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TALLEYRAND IN THE UNITED STATES,
1794 TO 1796.

Lehigh University, Ph.D., 1963
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1963

TALLEYRAND IN THE UNITED STATES, 1794 TO 1796

by
Edwin R. Baldrige, Jr.

A Dissertation
Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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1963

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To my wife, Georgia

PREFACE

A detailed account of the trip of Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord to America never has been told. Some of his biographers entirely ignore the two years he spent in the United States, while others merely refer to a few scattered incidents concerning the visit. It is difficult to determine Talleyrand's impressions, his social contacts, the chronology of his travels, and his financial interests in America. For example, a few authors say he was poverty-stricken when he was here, others mention that he amassed a fortune; and still many write that he desired to return to Europe as soon as possible and consequently played no active role while here.

Particularly misleading is the assumption that Talleyrand invested heavily in American lands and in so doing amassed a fortune. For almost two hundred years many writers have maintained that Talleyrand bought large tracts of land in the United States and then proceeded to resell them when he returned to Europe. This study will prove the contrary.

Another common practice is to describe Talleyrand as a human chameleon, who would resort to anything in order to retain power and to obtain a financial reward. Since his death his

name has been synonymous with descriptions like "trickster," "thief," and "sneak." Too often his name is associated with those lacking good faith. For example, in an article appearing in Foreign Affairs (January, 1955), Lindsay Rogers writes that Andrei Vishinsky explained to the first General Assembly of the United Nations in London in 1946, when some of his remarks had been questioned, "One should not keep on placing every question of principle or every practical question in the light of suspicion. It reminds me of a story of the days of the Congress of Vienna. It is said that when Talleyrand's death was announced, a diplomat who had heard about it asked, 'But what were Talleyrand's real intentions?'"¹ This study will not attempt to add more names to those already associated with Talleyrand; on the contrary, it will show Talleyrand to have been consistent in his goals, intelligent in his observations, and very influential in his contacts. Talleyrand will be seen at the peak of his maturity and with absolute command of his intellectual powers. Furthermore, it will be stressed that Talleyrand was not simply "another foreigner" in America but rather a man who made a definite impact upon the minds of prominent Americans. He was a person who was consulted for advice

¹Talleyrand actually died in 1838, twenty-three years after the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna.

and respected by the leaders of American society.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. James E. Swain of Muhlenberg College who recommended this subject and guided me through its formative stages. His knowledge of Talleyrand permitted fresh insights to be achieved just when a dead end appeared imminent. I also appreciate the help and countless suggestions I obtained from Miss Elsie Murray, Athens, Pennsylvania. Her personal interest in this study has been extremely helpful. Also, I am indebted to Dr. Frances S. Childs and Dr. Caroline Robbins who patiently answered my questions and gave rewarding leads. Attorneys Jerome W. Burkepile, Jr., and Frank M. Skrapits of Northampton, Pennsylvania, deserve special mention for their valued opinions on the numerous land deeds and financial agreements. Both Lehigh University and Muhlenberg College, without whose financial aid this study would have been impossible to undertake, share my gratitude. My thanks also must go to the entire staff of the Muhlenberg Library; their help permitted me to utilize my time to the utmost. A special note of thanks to Dr. Katherine S. Van Eerde, Muhlenberg College, who critically read the entire manuscript and whose advice and opinion I found extremely fruitful.

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Also special gratitude is extended to Professor Albert L. Demaree, Dartmouth College, who first kindled within me an interest in historical knowledge and research. And, of course, my deep appreciation goes to my family, who encouraged me to undertake this project and then were obliged to live with it, and me, during the years that went into it. Their faithfulness can never be repaid.

Edwin R. Baldrige, Jr.
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Allentown, Pennsylvania
May, 1963.

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TALLEYRAND IN THE UNITED STATES, 1794 TO 1796

ABSTRACT

Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord was one of ten thousand French refugees who sought asylum in the United States during the French Revolution. But Talleyrand was not a typical émigré. He had been a leader in the Constituent Assembly and a recognized authority on government finances. His fame had preceded him to America and his acquaintance was eagerly sought by leaders both of America's business world and of French refugee groups.

Talleyrand was not the type of person who passively sat awaiting news which would permit him to return to Europe; instead, he plunged into economic activities in the New World which he hoped would bring financial rewards. The United States was just emerging as a nation and, consequently, its limitless opportunities lured investors. Talleyrand, appraising the situation critically, decided that land speculation offered the best possibilities. Not only was the land market booming but it was an enterprise he could engage in even should circumstances arise which would permit his return to Europe. Talleyrand's

biographers have developed a misconception about his land speculation in the New World. They have consistently written that he acquired large holdings which he eventually resold to European buyers. Actually Talleyrand failed to purchase any land during his sojourn in America.

With land speculation his object, he undertook an exploratory trip into the interior of the United States. This excursion enabled him not only to discover the best opportunities available but also to investigate the country, its people, and their institutions. He wrote letters and memoirs on what he encountered. These observations reflect a keen insight into the economic life of the United States as it existed in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The first part of his trip took him to New England. There he explored the economic possibilities offered by Maine, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York. His desire to obtain land in these states was, however, thwarted by state laws prohibiting foreign ownership. He therefore turned reluctantly to other potential areas.

Most of his time in the United States was spent in Philadelphia. Not only were large numbers of French refugees living there but it was also the capital of the country. There he could keep abreast of new developments throughout the country.

For example, he learned in Philadelphia about the planned construction of a Federal City along the banks of the Potomac and immediately he realized the economic potentialities of such a project. He visited the proposed site and investigated the possibilities of a purchase. He rejected the offers, however, on the basis that the market was already overpriced and the time for a purchase had passed.

Pennsylvania was the only state that permitted alien ownership of property. It also was the center for French refugees in the United States with large numbers settling in Philadelphia and another sizable contingent located at Asylum, in the upper reaches of the Susquehanna River. Talleyrand visited the latter area and decided to purchase land owned by Robert Morris adjacent to the settlement at Asylum.

At this time Robert Morris was in dire financial straits, his financial empire on the brink of bankruptcy. The one hundred thousand acres that Talleyrand proposed to buy represented to Morris the difference between maintaining his solvency and experiencing economic disaster. Morris therefore willingly consented to generous terms. In fact, Talleyrand did not have to make any down payment and had fifteen months in which to pay the sale price of \$142,500. Talleyrand planned to return to Europe and resell the land at a profit either to European speculators

or to emigrants bound for the United States. In the meantime Morris hoped to satisfy his numerous creditors by showing them the agreement he had made with Talleyrand. They, in turn, would grant Morris a temporary reprieve, being content to wait and permit Talleyrand to fulfill his part of the agreement before collecting from Morris.

Unfortunately, the land market boom collapsed. Buyers were hard to find at any price and Talleyrand was forced to permit the agreement to lapse without making any payment. Besides, Talleyrand had become involved in European politics and temporarily lost interest in American land. Fame and fortune awaited him in Europe, not America. His failure to purchase Morris' land sealed the fate of the great Revolutionary financier and Morris continued inevitably down the path to debtor's prison.

Talleyrand's intelligent appraisals of the American scene show the astute powers he possessed. His quick grasp of the economic situation in this new country throws a penetrating light upon life in the United States and serves as an excellent mirror in obtaining a vivid reflection of the business world at that time. Furthermore, his acknowledgment of the great possibilities that lay ahead for the United States kindled within him an interest which periodically appeared throughout his life. That he never gave up the idea of making money in America is

attested by his encouragement to the du Pont family to settle in
America and his financial help to them.

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CHAPTER I

THE EUROPEAN BEGINNING

During the reign of Louis XV, France gave the illusion of being a formidable power. She still possessed great prestige in European circles, owned Canada, and was apparently fighting the British East India Company to a stalemate in India. All this, however, was deceptive. France was actually declining; the last half of the eighteenth century represented the twilight period of the French monarchy. France, desperately trying to maintain the position of a major power, realized that she was failing. A shift in European power and leadership was occurring which she appeared helpless to stop. Frantically, she attempted to cling to the remnants of her former greatness, but to no avail.

Within France, society was in a period of transition. The old order of social caste and the rule of the dominant minority were being challenged by the rising spirit of equality and representative government. Stimulated by the writings of the philosophes and by the freedom recently achieved by the American colonists, the French were on the move. The atmosphere was

tense and excited. Sporadic riots seemed to be the outlet to relieve popular dissatisfaction.

Despite the seriousness of these pressures, a carefree atmosphere prevailed at Versailles and within the upper circles of French society. A mood of complacency appeared to have permeated the nobility, and court balls never had been gayer and more brilliant. Life seemed basically peaceful, and in recollection one who had been present expressed the prevailing mood: "No one who was not alive before 1789 had experienced the sweetness of life."¹

Into such an atmosphere Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord was born in Paris on February 2, 1754. He came from an old and illustrious family, particularly renowned for their military leaders. His father, Daniel de Talleyrand, at sixteen had married the twenty-two-year-old Mlle. de Damas d'Antigny. They had five children, four sons and a daughter. The father was an officer in the army of Louis XV and held a position at court. Although the family was not wealthy, the court position permitted the father to guarantee offices for his sons.

Charles Maurice was the second son. Since his older brother, Alexandre François Jacques, died at the age of five,

¹Margaret Goldsmith, Madame de Staél (London, 1938), p. 42.

Charles Maurice became the heir. Unfortunately, Talleyrand's parents, following the predominant fashion of the day, sent him to a nurse for upbringing. This nurse allowed the baby to tumble from a dresser and his right foot was dislocated.² Talleyrand was lame for the rest of his life. Being a cripple, he was unfit for a military career, so his parents took away his right of primogeniture and gave it to his younger brother, Archambaud Joseph.³

Abandoned by his parents, he was sent to his great-grandmother, the Princess de Chalais. She supervised his education until the age of eight, when he entered the College d'Harcourt in Paris; five years later he moved to the seminary at Saint-Sulpice.⁴ As a cripple, he was now destined for service within the church. His own aversion to such a career was ignored by his family and he became a reluctant priest at the age of twenty-five.

The time spent in school was certainly not wasted by Talleyrand since he discovered two sources of distraction, both of which were to influence him throughout his later life. The

²G. Lacour-Gayet, Talleyrand (Paris, 1947), I, 15.

³Auguste Felix Charles Saint-Aulaire, Talleyrand, trans. G. J. Lees and F. J. Stephens (New York, 1937), p. 3.

⁴Duff Cooper, Talleyrand (New York and London, 1932), pp. 4-5.

first was the value of books. Since he was unable to participate in such aristocratic pursuits as fencing or dancing, he turned to books. He hungrily devoured everything available but especially the works of historians and the biographies of statesmen. The other distraction was a growing awareness of the opposite sex. At seminary he experienced his first love affair with a young lady who had been pushed by her family into becoming an actress, just as he had been pushed into becoming a priest. The courtship lasted two years, during which time Talleyrand found it necessary to slip away from the school and secretly meet his mistress.

At the schools he attended, Talleyrand's name was never listed among the honor students. That does not mean that he failed to receive a good education or was not a good pupil. On the contrary, Talleyrand was particularly strong in the classics and in French. Furthermore, the training he received in theology taught him how to think clearly and speak precisely. Education developed within him patience, a sense of timing, and an awareness of the weaknesses of others. All these were important ingredients for a future diplomatic career.

Resigning himself to his fate in the church, Talleyrand plunged into his enforced profession and decided to use it as a means to recover supremacy in his family by his own merit. He

wished to become a cardinal and then, like Richelieu and Mazarin, Prime Minister of France. He attempted to straddle the line between church and state; therefore, he maintained an interest in both. Never a very devout priest, he continued his secular pursuits and enjoyments while he served the church. His very pleasing and aristocratic manner made him attractive to the opposite sex, and despite the fact that he was a priest his presence at salons was highly prized.

Following his ordination (1779), Talleyrand received from the King the valuable appointment as head of the Abbey of Saint-Denis at Reims. This insured him of a good income and permitted him to lead an active and worldly life. His ability was apparent because the clergy of his own diocese soon elected him a member of the ruling body of the clergy.⁵ He worked hard in that office despite the fact that he continued his gay secular life when the day's work was finished. He was very much concerned about the problems of the church, particularly its finances. He noticed that as the assets of the church increased, those of the state declined. Talleyrand proposed various plans to end this trend and to distribute the revenue equally between the two institutions. This keen interest in finances continued

⁵William Hazlitt, The Life of Napoleon (London, 1828-30), pp. 229-30.

throughout his life.

In 1788 Louis XVI, violating his scruples and yielding to the demands of Talleyrand's dying father, appointed the young abbé Bishop of Autun. This was a small bishopric, providing only a modest income, but it had a famous history. Talleyrand was consecrated on January 16, 1789, and after a month's visitation at the bishopric he left it, never to return.

At one time Talleyrand was also seriously considered for an appointment to the College of Cardinals. One of his friends, the Comtesse de Brionne, attempted to push his candidacy for that office. She enlisted the aid of her friend, Gustave III, King of Sweden, a Lutheran prince, but one who was, nevertheless, on excellent terms with Pope Pius VI. The Pope seriously considered the appointment but then refused. Talleyrand had unfortunately incurred the displeasure of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, by associating openly with her critics and she therefore exerted pressure directed through the court in Vienna against Talleyrand's nomination.⁶

Talleyrand, upon the eve of the French Revolution, had attained national prominence. He was recognized by others as possessing great intelligence, an aristocratic birth, keen wit, unquestionable ability, and high ambitions. Definitely, this

⁶Saint-Aulaire, op. cit., p. 45.

man was regarded by his contemporaries with respect.

Unfortunately, circumstances over which Talleyrand had no control were to delay, temporarily, his otherwise rapid rise to power. In 1789 France faced bankruptcy. Louis XVI and his advisers had tried various ways to solve the financial dilemma but to no avail. Finally, Louis decided that the ancient parliamentary body of France, the Estates General, should be summoned with the hope that its members might find the solution to this critical fiscal problem.

The Estates General represented three orders, the Clergy, the Nobility, and the Commons, and each order elected its own representatives. Talleyrand was elected a delegate by the clergy and immediately left for Versailles in May, 1789.

During the early stages of the assembly the main question confronting it was whether the three orders should sit and vote as a single unit or as separate bodies. If they voted together, the Third Estate, with twice as many delegates as the other two, would dominate the meeting. If they each voted separately, then the Third Estate would have but one vote and it would be continually outvoted by the other two estates.

The stalemate over this problem plagued the delegates for weeks, with the King showing no leadership whatsoever. Finally, the Clergy decided to unite with the Third Estate and

their example was followed by the Nobility. The Estates General was finished; the Constituent Assembly, dominated by the Third Estate, took its place.

Talleyrand took no part in this controversy. He appeared reluctant to give the Third Estate too much power and did not immediately join that body when the majority of the clergy did. In fact, he made no move in that direction until the trend became obvious. Finally on June 26 he joined the dominant group, just one day ahead of the King's order for the Estates to sit as one body. Talleyrand had acted just in time to avoid being labeled a mere follower.

Talleyrand had chosen to unite with the revolutionists rather than to follow the other royalists into exile. He had always classified himself a liberal, although not a radical one. Since the reforms he had advocated had not been enacted, he decided to remain in France, live with the Revolution, and attempt to guide it in a course of moderation.

At once his talents were recognized and he became an early leader of the assembly. He proposed a bill to secularize church property and to strip the church of its vast wealth. He wanted the church to become merely a spiritual power, with the state paying the priests and administering the charities.⁷

⁷Guglielmo Ferrero, The Reconstruction of Europe (New York, 1941), p. 17.

Talleyrand also brought forward a magnificent scheme for national education which is described as "having at one end the communal school and at the other the Institute, [a system] . . . which exists with but slight alterations today."⁸ Finally, in February of 1790 he was elected president of the Constituent Assembly.

But his position and that of the Catholic Church were clearly incompatible. When the Assembly passed the Civil Constitution of the Clergy and required the clergy to swear allegiance to the new constitution, Talleyrand resigned his church office and boldly took the prescribed oath. Only two other bishops followed his example. The Pope formally excommunicated him, but Talleyrand viewed this action with an air of indifference. As he wrote to his friend the Duke de Biron, "You have heard the news--excommunication. Come console me and sup with me. Everybody will be refusing me fire and water, so that this evening there will only be frozen meats and red wine."⁹

In addition to these accomplishments as a revolutionist, Talleyrand, as a member of the Constituent Assembly, proposed a new system of weights and measures, a forerunner of the metric system. Furthermore, he fought against inflation and the issuance of the paper assignats. He warned of the temptation to

⁸Hazlitt, op. cit., pp. 232-33.

⁹Cooper, op. cit., p. 31.

flood the market with them and accurately predicted their eventual uselessness.

Meanwhile, he had joined the moderate party of the revolutionists, the Feuillants. This club had been organized to counterbalance the more radical Jacobins. It had succeeded in passing the Constitution of 1791 and in establishing a limited monarchy. Unfortunately for Talleyrand, according to the provisions of this new constitution, former members of the Constituent Assembly were not permitted to belong to the new Legislative Assembly or to hold any official government post. Consequently, Talleyrand found himself temporarily unemployed.

As the French Revolution proceeded in the direction of violence, bloodshed, and confusion, Talleyrand began to have reservations concerning its validity. He was one of the first to oppose fresh disturbances and to desire that a more moderate course be pursued. He wanted the King to show some resistance, but unfortunately His Majesty was immovable. Talleyrand hoped that a compromise might be reached between the partisans of the Revolution and the royalists. He wanted to establish a constitutional monarchy in France patterned after that in England. Unfortunately, the stubbornness of the King and his attempt to flee proved that reform through the monarchy was impossible. Talleyrand, disgusted by the developments within France and

fearful of an outbreak of a general European war, wanted to go to England and attempt to secure an Anglo-French alliance.

Talleyrand had always favored an alliance with England, believing that it would be the keystone for a general European peace.¹⁰ These two goals of Talleyrand--an Anglo-French alliance and a sincere desire for peace--remained consistent throughout his long career in government. Regardless of what government he served, he clung to these principles as his basic program. He sincerely believed that fulfilling these aims would lead to permanent French supremacy on the European continent.

In 1792 Talleyrand impressed upon Valdec de Lessart, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the necessity of securing the neutrality of England and, perhaps, an alliance with her before France got too involved in continental affairs. Although prevented by the Constitution of 1791 from holding an official position, Talleyrand did succeed in being sent to London with government letters which insured him a reception and a hearing by the British government.¹¹

What Talleyrand hoped to gain from England was a declaration of absolute neutrality, followed by both a defensive and

¹⁰Edouard Colmache, Reminiscences of Prince Talleyrand (London, 1848), II, 181.

¹¹Hazlitt, op. cit., pp. 232-33.

offensive alliance among France, England, and the United States, and finally a loan of £4 million sterling.¹² He obtained only the proclamation of neutrality; the rest of the scheme miscarried.

The French Revolution was never popular in England; it was resented as being foreign, strange, and bloody. Talleyrand discovered that this hostility extended towards himself. The English thought that Talleyrand had betrayed his king and had taken the wrong side. Consequently, Talleyrand received very cold treatment by representatives of the British government. King George III was abrupt in their meeting, the Queen turned her back on him, and William Pitt, the Prime Minister, was aloof and noncommittal. They distrusted him, many believing that he had been sent by the French as a spy.

While he was attempting to win the favor of the British, he was losing that of the French government. Louis XVI had fallen and a Jacobin government under Jean Marat was in power. These new leaders were fearful of a counterrevolution and they continually took precautionary steps to prevent such a movement. In the course of their activities they searched the Tuileries, the palace of the former King, attempting to discover evidence which would show them who was a loyal revolutionist and who was

¹²Saint-Aulaire, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

not. Those that were found disloyal were sentenced to the guillotine. While investigating the contents found in a hidden cupboard (a sort of iron safe) at the Tuileries, these revolutionists discovered certain documents which to them proved that Talleyrand had had secret correspondence with Louis XVI. The letters showed that Talleyrand believed in the monarchy and was reluctant to abolish it. Presented with this information, the Legislative Assembly confiscated Talleyrand's papers and declared him an outcast.¹³

Unable to complete his mission to London and resigned to his fate, Talleyrand reluctantly joined the growing number of French refugees in England. He decided to pursue a period of watchful waiting with the hope that an eventual change in the course of the French Revolution would enable him to return to France and resume his career in politics. He was unable to accept the republican principles of such leaders as Georges-Jacques Danton, Jean Marat, and Maximilian Robespierre, but he hoped that leaders who were willing to support a limited monarchy would eventually come into power and would call him back into public office. Meanwhile he dared not return to France and had to remain in exile in Great Britain or the United States until the Dantons and Robespierres had fallen and leaders with

¹³Bernard Lacombe, Talleyrand the Man (London, 1911), p. 40.

more moderate principles had arisen. He had no way of knowing how long this period of waiting would last, but he hoped that he would be able to return to France eventually rather than to live in exile for the rest of his life.

CHAPTER II

A RELUCTANT EXILE

The financial condition of Europe was undergoing an extraordinary change in the last half of the eighteenth century. It was being attacked by both conservative and liberal forces and consequently was caught in a vice that, if closed, would mean utter chaos to the economy of Europe. On the one side was the instability created by the French Revolution. That upheaval had caused the disruption of markets, the curbing of trade, and the elimination of sources of raw material. On the other side was a group of financiers who envisioned a closer interchange of goods between countries and the elimination of mercantilism. These businessmen belonged to what is sometimes called the "Sixth Great Power of Europe."¹ This elite group of financiers, representing every major state in Europe, had banded together in complete disregard for national borders to form a vital economic bloc that could effectively control Europe. One author described it:

¹Hans Huth and Wilma J. Pugh (eds.), Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter, 1794-96, Vol. II of The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1941 (Washington, 1942), p. v.

It was somewhat like Hellas, in that its social bonds were common ideals and mores rather than anything in the nature of legislation or prescription. It was somewhat like the medieval church, in that without physical force of its own it was able on occasion to summon and to restrain the physical force of the states. . . . It operated in areas and over subjects that lay beyond the range of . . . eighteenth century states. . . . It was truly international.²

This "Sixth Power" was itself handicapped by the French Revolution and the war that followed. An unhealthy financial situation had been created because the major European powers had become too deeply involved in power politics and national survival. Distraught capitalists sought in vain to discover safe places for investments. Hopefully, they turned to the New World. Here they found an infant republic, the United States, just emerging as an independent country under a new, and yet unproven, constitution. They saw a nation whose leaders were trying to establish a firm foundation, particularly on a sound financial basis. European speculators realized the potentialities of a nation that was bound to expand and grow into a major power within a few years, a nation whose resources were just begging to be developed, a nation whose location made it advantageous to secure the easily accessible West Indies trade. Greatly relieved and very much interested, these international capitalists began to explore the economic possibilities in the United States.

