians of the same region. Despite the fact that both Britain and France committed large numbers of trained, regular soldiers to the fighting—and victory or defeat ultimately hinged on the success of those troops—it was the horrors of battle in the dark and untamed forests that captured popular fancy then as it has ever since. The very name of the conflict suggests warfare in the wilderness. Later historical, literary, and dramatic treatments of the conflict, such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* and its many film adaptations, reinforce that image to this day.

It is more than a little ironic that events of Cooper's quintessential tale of the American wilderness revolve around a very European military activity—the siege of Fort William Henry in August 1757. The fort had been designed according to European principles and was besieged and defended using methods that would have been as appropriate in Flanders, Portugal, or Spain as on the wooded shores of Lake George. Fort William Henry was, in the military parlance of the mid-eighteenth century, a “place,” defined in technical dictionaries simply as “a fortified town, a fortress.” Fortress cities dominated the military landscape of Europe, and places in America served much the same purpose as their more sophisticated counterparts across the Atlantic. They guarded important passes, held territory, provided secure depots for supplies, and offered bases and safe havens for military forces.

Fortified places were particularly important in the interior of North America, which lacked large popula-

tions, roads, towns, and the infrastructure of eighteenth-century Europe. Natural waterways provided the only efficient means of transportation. Rough roads or tracks along rivers and through the mountains were a poor second choice. Critical routes required protection, and the needs of defense grew more complicated after the outbreak of fighting in 1754. At the commencement of the war, fortifications

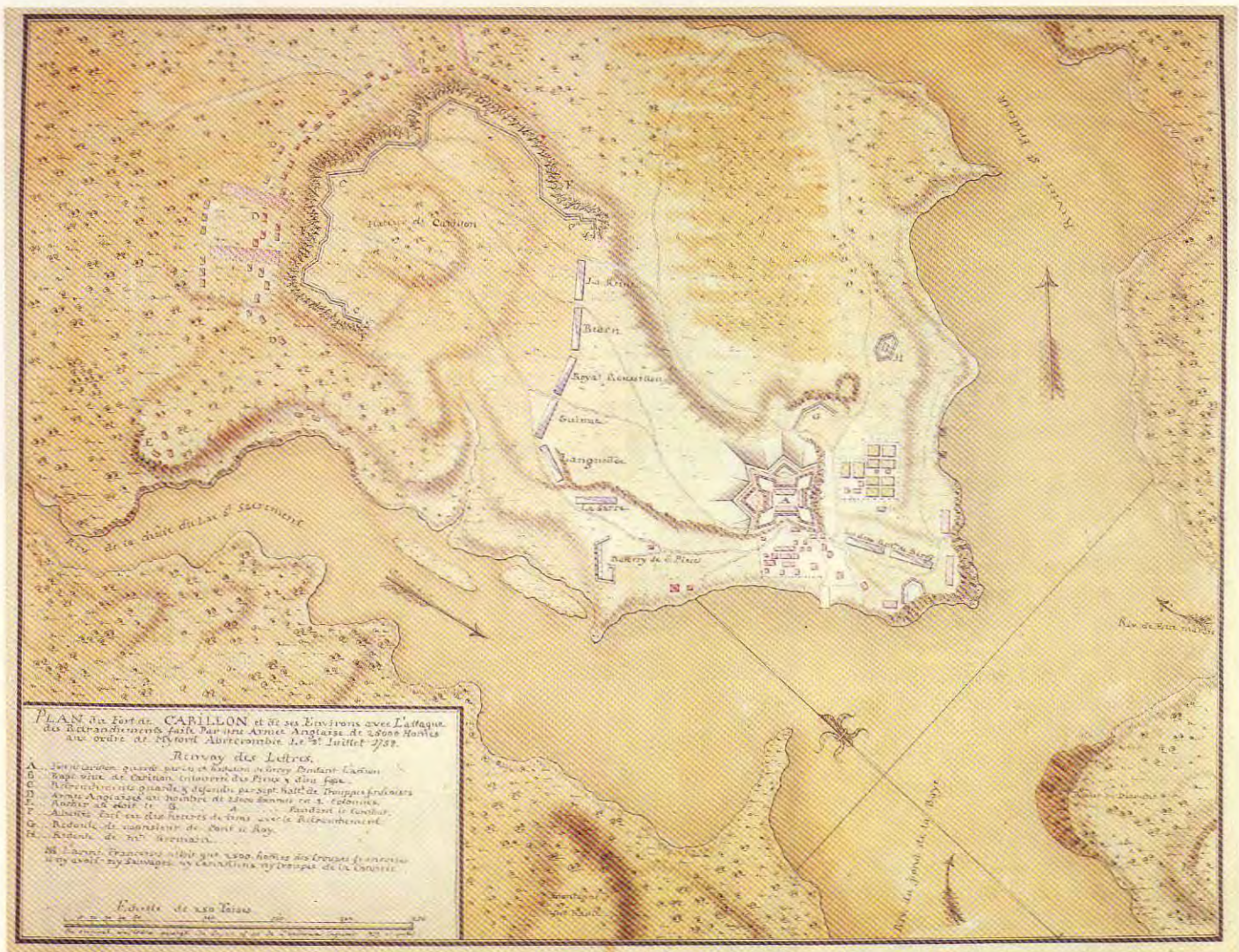
The French post of Niagara, which guarded the portage around Niagara Falls and barred the British from the upper Great Lakes, illustrates this metamorphosis. In 1754 the fortifications comprised a rickety stockade enclosing a stone house and about an acre of ground. The threat of a British attack from Oswego in 1755 motivated the French to expand the area of Fort Niagara tenfold and transform its



The complex geometry of siege operations can be seen in a plan of the French conquest of Oswego in 1756. This German engraving, compiled by Lieutenant Therbu, was published in 1792.

were most likely to be stockades constructed of wooden pickets that were perfectly defensible against Native American or colonial raiders who lacked cannon or the means to drag them through the wilderness. By the end of the conflict, the larger fortifications were strongly constructed of earth, reinforced by logs and even stone or brick, to better resist artillery and the methods of siegecraft that could be brought against them by trained engineers.

defenses with earthen ramparts and ditches. The strength of the new fortifications forced the British to undertake a 19-day siege in 1759. This expenditure of the besiegers' time, a critical commodity in a harshly seasonal climate, fulfilled another important role of the fortified place—to delay an enemy. Other strategic French positions were similarly strengthened, while the British constructed massive fortifications to hold territory at places like Fort Pitt, Crown Point, and Oswego.



On July 8, 1758, British troops hurled themselves against prepared French defenses outside Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) without conducting a siege. Their futile attempt cost nearly 2,000 casualties. French officer Michel Chartier de Lotbinière recorded the event. This map was originally among the papers of General Jeffery Amherst.

