

Robert Morris (1734-1806)

What do you know about Robert Morris? Even though he was the first white man to own all Chautauqua and all Western New York immediately after the Indians? Perhaps you couldn't answer even 3 questions about him.

Prominent citizen of Philadelphia, age 41 at the start of the Revolution, he had perhaps the finest home in Philadelphia, was a great favorite, invited everywhere, eligible, wealthy. He was a chief partner in Charles Willing and Sons, foreign traders, selling cotton, tobacco, indigo, etc all over the world, and buying manufactured goods to sell in the colonies. He entertained business friends from all over the world, at his home.

By appointment of the Continental Congress, after the start of the Revolution, Robert Morris became the Financier and Buyer for the Revolution. Without his unusual services, we could well have lost the Revolutionary War. Some say he founded the "Eastern Star". Other say he wasn't even a Mason. Some say he was a Jew. But in England, he was born into an Episcopalian family, lived and died an Episcopalian. A brother-in-law became an Episcopal Bishop.

Information about Robert Morris is hard to come by. Three books written about him have been long out of print. Over the years, a number of magazine articles have been published. You find a snippet here, and a comment there in a number of sources, including encyclopedias. Also there are two or three places where there is Robert Morris information.

We have mentioned that Robert Morris once owned all Chautauqua County, by purchase from the Indians, then later sold it to the Holland Land Company. All our deeds go back to the Holland Land Company. What if there was a flaw ~~in~~ in the transfer from Robert Morris to the Holland Land Co? Couldnt it have grave consequences to most of us? I do have to tell you that there was a flaw in that contract, and also there were a number of Robert Morris' descendants living about 30 years ago, no doubt some living today. Will they show up some day to imperil our real estate deeds? I'll take this up later in this paper.

Perhaps I should put in the record how my personal interest was aroused in Robert Morris. Just about 10 years ago, Mrs. M. and I researched the story of John Spencer, the remarkable circuit-riding preacher, Revolutionary War veteran, who, travelling horseback, starting in 1807 at Sheridan, founded most of our earliest Congregational and Presbyterian Churches. We located nearly 50 of Spencer's original report letters in Hartford, Connecticut, assembled the story, largely in his own words, and gave it as a paper before this Society. Robert Morris was a part of that story, for in Connecticut they heard of Morris's sale of land to the Holland Land Co, and sent Robert Morris as Missionary to the Holland Purchase (46,000 square miles), perhaps the largest parish on record?

John Spencer
Ever hear of the "Azilum"? Travelling through Pennsylvania on Route 6, to the West you overlook Lush Susquehanna River bottom lands where in early 1800's, there was a colony for refugees from the French Revolution. A cousin of ours owns a rare book, history of this venture. On

lands purchased from Robert Morris, many escapees from French terror, found new and safe homes, hoped to bring even Marie Antoinette, but she never made it, became victim of the guillotine as you know. There lands were not only purchased from Robert Morris, but he helped these colonists in many ways beside. Finally, ~~abandoned~~, "Azilum" (Asylum), abandoned, became a lost colony. From a beautiful overlook you can easily view the whole area. We visited the actual site, could see the stone walls the colonists erected, and ~~French~~ furniture from French homes is still to be seen. Azilum peaked my interest to know more about Robert Morris.

There was a third stimulus toward a search for the Robert Morris story. A great, great grandfather of mine, William Molyneux, was impressed into the British Navy in the late 1770's. Jumping overboard at Philadelphia, he made his escape, came to Northumberland, Pa, and the home of Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen and many basic laws of Physics. Priestley was a free thinker, and was forced out of England. Among other things, he spoke out against English treatment of the Colonies in America. Priestley had purchased a tract of land from Robert Morris, which is today 3 or 4 Pennsylvania counties, where other refugees from British tyranny could find homes. This great grandfather of mine became a surveyor for Priestley, then became the first white settler in the Susquehanna region county where my parents originated.

Just an aside at this point, to describe Robert Morris's patriotic services. We will be talking considerably about the Revolutionary War. It is clear today that it was the tyranny of Britain's ruling classes, determined to use the American colonies just to exploit them, which brought about the War for Independence. For example, at Bunker Hill, it is reported that about 90% of those Red-coats who climbed the hill to fight for Britain, had been snatched from their families in England! Later at Trafalgar, the great naval battle, it is said that nine out of ten of Lord Nelson's sailors had been "shanghaied" into the British Navy!