²Ibid., pp. v-vi.

Talleyrand was a member of this international group. He had associated with one of its leaders, Panchaud, the Swiss financial theorist, whose economic views influenced him.³ But Talleyrand, as indicated above, had always been interested in economic questions. As Agent-General of the French clergy he had taken a keen interest in church finances and tried to improve the efficiency of their handling.⁴ Here he earned the reputation of being an experienced financier. In 1787 he was invited as an expert in finances to serve on an advisory committee of the Council of Notables.⁵ Later, as a member of the First Estate in the Estates General, he offered numerous proposals to promote financial stability within France. He argued for the establishment of a centralized bank and for a monetary sinking fund which would gradually eliminate the public debt. In order to promote freer international economic relations, he favored an alliance between England and France, as previously mentioned.⁶ He ultimately became quite celebrated as a

³Ibid., p. 4.

⁴Hazlitt, op. cit., pp. 229-30; Cooper, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

⁵Duc de Broglie (ed.), Memoirs of the Prince de Talleyrand (London, 1895), I, 75. Hereafter cited as Talleyrand's Memoirs.

⁶Lindsay Rogers, "The Wonders of Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs, XXXIII (Jan., 1955), 318; Goldsmith, op. cit., p. 91.

financier and was looked up to as an authority on fiscal subjects.

His contemporaries often critically remarked about Talleyrand's love of money. Gouverneur Morris commented, "His Passion for Play [gambling] has become extreme . . .";⁷ Mirabeau said of him, "For money he has sold his honor and his friends. He would sell his very soul for money . . .";⁸ Madame de Staël's appraisal was, "He sold everything and will not cease to sell until his last day everything he can sell and even everything he cannot."⁹ His biographers have described him as "a born speculator,"¹⁰ and have stated that "his great defect was a boundless love of money or rather a complete absence of scruples as to the means of obtaining it."¹¹ Finally, it has been said, "The root of the matter of course was that he wanted money, needed it, or thought he did, to gratify one of the most expensive sets of tastes with which man was ever endowed."¹²

⁷Gouverneur Morris, A Diary of the French Revolution (Boston, 1939), II, 101.

⁸Durand Echeverria, Mirage in the West (Princeton, 1957), p. 196.

⁹Gamaliel Bradford, Saints and Sinners (Boston, 1932), p. 161.

¹⁰Louis Madelin, Talleyrand (New York, 1948), p. 45.

¹¹Bradford, op. cit., p. 160.

¹²Ibid.

All of these observations are partially correct but they should never be made without some clarification. It is true that Talleyrand did enjoy speculation and engaged in it freely, but he never did it foolishly and needlessly. As will be shown later, when he engaged in financial transactions, he did so deliberately, soberly, and with all the finesse of an astute financier. He studied business ventures from every conceivable angle and never did he permit emotion to cloud his thinking.

At sometime during his mission to England in 1792, Talleyrand became a man without a country. The exact date is difficult to determine as it is hard to define precisely when he ceased being a representative of the French government in England and when he became an exile. But from the moment his name appeared on the émigré list, Talleyrand's visit to England lost its effectiveness. His attempt to negotiate an alliance between the two countries had not materialized and now, cut off by his own government and distrusted by London society, he discovered himself ostracized by those around him.

Finally, he was forced to leave England, being banished under the provisions of the Alien Bill of 1793. He attempted to defend his position but to no avail, and so left England on February 3, 1794, on board an American trading vessel, the

William Penn, bound for Philadelphia.¹³ His constant traveling companion, Chevalier Albert de Beaumetz, accompanied him.

The trip took thirty-eight days and the first part was filled with stormy weather and impending dangers. A storm struck the ship in the English Channel and forced it to stop for repairs at Falmouth. There Talleyrand stayed at an inn where he discovered an American traveler. Introducing himself to this American, Talleyrand asked for letters of introduction which would aid him in the New World. In response to the request the stranger replied, "I am the sole American who cannot give you letters of introduction for his country. All my relations with it are at an end. I must never return there."¹⁴ The stranger turned out to be General Benedict Arnold!

After the William Penn left Falmouth, an English frigate suddenly appeared. It was feared that this ship would attempt to search and seize the American vessel. To avoid detection, Talleyrand quickly put on a white cap and apron, and disguised

¹³There is some confusion arising over the exact date of his expulsion. One author writes that it occurred in Jan., 1793 (J. Holland Rose, "Protest of Talleyrand Against His Expulsion from England," English Historical Review, XXI [April, 1906], 330-32). Rose, however, has been completely refuted and the correct date determined as Jan., 1794 ("Talleyrand and Jaudenes, 1795," American Historical Review, XXX [July, 1925], 778, n. 2).

¹⁴Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 174; George Barton, Walks and Talks About Old Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1928), pp. 98-99.

himself as an apprentice cook.¹⁵ Talleyrand breathed a sigh of relief when the English ship sailed away.

The last half of the crossing proved uneventful. The time was consumed by endless conversations with Beaumetz. So smooth did the sailing become that Talleyrand was reluctant to leave the ship when it arrived in Philadelphia. In fact, he attempted to obtain passage on a vessel leaving for India, whose riches he had heard about in England, but its captain replied he had no space available.¹⁶

Talleyrand had selected the United States as his place of refuge not only because the American ship was the next vessel to sail after he was ordered out of England but also because he had eliminated, for one reason or another, the other possibilities. Conceivably he could have gone to Russia, Switzerland, or Denmark. But for various reasons they were all eliminated. The feeling of Russia towards him was uncertain and there persisted a possibility that her attitude might change for the worse. Switzerland turned down his request for asylum and Denmark was

¹⁵Saint-Aulaire, *op. cit.*, p. 83. This story later circulated around the French government when Talleyrand was at the apex of his power. It was told to belittle him, describing how the strong and mighty had once been weak and fearful.

¹⁶Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 175. For a description of Talleyrand's interest in India, see Paul D. Evans, "Deux Emigrés en Amérique, Talleyrand and Beaumetz," La Révolution Française Revue, LXXVIII (Jan.-Dec., 1925), 51-61.



ch. maurice de talleyrand

too close to the advances of France.¹⁷ Consequently, he turned, somewhat reluctantly, to America.

He was not alone in this venture. During the last decade of the eighteenth century thousands of French emigrants invaded the United States. Driven from their country by the Revolution, they sought a place to live in peace and enjoy a freedom never experienced in Europe. Actually, there were two distinct groups of emigrants. The first, which came shortly after the fall of the Bastille, consisted largely of members of the privileged classes. They were wealthy royalists fleeing France to escape the guillotine. The second influx were members of the bourgeoisie and nobility who had initially favored reform measures but broke with the Revolution when the massacres began. Talleyrand belonged to this group.

These exiles settled primarily in the Middle Atlantic area, establishing large colonies in New York City, Baltimore, Wilmington, and Philadelphia. The latter had the largest concentration in America, estimated between 10,000 and 25,000, making approximately one person out of every ten French. So popular did Philadelphia become with the French that they referred to it

¹⁷Anna B. Dodd, Talleyrand, The Training of a Statesman (New York and London, 1927), p. 299; Lacombe, op. cit., p. 58.

as their "Noah's Ark"!¹⁸

Many reasons account for the appeal of Philadelphia. In the first place, the émigrés gathered there because the city already contained a sizable French population. As early as 1755 French exiles had sought a haven there. In that year French colonists in Acadia were ruthlessly uprooted and resettled in Philadelphia.¹⁹ There they suffered horribly from smallpox and yellow fever, but a small number survived who eventually attracted others.

Secondly, Philadelphia was the capital of the United States. In this respect it was similar to Paris, the former home of most of these émigrés. Furthermore, Philadelphia was a major seaport. Ships arrived and departed almost daily. Here they could safely await news of French developments and at the same time closely observe the operations of this new republic and learn how to assimilate themselves to their new environment.

Still another reason the French selected Philadelphia

¹⁸Frances S. Childs, French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800 (Baltimore, 1940), p. 103; Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts (eds.), Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey, 1793-1798 (Garden City, N. Y., 1947), p. xvii. It is difficult to determine the precise number since census figures are unavailable; the census of 1790 preceded the tide whereas that of 1800 followed the peak.

¹⁹Wilton P. Ledet, "Acadian Exiles in Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania History, IX, No. 1 (Jan., 1942), 119.

was that it was the financial center of the New World, where they could find employment, make business contacts, and receive information. In Philadelphia credit could be secured, loans were available, and investments could be obtained. Banks, commercial houses, and the Treasury of the United States were situated there, making available speculation and investments. These factors, which attracted many emigrants, would be particularly appealing to Talleyrand.

CHAPTER III

A NEW BEGINNING

A crowd of curiosity seekers gathered early at the Dock Street wharf to see the man whose reputation had preceded him across the Atlantic. Fortunately for Talleyrand, within the crowd stood a friend, Théophile Cazenove, who came to greet this new arrival and aid him in his adjustment to the New World.¹ The two had known each other in the business world of Paris and now renewed their acquaintance. Cazenove, chief agent for the Holland Land Company, had lived in America for a number of years and had established excellent business connections. Talleyrand's travels and experiences in America would have been quite different had it not been for this early meeting with Cazenove. Time and time again Talleyrand used Cazenove to advance his own interests. As Talleyrand rather critically remarks in his Memoirs, "Mr. Cazenove was a man of a rather enlightened, though slow mind and of a timid and almost careless nature. But his

¹George Barton, Little Journeys Around Old Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1926), pp. 98-99.

qualities and his defects made him very useful to me."²

Talleyrand's use of Cazenove was not confined to the New World. Upon the death of Cazenove, Paul Busti, his successor as general agent for the Holland Land Company, wrote:

Our old friend, M. Théophilus Cazenove, died sometime in March in Paris. . . . Grown old, his generous heart . . . evaporated in the riches it has been repeatedly asserted that he amassed in financial operations with his friend and protector, Talleyrand. I give this opinion, only from reasoning deducted from the knowledge of Mr. Théophile's character, for as to the particulars of his life in Paris I know nothing but what I have been told, that he died poor, abandoned by Talleyrand.³

Thanks to Cazenove, Talleyrand bypassed the custom formalities that usually encumbered the arrival of the European emigrant. Furthermore, Talleyrand encountered no difficulty in securing lodging, since he was invited to stay at Cazenove's small brick house in South Philadelphia for as long as he desired.⁴

Here Talleyrand spent his first few weeks acclimating himself to his new environment and contemplating his next move.

²Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 175.

³Cazenove's last years were spent in Paris where he served Talleyrand as an adviser on matters pertaining to America and Holland. Talleyrand specifically used his services when negotiating the sale of Louisiana to the United States. François Alexandre Frédéric La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, Journal de Voyage en Amérique et d'un Séjour à Philadelphie (Baltimore, 1940), pp. x-xiii.

⁴Barton, Little Journeys . . ., p. 99.

Here he could objectively appraise the financial conditions of the United States without the necessity of becoming immediately involved in them. His own finances were exhausted when he arrived in Philadelphia, as he had been forced to sell his personal library in London to pay for his passage to America.⁵ Talleyrand intended to recoup his fortune by amassing wealth in the New World. He certainly would not be satisfied to sit idly by, enjoying the hospitality of Cazenove, while awaiting developments in Europe.

Although desirous of returning to Europe as soon as possible, he carefully studied ways to enrich himself in the United States. It was imperative, he saw, to enter a business that either offered quick monetary returns or could be operated profitably from the continent. Keeping these restrictions in mind, he proceeded to explore the business climate in the United States.

To begin with, he sought introductions to the prominent businessmen of Philadelphia. Here was another opportunity of using the friendship of Cazenove. Through him Talleyrand met

⁵Most authors agree that he was destitute when he arrived in the United States, but according to one his trip was paid by John Church who had known Talleyrand in Paris and later befriended him in England. John S. Minard, "Intimate Friend of Old Celebrities in America and Europe," Journal of American History, II (1908), 52.

Robert Morris, William Bingham, and Henry Knox, all successful leaders of America's infant enterprises. They, in turn, informed him of their activities and consequently, with this knowledge, he could attempt to visualize the best way of predicting future possibilities.

After close scrutiny he narrowed the fields available to aliens to three--one was to play the stock market, either individually or as a representative of a European firm; another was to act as an agent for European businessmen; and the third possibility was to engage in land speculation. Through his observations he became quite impressed by American business methods and especially by the impact they made on American society. Shortly after arriving he wrote Mme. de Staël, "There is much money to be made here, but it is only for the people who already have it."⁶ Obviously he was attempting to enlist her aid and desirous that she and her associates would trust his judgments in their American investments. As it turned out, Mme. de Staël did purchase land in the New World but not from Talleyrand.⁷

Initially, he showed interest in all three of the

⁶Lacombe, op. cit., p. 70.

⁷She acquired a considerable amount in New York State from Gouverneur Morris and LeRoy de Chaumont. Is this another reason for the sudden "coldness" that developed between these former lovers? Richard L. Hawkins, Madame de Staël and the United States (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 10-14.

above-mentioned areas. He hoped to become an expert on American affairs and be accepted by European merchants as their liaison. He wrote to the bank of Bourdieu, Cholet, and Bourdieu in London advice on land speculation, the stability of the American stock exchange, and requests for their instructions.⁸ It is a remarkable letter, containing many significant insights into the business world of America that will be noted later; what makes it especially amazing is that it was written less than two months after he arrived! His keen mind had grasped the situation and had already taken advantage of it.

To maintain solvency while awaiting aid from Europe, Talleyrand decided to obtain money through his knowledge of the operations of foreign diplomacy. It was essential that he do this since he had been reduced almost to the condition of a pauper. He had moved from Cazenove's to a small attic apartment in the alley between Front and Second Streets and was forced to sell his watch in order to buy coal to heat his room and to cook his food.⁹ He, therefore, approached the Spanish envoy to the

⁸Talleyrand to Messrs. Bourdieu, Cholet, and Bourdieu, June 10, 1794, Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., Library of Congress. Hereafter Library of Congress will be abbreviated LC. These manuscripts were deposited by courtesy of Hans Huth and Wilma Pugh.

⁹Charles K. McHarg, Life of Prince Talleyrand (New York, 1857), p. 126.

United States, Josef de Jaudenes, and informed him that he possessed British secrets which could be purchased for £3500. These secrets ostensibly pertained to a proposed joint Anglo-French attack on Spanish America in 1790. Talleyrand explained that this document had mysteriously come into his possession during his residence in England. Jaudenes informed the foreign minister of Spain, F. A. Godoy, who authorized the purchase. Talleyrand eventually received \$8,000 for the secrets, which turned out to be completely useless to the Spanish government.¹⁰ It is uncertain whether at the time of the sale Talleyrand thought that the documents were authentic or whether he knowingly sold false information to embarrass Spain and obtain money. Regardless of his sincerity, the sale certainly aided Talleyrand's financial status.

Released from personal financial worries he could now enjoy himself in Philadelphia society while contemplating his next move. As previously mentioned, he had met the elite of the financial world in America and had been well received. He led a gay life in Philadelphia, mingling freely with French refugees and American businessmen. His evenings were filled with dinners and conversations at the homes of William Bingham, Robert Morris,

¹⁰"Talleyrand and Jaudenes, 1795," American Historical Review, XXX (July, 1925), 779.

and Moreau de St. Méry, the latter being Talleyrand's favorite host. At St. Méry's they reminisced about pre-Revolutionary days or planned France's future. So enjoyable were these conversations that Mme. Moreau de St. Méry frequently insisted on Talleyrand's departure so that her husband could open their bookshop the next morning. But her sometimes rude remarks never prevented Talleyrand from returning.¹¹ The bookstore became the rendezvous for French émigrés in Philadelphia. Situated at the corner of Front and Walnut Streets, it was also frequented by such distinguished visitors as La Colombe, Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and the young Duc d'Orléans (the future Louis Philippe).¹²

In addition to his making contact with American businessmen, Talleyrand looked forward to meeting President Washington. All visitors to Philadelphia made it a point to see this distinguished gentleman. They would drink tea, eat breakfast, or attend a reception with him. After all, he was ranked by many as one of the world's great men. But Talleyrand's reason for meeting Washington was to be more than simply a social affair, for he wanted to talk politics. One of his objectives in coming

¹¹Moreau, op. cit., pp. 214-15.

¹²Austin K. Gray, The First American Library (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 41-42.

to America was to complete his political education by learning how the American government functioned. To do this, he had attended sessions of the Supreme Court and the Congress and had observed how the check and balance system operated. Now he desired an interview with the chief executive.

To insure a pleasant reception, Talleyrand possessed a very warm letter of introduction written by Washington's friend, Lord Lansdowne.¹³ But Washington refused to grant Talleyrand either a public or a private audience. Presumably he declined because of the violent protests raised by Joseph Fauchet, French Minister to the United States. Fauchet had rushed to the Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, and shouted, "If Talleyrand is received at the President's palace, I will never set foot in it again; you must choose between me and an émigré."¹⁴ Washington, somewhat reluctantly, consented to Fauchet's demands. As he explained to Hamilton:

In answering your note of yesterday respecting M. Talleyrand de Périgord, I do not hesitate to declare, that I find it difficult to hit upon a line of conduct towards characters, under the description that Gentleman is. . . . I can perceive very clearly, that the consequences of receiving these characters into the public

¹³Lansdowne to Washington, March 2, 1794, MSS Div., Pennsylvania Historical Society (hereafter abbreviated Pa. Hist. Soc.), Philadelphia, Pa.

¹⁴Lacombe, op. cit., p. 66.

rooms will be driving of the French Ministers from them.¹⁵

And later in a letter to Lord Lansdowne he wrote:

I have had the pleasure of receiving your Lordship's letter introducing me to M. Talleyrand-Périgord.

It is a matter of no small regret to me that considerations of a public nature, which you will easily conjecture, have not hitherto permitted me to manifest towards that Gentleman, the sense I entertain of his personal character and of your Lordship's recommendation. But I am informed that the reception he has met with in general, has been such as to console him, as far as the state of society here will admit of it, for what he has relinquished in leaving Europe. Time will naturally be favorable to him everywhere and may be expected to raise a man of his talents and merit above the temporary disadvantages, which in revolutions result from differences of political opinion.¹⁶

Fortunately for Talleyrand this rebuff by Washington, as indicated, was counterbalanced by actions of other prominent

¹⁵John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), The Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799 (Washington, 1940), XXXIII, 352.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 482-83. Most authors agree that Washington refused to greet Talleyrand because of the political overtones that might be insinuated. A few, however, cite other reasons for the snub. Charles H. Sherrill says social reasons prevented the meeting. He indicates that Talleyrand's amorous past had preceded him to America and, therefore, to have Washington associate with him would taint the President's character. Charles H. Sherrill, French Memories of Eighteenth Century America (New York, 1915), pp. 21-22. Edward Everett infers that Talleyrand never attempted to see Washington, that Talleyrand deliberately avoided involvement in this country's political affairs by keeping aloof of any personal relations with the President. He concludes that, unlike other French émigrés who threw themselves into the political problems of this world and became extremely partisan in their actions, Talleyrand attempted to remain neutral. Edward Everett, The Mount Vernon Papers (New York, 1860), p. 358.

Americans. Alexander Hamilton particularly became very friendly with this exile and the two developed a lasting admiration for each other. This was natural since they had so much in common-- their realistic approach to current fiscal problems, their awareness of the responsibilities of the federal government, and their enjoyment of fine living--all coincided to form a strong bond. Talleyrand deliberately attended sessions of Congress and the Supreme Court when Hamilton was scheduled to appear.¹⁷ He considered Hamilton the wisest and best informed statesman outside of Europe. In fact, he later eliminated that restriction when he said, "I consider Napoleon, Fox and Hamilton as the three greatest men of our period and, if I had to name the greatest, I would without hesitation place Hamilton in first place."¹⁸

Both men mention spending many evenings conversing together, not only in Philadelphia but wherever the possibility arose. Frequently they met in New York City and even at Hamilton's in-laws, the Philip Schuylers, in Albany.¹⁹ So close did

¹⁷Samuel Breck, "Recollections," MSS Div., American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., p. 210.

¹⁸Lewis Rosenthal, America and France (New York, 1882), p. 286, n. 60; Crane Brinton, Lives of Talleyrand (New York, 1936), p. 93.

¹⁹Gouvernet Henriette Lucie La Tour du Pin, Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire, trans. Walter Greer (New York, 1920), pp. 226-27.

their friendship become that Talleyrand commissioned an artist to paint Hamilton's picture in order that he might carry a portrait. Later he took this picture back to France and, according to reports, when Aaron Burr came to Paris and requested an audience, Talleyrand, in refusing to grant one, instructed his secretary to "tell the gentleman that a miniature of Hamilton hangs on my wall."²⁰

One distinct area of disagreement between Hamilton and Talleyrand, however, was their attitude towards a government job. When Hamilton resigned his cabinet position as Secretary of Treasury with the explanation he could support his family better through the practice of law, this shocked Talleyrand. The position, according to Talleyrand's views, was, outside of the presidency, the most potentially lucrative position anyone could obtain. The possibilities of making money seemed endless. The very idea of leaving such a job to return to private life and practice law was incomprehensible. Talleyrand reportedly remarked upon passing late one night the illuminated window of Hamilton's study, "There is the eighth wonder of the world: a man laboring for the support of his family who made the fortune of a nation."

Although Talleyrand mingled freely in American society

²⁰Everett, op. cit., p. 359.

and enjoyed its contacts, he nevertheless remained at heart a European; his first love was, and always remained, France. He stayed in America only because it provided him temporary refuge. His eyes focused anxiously on Europe, awaiting the arrival of the day which would permit him to return. He realized that his position in America, however, afforded him an excellent opportunity to study Europe objectively, not as an active participant but as a trained politician removed from the pressures of everyday intrigues. As he later wrote, "A politician, to complete his education, should certainly go to America, as a distant point of view from which to judge old Europe."²¹ He actually described this phase of his life as "a period of rest and relief";²² it represented a temporary calm before plunging back into the violent events of Europe.

Besides enjoying American society, he also observed it; he never became so thoroughly involved in activities that he could not study habits, customs, and mannerisms. He noticed that foremost in the minds of Americans was a love of money. He apparently felt at home when informed that the highest tribute an American could pay another was to describe him as "a clever

²¹Duchess de Dino, Memoirs (New York, 1910), II, 247.