Campaigns of the French and Indian War became largely place-oriented as British armies attempted to fight their way into Canada along the few practicable routes, while the French labored to forestall their efforts by neutralizing forward bases. Although open-field encounters between armies did occur, as at Québec in 1759 and 1760 and near Niagara in 1759, these were fights that came about in response to efforts to take fortified places. Even the best known of all French and Indian War battles, the defeat of General Edward Braddock's army in the forests along the Monongahela in 1755, was initiated by the French to preempt a British attack on nearby Fort Duquesne. Military actions of the French and Indian War seem to be divided between the raids and ambushes associated with wilderness combat and large-scale

attempts to seize places. The opportunity to maneuver and defeat armies in the field, like the campaigns of the American Revolution, War of 1812, Mexican War, and Civil War, did not often occur.

The central role of fortified places in the annual campaigns of the French and Indian War can be illustrated by the events of 1755, the first year when significant numbers of European regular troops were deployed by both sides. The British planned four widely-separated blows against New France: from Virginia against Fort Duquesne in the Ohio country; from Oswego against Niagara; from Albany against Crown Point on Lake Champlain; and from Nova Scotia against Fort Beauséjour in what is today New Brunswick. Success would open the way to further advances. The attempt on

Fort Duquesne ended in the destruction of Braddock's army. The Niagara expedition was abandoned for logistical reasons. French and Indian forces attacked the fortified camp of Sir William Johnson's provincial army at Lake George and, though repulsed, halted the British advance on Crown Point. Only the attempt on Fort Beauséjour climaxed in a successful two-week siege against a small but well-fortified position. Subsequent campaigns centered around sieges or attacks on fortified places at Oswego (1756), Fort William Henry (1757), Louisbourg, Ticonderoga, Fort Frontenac, Fort Duquesne (1758), Niagara, Québec, Ticonderoga (1759), Québec, Fort Lévis, and Isle aux Noix (1760).

The fortification, attack, and defense of places required constant

activity on the part of military engineers. These officers, versed in the techniques of fortification and siegecraft, were essential to the success of armies, and there were never enough of them. New France had several colonial engineers at the outbreak of hostilities. They had directed the construction of colonial fortifications for decades, and one even designed the new fort at Ticonderoga in 1755. Their experience with siege warfare was limited, however, and engineers from France held their abilities in contempt. Regular engineers were sent to America with the first French contingent in 1755, but all were lost when the British navy captured their transport. Experienced infantry officers were pressed into service, notably Captain Pierre Pouchot, who rebuilt Niagara and undertook numerous other projects before the lost engineers were replaced in 1756 and 1757.

Regular engineers also came to America with British troops after 1755. Men such as James and John Montresor, William Eyre, Harry Gordon, and Thomas Sowers performed tasks ranging from fortification design to map-making and siegecraft. The British also drew heavily on another source of talent—non-British officers who had served in the armies of various European powers. When the Royal American Regiment was raised in 1756, many of its officers were men of engineering experience, and many of them—including Francis Pfister, George Demler, Bernard Ratzer, and Charles Rivez—spent most of the war on detached service as engineers.

The creative output of these officers was enormous, not only in terms of fortifications and buildings constructed but also of topographical maps, plans, and views produced to document their efforts and illuminate superior officers. Manuscript examples of fortification plans and battle maps in the Clements Library collections include pieces that were associated with the papers of generals such as Jeffery Amherst and Thomas Gage or have been acquired individually to enhance the map collection. Many officers were competent topographical artists who sometimes saw their sketches, watercolors, and maps published in Europe, where they brought

a visual impression of America and the war to the eyes of an interested public.

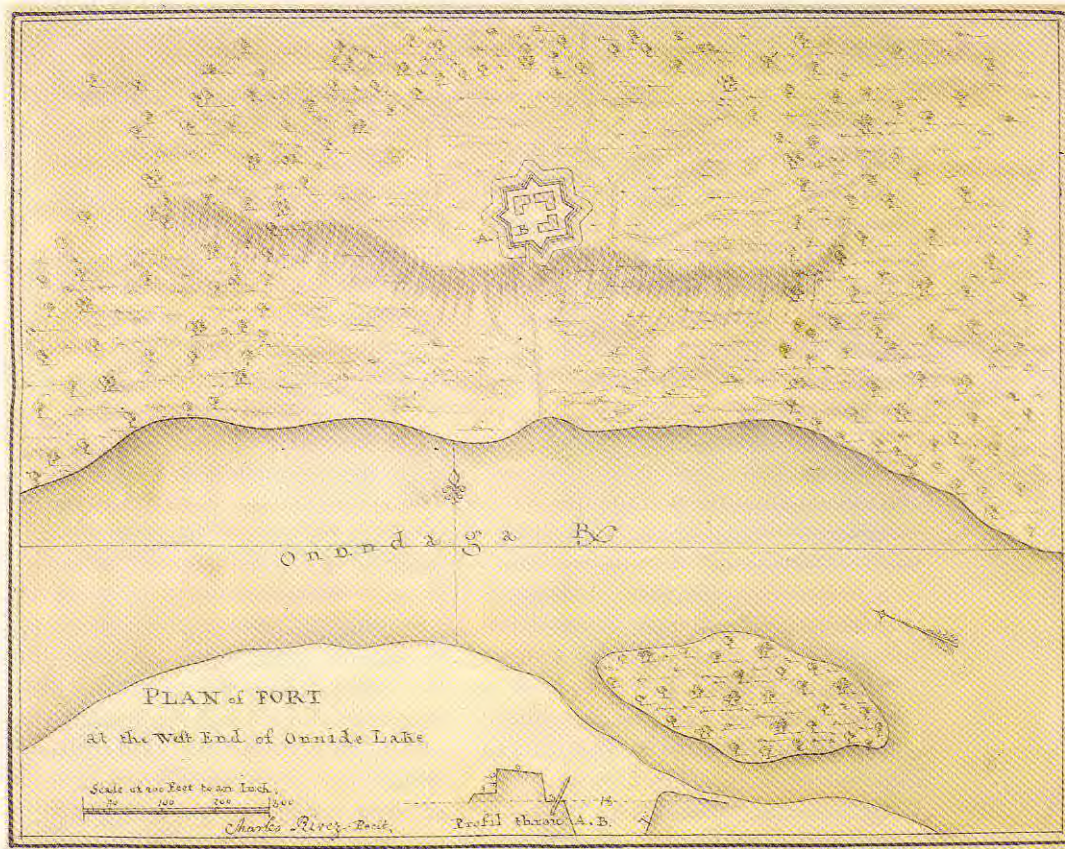
The conventions and techniques of warfare against fortified places introduced European formalities that few today would associate with fighting in the wilderness of North America. Brigadier John Prideaux's army included 900 Iroquois warriors when it set out from Oswego to besiege Niagara in July 1759. His force penetrated deep into the wilderness of Lake Ontario. But, when confronted with the French defenses, Prideaux adopted the same methods that would have been utilized to besiege a fortress in the Netherlands. The French commandant was politely summoned to surrender his post—and just as politely refused. Siege lines and batteries were established, and artillery roared from each side as the fortress was gradually pounded to rubble. British regulars defeated a relief attempt, with the belated support of the Iroquois. The French were again politely invited to surrender, and this time the offer was accepted after a night of negotiation. Formal articles

of capitulation were drawn up, honors of war were granted the defeated garrison, and the French marched from their fortress with drums beating and colors flying. A far cry from the usual image of the war fought by Natty Bumpo or real-life frontier partisans such as Robert Rogers and his Canadian and Native American adversaries.