These three contacts, convinced me the Robert Morris story would be well worth the hunting.

My research convinces me that lacking Robert Morris's specialized services to the Revolution, the whole War could have been lost. You recall that George Washington, selected by Congress for American Commander-in-Chief, had had a notable career in the French and Indian War. A very able regimental commander, now age 43, he stood 6 feet three inches tall. Our young folks today would call him "a gorgeous hunk of a man!" You recall a little later in New Jersey, the British thought they had Washington and his army trapped, moved in on his camp-fires and trenches only to find them deserted. After that they called him "the old fox", a real tribute from the enemy. Washington was an extensive land-owner in Virginia, ably supervised many dozens of workers, raising tobacco on his own acreage and that of his wife Martha, and Washington was reputed to be the wealthiest man in the Colonies, a millionaire if he lived today.

And Robert Morris, six feet tall, big framed, at start of the Revolution he was considered second only to George Washington in wealth. Born in Liverpool, England, he came to the Colonies with his father, a tobacco importer for England. His father was killed in an accident, Robert used a modest bequest to gain a brief education from tutors. Then at age 15, Robert started as an employee of the huge foreign trading firm, Charles Willing and Sons of Philadelphia.

No doubt about it, Robert Morris was a talented and shrewd business "Natural". For example, at about age 16, hearing of a shortage of flour, Morris, in absence of his employers, bought a whole shipload of flour and so made a handsome profit for his employers. Shortly after he became a chief partner in the Willing firm. By the start of the Revolution he had amassed a sizable fortune, and was generally believed to be second only in wealth in the Colonies to George Washington.

So this is the story how Robert Morris became the financial genius behind the battlefronts, raised the monies, bought the supplies that kept the armies in the field, working closely with his Commander-in-Chief George Washington. They were very close friends, and Morris often said he could refuse Washington nothing.

In April 1775, those earliest resisters at Lexington and Concord, how little did they realize that the conflict they started would in 200 years hardly a throned monarch would remain in the whole world. In May, 1775, the Green Mountain boys and Ethan Allen woke up sleeping British Commandant at Fort Ticonderoga, calling, "Come out you old rat!". In June 1775, the British occupied the Colonies' most valuable port, Boston, destroying its usefulness to punish the Colonists for resistance to British taxes. The Bunker Hill battle, an attempt to oust the British, saw untried Americans standing up against Europe's finest soldiers. Before the retreat of the Americans after the third assault, half of the Red-coats had become casualties.

In July 1775, George Washington, selected Commander-in-Chief, proceeded at once to Boston, for it was most important that the British be ousted from the city. Washington transferred the American forces from Bunker Hill to a far better Dorchester Hills overlooking Boston. He saw that the British couldn't be dislodged from the city with musket fire, so dispatched Gen. Knox to Ft. Ticonderoga to get 60 cannon there. In dead of winter, Knox and a few tropps, lashed the cannon to sledges, and oxen pulled the cannon 150 miles over the mountains to Boston. Morning after cannon arrival, the British General saw the cannon a-top the trenches, and saw he'd be out-witted, and he'd have to get out. But the British Commander had one small trump left, he sent word to Washington that he'd burn Boston to the ground unless the Americans would await the arrival of ships to evacuate the British. Washington was only too glad to get such a cheap victory, so, two days later, English ships arrived and the British army and many Tories sailed away for Halifax.

It has been said that most of Washington's troops were undisciplined and untrained. But there were a few regiments with toughness, loyalty, valor, such as Hazlett's Delawares, Smallwood's Marylanders and other which were a match for any which Europe could send.

Grave days were ahead, fully half of the population of the colonies were outright Tories or sympathizers. Most of the colonists got all living from small subsistence farms. Their cry was actually not "No Taxation without Representation", but, "No Taxation, period". In justice to many, how could they pay very much in taxes? But fortunately the Colonists' disadvantages were partly balanced by the fact that British were fighting a war 3000 miles from home.