²²Ibid., I, 97.

fellow, damned sharp."²³ But he noticed intermingled with this passion for money a desire for independence. Wherever he traveled in America he uncovered these two strong drives. He saw materialism in Ohio where in a crudely constructed log cabin he found an expensive piano, "adorned with really beautiful bronzes." He was warned not to play it because "the piano-tuner, who lives a hundred miles away, does not come this year."²⁴ And in Maine he observed both drives in a man who anticipated a trip to Philadelphia so he could not only see George Washington, the champion of American independence, but also meet William Bingham, the epitome of a wealthy American.²⁵

Being an ex-bishop, Talleyrand kept an interested eye on American religious customs. Having come from the more intolerant Old World, he was impressed by the religious toleration of the New. He felt that such liberty of conscience strengthened the bonds of union by eliminating social unrest. As he observed:

On the days consecrated to religion, the members of the family went out together, each one sought the minister of his own form of worship, and they all returned to share the same domestic interests. The diversity of opinion caused no discord in their feelings and other habits; there were no disputes, no questions were even asked on the subject. It seemed as if religion here was looked

²³Echeverria, op. cit., p. 195.

²⁴Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 180.

²⁵Ibid.

upon as a personal secret which no man thought he had any right to question or penetrate.²⁶

When complaining about American food he remarked, "The United States has thirty-two religions and only one dish."²⁷ He learned the necessity of having religious toleration in order to secure social pacification; consequently, he was later to attempt to achieve this for France when formulating the provisions to be included in the Concordat of 1801 concerning religious nonconformity.

Although Talleyrand appeared at times shocking to his American friends, they nevertheless recognized his keen insight and penetrating mind in electing him a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1796.²⁸ This permitted him to have an opportunity to converse freely with American intellectual leaders and to observe their outlook, appraisal, and estimate of current problems. These ideas he added to those of Europe and therefore could judge events objectively from all angles. He

²⁶Charles Maurice Talleyrand, "Memoir Concerning the Commercial Relations of the United States with England," presented before the National Institute on the 15th, Germinal an. V (Boston, 1809), p. 8.

²⁷Frédéric Lollée, Prince Talleyrand and His Times (London, 1911), p. 131.

²⁸Joseph G. Rosengarten, "The Early French Members of the American Philosophical Society," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, XLVI (Jan.-Mar., 1907), 88.

later used this information in assembling material concerning relations between England and the United States which he presented before the National Institute upon his return to Paris.²⁹

These associations enabled Talleyrand to develop and test his political and philosophical theories in the relative tranquillity of the United States before returning to France to put them into practice. His contacts also brought him recognition and social status among his American friends. He became, to some extent, a member of their society and therein found some satisfaction. He, at least, was received while countless other French emigrants were bitterly assailed as murderers and traitors by their American hosts and forced to live a lonely existence in exile.³⁰

As Talleyrand weighed the economic possibilities in America, he appeared to favor more and more the future prospects of the land market. It contained certain advantages that appealed to him--it could be operated successfully from Europe, and the price of land, steadily rising, was certain to continue upward since expansion inland was inevitable. As he clearly foresaw, "America will one day be a great nation."³¹ Talleyrand

²⁹Ibid., p. 91.

³⁰Childs, op. cit., p. 186.

³¹Lacombe, op. cit., p. 82.

wanted to take advantage of this. He intended to obtain the profit of the "unearned increment"--the added value of the land which comes from growth of population and material wealth.

But this exile certainly was not original in his desire; the spirit of speculation had already captured the entire population. However, the American attitude towards land differed radically from the European concept. Americans wanted to buy land in order to sell it at a later date for a profit. Unlike Europeans, they did not consider landownership as a badge of wealth or status. They rarely attempted to work the land or to improve it in order to earn a living from it; they were satisfied to be merely speculators who bought and sold whenever the market demanded.³² Even the national government had pursued a similar policy. It considered public land an asset to be cashed as quickly as possible and its income to be used to eliminate existing debts and obligations. Talleyrand entered the speculator's arena fully indoctrinated by the American attitude. He intended to buy low and sell high whenever the possibility occurred.

At the time of his arrival there persisted throughout

³² Aaron M. Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble (New York and London, 1932), pp. 46-47.

the United States a very optimistic view towards land sales.³³ New states had recently been admitted to the union, the Constitution had successfully passed the first few critical years of its existence, the sound fiscal policies pursued by the federal government, and the strong demand for new lands by the rapidly growing population had all stimulated the land market. Everybody, rich and poor alike, tried to buy lands wherever credit could be obtained.

It was difficult for Americans to attract foreign capital for their speculations. The English offered only loans for commercial purposes, whereas the Dutch were reluctant to make any loans at all after some unfortunate experiences in the New World.³⁴ Talleyrand intended to bridge the gap. Being a foreigner he held a decided advantage over American speculators, since he had already established a reputation on the continent. He thought that, although European investors were reluctant to invest in America through American merchants, they might consider buying through a fellow European who had American friends. Talleyrand exploited this advantage. He bitterly attacked American merchants and told Europeans not to trust them. He

³³Paul D. Evans, The Holland Land Company (Buffalo, 1924), p. xii.

³⁴Huth and Pugh, op. cit., p. 10.

warned them, "Nowhere in America do I find anybody who isn't ready to sell me his dog."³⁵ He attempted to monopolize the business of European investments in America, as he wanted to be the sole person through which land might be acquired by European speculators.

In this endeavor to control the land market he was helped indirectly, and unintentionally, by his foe, Minister Fauchet. The minister warned Frenchmen against attempting any speculation in America, regardless of whether they were dealing with an American merchant or a fellow Frenchman. Fauchet complained that the land titles were untrustworthy, the designated area usually undesirable, the claims fraudulent, and the merchants only desirous of cheating innocent purchasers.³⁶ Of course, Fauchet's warnings were aimed at all speculators, but his reports did seem to be more critical of the American salesman than of Europeans, a fact which indirectly aided Talleyrand.

Philadelphia was the center of this land business. There, far from the regions they bought and sold, Robert Morris, John Nicholson, James Wilson, William Bingham, and Henry Knox, the principal landowners of America, transacted their business;

³⁵Brinton, op. cit., p. 92.

³⁶William G. Sumner, The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution (New York, 1891), II, 269.

consequently, local agents had to be employed. These representatives selected and surveyed the intended purchase and then forwarded their recommendations to Philadelphia. Naturally, the system encouraged the practice of fraud and deceit at every level.³⁷ Furthermore, Philadelphia, being situated in the eastern part of the United States and being the capital of the nation, contained the largest organized group of citizens opposed to speculation in lands, particularly in western lands. These conservatives felt that the sudden opening of the West would be detrimental to the East, as it would decrease the East's political advantage, tighten the labor market, and encourage Indian attacks.³⁸

Talleyrand was aware of the arguments on both sides and avoided them completely. All he was interested in was making a profit, but the immediate problem was where to buy. He did not have agents scanning the country for him; he would have to investigate for himself, evaluate the advantages, and then purchase. In order to do this intelligently, he decided to embark on a trip into the interior of the United States.

³⁷Sakolski, op. cit., p. 32.

³⁸Raymond Walters, Jr., Albert Gallatin (New York, 1957), p. 48.

CHAPTER IV

MAINE SPECULATION

At first, Talleyrand had no preference as to where to buy land; he was prepared to let price and conditions govern his choice. But eventually he eliminated the South from any consideration and his interest focused entirely on either western or northern lands. Presumably, in this decision he was guided by Cazenove who pointed out the disadvantage of southern lands. Cazenove warned that in the South land titles were uncertain, large tracts were not available, foreigners were prohibited from owning land, and, furthermore, the climate and slavery would be objectionable to Europeans.¹

Two of Talleyrand's Philadelphia friends, William Bingham and Henry Knox, urged him to consider investing in Maine lands. Earlier Bingham and Knox had formed a friendly partnership and had proceeded to buy large tracts of land in Maine.

¹It is indeed fortunate that Talleyrand could rely on the judgment and experience of Cazenove. Cazenove's conservatism in the acquisition of lands and his own great optimism in the future of America permitted the Holland Land Company to become the most prosperous land enterprise in America and to long outlive its competitors. Evans, op. cit., p. 21.



WILLIAM BINGHAM
Member of the Continental Congress.

Wm Bingham

Unfortunately, they overextended themselves and were in need of cash to meet their own financial obligations.² Both men must have breathed a sigh of relief when they discovered Talleyrand to be a willing and interested buyer. After all, this Frenchman had the right European contacts and in the New World circulated with men who had money.

They continually praised the advantages of Maine to Talleyrand, mentioning that it would be an ideal location for a French colony, especially since it already contained remnants of an earlier one. Mme. de Leval had migrated there in 1790 with plans of establishing a refuge for French royalists. She had purchased land along the east coast which she called Fontaine Leval. But unfortunately the actual settlement was prolonged by endless court action over faulty land titles. She became discouraged, deserted the colony, married M. Van Berckel, and returned to France.³ Now Talleyrand could renew the project.

Talleyrand agreed to visit Maine and inspect the

²Richard M. Brace, "Talleyrand in New England," New England Quarterly, XVI, No. 3 (Sept., 1943), 399; Bingham to Knox, Jan. 3, 1793, Knox Papers, MSS Div., Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

³A descendant of this short-lived colony is Dr. Frances S. Childs, probably the foremost authority on French refugee life in America. Childs, op. cit., pp. 67-68; North Callahan, Henry Knox, General Washington's General (New York and Toronto, 1958), pp. 341-42.

proposed site. For one thing he was anxious to get away from the heat of a Philadelphia summer, which he so accurately described, "At each inhaling of air, one worries about the next one."⁴ Willingly leaving Philadelphia in July (1794) he was accompanied by his partner, Beaumetz, and by Jan Huidekoper, a Dutchman who, like Cazenove, was a land agent for Dutch financiers.⁵ Knox, delighted, quickly wrote Talleyrand two letters of introduction and bade him farewell.⁶ In New York City, Thomas Law, a millionaire Englishman, joined the party. He was enroute to England from India and eager to see some of the United States before his return.⁷

Another more personal reason has been given as to why Talleyrand traveled to Maine. This was the rumor that he had been born there and desired to revisit his birthplace. The story is told that at one time a little lame French boy lived on Mount Desert Island. This child was the illegitimate son of a

⁴Moreau, op. cit., p. 324.

⁵Brace, op. cit., pp. 398-99.

⁶Both letters reflect Knox's desire to sell the land to anyone. Their contents describe Talleyrand in superlative terms; yet, apparently Knox does not know him very well, since he misspells Talleyrand's name throughout. Knox to Whom It May Concern, June 24, 1794, and Knox to Christopher Gore, June 24, 1794, Knox Papers, MSS Div., Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

⁷La Tour du Pin, op. cit., pp. 194-95.



- ▲ CAMPGROUND
- ▲ PICNIC GROUND
- PARK ENTRANCE

French naval officer and the beautiful sixteen-year-old daughter of a Maine fisherman. The officer sailed away but eventually returned to discover he was a father. He accepted the responsibility of parenthood and went back to France to prepare a place for his newly acquired family. Unfortunately, he died in France, but before dying he told a brother about his family in Maine and received a promise that they would be cared for. Meanwhile the mother died and the boy was left under the care of his maternal grandparents. During this period the grandmother accidentally spilled a kettle of boiling water on the boy, permanently laming him.⁸ Finally, the uncle arrived, promising the grandparents he would adopt the boy, and they reluctantly permitted the youngster to be taken to France, their sorrow being eased by payment of a large sum of money.⁹

When settlers at Mount Desert Island noticed the strange gait of Talleyrand and his attempt to travel incognito, the old-timers immediately recalled the story of the lame French boy. Their suspicions were reinforced when the Honorable Edward

⁸There are two versions of this mishap. One has the grandmother responsible; the other blames the mother. William O. Sawtelle, "The Island of Mount Desert," Sprague's Journal of Maine History, XI, No. 3 (July-Sept., 1923), 131; Jane M. Parker, "Was Talleyrand Born at Mount Desert, Maine?" Bookman, XVI (Sept., 1902), 28.

⁹Sawtelle, op. cit.

Robbins of Boston, former Speaker of the Massachusetts Legislature, who had met Talleyrand in Boston, told the settlers who their strange guest was. When informed of Talleyrand's name and fame they immediately concluded that he was definitely the French lad returning to view the scenes of his childhood.¹⁰ Talleyrand, informed of the tale, did nothing either to verify it or to deny it.

Regardless of the reasons Talleyrand had, he never regretted having gone there. Of all the areas he inspected in the United States, he liked this one best. Perhaps it was the summer weather or simply the fact that it was the first land he had visited that made him immediately enthusiastic. He wrote a glowing letter on its future.¹¹ He deliberately mentioned that his reflections pertained only to Maine and not to America in general. The inhabitants were described as tall and vigorous, on the very threshold of a long and prosperous life. The

¹⁰Coincidental to this story is the realization that Talleyrand actually did lose an uncle at sea. Also, could this explain why he was deserted by his parents during his childhood in France? Perhaps he was not boarded out according to "the fashionable heartlessness of the day" but merely because he was not their son. Finally, is this the real reason why Talleyrand lost the right of primogeniture?

¹¹Charles Maurice Talleyrand, "Letter on the Eastern Part of America," Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC, pp. 289-309. This is a general prospectus, dated Sept. 24, 1794, written by Talleyrand for potential buyers.

coastline favored excellent anchorages, the climate encouraged livestock, the rivers enabled inland transportation and at the same time supplied water power to nearby mills. Even Maine's prolonged cold and its six months of snow received praise. According to Talleyrand such a climate promoted healthfulness and fertility. "Isn't it true," he wrote, "that from the most northerly countries have come those numerous swarms of enterprising and vigorous men who, from their harsh climate, have departed to conquer the people of more temperate zones? Why not foresee the same destiny for the province of Maine when you find under each roof ten or twelve healthy children?"¹² Definitely, the future of the United States would depend directly upon the rapid development of Maine.¹³

An interesting comment that Talleyrand made about Maine, and later included in his report before the National Institute,

¹²Ibid., p. 300; Talleyrand wrote this memoir in warmer Boston. Personally, Talleyrand despised cold weather and at its first sign he retreated to warmer climates; Lacombe, op. cit., p. 76.

¹³Although Talleyrand makes a strong recommendation for Maine, there appears in his memoir evidence of certain misconceptions about the country. For example, he remarked that very few mountains exist in Maine. He wrote that those that are present are located on the island of Mount Desert. Apparently he never traveled inland to encounter the great Presidential chain of the White Mountains that extend north into Maine. Its highest peak, Mount Katahdin (5,268 ft.), is the second highest point east of the Mississippi River.

described the various stages of civilization visible in the country. He remarked that, as he traveled inland, each day brought him in contact with a lower level of society. He concluded:

Degrees of civilization and industry steadily decline until one arrives at a formless and rough cabin built of the trunks of newly cut trees, the debris from which still covers the adjacent ground, which already furnishes subsistence to the master. Such a trip is a sort of practical and living analysis of the origin of peoples and states; one leaves the most complex society to return to the simplest elements. Each day one loses from sight one of those inventions which the multiplication of our needs renders necessary.

It seems that one travels backwards in the history of the progress of the human spirit.¹⁴

Almost a hundred years later Frederick Jackson Turner made essentially the same observation when he wrote:

The Atlantic frontier was compounded of fisherman, fur-trader, miner, cattle-raiser, and farmer. Excepting the fisherman, each type of industry was on the march toward the West, impelled by an irresistible attraction. Each passed in successive waves across the continent. Stand at Cumberland Gap and watch the procession of civilization, marching single file--the buffalo following the trail to the salt springs, the Indian, the fur-trader and hunter, the cattle-raiser, the pioneer farmer--and the frontier has passed by.¹⁵

¹⁴Charles Maurice Talleyrand, "Observations on Speculation in Lands in the United States of America," Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC, p. 171. This is a general prospectus, undated, written by Talleyrand for potential buyers.

¹⁵Frederick J. Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893 (1894), p. 208. Turner had been exposed to Talleyrand when he edited correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797. These documents contained not

During this tour of Maine, Talleyrand visited the Bingham tract of which the island of Mount Desert was a part. He also saw the Knox holdings which included a splendid home situated in the wilds of Maine. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who visited there after Talleyrand, described it as a "very handsome structure."¹⁶ Talleyrand observed that "the house would be magnificent even in Europe."¹⁷ Although the Knoxes, described as "the best hosts in America," were in Philadelphia when Talleyrand arrived, their oldest daughter, Lucy, served as his hostess during his overnight stay in their Maine home.¹⁸

Talleyrand concluded his long letter somewhat pessimistically; having cited all the advantages offered by Maine, he emphasized some of its disadvantages. The greatest of these, he said, was the lack of adequate transportation facilities. In

only references to Talleyrand but also many letters written specifically to him. Did Talleyrand assist Turner in developing his thesis?

¹⁶ François Alexandre Frédéric La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of North America, trans. H. Neuman (London, 1799), pp. 421-22.

¹⁷ Talleyrand, "Letter on the Eastern Part of America," Talleyrand Papers, p. 290.

¹⁸ Callahan, op. cit., p. 356. Knox did not resign his position in Washington's cabinet until Dec. 28, 1794; Gales Independent Gazetteer (Philadelphia), Jan. 3, 1795, p. 1.

the lands he inspected, Talleyrand always checked on the development of roads and canals. He recognized that the future of a country depended upon its accessibility, not only for travel but in getting products to market. Secondly, this prospective buyer, qualifying his earlier compliments, described the inhabitants of Maine as follows: "Indolent and grasping, poor but without needs, they still resemble too much the natives of the country whom they have replaced . . . their society is still formless. . . ."

Talleyrand mentioned that the principal occupations were lumbering and fishing and proceeded to attack both. He criticized the lumberman as being interested in nothing: "He has no memories to place anywhere; his only idea is the number of blows of the ax that he has to use to cut down the tree. . . . He destroys everywhere, so any place is good for him."¹⁹ Similarly, the fisherman is denounced as a person whose interest and life are "at the edge of the society to which he is believed to belong. . . . Thus their knowledge is only a little . . . and their action, which consists only in having an arm to hang over the side of the boat, closely resembles idleness. There is no place they love, they know the land only by a poor house in

¹⁹Talleyrand, "Letter on the Eastern Part of America," Talleyrand Papers, p. 302.

which they live, it is the sea which gives them their food, thus a few codfish more or less determine their homeland."²⁰

Finally, he censured the entire province for not practicing enough diversity in its economy. He believed that Maine would be more prosperous if it had more capital concentrated in agricultural production. Here the influence of the French physiocrats appeared, and Talleyrand stressed their belief that fundamentally the wealth of a country is determined by the use, and misuse, of its land. Maine had not been utilizing her land properly; consequently, if she were to develop completely, she must correct this error.

It is apparent that Talleyrand had spent considerable time in studying not only the land but also its inhabitants. He had discovered two traits characteristic of America that he condemned: waste and idleness. Coming from Europe, Talleyrand knew the meaning of conservation, and he was alarmed at the way Americans were greedily devouring their resources. Furthermore, he abhorred laziness and continually attempted to avoid it. Maine, according to Talleyrand, should therefore be reformed and then it would be a choice spot for speculation. Despite the severity of these accusations, Talleyrand never lost his enthusiasm for Maine. Perhaps he felt he could eventually overcome

²⁰Ibid., pp. 302-303.

or ignore the problems. The fact remains that Talleyrand continued to believe in the future of Maine and prepared to negotiate a purchase with Knox and Bingham.

When it came time to enumerate the specifics in this sale, however, the thorny problem of land titles arose. This was precisely what had forced Mme. de Leval to abandon her colony, and it now stalled Talleyrand's plans. It constantly curtailed speculation in Maine. Knox and Bingham had tried for years to establish clear titles to their lands.²¹ So involved and time consuming had this operation become that Bingham found it necessary to hire David Cobb of Massachusetts as his agent in Maine.²² Even La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who was not interested in purchasing any land, recognized the existence of this touchy problem. He mentioned in his Travels Through the United States of North America that there were many squatters on the Knox land whose presence would lead to numerous disputes. He, unlike Talleyrand, had reacted very unfavorably to Maine, describing it as being "languid and cheerless, too much in the hands of

²¹William Allen, "Bingham Land," Collections of the Maine Historical Society, VII (1876), 353.

²²Bingham to Cobb, March 7, 1795, William Bingham Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa. Other letters between Bingham and Cobb contain a detailed description of Bingham's land and describe the advantages and disadvantages of the area.

speculators who discouraged settlement because of the high prices demanded."²³

Another problem was that currently the State of Massachusetts prohibited aliens from owning land. In fact, this was true in most states. In order for foreigners to purchase property, it was necessary to disguise the sale. This necessitated using American "trustees" and placing the holdings in their name, a common practice and a thinly disguised attempt at circumventing the law.²⁴

Although these handicaps could be surmounted, it appears doubtful whether Talleyrand actually completed the purchase with Knox. Proof of the sale is nonexistent, recorded deeds and articles of agreement are missing, and neither Talleyrand nor Knox mentions the transaction. In his Memoirs Talleyrand simply states:

At Frenchman's Bay, on the border of the Eastern States, a violent storm having compelled me to stop at Machias, I entered into conversation with the man at whose house I was staying.²⁵

This is the only reference he makes to Maine and he never refers to Knox and Bingham. Talleyrand was often secretive in his

²³La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels Through the United States . . ., p. 466.

²⁴Sakolski, op. cit., p. 79.

²⁵Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 180.

actions but not Knox, who had no reason to hide the sale, since he had widely advertised the land and readily sought prospective buyers. Furthermore, Knox continued to offer the land for sale after the agreement with Talleyrand had supposedly taken place. Almost a year later he wrote William Bingham that he thought he had a buyer for his Maine lands in New York City.²⁶

Nor did Talleyrand act like a man who had just purchased a large tract of land as a speculation. He appeared to be in no hurry to return to Philadelphia for the purpose of selling it. In fact, before returning, he continued his search by checking speculative possibilities in Connecticut and exploring the interior of New York State.