The campaigns of the French and Indian War were set in an environment very different from that of eighteenth-century Europe. But the leaders of both sides understood well the maxim of the seventeenth-century French engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban that "only siegecraft offers the means of conquering and holding territory." Vauban would have agreed that, in the vast spaces of North America, a conqueror could not "become master of an entire area if he does not take the fortresses."

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Curator of Maps and Head
of Research & Publications

Fort Brewerton was one of a string of small posts built in 1759 to guard communications for British forces operating on Lake Ontario. It stood at the western end of Oneida Lake and was mapped by Ensign Charles Rivez of the Royal American Regiment.





APPROPRIATE ATTIRE REQUIRED

The single most recognizable item from the Clements Library's collections is also the most recognizable image of the French and Indian War—a massive oil painting by Benjamin West, “The Death of General Wolfe,” depicting the climactic battle at Québec in 1759 and celebrating the British conquest of New France. Hanging high on the north wall of the Main Room, “The Death of General Wolfe” reflects the Library’s holdings on the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. This painting’s value goes beyond illustration of a historic event. It also symbolizes the popular sentiment for Wolfe, patriotic feeling in Britain at the beginning of the Revolution, and the peak of British imperial power in North America.

Born in rural Pennsylvania, Benjamin West, a precocious artist, studied briefly at the College of Philadelphia and then made a pilgrimage to Italy to study Renaissance masterworks. West permanently settled in London in 1763 and quickly established himself as a leading academic portrait and history painter. He became president of the Royal Academy and taught many of England’s and America’s finest portrait artists, including Charles Willson Peale, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Sully, and John Trumbull. Known in London as “the American Raphael,”

he was “Historical Painter to the King of England” when history painting was considered to be the pinnacle of art forms and American artists were still subject to condescension from the English art establishment. West expressed support for American independence yet enjoyed the patronage of King George III.

Viewpoints and prejudices about the past are always more visible than those about the present. Today’s society expects illustrations of historic events to be journalistic reports of what actually happened. In the case of “The Death of General Wolfe,” other accounts reveal significant discrepancies in this regard, despite West’s assertion that “the same truth which gives law to the historian should rule the painter.” This by no means indicates a failure on West’s part. He worked at a time when the purpose of art and the recording of history had different objectives. The modern concept of journalistic or historical truth would have been an unwelcome vulgarization, obscuring West’s visualization of a higher truth.

In the eighteenth century, successful academic history paintings were expected to address moral, spiritual, and nationally uplifting themes. Subject matter was generally limited to Biblical episodes and events from classical antiquity. Known as the “grand style” or “true style,” the predominant neoclassicism of the eighteenth century

was grounded in ancient mythology and classical iconography and structured to serve the agenda of the contemporary empires that steadily sponsored artists. The king was naturally interested in images of virtue that would reinforce the glory and position of his empire.

Wolfe’s death was seen as an inspiring sacrifice for the greater good and worthy of the “grand style.” It was not considered incongruous to memorialize contemporary national heroes in the neoclassical style. Incorporating robes and postures based on Greek and Roman statuary implied a connection with lofty past ideals and timeless glory. The composition of neoclassical paintings frequently followed the designs of classical frieze statuary, with a horizontal array of figures arranged in harmony before a deep space. In successful examples, all the elements contribute to the didactic purpose of the whole. West certainly supported these ideals, but with “The Death of General Wolfe” he would begin the dissolution of the formula by using modern attire in place of classical dress.

Details of West’s painting are a joy to examine. The carefully observed and rendered clothing indicates that he worked from props that were representative of the variety of uniforms worn by British troops at Québec. Many items of dress of the Native American and the light infantryman were painted from examples gathered in America by

Indian Superintendent Sir William Johnson, and some of them still exist in British collections. Although many of the individuals represented in the painting are identifiable, most were not at the immediate scene of Wolfe's demise. Their portraits were painted at sittings in London after the event. Wolfe's image is based on a portrait provided by his family.

The background is filled with careful, minimalistic strokes that beautifully describe the epic battle as it sweeps from right to left behind the central group. In the distance, Wolfe's adversary, Montcalm, is depicted at the moment of being mortally wounded. Up close, these individual elements have the completeness of small paintings within the painting. West's mastery shows in his complete command of detail, without sacrificing the unity and power of the whole composition. Every element has a purpose and is in its proper place.

The commission from George III to produce a history painting glorifying General Wolfe was an opportunity for West to test his progressive ideas about the evolution of the "grand style." As an American, West had strong feelings about the subject, and, as an artist, his skills were ideal for the project. He was established, yet just beginning to enjoy the favoritism of George III. The legend as told by West biographer John Galt is that, having seen the work in progress, patriarch and president of the Royal Academy Sir Joshua Reynolds warned West that he was risking his reputation and insulting the dignity of his subject by his use of modern dress. In addition, West depicted an emotional level not usually found in the reserved masculinity of the Neoclassical. Advised that the painting was distasteful, George III rejected the work on the grounds "that it was thought very ridiculous to exhibit heroes in coats, breeches and cock'd hats."

Details from the Galt biography make for a compelling legend, but they are unsubstantiated and sometimes contradicted by other sources. An ironic chapter in the legend has Reynolds as the first to champion "The Death of General Wolfe" as an innovative masterpiece. According to Galt, Reynolds predicted that "this picture will not only become one of the most popular, but

occasion a revolution in art." While on display at the Royal Academy exhibition of 1771, the painting excited widespread patriotic feeling for the hero-Wolfe and was purchased by Richard, Lord Grosvenor. Recognizing that "The Death of General Wolfe" had been accepted as the defining image of the event, George III ordered a copy to be painted for the Crown. Price: 315 English pounds.

The third order came from Friedrich, Prince of Waldeck. The purchase price upon delivery in 1776 was

to Ickworth House, Suffolk. West's sons sold the fifth canvas in 1826 to the descendants of Brigadier General Robert Monckton, who appears in the painting.