Meantime, there were noteworthy events in Philadelphia, the new Nation's capital. First, England then at war with France had demanded all boats from American Colonies must return home via England so the cargoes could be checked; Second, smuggling became big business in the Colonies, but Morris

and his Willing & Son firm believed credit and trust were a most important ingredient of their trade with foreign clients, so refused to engage in smuggling; Third, Robert Morris's partner, Thomas Willing, was elected Mayor of Philadelphia, so at the age of 29, Morris became head of the vast operations of Willing & Son, pitting his abilities against the largest merchants of the whole world; Fourth, in March 1765 came the Stamp Act and legal documents, orders, about everything, had to pay a tax to Britain. Britain pointed with considerable justification that she was protecting the Colonies from France and Spain. Morris headed an emergency "Committee of Agreement", that business firms joining would accept no orders from Britain until the Stamp Tax was repealed. Imagine how this hurt business in the Colonies, and how unpopular Robert Morris became as a chief promoter. But it was a desperate measure adopted by desperate Colonists, and the boycott worked! The Stamp Act was repealed a year after its passage. This was the first of many Robert Morris's public services; Fifth, Morris married, and became a member of Christ Episcopal Church where many of the leading patriots also worshipped; Sixth, Britain to save the East India Company which was in bad financial straits, had Parliament place a tax on tea; rioting started in Boston and Philadelphia; Seventh, in 1774 Continental Congress convened, and should Colonies "make up" with George III and Parliament? A personal appeal was drawn up and sent, but His Majesty spurned it. Then came news of skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. The fat was in the fire, this was war! Eighth, Robert Morris put into writing his personal sentiments - "I pledge myself and all I possess to the cause of my adopted country!" -- and we'll relate how he did just that! Previously successful in business and social life, this was a turning point for now he had a goal to challenge his finest capacities; Ninth, A Committee of Safety was formed, and Benjamin Franklin and Robert Morris headed it.

In 1776 there was pressure to write a Declaration of Independence. Robert Morris believed this was premature, pointing out, first, that there was little unity among the Colonies; Second, that they possessed few military resources, and third, they had no foreign allies -- so, how could they hope to win? Morris was absent from the meeting when the Declaration of Independence was signed, however he did sign a month later.

In December 1776, Hessians and Scotch Highlanders threatened Philadelphia, Washington's army was too weak to attack, Congress fled Philadelphia, and Robert Morris and two others were left in charge. Real nice of Congress, wasn't it? I never could understand why the British then didn't imprison such a dangerous enemy. Twice, Congress fled Philadelphia, once going to Lancaster, the other time to Baltimore. Just about then the ship Andrea Doria, belonging to Morris's firm, ran the enemy blockade with a cargo of clothing, blankets, guns and ammunition arrived. Wonderful luck! - Morris got them to the army.

At this time, Morris started to advance money for the war effort, from his own fortune, and get still more funds, borrowing, based on his personal credit, which was in excellent repute in Philadelphia. Quakers, many of them wealthy were still in the city, and it is reported it became a common sight to see Robert Morris visiting backdoors of Quakers to obtain loans to help the Continental armies.

Then came a stroke of genius, Morris was appointed by Congress official Financier of the Revolution, and he was already joint Chairman of Committee to import arms and ammunition. So, now Morris could act within an hour, on any military opportunity. The war could not have been successfully waged, guided by delaying, arguing committees in a Congress. Morris acquired a most able assistant, Gouvernor Morris (no relation). then 27 years old, in later years became an attorney prominent in New York, a promoter with Gov. Clinton of the Erie Canal, and then U.S. Ambassador to France.

A Britisher propositioned Morris to turn traitor. He got the man to put the proposal in writing, then read it to the Continental Congress. Then appeared a master strategy of the British, to quickly subdue the rebellious Colonists. The British controlled New York City, they'd conquer the Hudson River and valley, thus cut the colonies in two, then easily subdue the remnants separately. St. Leger and his Indians would sweep from Fort Niagara across New York, destroying Fort Stanwix and its garrison of Americans there, while General Howe's armies would come up the Hudson, these two forces to meet General Burgoyne's armies advancing South from Canada, and the deed would be done. But the plan became unstuck, St. Leger and his Indians were badly mauled at Oriskany and could'nt proceed. Howe was kept busy around New York by Washington's harassments, with the result that at Saratoga, Burgoyne had to surrender. Burgoyne asked to whom he should give his sword, and was directed to General Gates. Gates was a backwoodsman and always dressed that way. Burgoyne insultingly said to Gates, "Are you a clod or a General?" Replied Gates, "I be a clod, but this day I took 8000 troops from you!" So down the drain went the great British ~~plan~~ plan hatched by the master strategists in London. The American victory at Saratoga is considered by historians, one of the great decisive battles of the world, leading as it did to alliances with France and Spain.