There are no deeds recorded citing Talleyrand as grantor and thereby reselling this area to someone else. Nor did his partner, Beaumetz, show an interest in the area, as he left shortly thereafter to start a new career in India. Talleyrand's biographers, Frédéric Lollivé, Louis Madelin, and Duff Cooper, offer no additional help. Some omit completely the visit to Maine while others say a purchase took place but cite no

²⁶Knox to Bingham, June 3, 1795, Knox Letters, MSS Div., Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass. Bingham, in the meantime, lost interest in selling land to Talleyrand since he had subsequently found a willing buyer in the House of Baring; Callahan, op. cit., pp. 351-53.

proof.²⁷ George Barton in Walks and Talks About Old Philadelphia gives the most descriptive account of the purchase, but offers no documentation:

Talleyrand's thirst for land speculation was finally appeased in the summer of 1794 when, jointly with Beaumetz, he bought a settlement in Maine which belonged to General Knox, the Secretary of War. The tract was divided into lots and plans were made for selling them to the French refugees.²⁸

The only contemporary account of the sale is contained in the reports submitted by Fauchet to the French government. He described the venture as a conspiracy against the French Republic and said:

The operation of these shady speculators and all their hopes of success are based upon the misfortunes of their own country. They sincerely trust that the lack of good laws and of security to life and property under the Republic will urge a large portion of the French population to leave France as soon as peace is signed. This is the population whose advent they eagerly expect. . . .²⁹

In a later letter Fauchet wrote that a possibility of a sale to Talleyrand by Knox existed.³⁰ None of his reports, however,

²⁷Cooper, op. cit., pp. 60-68; Lollée, op. cit., p. 128; Madelin, op. cit., pp. 44-47.

²⁸Barton, Walks and Talks . . ., p. 105.

²⁹Lollée, op. cit., p. 128.

³⁰Frederick J. Turner (ed.), Correspondence of the French Minister to the United States, 1791-1797, Vol. II of The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1903 (Washington, 1904), pp. 465-67.

actually says that the sale took place. Apparently these reports have been misinterpreted, and the sale has been assumed to have been completed despite the lack of concrete proof.

It is indeed fortunate for Talleyrand that he did not become an owner of these lands, as they failed to develop as quickly as those of other states and continued to be a problem for Knox and Bingham. Maine, being situated on the periphery of the major routes of expansion, was bypassed by the trek westward. Conceivably, if the Indians had been able to block the path to the West, Maine probably would have developed faster, but with Anthony Wayne's victory over the Indians (August 20, 1794) the road was open and Maine lost what slight advantage she had.³¹

Talleyrand left Maine shortly after the arrival of the first frost, traveling this time by land. He stopped briefly in Boston to write his long letter on Maine and then continued. On the trip through Connecticut a humorous incident occurred which indicated that Talleyrand, despite his brilliant mind and serious thoughts, was nevertheless versatile enough to enjoy the conversation and activities of the commoner. One night Talleyrand, traveling with Beaumetz and Huidekoper, stopped at a country inn. During the evening they talked to some hunters who were leaving

³¹George D. Harmon, Sixty Years of Indian Affairs (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1941), p. 36. Perhaps Talleyrand heard of this victory, recognized its consequences, and canceled the agreement.

the next morning to track beavers. The hunters planned to be gone about three weeks and would spend all their time in the woods. Talleyrand and his companions asked if they might join the party. Their offer was accepted and immediately instructions were given on the various techniques employed in beaver hunting--the actions the animals might take to avoid capture, how to make a kill, and the use of the equipment. At the end of the evening Talleyrand anticipated the hunt enthusiastically, but the next morning realized that his interest had been activated by too much alcohol. The effects of the liquid evaporated, he realized the foolishness of such a trip, altered his plans, and continued on the way to New York City.³²

³²Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 180-81, n. 2; Brace, op. cit., pp. 404-405.

CHAPTER V

TWO MORE ATTEMPTS

Discouraged by the outcome in Maine and still in a buying mood, Talleyrand searched for other areas to acquire. Cazenove had purchased for the Holland Land Company large tracts in New York State; consequently, Talleyrand decided to investigate. Also, he previously had learned in Philadelphia about the proposed construction of a new federal city along the Potomac. This site was certain to prosper as the country expanded; therefore, here would be an excellent opportunity of buying early, and cheaply, then selling within a short period at a handsome profit. Both places, Talleyrand decided, warranted a personal inspection.

Talleyrand's first visit to New York was a combined business and pleasure trip. He stopped in New York City on his way to Maine and made the acquaintance of a large number of French refugees living there--exchanging views with them on the present condition of France and enjoying their splendid hospitality. In fact, they took him to see a parade commemorating America's Independence Day; there, while viewing the parade, he alternately

talked about the current financial state of the land market with American bankers nearby and at the same time exchanged bitter barbs with French Revolutionary dignitaries marching in the procession.¹ He obviously had enjoyed this first contact with New York but now, returning from Maine, he avoided gaiety and devoted his time entirely to business matters. He talked to landowners, inquired about prices, compared these with the current market, and weighed future possibilities.

The area between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek that Colonel W. S. Smith offered to sell particularly appealed to Talleyrand. Despite his recent arrival in New York, he immediately canceled all appointments and left the city to inspect the area. Colonel Smith's tract took priority even over that of Talleyrand's close friend, Moreau de St. Mery, who was due to arrive in New York within a week. Hastily, Talleyrand wrote the latter:

An arrangement proposed by Colonel Smith to show us an establishment on the North River in which we are interested prevents us from waiting for you this morning, cher Maître. We will see you in a month's time in Philadelphia. Until then we are going to be traveling. Adieu, health, and prosperity to you and yours.²

Unfortunately, Colonel Smith's lands were finally judged

¹Lacour-Gayet, op. cit., I, 189.

²Moreau, op. cit., p. 145.

undesirable; however, instead of returning to New York City, Talleyrand decided to continue the journey inland, stopping at Albany and then proceeding westward to Niagara Falls. The latter was included in the itinerary of almost every distinguished foreign traveler to America.³ Its reputation for beauty and power had penetrated European circles, but Talleyrand did not observe it as a wonder of nature; instead, he viewed it as economic power, as yet wasted, that offered unlimited possibilities for future development.

Talleyrand, a shrewd economic geographer, appraised everything that way, putting to rigid tests whatever he observed. He constantly thought in terms of such questions as: "Are there adequate transportation facilities available?" "Are the settlers industrious and energetic?" "Is the climate satisfactory?" "Is there a market nearby?" "Is the current price for lands too high?"

On an earlier trip to Albany he had considered these and similar questions. There he was surprised to discover a sizable French colony and, quite naturally, he became interested in the location and inquired about the possibility of purchases. He studied the prospects and then rejected them, writing a letter

³Besides Talleyrand, other prominent visitors to the Falls were C. F. Volney, Isaac Weld, Louis Philippe d'Orléans. Parker, op. cit., p. 746.

which was very critical.⁴ He approved of the soil and the overall productivity of the land but, in other categories, it certainly ranked inferior to Maine in his judgment. Rivers were few, valleys narrow, the price too high, the climate unhealthy, transportation inadequate, and, above all, the people lazy and indifferent. Talleyrand discovered:

The American farmers were not persistent or conscientious in their labors. He begins by prodigious efforts, . . . but when his house is built and his subsistence assured he stops and falls into indolence. . . . The only thing in which he excels is the filthiness of his house and person, which is beyond all description.⁵

Reading such a prospectus, interested buyers would be discouraged from obtaining land. Talleyrand, too, avoided making any purchases. But his decision was reached not only by personal observation (which undoubtedly was the strongest factor) but also because New York State, like Massachusetts, had a law preventing aliens from owning property. Cazenove had evaded the law through the use of American trustees but Talleyrand refused to employ that device. He decided to wait until it was

⁴Charles Maurice Talleyrand, "Letter on the Northern Part of New York," Albany, Oct. 30, 1794, Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC, pp. 310-15. This is a general prospectus written for potential buyers.

⁵Ibid., p. 315.

repealed.⁶ Furthermore, he had been warned by Cazenove not to invest in New York land since the best areas had already been purchased.⁷

Although Talleyrand found New York to be undesirable economically, he did discover it to be rewarding socially. At Albany he encountered an old childhood friend, Marquise de La Tour du Pin. She and her husband had fled France and were living on a farm outside Albany. Earlier Talleyrand had searched in vain for her in Boston. Their reunion was not only joyous but humorous since Talleyrand came upon her when she was armed with a hatchet, busily slicing a leg of mutton.⁸

Mme. du Pin's opinion of Talleyrand was not a very good one. She allowed his earlier activities to influence her thinking and as she recollects their meeting:

M. de Talleyrand was amiable as he has always been to me, without any variation, with that charm of conversation which no one has ever possessed to a greater degree than himself. He had known me since childhood, and therefore assumed a sort of paternal and gracious tone which was very charming. I regretted sincerely to find so many reasons for not holding him in esteem, but I

⁶At this time strong pressure to repeal the law was exerted on the New York Legislature. Finally that body did eliminate the restriction on April 2, 1798. Evans, op. cit., p. 210; Sakolski, op. cit., p. 79.

⁷Evans, op. cit., pp. 203-205.

⁸La Tour du Pin, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

could not avoid forgetting my disagreeable recollections when I had passed an hour listening to him. As he had no moral value himself, by singular contrast, he had a horror of that which was evil in others. To listen to him without knowing him, you would have believed that he was a worthy man.⁹

Despite this impression, Mme. du Pin begged Talleyrand to remain in Albany and enjoy the hospitality of its inhabitants. She proudly introduced him to the leaders of Albany society, the Van Rensselaers and the Schuylers. They, in turn, befriended him and insisted that he stay longer. During the week that he spent there they alternated in entertaining him, each trying to outdo the other.

It was while attending such a gala evening at General Schuyler's that news arrived telling of the downfall of Robespierre and the end of the Reign of Terror.¹⁰ This was exactly what these French exiles had been anxiously awaiting. Now they could envision the possibility of ultimately returning to France. Immediately toasts were made to France and the tempo of the party quickened. But the celebration soon ended when Talleyrand, reading further in the dispatch, saw that his favorite

⁹Ibid., p. 203. Unfortunately, after his return to France, Talleyrand snubbed Mme. La Tour du Pin and she became quite bitter towards him. Her Recollections were written after Talleyrand's refusal to aid her; consequently, the attitude reflected here was probably formed at a later date.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 200-201.

sister-in-law, Mme. Archambaud de Périgord, was listed among those executed the very morning on which Robespierre had been denounced. Her death hurt Talleyrand deeply, for he had admired her perseverance in remaining in France and attempting to rear her three children while her husband, and others like him, had deserted.¹¹

During this week Talleyrand particularly enjoyed the company of Mrs. Van Rensselaer. They engaged in many long conversations and found pleasure in probing each other's minds.¹² The two had much in common, as Talleyrand was, of course, a cripple and Mrs. Van Rensselaer, a hopeless invalid. Despite these disabilities both possessed such a high degree of intelligence that people completely forgot their physical handicaps and sought their acquaintance. They shared a mutual interest in France. Although she had not left her home in years, Mrs. Van Rensselaer had a vast knowledge of the recent happenings in France. She devoured every available newspaper and interviewed all recent arrivals from France. Talleyrand continued to correspond with her after he left Albany, seeking advice and informing her of his travels.¹³

¹¹Ibid., p. 201.

¹²Childs, op. cit., p. 26.

¹³La Tour du Pin, op. cit., p. 204.

Being too late to reap the benefits of speculation in New York State, Talleyrand continued his search for suitable land. As previously mentioned, he had heard about the construction of a new capital along the banks of the Potomac. Here would be an excellent opportunity for obtaining a quick profit. Such an area was certain to expand, prosper, and, consequently, increase in value. Before relating Talleyrand's role in the development of the Federal City, it is necessary to describe briefly its earlier history.

From the beginning, President Washington had warned Congress to guard against the type of speculation that Talleyrand contemplated. Washington wanted the federal government to sell lots directly to residents without permitting speculators to act as intermediaries. He told Congress that if it permitted middlemen to buy and sell lots in Washington, the city's reputation would be tainted.¹⁴

His fears failed to materialize, for no such land boom developed. Not only did sales prove disappointing but the prices they brought were far below the estimated figure. The financial conditions became so acute that the government itself became concerned and debated the possibility of canceling the

¹⁴Wilhelmus B. Bryan, A History of the National Capital (New York, 1914), I, 146.

contract for the new city.¹⁵

At this point, three of Talleyrand's Philadelphia friends saved the day. Robert Morris, John Nicholson, and James Greenleaf, called the "greatest land-grabbing triumvirate that ever operated in America,"¹⁶ formed the North American Land Company in 1783.¹⁷ These men, although markedly different in their personalities, were great financiers, spending their lives engaging in one enormous transaction after another. All possessed a desire to amass ever greater fortunes. Even when faced with bankruptcy they continued to participate in far-ranging speculations that would stagger the imagination of a nineteenth-century Carnegie, Morgan, or Harriman.

Robert Morris as financier of the American Revolution had become accustomed to handling large sums of money. After he

¹⁵During the first three days of public sale only thirty-five lots were sold for a total of \$8,756. One of the reasons that sales dragged was the stipulation that all lots purchased must be immediately built upon and improved. To many this was financially impossible, especially when the regulation further stipulated that no cheap or temporary structure would satisfy the rule. Sakolski, op. cit., pp. 150-52.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 156.

¹⁷"Plan of Association of the North American Land Company," Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa. These men had asked President Washington to join them in this venture, but he not only refused but also urged Morris not to enter into such schemes at his age. Morris answered, "I can never do things in the small; I must be either a man or a mouse." Sumner, op. cit., pp. 268-69.

returned to private life, he began to speculate widely, buying lands in Georgia, Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York. His ledger books cite endless purchases which ultimately made him the largest landowner in America.¹⁸ As part of this procedure he intended to secure lots in Washington.

John Nicholson was the largest landowner in Pennsylvania, but his background was tainted by unsavory financial deals for which he had been impeached while Controller-General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The jury acquitted him, but his reputation never recovered.¹⁹ He was eventually to die in debtor's prison.

The third member of the syndicate, James Greenleaf, had already acquired the dubious title "the celebrated land jobber." He actually was the originator of the syndicate, since he had taken the first interest in the future prospects of the Federal City and had persuaded Nicholson and Morris to join him.²⁰ He served as the syndicate's representative in Washington. Greenleaf was also to experience a term in debtor's prison but secured his release after only a few months in jail. He

¹⁸Robert Morris, "Ledger Books, 1794-1801," MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

¹⁹Allen C. Clark, Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City (Washington, 1901), pp. 39-40.

²⁰Sakolski, op. cit., pp. 37-38.

outlived his partners and eventually settled in Allentown, Pennsylvania, married Ann Allen, daughter of the city's founder, William Allen, and spent the remainder of his life selling land in the Allentown area.²¹

These men initially purchased 7,235 lots at \$80 apiece in the Federal City.²² The terms of the contract demanded only a small down payment with the remainder to be paid in annual installments. The syndicate believed that the yearly payments could be met by selling lots to new residents or by obtaining a foreign loan, but events soon proved their optimism wrong. Buyers were hard to find and although they tried to obtain a loan from Dutch bankers by using the influence of Talleyrand's friend, Cazenove, the French invasion of Holland made that impossible.²³ They did succeed in paying the first installment but when it came time for the second, in May, 1795, they were in desperate financial straits. The only glimmer of hope and encouragement came from Greenleaf's recent friend, Thomas Law, the same man who had made the trip with Talleyrand through New England. Law had heard of the prospects of the new national

²¹Shaw Livermore, Early American Land Companies (New York, 1939), p. 164, n. 66.

²²Sakolski, op. cit., p. 156.

²³Bryan, op. cit., pp. 256-57.

capital in an interview with President Washington. He had amassed a fortune in India and was interested in investing it, but he was not one who would enter any agreement quickly.²⁴

Greenleaf used every device he knew to secure Law's purchase. He even tried, unsuccessfully, to approach him through Talleyrand. Finally, he visited Law late in 1794 in New York City and sold him an option on numerous lots in Washington. After visiting the city, Law decided to change the option into a purchase and the syndicate succeeded in completing a transaction that ranks second only to the Morris-Nicholson-Greenleaf purchase in Washington.²⁵ Law agreed to buy over 1,600 lots at \$266 per lot. These had been purchased by the syndicate at \$80 apiece. This appears to be an enormous profit for the syndicate but it is interesting to observe that whereas Morris, Nicholson, and Greenleaf went bankrupt, Law never did. He held onto these lots and eventually sold them at a profit.

Despite the purchase by Law, the syndicate continued to head for financial disaster. It failed to meet the second installment and the commissioners of the Federal City began bankruptcy proceedings against it.²⁶ Furthermore, the partnership

²⁴Ibid., pp. 244-45.

²⁵Sakolski, op. cit., pp. 160-61.

²⁶Bryan, op. cit., pp. 256-57.

began to wane when a split occurred between Greenleaf and the other two. Morris and Nicholson lost confidence in Greenleaf and offered to buy his shares. Greenleaf, obviously relieved to be rid of such a burden, sold his interest to them for \$1,500,000, payable in four annual installments.²⁷

It is impossible to believe that Morris and Nicholson could obtain this amount of money unless they had discovered a new source of revenue. Both of them were entering a tragic period of their lives. Already creditors were beginning to apply pressure and, in a letter to Morris that described their precarious pecuniary position, Nicholson wrote:

I am trying to find what sum of my notes are out-- to do this I wish you to send me what you have of mine and I will give you a receipt for them. I will do the same by you. And I certainly think I have received more of your notes than you have of mine. You will recollect that I paid 25,000 dollars cash by my shares for that sum in your notes of 4 December last.²⁸

It was Talleyrand who became the new source of revenue that permitted Morris and Nicholson to negotiate the agreement with Greenleaf. At this time Morris and Talleyrand were discussing a large scale transaction in Pennsylvania, the details of which will be further explained in the next chapter.

²⁷Livermore, op. cit., pp. 168-69.

²⁸Nicholson to Morris, Nov. 6, 1795, John Nicholson Letter Books, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa., p. 199.

Just two days before Morris and Nicholson purchased Greenleaf's share, Talleyrand completed a tentative agreement to purchase 106,875 acres in Pennsylvania for \$142,500 from Morris (see Appendix A).²⁹ This conditional purchase by Talleyrand enabled Morris to buy out the interests of Greenleaf, since the money Morris would obtain from Talleyrand could be applied to the amount due Greenleaf. Unfortunately, Morris, in his attempt to remain solvent, pledged the money he anticipated from Talleyrand a number of times to meet creditors' demands. When Talleyrand later withdrew from the agreement, Morris was destined to fall into bankruptcy, but in the meantime Talleyrand's conditional promise had allowed Morris to negotiate with Greenleaf and to appear solvent. If Talleyrand had fulfilled his promise and paid Morris, then conceivably Morris' bankruptcy would have been either delayed or completely avoided.

Furthermore, Talleyrand, as previously mentioned, was interested in purchasing land in Washington. But before committing himself, he visited the city in April of 1796 and stayed at the home of his friend, Mr. Law.³⁰ While there he inspected

²⁹"Articles of Agreement between Robert Morris and Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Perigord," Office of Recorder of Deeds, Northumberland County, Sunbury, Pa., Deed Book I, p. 537.

³⁰Thomas Twining, Travels in America One Hundred Years Ago (New York, 1894), pp. 104-105.

numerous lots and observed the condition of the land market. He finally decided not to buy since he thought Law's purchase had ruined the market by making prices too high. Once again he had an opportunity to aid Morris and Nicholson in their dilemma and at the same time purchase land, but refused to do either.

CHAPTER VI

PENNSYLVANIA SPECULATION

Whenever Talleyrand stayed in Philadelphia, he called on two close friends, Antoine Omer Talon and Louis Marie Vicomte de Noailles. He had known these men in France, having served with them in the Constituent Assembly. In America, Talleyrand renewed the acquaintance and became quite interested in their business activities.

Talon, although a commoner, achieved notoriety as legal adviser to Louis XVI. After the Revolution, he was smuggled out of France in a wine cask, accompanied by his constant companion, Bartholomew La Porte.¹ Noailles, a brother-in-law of General Lafayette, fought in the American Revolution, was honored by Washington, and was chosen to receive, on behalf of the French, the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. After the war, he returned to France and served as an officer in the King's dragoons. By birth a nobleman, but with democratic leanings, he was forced to flee France when his troops revolted. Arriving in Philadelphia, he became a business partner with William Bingham and

¹John A. Biles, Asylum (Geneva, N. Y., 1931), p. 41.

later was associated with Talon.²

In 1793 Talon and Noailles established a French colony at Asylum, Pennsylvania. As the name implies, the purpose was to erect a place of refuge for French exiles. Specifically, it was hoped that Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette could live there while awaiting future developments in France. In Asylum they would be safe from revolutionary Europe, still live among a large number of their former subjects, and be sufficiently removed from Americans so that daily contacts could be avoided.

A recent biography of Robert Morris credits Talleyrand with having played a major role in the establishment of the French colony at Asylum. According to the author, Talleyrand arrived in the United States in 1793 and immediately became active in formulating the initial plans for the colony. With great emotion and obvious exaggeration, she writes:

In Morris's parlors, seated on the satin divans and Chippendale chairs, a brilliant assemblage of these royalists conversed many an evening. The clever, scheming Talleyrand limped in, a satiric smile on his lips. Excommunicated, bishop, ex-Revolutionary émigré Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Périgord continued his machinations even in America. Here came, too, the graceful, talented Vicomte de Noailles, who had served under Lafayette during the American Revolution and had at first sympathized with the French Revolutionists. . . . Intrigues flourished. . . . In great secrecy, almost in whispers, a company was formed--the Asylum

²Thomas W. Clarke, Emigrés in the Wilderness (New York, 1941), pp. 51-52.