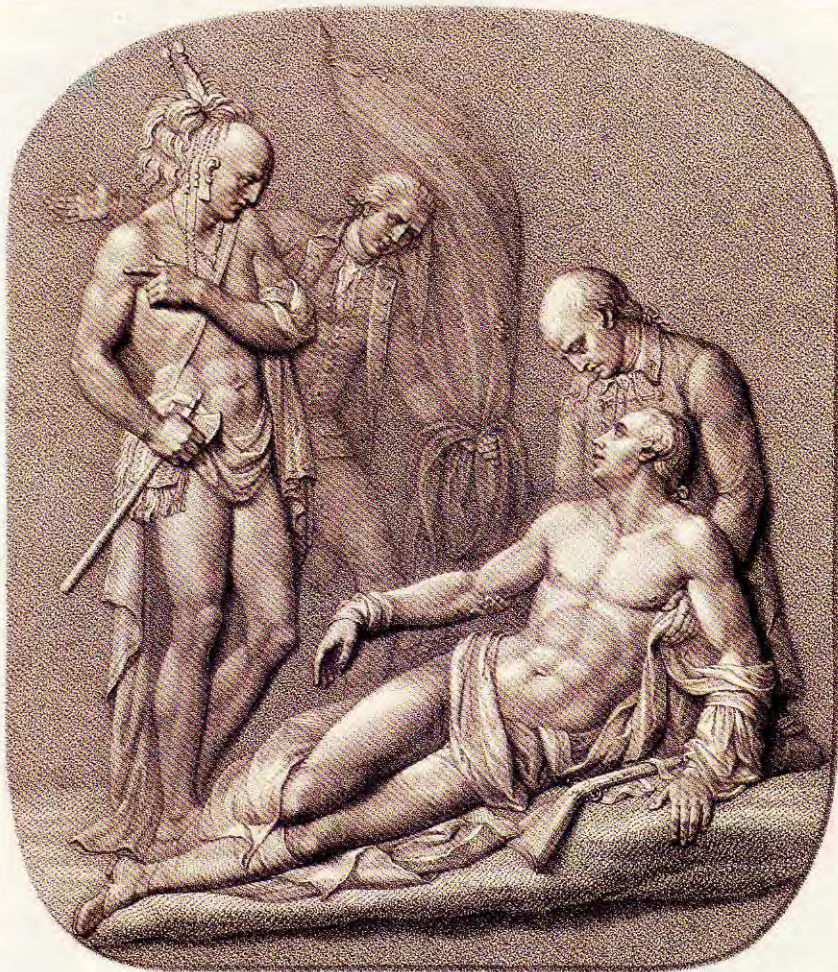
The Grosvenor version, the first to be painted, was inherited by the second Duke of Westminster, who donated it to the people of Canada as a tribute to their country's contribution to World War I. The George III version remains in possession of the Crown. The third painting hung at Castle Waldeck for over 150 years until New York art deal-



James Gillray's The Death of the Great Wolf (London, 1795) lampoons William Pitt, the younger, and his Treason and Sedition Acts of 1795. A background scene of British dragoons crushing French sans culottes suggests that his administration was overreacting to radical agitation. The surgeon, Secretary at War Henry Dundas, hastens the demise of the dying Pitt with a glass of port.

250 livres. West, apparently satisfied with his original composition, made very few alterations in the subsequent versions. However, in this third version, the messenger on the left has grown larger and is more important to the action, and the background scene along the river on the right has been given more space, with additional ships on the St. Lawrence. The shapes added to the lower left corner of this version have been described as moccasins that no Indian warrior would be without, but, given the careful rendering of the other artifacts, it is doubtful that these vague shapes were intended for this purpose. A fourth version was ordered by Frederick William Hervey, Fifth Earl and First Marquess of Bristol, and taken

er Paul Bottenwieser was retained to arrange for its sale in 1927. When the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., passed on the opportunity to purchase it for \$12,500, it was offered to William L. Clements, who talked Bottenwieser down to \$7,500! Clements was not known to be an art connoisseur and expressed buyer's remorse afterwards, but he should be credited for seeing the importance of this item in the context of his Americana collections. The painting was shipped to the Clements Library in April of 1928. The fourth painting remains at Ickworth House, now a National Trust site, and the fifth is in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. In addition to these five large canvases, there exist several smaller



Nathaniel Marchant draped the figure of Wolfe in "correct" neoclassical fashion in his 1790s composition. This stipple engraving is by Italian engraver Luigi Schiavonetti.

versions and at least one preliminary drawing that came from West's studio.

Crucible of War author Fred Anderson points out that the varied ranks and nationalities of the group around Wolfe make up an allegory of a unified and diverse British Empire. For George III, it must have been pleasing to contemplate as he faced an increasingly rebellious America in the 1770s. Apart from this unity is the figure of the Indian. In the allegorical images that appear on title pages, map cartouches, and political prints, America is most often represented as a Native American. In "The Death of General Wolfe" the warrior observes with a cool detachment, measuring Wolfe's martyrdom and pondering the significance of the event and its ramifications for the balance of power in his native land.

As with most significant contributions to the history of art, "The Death of General Wolfe" fits into a sequence or cycle of related works. The composition closely follows that of several medieval and early Renaissance depictions of the lamentation over the dead

Christ. Like these lamentations, the hands in "The Death of General Wolfe" describe actions and express emotions—announcing victory, directing attention, tending wounds, supporting the faint, grieving loss, wringing in frustration, and draining strength. In contrast, the visible hand of the Indian

supports his chin in a pose that is symbolic of static contemplation rather than emotion or action.

Through numerous engraved print versions, "The Death of General Wolfe" became a highly recognizable image, accepted as the defining heroic apotheosis in British culture. Its influence can be traced from epic battle scenes to decorative arts. It even was a vehicle for political satire in *The Death of the Great Wolf*, by James Gillray, with Prime Minister William Pitt, in place of Wolfe, dying a political death at the passing of his Treason and Sedition Acts of 1795.

The popularity of "The Death of General Wolfe" earned West a continuing string of royal commissions, although his suggestion for a companion piece, "The Discovery of the Remains of Braddock's Army," was never accepted. Continuing interest in "The Death of General Wolfe" is partly attributable to the legend of its revolutionary style, but this has been over-emphasized to the point of distracting from its other values. West successfully tapped strong popular feelings for the subject with a timeless painting that transcends any one style, with roots in the religious and history paintings that preceded the Neoclassical. Seen as a part of this continuum, it is far less revolutionary, but no less a great painting.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials



A miniature "Death of Wolfe" has long graced the Clements Library tea room on a nineteenth-century painted tin tray.

MAP WARS

“Trouble brews across the Appalachians.” In high school history books the French and Indian War is often presented as a series of conflicts beyond the western slopes of North America’s great mountains and in the Ohio River Valley. Here a creeping rash of newly-built French forts set the stage for the colorful debut (and quick exit) of the youthful George Washington. The French encroachments into territories claimed by British colonists constitute standard fare for the diet of causes of the conflict.