Soon after came that terrible winter at Valley Forge. Perhaps this occurs to you, if Robert Morris wqs such a wonderful manager, why that awful Valley Forge experience? 17,000 American troops staggered into Valley Forge in winter, only 5000 anywhere near fit for combat, all half-starved and half clothed, many walking without shoes in the snow. But suppose you were the financier and tax-collector for the fighting Colonials, and people would'nt pay their taxes? (honestly, most of them could'nt). Less than 5% of all taxes levied were paid. Then like Robert Morris you'd have to resort to all sorts of expedients, dip into your own pocket, get others to loan based on your personal ~~exempt~~ guarantee to re-pay. And remember that fully half of the Colonial population were Tories, or at least unsympathetic with the war. Do you wonder that the war was finally won by the Colonists?

Some money came in from sale of confiscated Tory property, Robert Morris on a huge scale exchanged tobacco, cotton, furs, fish, etc. The French had set aside the Island of Martinique in the West Indies as a base for supply of munitions and arms. The iron industry in the colonies started to thrive again after years of suppression by the British. About 50 primitive iron forges operated in Pennsylvania alone. You can see today one of these iron forges on a hilltop near Clarion, Pa. Thousands worked in hundreds of boats, fishing, bringing in excellent food for the army. Congress issued promises to pay, to be used for money. These helped temporarily, though by the end of the war, 210 millions in Continental currency were in circulation, and it took almost a hundred of them to be accepted as a dollar. Even today, the term originating then, "not worth a Continental" is a potent expression of worthlessness. Morris personally issued promissory notes. Because of his first name, Robert, these notes came to be called "long bobs" and "short bobs", based on the term before being redeemable. One of Morris's ships, the "Holker" arrived in port with 90 tons of lead in the hold for ballast. That lead would make a lot of bullets, and Morris and others worked all night, digging out the metal, casting it into ingots, so it could be used by the army.

Let's see exactly how Robert Morris worked. In '76, the Hessians had captured Manhattan Fort Lee, Fort Washington, but Washington had won at Harlem Heights, White Plains. Then Washington came to Morris and said that without \$50,000. (about \$250,000. today), available at once, unpaid soldiers would just desert and go home. But with that money, there was a chance for a spectacular victory. Morris went to the home of his Philadelphia Quaker friend, Abel James, and said, "I must have \$50,000. now or all will be lost".

Said Abel James, "What is thy security?" Replied Morris, "My word and my honor". Replied Abel James, "Thee shall have it!" And the money was given over within an hour. This is the story behind Washington's much needed victories at Trenton and Princeton. The soldiers, paid, stayed in the army. Historians give Robert Morris ~~credit~~ the credit. The colonies were electrified, the news spread to Europe, there was hope for the new nation! It was a real turning point, and lead directly to the French Alliance, King Louis personally gave 2 million livres, and officers, men and the French fleet started helping.

Then, as with an successful man, Morris was acquiring some very outspoken enemies. Tom Paine whose torrid pamphlet "Common Sense" is credited with having much to do with our Declaration of Independence, accused Morris of being Fiancier and Buyer for the Revolution, for huge personal profit for himself, by mixing public and private business. This was trouble, and Congress did investigate, and exonerated Morris. But I wondered if these existed evidence today available. I had a hunch there might be information in the rare manuscript section of the Library of Congress. In October 1962, there I found several large volumes into which were bound the original daily pages of the "Diary of Office of Finance", which was the name given Morris's department. A day to a page, written in fine, legible handwriting, very obviously not Morris's, for his is not too legible, were the entries:
-- all letters received, from whom, digest of contents; all letters sent, to whom, digest of contents; moneys received, from whom, in detail; moneys paid out, to whom, for what. Also listed were all visitors to office that day thus, "His Excellency Gen. Geo. Washington, Capt John Paul Jones, etc, etc. At bottom of each page, were signatures of 2 official auditors for the Congress with statement they had examined the records. I could see no indication of mixing private and government business, and am myself convinced that Thomas Paine's accusations were unjustified. Each of these pages was protected both sides with coarse textile netting through which one can read, then covered both sides, with flexible plastic. As a result, these records can be preserved for many years. Disagreeing with Tom Paine, I am convinced Robert Morris did not use public office for private gain.

By 1777, the tide of war was turning in favor of the Colonies. Articles of Confederation drawn up to make a government framework, but the currency issued by Congress was protested nearly everywhere. But the French fleet broke up the British fleet blockade of Philadelphia.