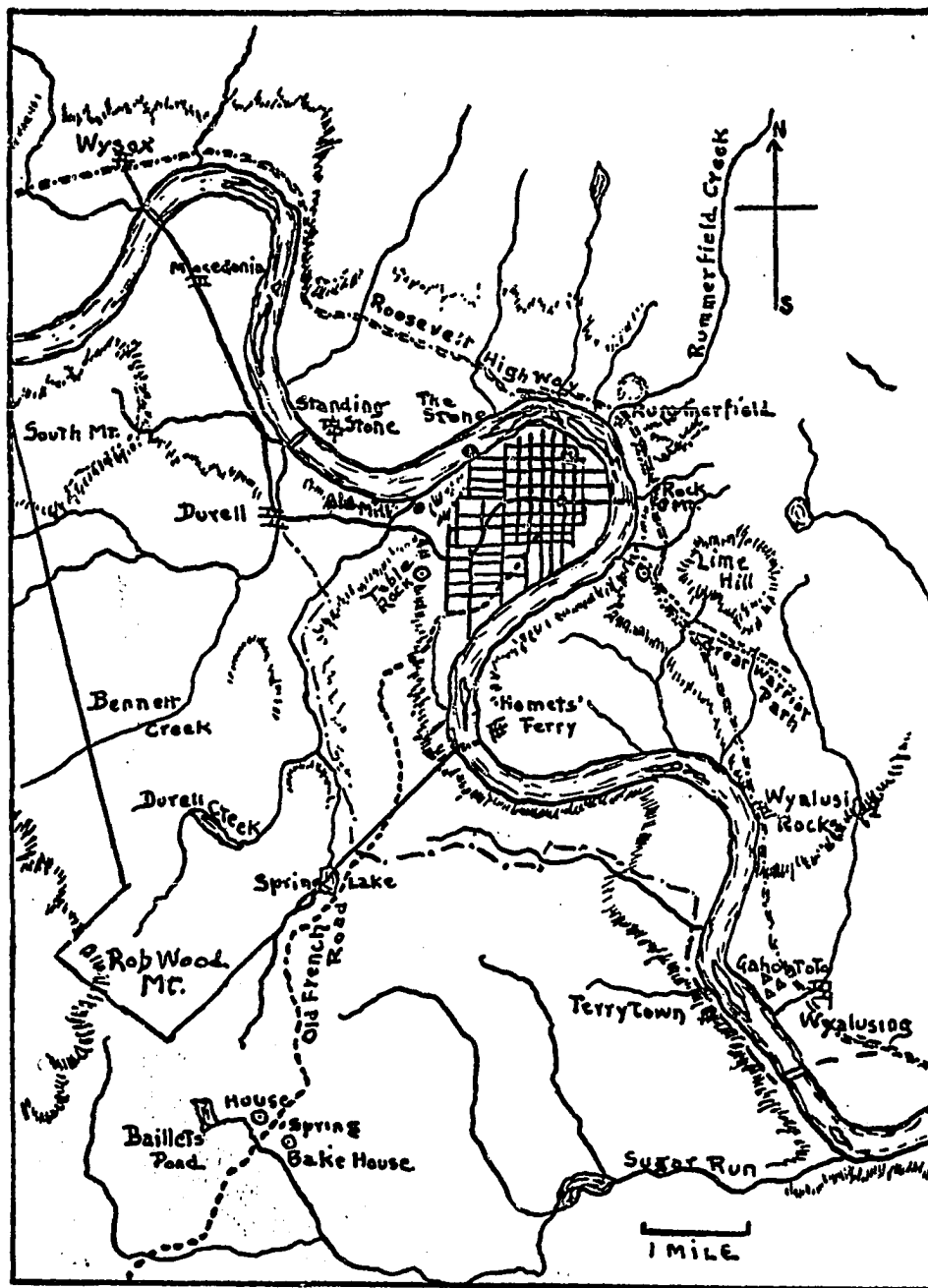
Company--to form a refuge for the émigrés themselves and (here their voices dropped) for their Majesties, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. . . . 'Their Majesties should be delighted,' Talleyrand spoke drily. 'The location should prove safe enough, so far inland. There the King may play farmer and the Queen again rehearse her role as dairymaid. Let us hope, however, that they will eventually escape from the Asylum,' he concluded with a sardonic smile.³

This is greatly overdone; Talleyrand had nothing to do with the organization of the Asylum Company as he was in Europe at the time.⁴ Talleyrand did, however, keep abreast of Asylum's developments and shortly after arriving in the United States wrote to Messrs. Bourdieu, Cholet, and Bourdieu, London bankers, informing them in a very pessimistic tone that he predicted ultimate failure. Talleyrand penetrated the superficial shell of success that covered the entire enterprise. Here, when he wrote in 1794, less than two months after arriving in Philadelphia, his trained mind foresaw the inevitable financial ruin that faced buyers of Asylum stock. He did agree that the company was

³Eleanor Young, Forgotten Patriot, Robert Morris (New York, 1950), pp. 189-90. In a letter written by Eleanor Young to Miss Elsie Murray, Miss Young admits her total disregard for historical accuracy. She implies that the fabricated story was inserted upon the insistence of the publisher "for something new, something fresh, something that would sell." Eleanor Young to Elsie Murray, in possession of Miss Murray.

⁴Asylum Company Minutes, MSS Div., LC; Asylum Company Minutes, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa. They list not only the organizers but the stockholders throughout the company's history. Talleyrand's name fails to appear on either list.

LOCATION OF AZILUM IN BEND OF THE SUSQUEHANNA



Note Wysox and Wyalusing bridges and roads into site, Standing Stone, Durell's Mill, Table Rock, Queen's House, Old French Road, Site of Hiding Place (Bake House), and Fish-Ponds where beavers have lately built dams.

well organized, was growing, and would continue to show a profit in the immediate future; yet he continued, "All these things have not tempted me." With the insight of an experienced financier, he observed:

The lack of money and the necessity for selling are too obvious. When one has a good scheme to propose it is not necessary to have three or four agents in England, as many in France, eight in Holland and several in American ports to keep watch for arrivals.⁵

He made this prediction despite the fact that in 1794 the fortunes of the company were still rising. During the next two years Asylum would become the most successful French attempt at mass colonization made in America; yet, Talleyrand envisioned it as a failure and that is what happened by 1800.

The organizers of Asylum had tremendous handicaps, the greatest of which was the ever-present image of the disastrous Scioto venture. This planned colony, which had been optimistically painted as a second Garden of Eden, ended in complete bankruptcy, leaving hundreds of half-starved French settlers marooned on the frontier of the United States. It was marked with needless mistakes, poor planning, and shocking mismanagement. The ultimate collapse came when the principal supporter,

⁵Talleyrand to Messrs. Bourdieu, Cholet, and Bourdieu, June 10, 1794, Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC, p. 6.

William Duer, went bankrupt.⁶ Its failure made French colonists apprehensive about participation in similar schemes. Their fear was reinforced when smaller French settlements failed at Trenton Point, New Jersey (1791), and along the Chenango River (1792).⁷ It must be admitted, however, that the latter were weak attempts at winning the battle against the hardships of frontier life.

The lessons taught by these unsuccessful ventures prompted the organizers of Asylum to use careful judgment in their efforts to envision every possible danger they might encounter. The French settlers must be taught how to survive in the wilderness. Too many of them merely tried to re-enact their former gay life with its courtly manners and Versailles fashions. This they could not do if they were to be successful in establishing settlements on the American frontier. Furthermore, these men decided to operate only in the highest circle of American society, a policy later pursued by Talleyrand. They

⁶William Duer Papers, MSS Div., New York Historical Society, New York, N. Y. For a history of the Scioto colony, see Aaron M. Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble (New York and London, 1932); Marcus L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860 (Cambridge, Mass., 1945); Payson Jackson Treat, The National Land System, 1785-1820 (New York, 1910); Constantine F. Volney, A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America (Philadelphia, 1804); Theodore T. Belote, The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1907).

⁷Biles, op. cit., p. 58.

appealed solely to the most reputable and trustworthy financiers. Fortunately, they gained the support of John Nicholson and Robert Morris, both widely acclaimed at that time as America's foremost financiers.⁸ With these names appearing on the company's prospectus, fear of financial disaster was greatly lessened and their active participation at Asylum satisfied many skeptics.

Besides the four originators of the plan, other French refugees who played vital roles in developing Asylum were John Keating, Charles Felix Boulogne, Charles Cottineau, Anthony Léfèvre, Mme. D'Autremort, and Du Petit-Thouars. To this list can be added: the Duke de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the young Duke of Orléans, Talleyrand, and Rousseau, a cousin of the famed philosopher. All took an interest in the colony, made a point to visit there, and wished it well.⁹

The company's two scouts, Charles Felix Boulogne and Major Adam Hoops, had strongly recommended the land along the northern branch of the Susquehanna River above Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. They reported that it contained rich deposits of

⁸ Asylum Company Minutes, April 20, 1794, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

⁹ Elsie Murray, "French Experiments in Pioneering in Northern Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXVIII, No. 2 (April, 1944), 182-83; Clarke, op. cit., pp. 69-72.

alluvial topsoil and was sufficiently isolated so that French settlers could make a fresh start without interference from inquisitive neighbors.¹⁰ Based upon their report the company decided to locate the colony there.

Talleyrand soon exhibited a strong personal interest in Asylum and a desire to visit it. His particular enthusiasm, however, was reserved for an area adjacent to the colony and similar to it in mineral deposits, topography, vegetation, and climate. Unlike the founders of Asylum, Talleyrand was not interested in Pennsylvania lands for the purpose of establishing a colony. He wanted land which could give him a quick monetary return by reselling to settlers or other speculators at a profit, or by development of any rich natural resources. He hoped that one of these alternatives could be applied to central Pennsylvania.

The precise date when Talleyrand visited Asylum is difficult to determine. He does not mention the journey in his Memoirs and writers on the subject disagree.¹¹ Omer Talon was

¹⁰"Paris in the Wilderness," Pennsylvania Cavalcade (Philadelphia, 1942), p. 264.

¹¹Some say he merely passed through Asylum on his return to Philadelphia from his excursion in New York. Clarke, op. cit., p. 76. That would make it in the fall of 1794. Others give the fall of 1795 as the correct time. David Craft, "The French Settlement at Asylum," Proceedings of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, V (1900), 81. The "official"

Talleyrand's host at Asylum and generously offered him the hospitality of his fine home, the Grand Maison--a vast log house, three stories high, originally built to accommodate the royal family but, with their unfortunate executions, destined to house only the manager of the community.

During his visit Talleyrand, as planned, traveled widely in the area and thoroughly explored the land he proposed to buy. He journeyed as far west as the small town of Bellefonte where he inspected the soil and stayed overnight at the home of

historian of the settlement, Elsie Murray, writes that Talleyrand arrived there after the visit of the Duc de La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, who reached Asylum on May 21, 1795, and left on June 2 of that year. Elsie Murray, A Frontier Trianon (Athens, Pa., 1955), p. 16. But, by piecing together numerous accounts of Talleyrand's travels in America, the conclusion is that the visit must have occurred when Talleyrand returned from Albany. He could not have been there in the fall of 1795 since he was in New York City from Aug. 23, 1795, to Nov. 14, 1795. Moreau, op. cit., p. 202; Talleyrand (New York, N. Y.) to Jean Henry Cazenove Nephew and Co., Aug. 23, 1795, Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC. There are minor discrepancies between Talleyrand's correspondence from America and Moreau's Journal which are contradictory and misleading. For example, there is a letter Talleyrand wrote from New York on Dec. 14, 1795; yet Moreau has noted the return of Talleyrand to Philadelphia from New York on Dec. 5, 1795. Talleyrand (New York, N. Y.) to Jean Henry Cazenove Nephew and Co., Dec. 14, 1795, Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC; Moreau, op. cit., p. 209. During most of that period, all communication between New York and Philadelphia was prohibited by proclamation of Governor Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania, necessitated by a severe outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia, which definitely affected Talleyrand's travel plans and compelled him to remain in New York longer than he anticipated. The Pennsylvania Gazette (Philadelphia), Sept. 2, 1795, p. 3. Consequently, it was in the fall of 1794, not 1795, that Talleyrand visited Asylum.

Captain John Patton.¹² From this visit a local legend emerged that credits Talleyrand with having named the town "Bellefonte." On being shown the marvelous fountain located there, Talleyrand supposedly remarked, "Quelle belle fontaine!"¹³ The State of Pennsylvania apparently accepts this as authentic and, consequently, retells the incident on historical markers at numerous entrances to the town.

A few of the older inhabitants of the community refuse to believe the story, pointing out that it is impossible to prove that the incident actually occurred. Two local residents, Thomas Mitchell and Mrs. Carl Iverson, former librarian for the Centre County Historical Association, believe the story to be a complete fabrication.¹⁴ Mr. Mitchell points out that the French word fonte means cast iron while fontaine is French for fountain. He believes that Talleyrand's main interest in the town pertained to the feasibility of establishing an iron foundry there. He felt that Talleyrand searched for economic values in the area and was little concerned about nature's wonders. This

¹²Elsie Murray, "Early Land Companies and Titles of Northumberland County," The Northumberland County Historical Society Proceedings, XX (1954), 31.

¹³Ibid., p. 32.

¹⁴J. Thomas Mitchell is the author of Centre County From Its Earliest Settlement to the Year 1915 (Bellefonte, Pa., 1916).

possibility is strengthened since Talleyrand's host at Bellefonte, Captain John Patton, had recently established the first ironworks in the area and probably boasted to Talleyrand of the rich natural resources found in the vicinity. It is also true that Captain Patton showed his guest his recently constructed charcoal furnaces and the rudimentary beginning of the area's iron industry.

Talleyrand immediately envisioned the additional value this would add to the land. He could ascertain that his proposed investment now might prove lucrative in two ways: (1) as providing prospective lots for future settlers and (2) as having valuable natural resources. This dual potentiality eliminated much of the risk involved in the initial purchase.

In addition to these two possibilities, Talleyrand soon discovered there was still a third advantage; the land had a particularly heavy growth of sugar maple trees. These could provide syrup for eastern markets. The entire concept was relatively new but already some businessmen believed that if an efficient method of extracting sap could be developed, the industry could compete successfully against the sugar imported from the plantations of the West Indies. Furthermore, humanitarians in the United States envisioned this competition as bringing financial ruin to the sugar plantations, whose failure, in turn,

would cause the overthrow of the hated system of slavery, which operated so viciously in the cane fields.¹⁵

Talleyrand recognized the value of maple sugar and mentioned it as an additional source of wealth to any area.¹⁶ He had learned from Cazenove, however, that before the industry could become profitable a more efficient method of extracting the sugar must be developed. Cazenove told Talleyrand about the unfortunate results experienced by Gerrit Boon, a former employee of his. Boon had attempted to develop a large stand of sugar maples in New York State by tapping the trees through a rather awkward trough system, whereby each tree's sap would flow through cumbersome troughs into a common vat. Unfortunately, the wooden troughs warped and buckled, and he experimented to no avail in trying to find more suitable lumber. Why he did not use the common, and much simpler, bucket arrangement remains a mystery; presumably, he was afraid of labor expenses. The failure of the project cost Cazenove about \$15,000, a result that discouraged others from developing the industry at this time.¹⁷

¹⁵Evans, op. cit., p. 14.

¹⁶Talleyrand, "Observations on Speculation . . .," Talleyrand Papers.

¹⁷Evans, op. cit., p. 63; La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Travels Through the United States . . ., pp. 125-26.

Pennsylvania was the only state that permitted aliens to buy and hold property. Consequently, Talleyrand, Talon, Noailles, and others could purchase land there without the necessity of camouflaging their ownership. The law stipulated:

It was lawful for all and every foreigner and foreigners, alien and aliens, not being the subject, or subjects, of some sovereign state or power, which is, or shall be, at the time or times of such purchase or purchases, at war with the United States of America, to purchase lands, tenements, hereditaments within this commonwealth, and to have and to hold the same to them, their heirs and assigns forever, or fully, to all intents and purposes as any natural born subject or subjects may or can do.¹⁸

The Pennsylvania Legislature passed the law February 11, 1789, and renewed it every three years until February, 1797, when it was allowed to lapse. Therefore, it was in effect during the entire period of Talleyrand's residence in the United States and it became one of the main reasons why French refugees, such as Talleyrand, preferred to speculate in Pennsylvania lands rather than elsewhere; titles could be recorded openly and ownership duly recognized, without resorting to any subterfuge.

Despite this favorable law, Talleyrand early decided to take steps to improve his legal status in the United States. Shortly after arriving, he swore allegiance to the governments of the United States and the State of Pennsylvania, an initial

¹⁸John Bioren (ed.), Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1810), IV, 364.

procedure required of those who wished to secure American citizenship.¹⁹ Actually, however, there was some question concerning the validity of Talleyrand's action. The law stipulated that the oath be taken before a state or federal official.²⁰ Talleyrand's oath was administered by a city magistrate, Matthew Clarkson, the mayor of Philadelphia.

It is possible that Talleyrand followed this presumably invalid procedure deliberately. Is this an example of Talleyrand's duplicity? Knowing that it was illegal, he could, when returning to France, disclaim any intention of ever becoming an American citizen; he could state that he had taken the oath merely to facilitate his acceptance by American businessmen, and appease his newly acquired American friends, many of whom were Federalists still smarting from the highhanded actions pursued by Citizen Genêt. These were actually very probable factors influencing Talleyrand. Furthermore, the question of loyalty to the United States government had recently been raised by the Whiskey Rebellion and it is possible that Talleyrand, in these tense days, wanted to show his new acquaintances precisely where he stood.

¹⁹Charles Maurice Talleyrand, "Oath of Allegiance," Timothy Pickering Papers, MSS Div., Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

²⁰Bioren, op. cit., p. 364.

During his visit to the United States, this oath was the only step Talleyrand took towards obtaining American citizenship. The remainder of the procedure required that a person be a resident for five years, publicly renounce his former allegiance, take an oath to support the Constitution, and renounce his title (if he had one). In addition, the applicant must come from a country that was presently at peace with the United States.²¹ Talleyrand never completed any of these requirements.

Robert Morris owned most of the land in Pennsylvania that Talleyrand contemplated buying. Morris had recently sold to Talon and Noailles the site for the Asylum Company and was desirous of selling more.²² As previously mentioned, these were troublesome times for Morris. He had overextended himself and, as a result, was bombarded by creditors who gave him no peace. Suddenly the land market collapsed, credit was no longer available, and he faced bankruptcy. Talleyrand was the best remaining prospect who might keep Morris solvent.

Morris sent his son, Robert Morris, Jr., to Europe (1792) hoping to attract European speculators. He carried a prospectus

²¹Ibid., pp. 364-65.

²²The exact size of this purchase is difficult to determine. Some report it as large as one million acres. Clark, op. cit., p. 58. Other, more conservative estimates, say 500,000 acres. Wilkes-Barre Times Leader, Feb. 11, 1932, p. 7.

written by his father that gave a glowing account of Pennsylvania and summarized the benefits to be obtained by purchasing land there.²³ Of course, Talleyrand considered the situation carefully when he became involved in 1796. The climate was called "as mild as people could wish" and the prospectus continued, "Nowhere could better land be found. The area is entirely remote from any danger that might be incurred by the Indians for, as you know, the enemy Indians are far away in the South West." Furthermore, Morris enumerated the available transportation facilities, the nearness of markets in Philadelphia, Sunbury, Wilkes-Barre, and Northumberland, plus the numerous schools and churches available. In conclusion, he foresaw a bright future for the entire area. With so many advantages, Morris warned, "You must buy soon before the value of the land rises to a height that would make investment foolish." What he now offered for fifty shillings an acre would, he predicted, be selling for thirty or forty pounds within three or four years.

After careful consideration, Talleyrand, in 1796,

²³Robert Morris to Jean Yves Vauberbin Anrosey, May 29, 1792, Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa. Unfortunately for Morris, his son mixed too much pleasure with business and became involved in an incident with a young Swiss girl that caused Morris a great deal of worry and financial embarrassment. Morris to L. Conder, Geneva, Switzerland, June 15, 1795, Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

decided to buy Morris' land. Terms of the proposed sale were thoroughly discussed and, as finally agreed, Talleyrand was to purchase 106,875 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land lying in Mifflin, Northumberland, and Northampton Counties, for the total sum of \$142,500.40. It was stipulated that Talleyrand had until August 9, 1797, to make payment, after which time the sale would be declared null and void (see Appendix A).²⁴ Furthermore, according to the agreement, John Davis, comptroller of the Treasury of the United States, representing the government, was designated to hold the deeds in escrow awaiting payment (see Appendix C).²⁵ A Morris debt to the government of \$93,000 was still outstanding and the government held a mortgage for this amount on the lands Morris tentatively sold to Talleyrand. Therefore, even when Talleyrand should pay for the land, the profit Morris would make on the sale would only be a little under \$50,000.

It is interesting to see how Talleyrand analyzed the terms of the sale. In a letter written shortly before the final agreement was reached, he observed:

The Articles express a promissory agreement of buying

²⁴"Articles of Agreement between Robert Morris and Charles Maurice Talleyrand," Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Mifflin County Court House, Lewistown, Pa., Deed Book D, p. 202.

²⁵Robert Morris to John Davis, Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Northampton County Court House, Easton, Pa., Deed Book D, II, 308.

and selling, and not an actual sale. . . . The promissory part of the agreement will be very obnoxious if Mon. Talleyrand wishes to sell again the property before the expiration of fifteen months; for as an evidence of his right he must produce the Agreement from which it will appear--

- 1) that his right is not complete. . . .
- 2) that Robert Morris might dispose the lands elsewhere should he desire,
- 3) that the purchaser had better apply to Mr. Morris and buy from him at the rate of 1 1/3 dollars, instead of paying an additional price to M. de Talleyrand.²⁶

Here it appears Talleyrand was complaining about the terms of the agreement despite the fact that the price per acre was below current market price and no down payment was necessary!

It is apparent that Morris agreed to grant these very generous terms because of his own desperate financial condition. In order to postpone bankruptcy, he needed all the available credit he could get. Even the prospect of securing money in the future appealed to him. Furthermore, he hoped that he could use this arrangement to gain time to meet his creditors' demands.

It is interesting to note that Morris' plan worked. Prior to the agreement with Talleyrand, he was bombarded repeatedly by creditors. Following the sale, four or five months passed without any financial demands. It was a period of calmness, marking the last time Morris was solvent. His creditors

²⁶Talleyrand to Robert Morris, May 15, 1796, Washburn Collection, X, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

were content to follow an attitude of watchful waiting, seeing if Talleyrand could complete his part of the bargain. But, by November, 1796, their patience expired and attack was renewed. This time it continued until Morris was placed in the Prune Street jail (1798).²⁷

Talleyrand's position was comparable to that of an ordinary land agent. As the recorded agreement mentioned, he was about to embark for Europe. He would attempt to resell the land in Europe, either to prospective settlers or to European speculators.