Maps of North America printed in the colonial power centers of Paris and London during the early 1750s variously reflected these trans-Appalachian claims. Some British maps ignored the leprous spread of French forts, while others used color, bold lettering, and inflammatory rhetoric to draw attention to the growing cancer. On the other side of the Channel, less boisterous French maps quietly penned in the British colonies along the Atlantic seaboard, using dotted lines and soft outline color along the Appalachian ridge to fence them off from the Ohio River Valley, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes. Such cartographic legerdemain did not pass unnoticed, particularly in high diplomatic circles.

In the early 1750s, French and English diplomats were gathering in elegant Paris salons to negotiate the details of North American boundaries set by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. That agreement had been signed in 1748 to end the War of the Austrian Succession, during which conflict both sides had seized control of colonial territories claimed by the other. The treaty returned European boundaries and colonial possessions in North America to the *status quo ante bellum*. The sorest spot was not, as one might imagine, the Ohio Valley but rather the northeast corner of the Atlantic coastline: Acadia or Nova Scotia. The treaty required that the French return this area to the British. The French were happy to give up what they thought of as Acadia—a narrow strip of land along the coast of the peninsula from Cape Canso to Cape Sable. The British expected to regain a

different Nova Scotia—the entire peninsula and all the mainland extending north to the St. Lawrence River. The task before the boundary commission was to determine what exactly constituted Acadia.

The commissioners agreed “to study all the concessions, charters, land grants, and treaties” in North America from the first European contact with the area until the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). This grindingly slow process bore little

fruition, with explanatory maps accompanying the works and demonstrating the confusing array of possibilities and historical precedents using a bewildering variety of hachures, dotted lines, dots, and crosses to demonstrate the historical precedents for different boundaries. The impasse of these negotiations meant that commercial mapmakers in London and Paris could leap into the boundary waters with impunity.

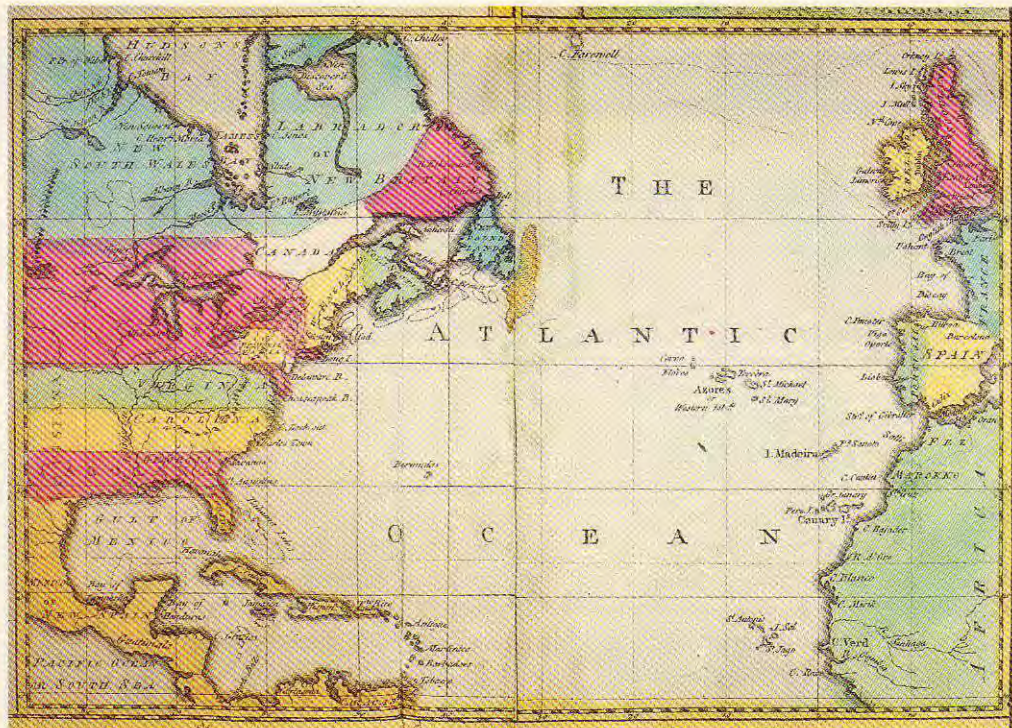


Acadia, as shown on the 1755 state of Robert de Vaugondy's map of Canada, is confined to the Atlantic rim of the peninsula of Nova Scotia.

cartographic fruit, for no maps had accompanied the original charters and concessions; thus, no map could provide the juridical proof for defining Acadia. Printed maps published by French and English cartographers were so contradictory and varied in scale, size, and purpose as to produce no meaningful conclusions. In frustration, the commissioners admitted that “maps are from the Nature of them a very slight evidence. Geographers often lay them down upon incorrect Surveys, copying the Mistakes of one another; and if the Surveys be correct, the Maps taken from them, tho’ they may shew the true position of a Country, the Situation of Islands and Towns, and the Course of Rivers, yet can never determine the Limits of a Territory, which depend entirely upon authentic Proof.”

Having reached no solution, the commissioners from both sides pub-

lished their full negotiations, with explanatory maps accompanying the works and demonstrating the confusing array of possibilities and historical precedents using a bewildering variety of hachures, dotted lines, dots, and crosses to demonstrate the historical precedents for different boundaries. The impasse of these negotiations meant that commercial mapmakers in London and Paris could leap into the boundary waters with impunity.



The Society of Anti-Gallicans made no bones about Britain's territorial ambitions in North America. French Canada is isolated within an area smaller than the modern province of Québec.

the affair between us should be brought to an accommodation at once in plain and express terms, or else to attend to some more serious consequences."

Vaugondy's map not only reduced Acadia to a narrow strip along the coast; he neglected even to name British Nova Scotia. The French claims on this map are clear, incorporating into Canada the banks of the St. Lawrence from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes and the territory extending along the Ohio. Although the Ohio River was not the concern of the boundary commission, it was very much on the mind of one of the French members, Roland-Michel Barrin de La Galissonnière. At precisely the moment of publication, this former governor of Canada had become the head of the Dépôt de la Marine, the department of maps and plans of the French navy and the branch of government that was also responsible for the administration of the colonies.

While La Galissonnière had been in Canada, as a true man of the Enlightenment, he had dispatched several survey expeditions to determine longitude. One of these surveys was along the Ohio, done by a Jesuit priest, Joseph-Pierre de Bonnécamps. The second edition of Vaugondy's map, published in 1755, shows the course of the Ohio based on Bonnécamps's work as it was drawn on manuscript maps found in the Dépôt de la Marine.