In 1778 the British became very active and successful in the South. General Cornwallis and smart, tough, cruel Col Tarleton, cavalryman, overran almost at will, Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia. Only General Greene's small army and Swamp Fox General Marion's irregulars opposed them.

But in 1781, the British honeymoon of victories ended. Tarleton and Cornwallis were both defeated by Greene. Cornwallis retreated to Yorktown, and sent word for evacuation by the British fleet. However, DeGrasse's French fleet defeated the British fleet in an off-shore battle. Then French fleet bombardment chased Cornwallis to the tip of the Yorktown peninsula. Congress got word of Cornwallis's entrapment. A hasty council of war included Washington and Morris. What a capital chance to capture all of Cornwallis's army! It was decided that Washington's army must be shipped to ~~Virginia~~ Yorktown. Washington demurred, "how can you get the army there?" Morris immediately replied, "I'll get you there!", and overnight he personally loaned \$1,400,000. (about \$7,000,000. in today's money), and the American army went down by ship. And this is the story behind the Yorktown surrender, followed by the Treaty of Peace that ended the war.

At the surrender, the British army band played a tune with a title as modern as tomorrow, "The World Turned Upside Down". It sure was! ~~for the British~~ (for the British)

There is an important postscript to the Revolution, a British tribute; one English officer told Cornwallis "he believed if they destroyed all the men in North America, they would have to begin all over again conquering all the women, for the women ran the farms when the men were away at war, spun, wove, worked in mills and factories, organized drives to raise money, turned in their prized possessions such as gold and silver. The officer said he was heartily sick of this country and such women, and wished himself home."

Does it not appear that without the availability of Robert Morris, his talents to make quick decisions and get quick money, a veritable little czar by Congressional appointment, plus integrity, and a personality that meshed with George Washington, the Revolution could well have been lost?

But another essential service Morris was to render his country. Washington as the new President wanted Morris to be his Secretary of the Treasury, but Morris refused. The new nation needed a national bank, and a mint to issue coins. With Alexander Hamilton, another business genius, Morris and others joined in founding the first national bank. The Pennsylvania State Bank had over assets of \$400 K (\$2 million today); Spain refused to make a \$5. million dollar loan; Hayman Salomon, the patriotic Jewish broker, loaned third of a million (nearly \$2 million that would be today), the Ship Trumbull loaded with flour for Cuba to be traded for gold and silver, was seized by the British in Delaware Bay, so that went down the drain. A quarter of a million dollars in silver from France landed in Boston instead of Philadelphia. Morris went to Boston, saw that the silver was packed in great oak chests, then shipped overland in ox carts, guarded by dragoons. It travelled by way of Boston, Worcester, Newburgh to Philadelphia, and arrived safely in two months. The "hard money" displayed in the new bank gave confidence to the people. The bank soon loaned the Federal government \$100,000. So, by a narrow margin, the colonies became financially stable.

So we have the story of Robert Morris, the very successful business man, business brains backing Washington's generalship, and one of the leaders in establishing our first national bank and mint.

Now there is the final chapter. Morris's business long neglected, his fortune gone, Morris had to re-establish himself. Why not return to foreign trade he knew so well? But like most of us would be, he wanted to try something different. He believed that tens of thousand living in crowded settlements East of the Alleghenies, would want new homes in the Western lands. Morris by 1790 had purchased millions of acres of primitive land, sight unseen. He had over 6 million acres in Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky, much of it purchased for a few cents an acre. His last purchase was the 64 thousand square miles, ~~extinct~~ all Western New York, and about all of it on credit.

It is reported that George Washington tried to point out to his friend the dangers of becoming "land poor". Morris is said to have replied, "I must be either a man or a mouse!" Three things must be said about Morris's land adventure: First, he was several years ahead of his time. The big migrations to the West didn't start until the turn of the century- 1800's; Second, Morris had a guiding rule in his affairs which I believe ~~to be~~ to be pure superstition. This principle was, "what is right must succeed." All of us have lived long enough to observe that many a worthy cause has abjectly failed; Third, it was a fallacy for Robert Morris to consider land in a state of nature as a readily saleable commodity or asset. New York State lands didn't sell in quantity until the Erie Canal, completed in 1820, provided easy transportation.