To help Talleyrand find European markets, Morris immediately wrote his son-in-law, James Marshall, currently in London on a combined business and honeymoon trip.²⁸ In the letter of May 24, 1796, Morris wrote:

. . . I have made a sale of 100,000 acres of land in this state payable in fifteen months. You will see the Purchaser before long but I do not give his name as I shall probably write by him, but if not by him, soon after him as he does not yet choose to have his name mentioned. These lands are none of those mentioned to you but I shall engage his assistance to you in the sales you have to make which may probably be useful, . . . I am determined that your time shall not be thrown away and your voyage prove fruitless. I will send Adam Hoops over with the titles and papers necessary and arrange

²⁷Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

²⁸Ellis P. Oberholtzer, Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier (New York, 1903), pp. 321-23.

matters so that he may go to Holland, Germany, France, Italy, or anywhere that you think necessary to execute or attempt such things as you shall think worthy of pursuit. I will however first get all papers in complete order and then write all that shall appear to me necessary on the subject.²⁹

Unfortunately for Talleyrand, Marshall was more concerned about his honeymoon than about his father-in-law's business and when Talleyrand reached Europe, no prospective buyers had been located. The land market in America had collapsed and Europe was crawling with agents desirous of selling their lands.³⁰ Talleyrand, consequently, discovered when he arrived in Europe that the land market had evaporated.

Talleyrand disembarked in Hamburg, Germany, instead of a French port.³¹ He deliberately took his time in returning to France. His name had been erased from the émigré list in the fall of 1795; yet he had remained in the United States until June of the following year. He was afraid that, should he return too soon, he might be caught in another violent upheaval of the French government.

As he traveled from Hamburg to Paris, he familiarized himself with the European situation. He stopped at Brussels and

²⁹Robert Morris to James Marshall, May 24, 1796, "Robert Morris Private Letter Book," II, MSS Div., LC.

³⁰Sakolski, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

³¹Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 187.

Amsterdam and did not arrive in Paris until late in September, having conferred with his friends along the way about the current situation.³² Gradually he became more involved in European politics, and consequently less concerned about Robert Morris; certainly he did not give the impression of a man traveling around Europe selling lands.

Morris grew impatient, desiring that some payment be made; even evidence that the prospects looked good might suffice to hold off his creditors. But Morris heard nothing from Talleyrand until late in January of 1797, when he received news Talleyrand had successfully landed in Europe. Morris quickly and impatiently wrote to him:

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the ninth of August from Hamburg and rejoiced very, very sincerely at your safe arrival as indeed did all my family and your other friends here. It is with great satisfaction also I see honorable mention made of your name in the public papers since your return to Paris where it seems you are likely to be engaged in Public Service for which very few are so well qualified as yourself. I send herein a letter which has been a long time in my custody as I do not choose to send but by a safe hand, which I have found in Mr. DeVillain, who takes charge of this packet. I am in hopes of hearing from you soon relative to the object depending between us [*italics mine*] and with sincerest good wishes for your health and happiness I remain. . . .³³

³²Ibid.

³³Robert Morris to M. Talleyrand-Périgord, Paris, France, Jan. 18, 1797, "Robert Morris Private Letter Book," II, MSS Div., LC.

Talleyrand's payment represented Morris' last hope of avoiding bankruptcy; all earlier possibilities had disappeared. First, the Pennsylvania Population Company, in which Morris invested, at one time owning over 450,000 acres in northwestern Pennsylvania, lost everything because of a lengthy title dispute with the Holland Land Company.³⁴ Second, the Asylum Company failed in its expectations. Third, Morris' greatest undertaking, the North American Land Company, collapsed in the previously mentioned fiasco in the Washington land. All this was in ruins, and now Talleyrand appeared to be canceling his agreement. However, Morris attempted to create the impression of calmness and respectability; certainly he showed no sign of being a hysterical man, desperately trying to avoid the collapse of his financial empire. He mentioned the deal only as an afterthought, but its mere insertion was a reminder of how desperate he was.

On February 8, 1797, Morris made an entry in his "Waste Book" changing Talleyrand's account from outstanding to sundry, reading: "Charles Maurice Talleyrand dr [debtor] to sundry accounts for the following tracts of land sold him conditionally at ten shillings per acre by articles of agreement dated 1796" (see Appendix B).³⁵ In the next entry, Morris specified lands

³⁴Sakolski, op. cit., pp. 38, 78.

³⁵Feb. 8, 1797, entry in Robert Morris "Waste Book, 1794-1801," MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

of the respective counties, according to various townships, quoting the price that Talleyrand was to pay for each. Following this, he credited some as being sold to other buyers at half the price he expected Talleyrand to pay. For example, he mentioned that Talleyrand was to pay ten shillings per acre for fourteen tracts in Bald Eagle Township, Mifflin County, containing 6,001 acres and 114 perches, but then in a later entry credited William Harrison as having purchased the same area in Mifflin County for just five shillings an acre. There are more examples, one in Northumberland County and another in Cumberland County, referred to in the "Waste Book."³⁶

Morris' bookkeeping left much to be desired. He used the single entry system, which became misleading and complicated, and he never stopped to balance his account. Some might interpret this to signify that Morris was selling the same land twice because he had to resort to any measures to avoid bankruptcy. This would be casting serious aspersions on the reputation of a great patriot and illustrious financier. Actually, what he was doing was taking part of the land back from Talleyrand, crediting him, and then reselling it to ready buyers in America. He needed the cash and saw the chances of acquiring money from Talleyrand disappearing. According to the initial agreement, Talleyrand

³⁶See Appendix B.

had only fifteen months in which to make settlement, and nine months had elapsed without even a token payment. It was apparent to Morris that there was only the remotest possibility that Talleyrand could fulfill his obligation. He had, therefore, better sell when he had the chance, regardless of the losses he would incur.

The likelihood of finding a buyer in Europe further dwindled when the Pennsylvania Legislature allowed the Alien Act to expire in February of 1797.³⁷ Morris knew that Talleyrand needed European investors in order to uphold his half of the bargain, but now only American citizens were permitted to own property in Pennsylvania. Of course, the failure of the State to renew this law did not affect Talleyrand's option to buy the land but now potential European buyers could not purchase from Talleyrand.

For a complete understanding of the entries in Morris' "Waste Book," it is necessary to compare them with corresponding entries made in his "Ledger" in which the double entry system is used. These further prove that Morris was not guilty of a crime in his land speculations. A "Ledger" entry, February 8, 1797, cited as outstanding the \$142,500.42 which Talleyrand owed (see

³⁷ Bioren, op. cit., p. 364.

Appendix D).³⁸ This figure was placed on the debit side of the "Ledger"; nothing appears on the credit side under Talleyrand's name. This would coincide with the fact that no payment had yet been made. Furthermore, the lands in Mifflin County under option to Talleyrand had been tentatively resold to William Harrison.³⁹ This agrees with the "Waste Book," but it is important to notice that these deeds contain conditional clauses mentioning that someone holds an option on them and has first choice, should payment be received by the ninth of August, 1797.⁴⁰

In March, 1797, Morris decided to make one final attempt to relieve pressures and preserve his few remaining assets. He established the Pennsylvania Land Property Company, to which he conveyed all the land he then had in his possession. He thought that he might be able to satisfy creditors by giving them shares of stock in this company as security.⁴¹ Furthermore, he guaranteed to shareholders a six dollar annual dividend per share and predicted "that in all probability they will ultimately receive

³⁸Feb. 8, 1797, entry in Robert Morris "Waste Book, 1794-1801," MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰"Articles of Agreement between Robert Morris and James Biddle and William Bell," March 18, 1797, Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., LC.

⁴¹Oberholtzer, op. cit., pp. 336-37.

a large profit or addition to their capital."⁴²

To the company's trustees, the Honorable James Biddle and William Bell, Morris transmitted the titles of the property, conveying twenty-two different areas or enterprises in Pennsylvania, and quoted the value of each. Item number seven is of particular interest:

One hundred and six thousand eight hundred and seventy-five acres and fifty perches of land in diverse tracts all patented to Robert Morris lying in counties of Northampton, Northumberland, and Mifflin subject to a contract for conditional sale of the same at ten shillings per acre [italics mine]. The payment to be made in _____ months from the _____ day of last or the lands to remain the property of Robert Morris. These being generally good lands and well situated will like the others increase annually in value but for the present they are estimated at the price agreed that is ten shillings per acre--\$142,498.

These lands are subject to a mortgage to secure the payment of \$93,000. The balance being \$49,498.⁴³

This is the same land that Morris had previously agreed to sell to Talleyrand (see Appendices E and F).⁴⁴ Again Morris acknowledged Talleyrand's option on the land, but the mere fact

⁴²"Articles of Agreement between Robert Morris and James Biddle and William Bell," March 18, 1797, Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., LC.

⁴³"A Schedule of Property within the State of Pennsylvania between Robert Morris and James Biddle and William Bell," Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

⁴⁴Robert Morris to Charles Maurice Talleyrand, Office of the Recorder of Deeds, Northumberland County Court House, Sunbury, Pa., Deed Book K, pp. 3, 5.

he was assigning it to the Pennsylvania Land Property Company implied that Morris had not received the money. Time was running out on the option and, according to the agreement, the title to the land reverted to Morris if payment was not made.

This is precisely what happened. The period elapsed without Talleyrand's meeting the contract terms, and so Morris maintained possession. Talleyrand, therefore, never completely acquired any land from Morris, or, for that matter, from anybody in America. He investigated the land, planned to buy, but defaulted.

Further proof of this is obtained by checking the dates on which the land deeds between Morris and Talleyrand were recorded. In Lewistown, Pennsylvania, the date is October 21, 1797; in Sunbury, Pennsylvania, October 28, 1797; and in Easton, Pennsylvania, November 7, 1797. In every case they are after the designated expiration day, August 9, 1797. Obviously, the deeds do not have to be recorded immediately after a sale, but it is important to observe that in each instance not only are the deeds recorded but also the articles of agreement are registered with them. It would be superfluous to record the conditions of sale if they had been satisfied, but it would be necessary to record them if they were not. This indicates that the deeds were invalid since the conditions were not executed;

consequently, the land titles would be cleared for reselling by Morris.⁴⁵

Also, the court testimony given by Robert Morris at his bankruptcy trial indicated that Talleyrand balked in completing the transaction. Under oath Morris accounted for every business agreement he participated in during the 1790's. It is a sad story, filled with disappointments which eventually culminated in his financial ruin. He cited various amounts of business deals, some larger, some smaller, than the one negotiated with Talleyrand, but he never mentioned selling any land to Talleyrand.⁴⁶

Further evidence proving that Talleyrand withdrew from his attempt to speculate in Pennsylvania lands is found in the government's appraisal of Robert Morris' property after bankruptcy. Very systematically, each entry in Morris' "Ledger" is fully examined, the value of the transaction is cited, and then

⁴⁵If Talleyrand had actually met the conditions of sale, it would have been necessary to record his name as grantor in subsequent sales to other buyers. In a detailed search of the deed books located in the court houses of Lewistown, Sunbury, and Easton, nowhere is Talleyrand listed as a grantor. All three places merely refer to him as a grantee and Morris the grantor; consequently, if he had purchased the land, what did he do with it? Obviously, he never resold it.

⁴⁶"The Testimony of Robert Morris Given Before the Commissioners," Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., Pa. Hist. Soc., Philadelphia, Pa.

a notation is made indicating what amount of the deal had been completed and the balance that remained. The appraisal shows precisely what properties still belonged to Morris and therefore could be considered an asset in evaluating Morris' estate. Of particular interest is the explanation of Account 325 on page 70:

Charles M. Talleyrand--stands charged \$142,500.42 amount of Lands sold him. But the sale being conditional, he revoked it; and must be credited to balance.⁴⁷

These three simple words, "he revoked it," clarify the entire question and proves that the sale was only a tentative one which eventually collapsed. Talleyrand did not become a last-minute savior for Morris nor did he amass a fortune by speculating in Pennsylvania lands.

Various authors have stated that Talleyrand participated in numerous land deals in America. Most of their remarks are nebulous, never citing exactly where the lands were situated, the size of the purchase, or the dates of the transactions.⁴⁸ Furthermore, they never explain what he did with the lands he supposedly bought. In fact, Talleyrand's stay in the United States is treated superficially. In an early biography the

⁴⁷"The Account of Robert Morris' Property," Account 325, Ledger C, Folio 264, Robert Morris Business Papers, MSS Div., LC.

⁴⁸Lacombe, op. cit., pp. 71, 75-87; Dodd, op. cit., pp. 335-49.

author admits that she knew little, if anything, about his trip. According to her, "The period of M. De Talleyrand's life upon which we possess the fewest documents is that of his stay in America. Nothing would be easier for us, were we writing a romance, than to fill up the hiatus by supposing events of which history leaves us ignorant."⁴⁹

In most instances biographers have followed her advice. Even Talleyrand's Memoirs deemphasized the visit. He allotted it ten pages in his five-volume work! Only two accounts of Talleyrand's travels in America specifically mention the tentative purchases made with Morris and both reach the wrong conclusion. One says, "In February, 1797, after Talleyrand had returned to France, Morris received \$142,500.42 from him for 106,875 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres sold."⁵⁰ The statement is supported by citing three sources, namely, Talleyrand's observations on the proposed sale; Morris' instructions to his son-in-law, James Marshall; and the entry appearing in Robert Morris' "Waste Book" on February 8, 1797. The first reference is irrelevant since Talleyrand's observations were made prior to the date of the final agreement and therefore cannot be used to prove a point

⁴⁹M. Catherinet de Villemarest, Life of Prince Talleyrand (London, 1834), I, 113.

⁵⁰Huth and Pugh, op. cit., p. 22.

that would have occurred later. These observations merely imply that a sale is being considered; they do not confirm one. The other two documents listed have already been explained. Both have been misinterpreted by the authors. Further investigation, particularly in Morris' "Ledger," would have shown that the contemplated sale was dissolved.

The second statement says simply, "Morris received from Talleyrand \$142,500.42 for 106,875 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres."⁵¹ But the author has leaned too heavily upon the earlier account and cites the same documents as proof.⁵² Her statement therefore is likewise disqualified.

⁵¹Murray, The Northumberland County Historical Society Proceedings, XX, 31.

⁵²Recent correspondence with Miss Murray shows that she appears to be vacillating on this point. She raised the question as to whether or not the entire deal was ever seriously intended to take place and suggested it was merely a paper transaction to bolster Morris' sagging finances. If this were the plan, then a lot of paper was wasted on it. Murray to Baldrige, Sept. 30, 1960.

CHAPTER VII

A FINAL EFFORT

It is difficult to determine Talleyrand's impressions of the United States. Talleyrand's own opinions were contradictory, continually alternating between good and bad, and praising some aspects while condemning others. His attitude apparently depended upon his financial status at the time. When he praised the United States and said, "America will one day be a great nation and is today the wisest and happiest on earth,"¹ it was because he had recently transacted a very promising business agreement. But if his luck changed and future prospects diminished, then he completely reversed himself and bitterly assailed the United States and declared that he despised life here and wished to return to Europe. He remarked, "I arrived here full of repugnance for the new sights which generally interest travelers. I find it very difficult to awaken in myself any curiosity,"² or he attacked the government itself and said,

¹Lacombe, op. cit., p. 82.

²Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 175; Brinton, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

"Representative government in England tends to be more republican while the one in America appears to follow the lines of a monarchy."³ (Italics mine.)

Some authors believe that the reason Talleyrand occasionally appeared so antagonistic towards America was that he did not understand it. One wrote: "Talleyrand, one of the most intelligent men of his time, returned to Europe without having in the least understood the New World. . . . He had found himself dwarfed, out of his element, even somewhat ridiculous, in this country that he hoped to dazzle, instruct, and direct."⁴ This statement is obviously too strong. A man who mingled with the leaders of American society, who was recognized and received by Hamilton, Morris, Knox, Bingham, and other prominent Americans certainly was not "dwarfed, out of his element." Furthermore, a man who, less than a year after he arrived, predicted that New York City would soon eclipse both Boston and Philadelphia in commerce and over-all importance, was not one who "returned to Europe without having in the least understood the New World." Notice how intelligently Talleyrand based the above-mentioned

³Washington was President at this time. Perhaps Talleyrand was smarting from Washington's refusal to see him. "Talleyrand in London and America," The Nation, LII (Jan. 8, 1891), 27.

⁴Bernard Fay, The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America (New York, 1927), p. 398.

observation:

The city which appears to me to be the best situated . . . is New York. Its good and convenient harbor, which is never closed by ice, its central position to which large rivers bring the products of the whole country, appear to me to be decisive advantages. Philadelphia is too buried in the land. . . . Boston is too much at the extremity of the country, does not have enough flour, and has not a large enough outlet for the commodities of the West Indies, except for molasses, for which it is the most advantageous market. It is then New York which seems to me to be the true place for the establishment of a correspondence, which could double its activity and its usefulness by undertaking the same operations with France or with her islands, supposing it retained any colonies of value.⁵

After he returned to France it appeared that Talleyrand had forgotten all about the United States and if he did turn his attention in that direction, it was only to take advantage of her and to belittle her.⁶ Perhaps he was getting revenge for the New World's failure to be financially rewarding; perhaps he was appealing to French patriotism; whatever the reason, his ostensible treatment was one of disrespect. Underlying this outward appearance, however, lay a deep-seated interest in America's development. He continued to keep abreast of new opportunities and when he discovered potential areas of investment he thoroughly investigated them.

⁵Talleyrand to Messrs. Bourdieu, Cholet, and Bourdieu, Jan. 15, 1795, Talleyrand Papers, MSS Div., LC, pp. 57-58.

⁶XYZ affair, seizure of American ships.

An example of this can be seen in the concern he showed in the infant du Pont industry. The du Ponts were personal friends of Talleyrand, and the elder du Pont had served with him on the advisory board of the Council of Notables.⁷ Although there is no evidence to indicate that Talleyrand visited the oldest son, Victor, in America, he very possibly could have either in Baltimore or in Washington. Talleyrand, on his return to France, did report concerning Victor's activities to the father, Pierre Samuel du Pont de Nemours.⁸

The du Ponts were just getting their business started in America. They needed capital to permit their munition factories to survive the early critical years. They also envisioned the possibility of enlarging their American enterprises by land speculation.⁹ Therefore, Talleyrand's services might later prove invaluable, for not only had he amassed a fortune under Napoleon as Foreign Minister and financial adviser but he also had firsthand knowledge of land speculation in America. He

⁷Talleyrand's Memoirs, I, 1.

⁸E. I. du Pont to wife, Sept. 20, 1796, Papers of E. I. du Pont, The Henry Francis du Pont of Winterthur Collection of Manuscripts, New Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Wilmington, Del. Hereafter cited as Winterthur Collection.

⁹Raymond F. Betts, "Preliminary Report on the Talleyrand Loan of 1807," Winterthur Collection, Typed MS (Nov. 20, 1959), p. 5; du Pont de Nemours to Bidermann, Dec. 1, 1800, Winterthur Collection.

could supply money as well as advice, recommendations, and introductions to American landowners. Throughout 1805 and 1806 the elder du Pont corresponded with Talleyrand about the possibilities of a monetary loan.¹⁰ Finally, it was agreed that Talleyrand would grant 200,000 francs, repayable in annual installments of 30,000 francs at the interest rate of 9 per cent.¹¹

Unfortunately, plans for this initial loan miscarried. Talleyrand had been in Germany and Poland during the time of the negotiations and when he returned to Paris he was out of office. Du Pont thought that this meant the end of the negotiations and dropped the idea. But Talleyrand, despite his political vicissitudes, was still interested in financial operations and so seized the initiative and approached du Pont about the loan.¹² After further negotiations, another agreement was arranged whereby Talleyrand lent du Pont 200,000 francs at 5 per cent semiannual interest. The first note was due in June, 1808, and the last on December 31, 1813. The Swiss banker Bidermann was commissioned to handle the transaction and Jean Victor Auguste

¹⁰Victor du Pont to Peter Bauduy, Aug. 31, 1805, Winterthur Collection; Talleyrand to E. I. du Pont, May 17, 1806, Longwood Collection, New Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Wilmington, Del. Hereafter cited as Longwood Collection.

¹¹Talleyrand to E. I. du Pont, Oct. 9, 1806, Longwood Collection.

¹²Betts, op. cit., p. 6.

Menestrier was appointed Talleyrand's personal agent in America.¹³ His job was to collect the money on the specified dates and see that it was properly credited to Talleyrand's account.

Unfortunately, the du Ponts had difficulty repaying the loan, and, in fact, failed to meet the interest payments. Their financial position became very precarious, even to the verge of bankruptcy. The father complained:

Mr. de Menestrier can put me in prison in a month for 3000 francs. He has my notes and I have no money. He can have me imprisoned at the end of every six months from now till the end of December, 1813, for 2,500 francs each time.

. . . If all these good people do not send me to prison, they can order the sale of my furniture and my books.

Mr. Menestrier can have my furniture sold in two months quite apart from the notes, because I have not explained to him the impossibility of arranging a mortgage in the United States to protect his money.

I think I am safe where Menestrier is concerned because of the friendship of his protector and mine [Talleyrand]--who is not immortal, however, and whose death would expose me to probable imprisonment.¹⁴

Talleyrand continued to permit them to default without starting any legal suit. But when the elder du Pont died (1817), Talleyrand took action. He engaged the New York banking firm of

¹³Talleyrand to E. I. du Pont, Dec. 25, 1807, Longwood Collection; Talleyrand to E. I. du Pont, Dec. 31, 1807, Winterthur Collection.

¹⁴Du Pont de Nemours to E. I. du Pont, undated, Winterthur Collection.

Le Roy, Bayard, and Company to replace Menestrier and authorized them to collect the money.

Immediately they wrote to Eleuthère Irénée du Pont:

We have the honor of handing you enclosed a letter addressed to yourself and to your brother by Monseigneur Le Prince de Talleyrand who has instructed us to receive from you the value of 100,000 francs, principal, and interest due thereon, which he advanced in 1807 to the late Mr. du Pont de Nemours, your father. Will you be so good as to inform us what arrangements it will be agreeable to you to make for the adjustment of this business.¹⁵

The brothers pleaded for more time. In a reply to Le Roy, Bayard, and Company, Irénée acknowledged the debt as outstanding but begged for postponement because of present business hardships. As he explained, one of the munitions factories had experienced a tragic explosion in the spring of 1818, which cost the company between thirty and thirty-five thousand dollars and the interruption of work for six months. He requested therefore that he be allowed ten years in which to repay the debt.¹⁶

Talleyrand's answer was direct and businesslike, but contained evidence of the personal friendship that he still held for the family:

The term of ten years seems a long time to ask for the repayment of the hundred thousand francs I lent to

¹⁵Le Roy, Bayard, and Co. to E. I. du Pont, Feb. 26, 1818, Winterthur Collection.