The furor surrounding Vaugondy's map caused the cartographer to publish a special note in the periodical *Mercur de France*, assuring his public that no

high-level papers had left the Ministry of War for use in preparation of the map. In fact, Vaugondy's sources were the same published works available to many cartographers: the maps of Jacques-Nicolas Bellin and the papers in the Dépôt de la Marine, an institution that was often open to commercial map-makers for study and reference.

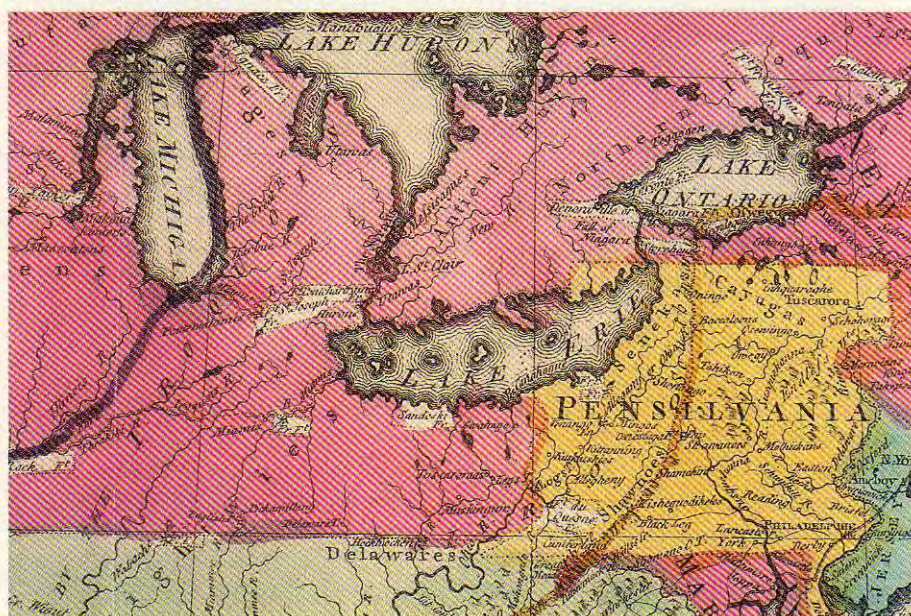
Vaugondy's effort was just one in a series of printed maps that fought the boundary battles of Acadia and the Ohio well before the first shots were fired in 1754. Maps published in London and Paris in the early 1750s pushed and shaped the bounds of New France and New England according to each cartog-

rapher's nationalism. Perhaps the most polemical and certainly the most colorfully exuberant map of all appeared in London in 1755: *A New and Accurate Map of the English Empire of North America: Representing their Rightful Claim as confirm'd by Charters, and the formal Surrender of their Indian Friends; Likewise the Encroachments of the French, with the several Forts they have unjustly erected therein*. It was published by the Society of Anti-Gallicans.

The Anti-Gallican Society was a mercantile pressure group, founded in 1745 to "extend the commerce of England and oppose the insidious Arts of the French Nation." It responded to a fear of French encroachments, not in North America but in England herself. The infiltration of French artists, skilled laborers, and even theatrical performers was seen as a weakening of control of British goods and manufactures. "Milliners, mantua-makers, tutoresses for boarding-schools, disguis'd jesuits, quacks, valets de chambre" as well as French painters, engravers, dancers, and actors were all seen as part of a dangerous French infiltration into daily life.

The foreign worker was a threat to British jobs and an ally to the French economy. Worse yet, by buying French goods, a British consumer might be aiding the Pretender—the memory of the 1745 Uprising and the vain attempt of Bonnie Prince Charlie to reinsert himself into British life was not soon forgotten. In addition to protecting British

The controversial French posts in the upper Ohio Valley stand out from the colorful British claims in this detail of the Society of Anti-Gallicans map.



jobs for British workers, the Society's larger goal was to re-awaken the imperial mission of the Tudor queen Elizabeth. While the European and colonial enemy in the sixteenth century had been the Spanish, British eyes now viewed competition with the French, both at home and abroad, with fear and contempt.

The fear of French encroachments was perpetuated in the graphic production of the Society's badge and arms on many everyday items, such as snuff boxes and enamel portraits. Its map of the French encroachments even appeared on ladies' fans. The map makes its strong statement by a rich palette of color for the British colonial claims in North America: a jeweled turquoise blue, vivid rose, and golden yellow. The French colony of Canada

makes a stark, uncolored, white island in the middle of the rainbow-hued British claims. A white space surrounding every French fort and outpost speckles the surface like the rash of an unknown disease, spreading its noisome way across the continent. The message is clear: the British claims extend from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and beyond, to the very western edge of the map. The French possessions are reduced to the risible.

No note is taken of the fact that the Society of Anti-Gallicans had based its map on French sources. The configuration of Michigan and the Great Lakes is based almost wholly on maps of the region published first by Jacques-Nicolas Bellin in the *Dépôt de la Marine* and used, as noted above,

by Robert de Vaugondy in his map of Canada. The lack of regard for reliable sources and certifiable claims, combined with the superimposition of colors and boundaries born of jingoism, created a cartographic atmosphere that was already roiling before the French and Indian War began. As the French commissioner for the boundary negotiations had commented: "the authority of maps is not decisive. Cartographers are more concerned to give an air of system and truth to their maps, as well as an appearance of science and research than to truly fix the rights of Princes and the true limits of a region."