By the way, do you know the dimensions of the original Erie Canal? Now, Erie Barge Canal at low water level is 27 ft deep. but the original Canal was 40 ft wide and only 4 feet deep! They used to say that those blunt-ended and flat bottom early canal boats floated on a heavy dew!

You perhaps have heard of difficulties of pushing canal through tangled vegetation of the Montezuma Swamp? It is reported that heaviest of equipment was needed to push through, and one day a dredge operator locked up and saw a huge swamp mosquito's stinger come clear through the boiler plate of his dredge! He reached up with heavy hammer, bent over mosquito's stinger, and the mosquito flew away with the boiler!

Now we're getting closer to our Chautauqua County story. Robert Morris heard of 64 thousand square miles of wonderfully fertile land, available very cheap, in Western New York, and sent his son, Thomas, to complete the deal. (Robert Morris never visited Western N.Y.). Massachusetts and New York claims against the property were purchased for 1/3 of a million dollars. The Iroquois Indians who had fought with the British and lost, were anxious to sell. They had been offered free lands in the Grand River Valley in Ontario, Canada. The "going rates" for purchase of Indian lands were very low always, and Thomas Morris paid them about \$1.25 per square mile. That made total cost for about all of Western NY, about \$6.25 a square mile! The deal was consummated at Big Tree (now Genesee), and many chiefs were there to sign the papers, including Red Jacket, Little Billy, and Cornplanter. The Indians were of course taken advantage of as always. Would it make you feel any better to hear that in Canada also, they have been dispossessed of most of the lands granted them?

But, let's return to Robert Morris. These millions and millions of acres which he purchased, didn't sell fast enough, bought much on credit, principal, interest and taxes accumulated. Then a main bank for Robert Morris failed in Europe. And a partner of his in the land ventures, proved to be dishonest. The whole land project failed, and Morris was forced to sell even his treasured, "Genesee Country" (Western N.Y.). Not even that sale saved him. He was utterly ruined.

There was no such thing as a Bankruptcy Law at the time. No help for it, Robert Morris was arrested as a bankrupt, assigned to the debtor's division of the Prine St jail, where he shared room with others. Yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia, and the jail became a "quarantined "pest house". Then the victims couldn't be buried fast enough, so the filled coffins were stored in the jail! It is reported that Morris kept his health by long walks in the jail yard.

What a reward for a man who had given so much to his country! Yet in fairness, this unspeakable fate was not the result of his country's ingratitude, but because of Morris's over-optimism and bad business judgement, in an activity about which he had known nothing. After Robert Morris had been in debtor's prison about 3 years, a national Bankruptcy Law was passed, and he was released, but penniless! However, he had a faithful friend, Gouvernor Morris, now an attorney.

So we come full circle back to that contract of sale of Robert Morris, 64 thousand square miles, to the Holland Land Co. Gouvernor Morris found a flaw in this contract, Mrs. Morris had not conveyed her dower rights. So negotiating with the Holland Land Co, Gouvernor Morris obtained for her and annuity of \$1500. annually for life (about \$7500.)

(Robert Morris-

Sheet #9

J.C.Molyneux

And by this transaction, the Morris's were enabled to live comfortably, he for about 3 years, dying at age 69. She lived for 21 years.

I have to admit I played a little game with you, at the start telling of a flaw in deeds from the Holland Land Co, which might imperil the security of all real estate in Western N.Y. But now you can be re-assured, for if a Robert Morris descendant comes to make claim against real estate you own, thanks to Gouvernor Morris, you are entirely secure in your possession.

Why is Robert Morris almost forgotten? In Boston, you can visit Paul Revere's home, in Virginia you can visit Thomas Jefferson's beautiful "Monticello", and Washington's matchless "Mt. Vernon". But Robert Morris's long-time home in Philadelphia was torn down. The new home which L'Enfant designed, was never completed, and its remains were demolished.

The Pennsylvania State Museum states that after Morris's death, most of his papers were scatterd. A few of his household furniture^{ds} are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, a very few former possessions of his are in the building in Batavia (Holland Land Co Office), and that is about all.

But let us not forget, without Robert Morris, once owner of all the land where we now live, the Revolutionary War might well have been lost.

Three careers in one lifetime! What a Man!

J.C. Molyneux
Jamestown N.Y.

paper given at
Chautauqua County
Historical Society

4-8-67

13½ Presbyterian Church
Jamestown N.Y.

Property of
Chaut. Co. Hist. Soc'y.