¹⁶E. I. du Pont to Le Roy, Bayard, and Co., Feb. 12, 1819, Winterthur Collection.

your Father, but my memories of the worthy Mr. du Pont and the considerations that I have and shall always be disposed to have for his family urge me to accept your propositions; I am therefore writing to MM. Le Roy and Bayard to arrange with you for definite dates for the yearly payment--both of the part of the capital that is to be paid and for the interest current and in arrears. I am sending those gentlemen my authorization to treat on that new basis. I hope you will realize, Sir, from my willingness to do what best suits you, that I feel a real interest in you and a desire to contribute to the success of your establishment.¹⁷

During the 1820's Talleyrand began to receive payment for the loan. It appeared that finally his investments in America were to be successful. But suddenly the payments ceased and the entire question of the du Pont debt was reopened. Talleyrand complained that the brothers had defaulted on their installments. Irénée, on the other hand, replied that they had been conscientiously meeting their obligation in full. As he explained:

The debt that my Father contracted with Prince Talleyrand was liquidated by me and settled in 1819 with Messrs. Le Roy, Bayard, and Company, agents for Mr. de Talleyrand, for the sum of \$34,118.72 including interest. For this sum I gave Messrs. Le Roy, Bayard, and Company eight bonds, . . . , the first seven for \$4300, payable each year from May 1822 until 1828, and the last for \$4018.72 payable in 1829. The first five of these notes were paid when they became due and there still remained for me to pay--May, 1827--\$4,200, May 1828, \$4,300, and May, 1829,--\$4018.72.¹⁸

¹⁷Talleyrand to E. I. du Pont, June 21, 1819, Winterthur Collection.

¹⁸E. I. du Pont to Mr. Durant de Mareuil, Consul General of France, Washington City, Jan. 22, 1827, Winterthur Collection.

Irénée went on to imply that perhaps Messrs. Le Roy, Bayard, and Company were using the payments without crediting them to Talleyrand's account. He requested an investigation of the company.

Unfortunately, the entire matter was further complicated by the untimely death of Victor du Pont on January 30, 1827. Whether Talleyrand continued negotiations with Irénée cannot be determined. After this date letters referring to the loan are nonexistent. The integrity of Le Roy, Bayard, and Company was never subsequently challenged and the accusation apparently was dropped. There is also the possibility that Talleyrand merely reported the nonpayment in order that he might obtain more money. This seems unlikely, however, since it is obvious that Talleyrand had a strong admiration for the family and would go out of his way to accommodate them. Also, his own financial status at the time did not necessitate such action.

The financial returns from America did not prove to be particularly rewarding to Talleyrand. He had tried speculating in lands in Maine, New York, the District of Columbia, and Pennsylvania. In each instance he either failed to come to terms or defaulted after the agreement had been reached. The attempt to invest in America's future through the du Ponts also proved relatively fruitless. Although Talleyrand realized the rich potential that America represented, his adroit skill failed to

develop any personal returns in the New World. His fortune and fame were to be made in Europe. But certainly through the circulation of his keen observations and analysis of America's economy, information was made more widely available about the United States in the last decade of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the astute insight that he depicted in such brilliant and thorough observations as "Letter on the Eastern Part of America," "Letter on the Northern Part of New York," "Memoir on Investments in Land in America," and "Observations on Speculation in Lands in the United States of America" provided a valuable economic guide not only to the prospective settler but also to American and European investors, both actual and potential. These accounts added pertinent information necessary for an over-all understanding of the land situation, and, consequently, through their dissemination among bankers and potential investors, they aided regional development throughout the United States by fostering stability and economic strength. They served as a check list not only for the specific lands mentioned but also for every area under consideration. Talleyrand's influence on land development guided the settler and permitted him to achieve rapid development with minimum risk.

Certainly Talleyrand's contribution to America was much more positive than that of serving as inspiration for the slogan,

"Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute." Aside from the general informative help offered by his land prospectuses, Talleyrand's activities in America had direct results. For example, they permitted Robert Morris to postpone bankruptcy for a few months, aided the development of the du Pont company, and served as an example to other refugees on how to adjust to life in their new environment.

Despite Talleyrand's failure to purchase land in the United States and to participate directly in its exploitation, his presence in the New World directly affected the lives of those he met. Such men as William Bingham, Alexander Hamilton, and Robert Morris enjoyed the benefits of his penetrating observations. In retrospect, his failure to involve himself personally with any specific area may have broadened his influence and effect, since it permitted more Americans to have contacts with him and to read his keen appraisal of their world. Furthermore, had Talleyrand purchased land and become involved economically in a specific area of the United States, his later policy towards the New World might well have been changed. It is possible that the concern he showed in correcting the misunderstandings caused by the unfortunate XYZ affair and the friendship he reflected in granting generous terms to the United States in the sale of Louisiana might have been replaced by an

interest in territorial aggrandizement for himself and France.

Although in retrospect Talleyrand's role as Foreign Minister under the Directory, adviser to the Emperor Napoleon, and French representative at the Congress of Vienna overshadows the years spent in the United States, his remarkable talents, high intelligence, and keen insight were already evident in this earlier period. America served as a testing area for these qualities before Talleyrand faced the more experienced diplomats of Europe.

DEED

FROM:

ROBERT MORRIS

#

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT - INDENTED -
MADE 24TH DAY OF MAY, 1796.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

#

WITH:

#

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND
PERRIGORD

#

BETWEEN CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND
PERIGORD, NOW IN THE CITY OF PHILADEL-
PHIA AND BOUND ON A VOYAGE ON A VOYAGE
TO EUROPE, OF THE ONE PART AND ROBERT
MORRIS, OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, ESQ
OF THE OTHER PART,

#

WHEREAS, THE ROBERT MORRIS HATH SOLD TO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, ONE HUNDRED, SIX THOUSAND, EIGHT HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE AND FIFTY PERCHES OF LAND, SITUATE LYING AND BEING IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AND WHICH ARE DESCRIBED AND MENTIONED IN CERTAIN PATENTS GRANTED BY THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA TO JEREMIAH PARKER, TO WILLIAM CATHCART AND TO WILLIAM HARRISON, AND IN CERTAIN DEED OF CONVEYANCE FROM THE JEREMIAH PARKER, WILLIAM HARRISON, AND WILLIAM CATHCART TO THE ROBERT MORRIS, AND IN CERTAIN OTHER PATENTS GRANTED TO THE ROBERT MORRIS BY THE COMMONWEALTH AND CERTAIN DEEDS EXECUTED BY THE ROBERT MORRIS AND MARY, HIS WIFE, TO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, OF WHICH PATENT CERTIFIED EXTRACTS FROM THE ROLLS OFFICE OF THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AND ALL OF WHICH DEEDS AND CONVEYANCES NOTARIAL COPIES ARE NOW DELIVERED TO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD AGREEABLY TO A SCHEDULE HERETO ANNEXED AND ALL THE ORIGINAL PATENTS AND DEEDS BEING NOW DEPOSITED IN THE HANDS OF JOHN DAVIS, ESQUIRE, COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY OF THE UNITED STATES AND

WHEREAS, THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD HAVING PURCHASED THE SAID ONE HUNDRED, SIX THOUSAND, EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES, FIFTY PERCHES OF LAND HATH AGREED TO PAY THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS FOR THE SAME, AFTER THE RATE OF ONE MEXICAN DOLLAR AND ONE-THIRD OF A DOLLAR PER ACRE, THE SAID PURCHASE MONEY TO BE PAID BY THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS EXECUTORS, ADMINISTRATORS OR ASSIGNS IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, ON OR BEFORE THE NINTH DAY OF AUGUST, WHICH WILL BE IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN, NOW, THEREFORE IT IS AGREED, AS FOLLOWS:

FIRST: THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AGREES UPON THE RECEIPT OF THE WHOLE OF THE PURCHASE MONEY AFORESAID, THAT THE PATENTS AND DEEDS OF CONVEYANCE ABOVE REFERRED TO FOR THE SAID ONE HUNDRED SIX THOUSAND, EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES, FIFTY PERCHES OF LAND SHALL BE DELIVERED UP BY THE JOHN DAVIS TO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS AND THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, ALSO COVENANTS AND AGREES TO EXECUTE AND ACKNOWLEDGE SUCH FURTHER DEED OR DEEDS OF CONVEYANCE AS MAY BE NECESSARY OR AS THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS OR ASSIGNS, OR HIS OR THEIR COUNSEL LEARNED IN THE LAW SHALL OR MAY REASONABLY DEVISE, ADVISE, OR REQUIRE FOR THE VESTING A COMPLETE TITLE IN FEE SIMPLE, OF, IN, AND TO THE SAID ONE HUNDRED SIX THOUSAND, EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES, FIFTY PERCHES OF LAND IN THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS,

SECOND: BUT IN THE MEANTIME, AND UNTIL PAYMENT OF SAID PURCHASE MONEY OF THE SAID PATENT AND DEEDS OF CONVEYANCE SHALL BE DEPOSITED AS AN ESCROW, DEPOSITED IN THE HANDS OF THE SAID JOHN DAVIS, ESQ. AND IN DEFAULT OF PAYMENT OF THE SAID PURCHASE MONEY ON THE SAID NINTH DAY OF AUGUST ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN, THE SAID PATENTS AND DEEDS SHALL BE REDELIVERED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS OR ASSIGNS AND ANY DEED OR DEEDS EXECUTED OR TO BE EXECUTED BY THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS TO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, TO BE VOID AND OF NONE EFFECT AS IF THE SAME NEVER HAS BEEN EXECUTED.

THIRD: IT IS MUTUALLY AGREED AND UNDERSTOOD BETWEEN THE PARTIES, HERETO, THAT THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, SHALL BE AT LIBERTY TO PLEDGE THE SAID ONE HUNDRED SIX THOUSAND, EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FIVE ACRES, FIFTY PERCHES OF LAND OR ANY PART THEREOF, TOGETHER WITH THE ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT, IN SECURITY FOR ANY LOAN OR LOANS OF MONEY OR PROPERTY HE MAY BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THEREIN AT ANY TIME BEFORE THE PERIOD FIXED ON FOR PAYMENT OF THE PURCHASE MONEY AS AFORESAID,

PROVIDED, IT BE DONE ON SUCH TERMS AND CONDITIONS THAT THE DEEDS AND PATENTS, ALL EVIDENCE OF TITLE TO THE AFORESAID LAND BE AND CONTINUE IN THE HANDS AND POSSESSION OF THE SAID JOHN DAVIS OR HIS SUCCESSOR IN OFFICE READY TO BE DELIVERED UP TO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS, EXECUTORS, ADMINISTRATORS, OR ASSIGNS ON PAYMENT BY HIM OR THEM OF THE PURCHASE MONEY AT THE TIME STIPULATED FOR THE SAME IN THIS AGREEMENT AND JOHN DAVIS THE DEPOSITARY OF THE SAID DEEDS AND PATENTS AS AFORESAID OR HIS SUCCESSOR IN OFFICE IS HEREBY AUTHORIZED AND REQUIRED ON HIS PART TO DO WHAT MAY BE NECESSARY TO CARRY THIS ARTICLE INTO EFFECT AGREEABLY TO ITS TRUE INTENT AND MEANING IF REQUIRED THERETO BY THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS OR THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD AND IF THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD SHALL OMIT TO ANNOUNCE HIS RELINQUISHMENT OF THIS CONTRACT ON THE NINTH DAY OF AUGUST, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVEN, IN SUCH CASE HIS OMISSION OR SILENCE SO TO DO, SHALL RENDER THIS CONTRACT ENTIRELY NULL AND VOID BETWEEN THE PARTIES

AND THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS DOTH COVENANT AND PROMISE TO AND WITH THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD THAT HE THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HATH NOT DONE NOR WILL NOT DO OR CAUSE TO BE DONE ANY ACT, DEED, MATTER OR THING WHATEVER, CONTRARY TO OR WHICH MAY OR SHALL IN ANY MANNER, DEFEAT, DISAPPOINT OR AVOID THE TRUE INTENT AND MEANING OF THESE ARTICLES.

IN WITNESS, WHEREOF, THE SAID PARTIES TO THESE PRESENTS HAVE INTERCHANGEABLY SET THEIR HANDS AND SEALS AT PHILADELPHIA, THE DAY AND YEAR ABOVE WRITTEN.

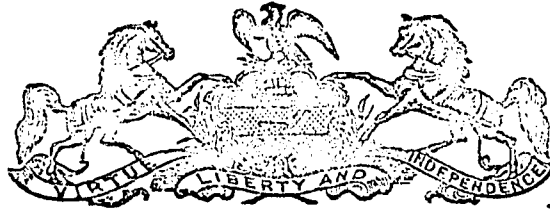
CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD (SEAL)
ROBERT MORRIS (SEAL)

SEALED AND DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF US

PETER LOHRD
GARRETT COTTRINGER

RECORDED, THE 28TH DAY OF OCTOBER, 1797.
RECORDER: J. SIMPSON, R.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA



NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY, SS:

I, LESTER ALBRIGHT Recorder of Deeds, Etc., in and for

said County and State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy

of the record of DEED

FROM:

ROBERT MORRIS

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

WITH:

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD

so full and entire as the same remains of record in the Recorder's Office in and for said

County in DEED Book No. 1, Page 537

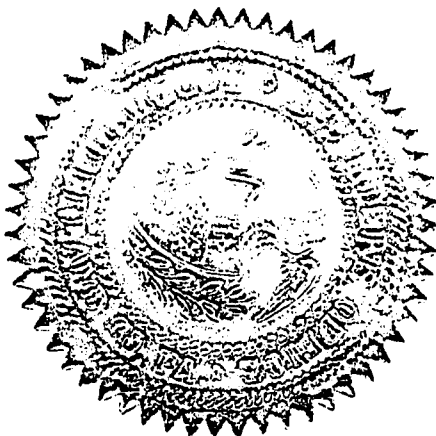
In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my

hand and official seal at Sunbury, Pennsylvania,

this 21ST day of SEPTEMBER

A. D. ~~1955~~ 1962.

Lester Albright
Recorder of Deeds



Charles Maurice Talleyrand Perigord Dr. toundry accounts
for the following Tracts of Land sold him conditionally at
10^{ts} & acre as articles of agreement dated 1796

Lands in Mifflin County for the following Tracts

14 Tracts in Bald Eagle Township containing	6001.	114	
18 " " " "	7040.	126	
9 " " " "	5383.	5	
50 " " " "	21121.	72	acres & 1/2
<u>91 Tracts</u>			37946.157 ac. @ 50.596. -

Lands to J Parker for the following Tracts

24 Tracts in Washington Township Northumberland	9720	
9 " " " "	3606	
7 " " " "	2808	
13 " " " "	5472.	40
<u>53 Tracts</u>		21601.50 ac. @ 28808.33

Lands in Northumberland County for the following Tracts

25 Tracts in White Deer Township to of	9777	
60 " " " "	27041.	80
<u>85 Tracts</u>		36818.80 ac. @ 29091.34

Lands in Northampton County for the following Tracts

16 Tracts to of J. Early	8819.	13
10 " " " "	3884.	80
<u>26 Tracts</u>		10503.97 ac. @ 14004.75
255 Tracts containing	acres	106875.50

142500.4

undry accounts Dr. to Wm Harrison
Lands in Mifflin County in 6000 acres 115/100 contained in 14 Tracts situate in
Bald Eagle Township . . . 4000.67

Lands in Northumberland County for 60 Tracts in Muncy Township containing
26018 acres @ 7. . . 26018
in 15 Tracts situate in 15 ac. 6524 acres " . . . 6524 32542. -

Lands in Cumberland for 2 Tracts situate in 82ba at 7/8. . . 526

37368 67

Profit & Loss Dr. to Cozenove Nephew & Co Old 4/99 for the
difference in currency on settlement of their % on 28 Sept 1795

28868 10

Welling Harrison Jun. Dr. to Welling Morris 1/6 ac. of money p. 1/2 ac.
for 80 Doll. he received on acct. of Montague's protested bill.

80 -

Expenses Dr. to Perry Harrison Jun.
for 80 Doll. he remitted me at Washington in his Letter 8th Aug 1796.

80 -

Cash. Dr. to Garrett Coltringer received of him 30th Jan 1797 . . . 1517. 16
4th 13th Feb . . . 6029. 53
18th . . . 3814. 3
1728. 94

12689 6

APPENDIX B

APPENDIX C

Robert Morris, Esq.) This Indenture made this Twenty-Fourth Day of
 To) May in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and
 John Davis) Ninety-Six between Robert Morris of the City of
 Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania of
 the one part and John Davis Comptroller of the Treasury of the United
 States of the other part. Witnesseth in manner following to wit:

Whereas in conformity to a report made by the Commissioners appointed for settling accounts depending between the United States under the old Confederation and certain individuals sundry balances appear to be due from Willing Morris and Company, John Ross and the said Robert Morris, unto the United States amounting to the sum of Ninety-Three Thousand Three Hundred and Twelve Dollars Seventy Cents on the Ninth Day of February last past, and bearing interest from that day after the rate of six per cent per annum, which said sum of Ninety Three Thousand Three Hundred and Twelve Dollars and Seventy Cents and interest as aforesaid the said Robert Morris has promised and agreed well and truly to pay or cause to be paid one half on or before the expiration of eighteen months from the said Ninth Day of February in the year now current and the remaining half on or before the expiration of three years from the said Ninth Day of February, in the said year unto the said United States as will fully appear by reference to two bonds of the Robert Morris bearing date with these presents payable to the said United States and whereas for further assuring the payment of the said sum of money and interest as aforesaid the said Robert Morris hath agreed to charge there with one hundred and six thousand eight hundred and seventy five acres and fifty perches of land. Situate in the State of Pennsylvania to wit fifty two thousand five hundred and four acres and seventy two perches part thereof and fifty four thousand three hundred and seventy acres ninety eight perches the residue thereof more particularly described in two several deeds bearing even date with these presents by the said Robert Morris and Mary his wife unto a certain Charles Maurice Tally and Perigord as by reference thereunto will more

at large appear, which deeds have been delivered unto the said John Davis as Escrows to take effect upon the performance of certain conditions contained in certain articles of agreement bearing the same date between the said Robert Morris and the said Charles Maurice Tallay and Perigord as by reference to the same will also fully appear.

Now this indenture witnesseth that the said Robert Morris in hand paid by the United States aforesaid the receipt whereof he doth hereby acknowledge, and for securing unto the said United States the payment of the said sum of Ninety-Three Thousand Three Hundred and Twelve Dollars and Seventy Cents the amount of the balances aforesaid with interest from the Ninth Day of February in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Six after the rate of Six per centum per annum, and for and in consideration of the covenants herein expressed hath granted, bargained, and sold, aliened, released and confirmed, and by these presents doth grant, bargain and sell, alien, release and confirm unto the said John Davis Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States aforesaid, and his successors for the use of the said United States all the said one hundred and six thousand eight hundred and seventy five acres and fifty perches of land, situate in the said State of Pennsylvania, with the appurtenances.

To have and to hold the said hereby granted premises and the appurtenances unto him the said John Davis Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States and his successors in office for the use of the said United States with power to sell and convey the same in fee to the purchaser or purchasers thereof or of any part thereof.

Provided always that if the said Robert Morris his heirs, executors or administrators, shall pay or cause to be paid to the Treasurer of the said United States the said sum of Ninety Three Thousand Three Hundred and Twelve Dollars and Seventy Cents one moiety on or before the Ninth Day of August in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety Seven, and the other moiety on or before the Ninth Day of February in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety- Nine with interest on the whole

sum as aforesaid from the said Ninth Day of February last past then this indenture and every part and parcel thereof shall be null and void, and moreover the said Robert Morris for himself and his heirs doth covenant and agree with the said John Davis Comptroller of the Treasury of the said United States and his successors that if the conditions of the said several deeds to Charles Maurice Tally and Perigord shall be duly performed and in consequence thereof the said deeds shall be delivered unto him the said Charles Maurice Tally and Perigord by the said John Davis, or his successors, it shall be lawful for the said John Davis or his successors as aforesaid to apply to the use of the United States aforesaid so much of the money to be paid by the said Charles Maurice Tally and Perigord his heirs or assigns as will satisfy and discharge one moiety of the said sum of Ninety Three Thousand Three Hundred and Twelve Dollars and Seventy Cents and interest thereon as aforesaid, and the said John Davis or his successors in office as aforesaid shall pay to the said Robert Morris his executors, or administrators the residue of the money received from the said Charles Maurice Tally and Perigord or his heirs. Provided the said Robert Morris his executors or administrators, shall give security satisfactory to the Secretary or Comptroller of the Treasury of the United States for the time being for the punctual payment of the other moiety then remaining due of the said sum of Ninety Three Thousand Three Hundred and Twelve Dollars, Seventy Cents and interest as aforesaid.

In witness whereof the parties to these presents have hereunto set their respective hands and seals the day & year first above written.

Signed, sealed & delivered

in the presence of us

Rufus King

Rob. Morris (S.S.)

Tho. Pike Sathy

J. N. Davis (S.S.)

On the First Day of June A. D. 1796 before me the subscriber one of the Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the County of Philadelphia, came the above named Robert Morris and in due form of law acknowledged the above written indenture to be his act and deed and

desired the same may be recorded as such.

Witness my hand and seal.

K. Reynold Keen (S.S.)

Recorded the 7th of November 1797.

State of Pennsylvania }
 County of Northampton } ss

I, Charles L. Young, Recorder of Deeds, in and
 for said County, do hereby certify that the attached is a true and correct Copy of the Deed as recorded in
Deed Book D Vol. 2 Page 308 so full and entire as the same remains of
 Record in said Office.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Office at Easton,
 this 20th. day of November A. D. 1962

Charles L. Young
 Recorder

SEAL

By _____
 Deputy

To Mr. Maurice Fullington, Perigord

Dollar Cent

27th Nov. 8 76 money account. 363. 122500. 42

APPENDIX D

To Mr. Maurice Fullington, Perigord

Dollar Cent

27th Nov. 8 76 money account. 363. 122500. 42

1877. 8 1877. 8 1877. 8 1877. 8

363.

122500.

42

APPENDIX E

DEED

ROBERT MORRIS, ET UX. # THIS INDENTURE, MADE THIS 24TH.
 To # DAY OF MAY, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD,
 CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND # ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-
 PERIGORD # SIX,
 # BETWEEN, ROBERT MORRIS, OF THE
 # CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, IN THE STATE OF
 PENNSYLVANIA, ESQ., AND MARY, HIS WIFE,
 OF THE ONE PART, AND CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, AT PRESENT
 RESIDING IN THE SAID CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, OF THE OTHER PART.