— Mary Sponberg Pedley
Assistant Curator of Maps

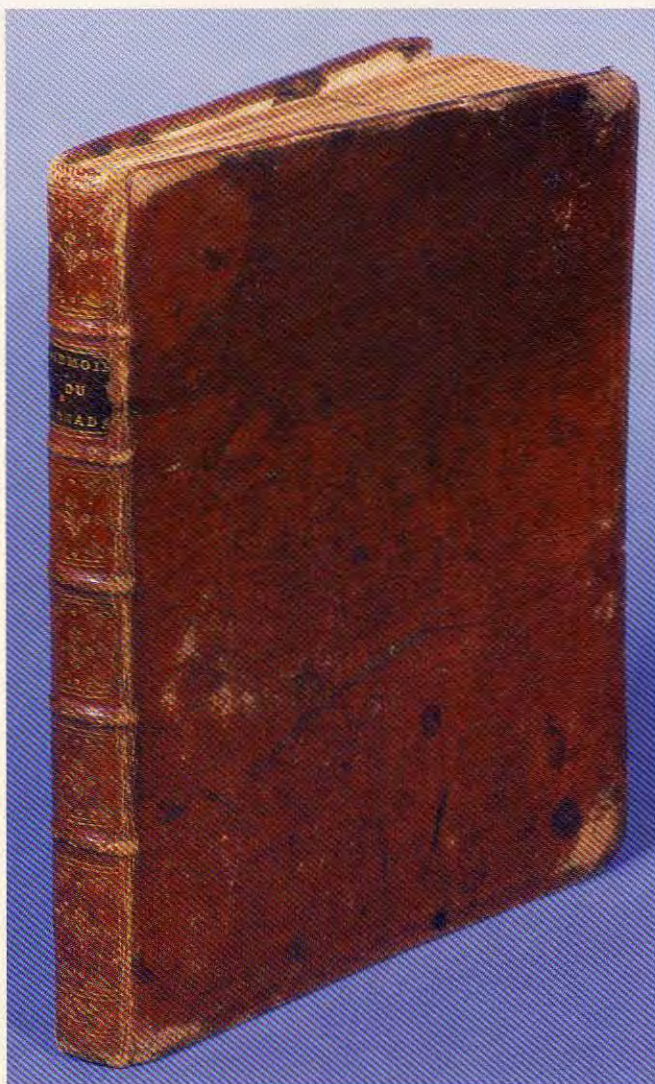
CHABERT'S LEGACY

"I was reared amidst the tumult of arms," begins the text of the stained, leather-bound volume, "devoted to the service of country from the age of nine, and employed since that time among nations equally fickle, treacherous & savage, in cultivating their uncertain friendship." The author, Daniel-Marie Chabert de Joncaire (1714-71), lieutenant of the *troupes de la Marine*, former commandant of Fort Little Niagara, and late envoy to the Six Nations of the Iroquois, might well have concealed a double meaning in this bitter indictment of France's Native American allies. Confined to the Bastille in 1762-63 and speaking through the pen of his attorney, Chabert believed he had cause to complain of another nation "equally fickle" to those of the North American forests. "Having escaped from the fury of several bloody wars and from the peril of a tempestuous ocean," he protested, "I come to Paris full of the confidence which virtue gives, & I find myself arrested on the orders of the King & confined to a prison, in order to render account, not of my military acts, but of the use of His Majesty's treasure."

Such was Chabert's introduction to France. Born in Montréal and raised in Canada and the Iroquois country of western New York, Daniel and his elder

brother, Philippe, were trained by their father to follow in his footsteps. Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire (1670-1739) had survived captivity and adoption by the Seneca to enjoy considerable status among them as an envoy, trader, and representative of *Onontio*, the governor of Canada. In 1726 young Daniel was sent to live among the Iroquois as a diplomatic hostage. He immersed himself in their culture and language and became fluent in the Ojibwa, Shawnee, and Ottawa tongues as well. Nine years later, Chabert began his service to the colony. Appointed a cadet in the colonial troops by 1739, he had the pedigree and the skills to serve New France among the Indians. This he did for 25 years, fighting through the western campaigns of the French and Indian

*Chabert's
Mémorial
du Canada.*



War, the siege of Fort Niagara, and the surrender of Montréal in 1760.

Chabert took his family to France in 1761 after the British conquest of Canada, only to find himself one of 55 Canadian officers and officials charged with malfeasance in what came to be known as the *affaire du Canada*. The indictment stemmed from his administration of the small fort on the Niagara portage. Chabert was accused of falsifying receipts and other financial irregularities. He claimed to be the victim of a dishonest storekeeper, and, in his defense, reasoned that a "military and Indian education was not likely to fit me for the shady schemes of fraudulent finance." Chabert was arrested in Paris late in January 1762 and taken to the Bastille. With other defendants, he engaged a lawyer by the name of Clos, who prepared or helped him draft a *mémoire* in his own defense.

With everything to lose, Chabert resolved to "speak, or rather let the truth speak." "It is eloquent itself," he believed, and "the intelligent man cannot misunderstand its language." The 93 pages that follow are filled with Chabert's account of his colorful services, detailed claims of his wartime losses, and his defense against the charges. His *mémoire*, along with those of a number of other defendants, was published in Paris in 1763 while the trial was in progress. In 2000, the family of the late Carolyn Jo Bronson presented a copy of this exceedingly rare book to the Clements Library. One of only two known copies of Chabert's *mémoire* in North America (the other is held by Harvard University), it was the author's own.

Mémoire pour Daniel de Joncaire-Chabert is actually only one of five similar works bound into the

same volume. Included with it are *mémoires* by Lieutenant Paul Duverger de St. Blin (ca.1720-after 1775), Captain Charles Deschamps de Boishébert (1727-97), Governor Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil (1698-1778), and Jacques-Michel de Bréard (1711-75), controller of the Marine at Québec. Two further examples of these legal tracts survive in the Clements Library, those of François Bigot (1703-78) and Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan (1723-82).

How many more of the 55 defendants published similar statements is not known. Nor is it entirely clear why Chabert chose to bind the other four with his own defense. Clos represented all five men, each of whom responded vigorously to the claims of the notorious Bigot and his associates such as Péan. Chabert knew Boishébert from service at Niagara in 1753, and Governor Vaudreuil was something of a patron, but he seems to have had the closest relationship to St. Blin, with whom he shared a cell in the Bastille for 14 of the 23 months of his confinement. The two had much in common, for the charges against St. Blin stemmed from his command of Fort Le Boeuf on the Allegheny River and were virtually identical to those leveled at Chabert.

The court rendered its verdict on December 10, 1763, and Chabert's ordeal in the Bastille came to an end. He was found guilty of having "negligently certified without inspection inventories of foodstuffs belonging to the King" rather than of outright fraud. Chabert received "a stern warning against further offenses." St. Blin got the same verdict and sentence. Impoverished by wartime losses and two years of confinement, Chabert left France in 1764 to return to Canada. Presumably, his little morocco-bound book went with him, its spine stamped with the title *Mémoire du Canada*.

The peace of 1763 had confirmed Britain's hold on Canada, so Chabert's first stop was London where, in October 1764, he presented a claim for lands along the Niagara River. Chabert attested that the Iroquois had granted them to his father. He had made improvements, all of which were destroyed during the war. It is at this point that the rest of Chabert's story begins to play itself out in the Gage Papers at the Clements Library.

Ce Livre appartient à la famille de M. Clos



MEMOIRE

POUR DANIEL DE JONCAIRE-CHABERT, ci-devant
Commandant au petit Fort de Niagara.

CONTRE M. le Procureur-Général de la Commission
établie pour l'affaire du Canada.



LEVÉ dans le tumulte des armes, dévoué au service de la Patrie dès l'âge de neuf ans, occupé depuis ce tems parmi des Nations égarées, volages, perfides & féroces, à cultiver leur amitié incertaine, à assouvir leur cruauté, à supporter leur barbarie, à effuyer leurs caprices, seuls moyens de les fixer ou de les rapeller à notre alliance; échappé aux fureurs de plusieurs guerres sanglantes & aux dangers d'une mer orageuse, j'arrive en France,

A

In London, the Earl of Halifax informed Chabert that Indian grants to individuals were invalid, particularly those west of the proclamation line of 1763. Disappointed in recouping his fortunes in this way, Chabert set out by way of New York for Montréal and what remained of his property. At the same time, Halifax notified General Thomas Gage of the impending arrival of the former Canadian officer, warning him to keep the "Strictest Eye" on his conduct and to prevent Chabert from "going amongst the Indians" until he had proven that he would not incite them against the British.

Chabert was in Montréal by the summer of 1765, where he was bitterly disappointed to find himself barred from the Indian trade. He then began a long-distance effort to obtain compensation for his losses from the French government, but in this he was also unsuccessful. Finally, in 1767, having taken the oath of allegiance to Britain, he won the sympathy and support of Québec governor Guy Carleton, who interceded with both Gage and Sir William Johnson. They relented and permitted Chabert to go to Detroit, but Gage warned the commandant there to "keep a Watchfull Eye over him." Chabert arrived at Detroit in September

and took up residence about three-quarters of a mile from the fort. He was watched carefully, especially after his house became "a great Resort of Indians" and Captain George Turnbull reported that "Indians of every Nation Love him." Thereafter, Chabert's presence was tolerated, and he even reported occasionally to Sir William Johnson on the mood of the Indians, but the British never entirely trusted him.

In spite of his popularity, Chabert was choking in debt incurred when he purchased goods in England in 1765 and then found that he could not trade with the Indians. One of his creditors, John Lees, traveled to Detroit in 1768 but got only "the fairest promises" and, eventually, a lot in the town as partial repayment. Chabert even tried to obtain financial support for his family from General Gage, pleading that "it would be shameful at my age to see me dragging out my life along the lakeside, to be the laughing stock of the entire rabble." There was apparently some improvement in his financial condition before Chabert died at Detroit in 1771 and was buried beneath his pew in Ste. Anne's Church. His remains were subsequently moved twice, and today they are believed to lie somewhere in Mount Olivet Cemetery.

Chabert's family was, by that time, well established in Detroit, where one of his sons, François (1757-1813), was a British partisan during the American Revolution. He kept his father's *Memoir du Canada*, and it was carefully preserved by six succeeding generations in Detroit and Monroe. Handwritten notations scattered throughout the book record a number of family births, deaths, and marriages. Proudly inscribed in French above the title is: "This book pertains to the family of Mr. Chabert." Early in the twentieth century, Helen L. Bronson, Daniel's great-great granddaughter, translated his *mémoire* for Buffalo historian Frank Severance, who used it in *An Old Frontier of France* (1917) and featured the exploits of Louis-Thomas, Philippe, and Daniel Chabert de Joncaire. Daniel's *Memoir du Canada* was presented to the Clements Library in September 2000 and now reposes where, 250 years later, readers can ponder Chabert's query: "which has been the basis of my undertakings, self-interest or honor; zeal for the service, or the desire to enrich myself[?]"

— Brian Leigh Dummigan
Curator of Maps and Head of
Research & Publications

ANNOUNCEMENTS

PRICE VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

We are very pleased to announce the award of eight Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowships for the 2004 calendar year. These grants provide support for graduate students and junior faculty whose research will benefit from the collections of the Clements Library. This year's group of applicants was of particularly high quality and presented difficult choices for our reviewers. Coincidentally, five of the eight topics have some relevance to the period of the French and Indian War, the theme of this issue of the *Quarto*. The successful applicants are all expected to visit the Clements before the end of December.

Michelle Hamilton, University of Western Ontario, for her dissertation,

"In the King's Service: Amerindians, French Settlers, Traders, and the British Military Logistical System in the Old Northwest, 1760-1776."

Rob Harper, University of Wisconsin-Madison, for his dissertation, "Revolution and Conquest: Politics, Violence, and Social Change in the Ohio Valley, 1774-1803."

Karen Marrero, Yale University, for her dissertation, "Founding Families: Power and Authority of Mixed Indigenous Lineages in Eighteenth-Century Detroit."

Robert Morrissey, Yale University, for his dissertation, "Bottomlands & Borderlands: Empire and Identity in the Eighteenth-Century Illinois Country."

Robert E. Paulett, College of William and Mary, for his dissertation, "Augusta

Seen: Contests of Power and Meaning in Colonial Georgia's Upcountry Landscapes."

Dr. David L. Preston, faculty of The Citadel, for his book, *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Iroquoian Borderlands, 1720-1780*.

Margaret Sumner, Rutgers University, for her dissertation, "Reason, Revelation & Romance: The Social and Intellectual Construction of Early American College Communities, 1782-1860."

Dr. Kirk Davis Swinehart, faculty of Wesleyan University, for his book, *Molly's War: The Other American Revolution*.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

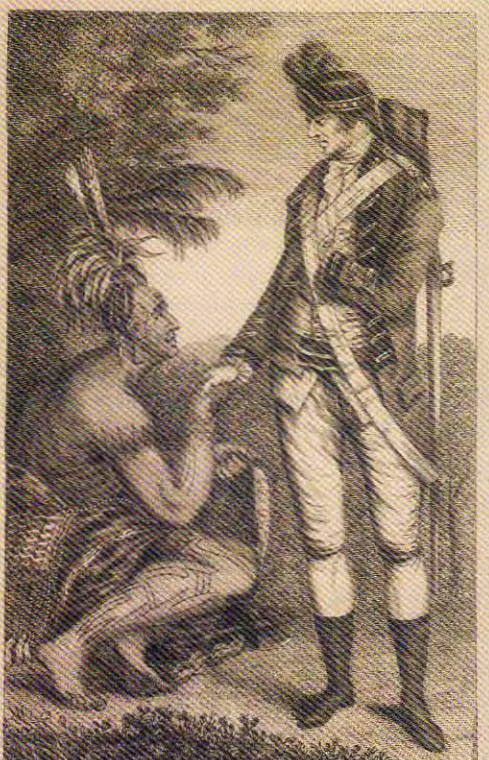
May 8 – June 4, 2004: Exhibit, *George Washington: Getting to Know the Man Behind the Image*. Weekdays, 1:00 – 4:45 p.m.

May 8, 2004: Clements Library Associates Annual Meeting, 10:30 a.m. in the Main Room. The meeting is open to all CLA members.

June 7 – October 1, 2004: Exhibit, *The Iceman Cometh ... and Goeth: An Exhibition Exploring the American Ice Industry, From Early New England Pond Ice Harvesting to Mechanical Refrigeration*. Weekdays, 1:00 – 4:45 p.m.

October 1, 2004 – January 15, 2005: Applications accepted for 2005 Price Visiting Research Fellowships. Awards will be announced by March 15, 2005.

October 5, 2004: Clements Library Associates Board of Directors meeting.



This apocryphal portrait of noted American ranger Robert Rogers was published in the Hibernian Magazine of September 1776. It borrows poses and details from "The Death of General Wolfe."



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