WITNESSETH, THAT FOR AND IN CONSIDERATION OF THE SUM OF
 TWENTY-SEVEN THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE POUNDS, FIVE SHILLINGS,
 PENNSYLVANIA CURRENCY, TO THE ROBERT MORRIS, IN HAND PAID BY THE SAID
 CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, AT THE TIME OF, OR BEFORE THE
 EXECUTION OF THESE PRESENTS, THE RECEIPT WHEREOF IS HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGED,
 THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, AND MARY HIS WIFE, HAVE GRANTED, BARGAINED, AND
 SOLD, ALIENED, RELEASED, ENFEOFFED AND CONFIRMED, AND BY THESE PRESENTS
 DO GRANT, BARGAIN AND SELL, ALIEN, RELEASE, ENFEOFF, AND CONFIRM UNTO
 THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS.

ALL THOSE TRACTS, PIECES, OR PARCELS OF LAND FOLLOWING,
 THAT IS TO SAY ALL, THOS FOURTEEN TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND
 SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN BALD EAGLE TOWNSHIP IN THE COUNTY OF MIFFLIN,
 AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING SIX THOUSAND AND ONE ACRES AND
 ONE HUNDRED FOURTEEN PERCHES OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS,
 AND ALLOWANCE OF SIX PERCENT FOR ROADS, ETC. WHICH THE STATE OF PENN-
 SYLVANIA GRANTED TO WILLIAM HARRISON OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA BY
 FOURTEEN SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS, SEVEN OF THEM DATED THE TWELFTH
 AND SEVEN DATED THE FOURTEENTH DAY OF DECEMBER LAST, AND WHICH SAID
 PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE
 AS FOLLOWS: IN,

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 376;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 378;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 376;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 367;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 375;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 229;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 227;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 227;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 226;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 226;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 225;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 222;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 377;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 377;

AND WHICH SAID TRACTS. PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, THE SAID WILLIAM
 HARRISON, BY INDENTURE DATED THE TWENTY-FOURTH DAY OF FEBRUARY, LAST
 UNDER HIS HAND AND SEAL DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE
 SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, FOREVER.

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE EIGHTEEN TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF
 LAND SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN BALD EAGLE TOWNSHIP, IN THE COUNTY OF
 MIFFLIN, AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING SEVEN THOUSAND, FOUR HUN-
 DRED AND FORTY ACRES, AND ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX PERCHES, AND ALLOW-
 ANCE AFORESAID, WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, BY EIGHTEEN SEVER-
 AL PATENTS OR GRANTS DATED THE THIRTEENTH DAY OF MARCH, LAST, GRANTED
 UNTO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, FOREVER, AND WHICH
 SAID PATENTS AND GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE
 FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS:

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 457;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 450;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 459;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 455;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 453;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 456;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 450;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 459;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 453;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 455;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 461;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 457;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 458;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 458;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 402;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 401;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 402;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 400;

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE SIXTEEN TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA; CONTAINING SIX THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND NINETEEN ACRES AND THIRTEEN PERCHES, AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID, WHICH SAID STATE BY SIXTEEN SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS, TWO OF THEM DATED THE SECOND AND FOURTEEN OF THEM DATED THE THIRD DAY OF JUNE, ONE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY FIVE, GRANTED UNTO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS OR ASSIGNS FOREVER, AND WHICH THE SAID PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS; IN

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 429;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 430;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 341;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 342;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 338;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 341;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 339;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 429;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 428;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 337;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 338;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 340;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 340;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 339;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 430;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26, PAGE 428;

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE, TEN TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATED AND LYING AND BEING IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY IN STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AFORESAID, CONTAINING THREE THOUSAND, EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FOUR ACRES AND EIGHTY PERCHES AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID WHICH THE SAID STATE BY TEN SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS DATED THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF APRIL, ONE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIVE, GRANTED UNTO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER, AND WHICH SAID PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS: IN,

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 23, PAGE 414;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25, PAGE 65;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25, PAGE 65;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24, PAGE 354;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24, PAGE 354;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 23, PAGE 414;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 23, PAGE 413;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24, PAGE 355;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 23, PAGE 415;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24, PAGE 453;

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE NINE TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN MIFFLIN COUNTY AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA AFORESAID, CONTAINING THREE THOUSAND, THREE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE ACRES AND FIVE PERCHES AND ALLOWANCE AFORESAID, WHICH THE SAID STATE BY NINE SEVERAL PATENTS AND GRANTS FOUR OF THEM DATED THE NINETEENTH AND FIVE OF THEM DATED THE TWENTIETH DAY OF APRIL LAST, GRANTED UNTO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER AND WHICH SAID PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS: IN,

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 125;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 124;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 122;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 122;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 131;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 124;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 121;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 123;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 123;

AND ALSO ALL THOSE, SIXTY TRACTS, PIECES, OR PARCELS OF LAND SITUATE, LYING, AND BEING IN MUNCY TOWNSHIP, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND IN THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING TWO THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-ONE ACRES, AND EIGHTY PERCHES, AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID, WHICH THE SAID STATE BY SIXTY SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS, TWENTY OF THEM DATED THE NINETEENTH AND FORTY OF THEM DATED THE TWENTIETH DAY OF MAY, ONE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-SIX, GRANTED UNTO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, FOREVER, AND WHICH SAID PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS: IN,

THE FIRST TWENTY IN:

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 174;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 175;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 175;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 170;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 170;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 177;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 177;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 178;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 178;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 179;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 179;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 180;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 180;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 181;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 181;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 182;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 183;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 183;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 184;

THE LAST FORTY IN;

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 189;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 189;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 190;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 190;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 191;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 191;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 192;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 192;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 193;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 193;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 194;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 194;

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 195;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 195;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 196;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 196;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 197;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 197;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 198;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28, PAGE 198;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 475;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 475;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 476;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 477;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 477;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 478;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 478;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 479;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27, PAGE 479;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 28;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 28;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 29;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 29;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 30;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 30;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 31;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 31;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 32;
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 29, PAGE 32;

THE SAID TRACTS, PIECES, OR PARCELS OF LAND HEREBY GRANTED, CONTAINING IN A WHOLE, FIFTY-FOUR THOUSAND, THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY ACRES AND EIGHT PERCHES OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID, TOGETHER WITH ALL AND SINGULAR THE IMPROVEMENTS, WAYS, WOODS, UNDERWOODS, WATER, WATER COURSES, RIGHTS, LIBERTIES, PRIVILEGES, ADVANTAGES, EMOLUMENTS AND APPURTENANCES, WHATSOEVER TO THE HEREBY GRANTED TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND AND PREMISES, BELONGING OR IN ANYWISE APPERTAINING AND THE REVERSIONS, REMAINDERS, RENTS, ISSUES AND PROFITS THEREOF.

AND ALSO ALL, THE ESTATE RIGHT, TITLE, INTEREST, USE PROPERTY, CLAIM AND DEMAND WHATSOEVER IN LAW, EQUITY OR OTHERWISE BETWEEN THEM THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND MARY, HIS WIFE, THEREIN OR THERETO.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD ALL THE SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, HEREDITAMENTS AND PREMISES HEREBY GRANTED WITH THEIR EACH AND EVERY OF THEIR APPURTENANCES UNTO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, TO THE ONLY PROPER USE AND BEHOOF OF THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER. SUBJECT TO THE RESERVATION MADE IN THE RESPECTIVE PATENTS OR GRANTS BY THE SAID COMMONWEALTH OF THE ONE-FIFTH PART OF ALL GOLD AND SILVER ORE, AND THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS DOETH HEREBY FOR HIMSELF, HIS HEIRS, EXECUTORS AND ADMINISTRATORS, COVENANT AND PROMISE TO AND WITH THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, THAT HE THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND HIS HEIRS ALL AND SINGULAR, THE TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, HEREDITAMENTS AND PREMISES, HEREBY GRANTED, WITH THEIR EACH AND EVERY OF THEIR APPURTENANCES, UNTO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, AGAINST HIM THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND HIS HEIRS AND AGAINST ALL AND EVERY OTHER PERSON OR PERSONS WHOMSOEVER CLAIMING OR TO CLAIM, BY, FROM, THROUGH, OR UNDER HIM, THEM OR ANY OF THEM SHALL AND WILL BY THESE PRESENTS WARRANT AND FOREVER DEFEND.

AND THAT HE THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND HIS HEIRS, SHALL AND WILL AT ANYTIME HEREAFTER UPON THE REQUEST OF THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGODR, HIS HEIRS OR ASSIGNS, MAKE, DO, AND EXECUTE OR CAUSE TO BE MADE OR DONE AND EXECUTED ALL SUCH FURTHER OR OTHER ACTS, DEEDS, MATTERS OR THINGS, FOR THE BETTER AND MORE PERFECT GRANTING AND CONFIRMING THE SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND AND PREMISES TO HIM OR THEM AS HE OR THEY OR HIS OR THEIR COUNSEL LEARNED IN THE LAW, SHALL OR MAY REASONABLY DEVISE, ADVISE OR REQUIRE.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, THE SAID PARTIES TO THESE PRESENTS THEIR HANDS AND SEALS HAVE HEREUNTO SET THE DAY AND YEAR FIRST ABOVE WRITTEN.

ROBERT MORRIS (SEAL)

MARY MORRIS (SEAL)

SEALED AND DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF RUFUS KING, AND THOMAS PIKE LATKY.

RECEIVED, THE DAY OF THE DATE OF THE ABOVE WRITTEN INDENTURE OF THE ABOVE NAMED CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, THE FULL CONSIDERATION MONEY ABOVE MENTIONED.

ROBERT MORRIS

WITNESSETH, TO THE SIGNING,

RUFUS KING
THOS. PIKE LATKY

ON THE 28TH. DAY OF MAY A.D. 1790.

BEFORE ME THE SUBSCRIBER ONE OF THE ASSOCIATE JUDGES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS FOR THE COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, NAMED THE ABOVE ROBERT MORRIS AND MARY HIS WIFE, AND IN DUE FORM OF LAW ACKNOWLEDGE THE ABOVE WRITTEN INDENTURE TO BE THEIR ACT AND DEED AND DESIRED THE SAME MAY BE RECORDED AS SUCH. THE SAID MARY VOLUNTARILY CONSENTING THERETO SHE BEING OF FULL AGE SEPARATE AND APART FROM HER SAID HUSBAND, BY ME THEREON EXAMINED AND THE CONTENTS THEREOF MADE KNOWN UNTO HER,

WITNESSETH MY HAND AND SEAL.

REYNOLD KEIN. (SEAL)

MIFFLIN COUNTY: S.S.

ENTERED IN THE OFFICE FOR THE RECORDING OF DEEDS IN AND FOR MIFFLIN COUNTY THE 21ST. DAY OF OCTOBER, A.D. 1797 AND RECORDED IN BOOK D. PAGE - - - -.

CERTIFIED UNDER MY HAND AND SEAL OF OFFICE AT THE BOROUGH OF LEWISTOWN IN AND SAID COUNTY.

SAM EDMISTON. R.C.

LYCOMING COUNTY: SS:

ENTERED IN THE OFFICE FOR THE RECORDING OF DEEDS FOR
LYCOMING COUNTY IN DEED BOOK "B" PAGE - - - - -, THE 28TH. DAY OF
OCTOBER, A.D. 1797.

WITNESS, MY HAND AND SEAL OF OFFICE, THE SAME DAY OF
YEAR

NOT LEGIBLE.

RECORDED: THE 28TH. DAY OF OCTOBER,
1797.

RECORDER:

PER; JOHN SIMPSON

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA



NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY, SS:

I, LESTER ALBRIGHT Recorder of Deeds, Etc., in and for

said County and State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy

of the record of DEED

ROBERT MORRIS, ETUX

TO

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD

so full and entire as the same remains of record in the Recorder's Office in and for said

County in DEED Book No. "K", Page 3

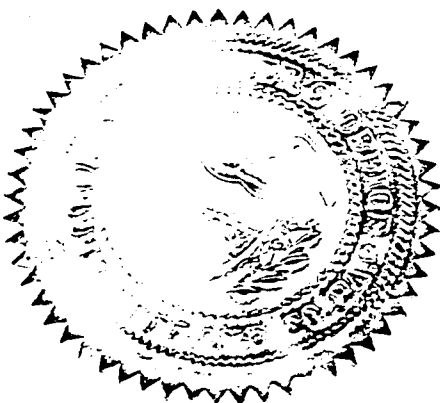
In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my

hand and official seal at Sunbury, Pennsylvania,

this FIRST day of OCTOBER

A. D. 1962.

Lester Albright
Recorder of Deeds



APPENDIX F

ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ & WIFE. #
 D E E D #
 TO #
 CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD. #
 #

THIS INDENTURE, MADE THIS 24TH DAY OF MAY, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1796, BETWEEN, ROBERT MORRIS, OF THE CITY O' PHILADELPHIA, IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA, ESQUIRE, AND MARY HIS WIFE, OF THE ONE PART, AND

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD,

AT PRESENT RESIDING IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, ATT: OF THE OTHER PART.

WITNESSETH: THAT FOR AND IN CONSIDERATION OF THE SUM OF TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND, TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY POUNDS, FIVE SHILLINGS, PENNSYLVANIA CURRENCY, TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, IN HAND PAID BY THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD, AT THE TIME OF OR BEFORE THE EXECUTION OF THESE PRESENTS THE RECEIPT WHEREOF IS HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGED, THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND MARY HIS WIFE, HAVE GRANTED BARGAINED AND SOLD, ALIENED, RELEASED, ENFEOFFED AND CONFIRMED AND BY THESE PRESENTS, DO GRANT, BARGAIN AND SELL, ALIEN, RELEASE, ENFEOFF AND CONFIRM UNTO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEYRAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS,

ALL THOSE TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND FOLLOWING THAT IS TO SAY:

ALL THOSE FIFTY TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN POTTERS TOWNSHIP, IN THE COUNTY OF MIFFLIN AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND, ONE HUNDRED TWENTY ONE ACRES AND THIRTY-TWO PERCHES OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE OF SIX PER CENT FOR ROADS, ETC., WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, GRANTED TO WILLIAM CATHCART, OF THE SAID CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, DR. OF PHYSIC, IN AND BY FIFTY SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS DATED AS FOLLOWS, THAT IS TO SAY, TWENTY-SEVEN OF THEM DATED THE 27TH., TWO MORE THE 29TH. AND ONE MORE THE 30TH. AND ONE MORE THE 31ST, DAY OF JULY LAST AND THE REMAINING NINETEEN, DATED THE THIRD DAY OF AUGUST, AND WHICH SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE STATE AS FOLLOWS:

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27 -- PAGE 74.
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 218
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 219
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 28 -- PAGE 222
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 222
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 214
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 215
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 218
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 228
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 216
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27 -- PAGE 75
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 227
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 217
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 221
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 220
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27 -- PAGE 76
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 224
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 226
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 223
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 221
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27 -- PAGE 76
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27 -- PAGE 72
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 225
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 215

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 223
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 74
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 80
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 78
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 79
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 78
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 72
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 81
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 214
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 77
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 226
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 217
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 219
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 216
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 75
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 71
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 79
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 77
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 225
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 73
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 224
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 73
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 227
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 71
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 27	--	PAGE 80
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 220.

WHICH SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, THE SAID WILLIAM CATHCART, BY INDENTURE DATED THE TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF MAY, INST., UNDER HIS HANDS AND SEALS, DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER:

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE TWENTY-FOUR TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN WASHINGTON TOWNSHIP, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING NINE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY ACRES OR THEREABOUTS, BEING THE SAME, MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, GRANTED TO JEREMIAH PARKER OF THE SAID CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, MERCHANT, IN AND BY TWENTY-FOUR SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS, DATED AS FOLLOWS:

SIX OF THEM THE ELEVENTH, FOUR OF THEM THE 12TH, TWO OF THEM THE THIRTEENTH, ONE OF THEM THE FIFTEENTH, NINE OF THEM THE SIXTEENTH, ONE OF THEM THE SEVENTEENTH, AND ONE OF THEM THE NINETEENTH, DAY OF JUNE, 1795, AND WHICH SAID SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE OFFICE OF ROLLS, FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS:

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 122
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 305
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 377
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 381
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 118
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 121
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 128
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 364
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 120
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26	--	PAGE 119
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25,	PAGE	379
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 375
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 377
PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25	--	PAGE 374

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 124
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 126
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 118
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 129
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 121
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 122
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 129
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 105

WHICH SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER BY HIS INDENTURE DATED THE 13TH DAY OF APRIL, LAST, UNDER HIS HANDS AND SEALS, DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, FOREVER.

AND ALSO ALL, OF THOS TWENTY-FIVE TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN WHITE DEER TOWNSHIP, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING NINE THOUSAND, SEVEN HUNDRED, SEVENTY-SEVEN ACRES OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAID MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCES AS AFORESAID WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA. GRANTED TO THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER IN AND BY TWENTY-FIVE SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS DATED AS FOLLOWS:

FOUR OF THEM DATED THE SIXTEENTH,
 TWO OF THEM DATED THE SEVENTEENTH,
 EIGHTEEN OF THEM DATED THE EIGHTEENTH,
 ONE OF THEM DATED THE NINETEENTH DAYS OF
 JUNE, 1795 AND WHICH SAID SEVERAL PATENTS
 OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE
 ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS:

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 361
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 362
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 101
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 368
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 367
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 103
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 378
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 369
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 363
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 113
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 108
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 100
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 103
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 370
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 101
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 128
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 107
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 110
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 361
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 109
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 106
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 104
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 -- PAGE 368
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 -- PAGE 125,

WHICH SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER BY INDENTURE DATED THE 13TH. DAY OF MAY, INST., UNDER HIS HANDS AND SEALS DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, FOREVER

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE THIRTEEN TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN BALD EAGLE TOWNSHIP, IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING FIVE THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-TWO ACRES AND ONE-QUARTER OF AN ACRE OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID, WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, GRANTED TO THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER IN AND BY THIRTEEN SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS, ONE OF THEM DATED THE SECOND DAY OF APRIL AND THE OTHER TWELVE DATED THE SECOND DAY OF MAY, 1795 AND WHICH SAID SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS,

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 142
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24 - PAGE 433
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 142
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 144
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 144
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 142
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 141
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 141
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24 - PAGE 434
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 181
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24 - PAGE 426
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 143
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 24 - PAGE 433

WHICH SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER BY INDENTURE DATED THE 13TH. DAY OF APRIL, LAST, UNDER HIS HAND AND SEAL, DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER.

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE NINE TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, SITUATE, LYING AND BEING IN LOYALSOCK TOWNSHIP IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, AFORESAID, CONTAINING THREE THOUSAND, SIX HUNDRED AND SIX ACRES OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID, WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, GRANTED TO THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER IN AND BY NINE SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS, SEVEN OF THEM DATED THE ELEVENTH AND TWO THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF JUNE, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY FIVE, AND WHICH SAID SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS FOLLOWS:

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - PAGE 123
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - PAGE 119
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - PAGE 111
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - PAGE 112
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - PAGE 112
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 370
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 369
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - PAGE 120
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - PAGE 376
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER

WHICH SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER BY INDENTURE DATED THE 13TH DAY OF APRIL LAST, UNDER HIS HANDS AND SEAL DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER;

AND ALSO ALL, THOSE SEVEN TRACTS PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND SITUATE LYING AND BEING IN LOYALSOCK TOWNSHIP IN THE COUNTY OF NORTHUMBERLAND, STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA, CONTAINING TWENTY EIGHTYHUNDRED AND EIGHT ACRES OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID,

WHICH THE SAID STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA GRANTED TO THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER IN AND BY SEVERAL SEVEN PATENTS OR GRANTS, TWO OF THEM DATED THE ELEVENTH, TWO THE THIRTEENTH, TWO OF THEM THE FIFTEENTH AND ONE THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF JUNE, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND NINETY FIVE AND WHICH SAID SEVERAL PATENTS OR GRANTS ARE RESPECTIVELY ENROLLED IN THE ROLLS OFFICE FOR THE SAID STATE AS AFORESAID IN;

PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - - PAGE 99
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - - PAGE 381
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - - PAGE 359
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - - PAGE 127
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - - PAGE 307
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 25 - - PAGE 376
 PATENT BOOK, NUMBER 26 - - PAGE 127,

WHICH SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, THE SAID JEREMIAH PARKER BY INDENTURE DATED THE 13TH. DAY OF APRIL, LAST, UNDER HIS HAND AND SEAL, DULY EXECUTED, GRANTED AND CONFIRMED TO THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS FOREVER, THE SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND HEREBY GRANTED, CONTAINING IN THE WHOLE FIFTY-TWO THOUSAND, FIVE HUNDRED AND FOUR ACRES, AND SEVENTY-TWO PERCHES, OR THEREABOUTS, BE THE SAME MORE OR LESS AND ALLOWANCE AS AFORESAID TOGETHER WITH ALL AND SINGULAR, IMPROVEMENTS, WAYS, WOODS, UNDERWOODS, WATERS, WATER COURSES, RIGHTS, LIBERTIES, PRIVILEGES, ADVANTAGES, EMOLUMENTS AND APPURTANCES, WHATSOEVER TO THE HEREBY GRANTED, TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND AND PREMISES BELONGING OR IN ANYWISE APPERTAINING AND THE REVERSIONS, REMAINDERS, RENTS, ISSUES AND PROFITS THEREOF AND ALSO ALL THE ESTATE RIGHT, TITLE, INTEREST, USE, TRUST, PROPERTY, CLAIM AND DEMAND WHATSOEVER, IN LAW, EQUITY OR OTHERWISE, HOWSOEVER OF THEM THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND MARY, HIS WIFE, THEREIN OR THERETO, TO HAVE AND TO HOLD THE SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND, HEREDITAMENTS AND PREMISES, HEREBY GRANTED, WITH THEIR EACH AND EVERY OF THEIR APPURTENANCES UNTO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS TO THE ONLY PROPER USE AND BENEFIT AND BEHOOF OF THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, FOREVER, SUBJECT TO THE RESERVATION MADE IN THE RESPECTIVE PATENTS TO THE SAID COMMONWEALTH OF ONE-FIFTH PART OF ALL GOLD AND SILVER ORE.

AND THE SAID, ROBERT MORRIS DOTH HEREBY FOR HIMSELF, HIS HEIRS, EXECUTORS AND ADMINISTRATORS, COVENANTS AND PROMISE TO WITH THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, THAT HE THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND HIS HEIRS ALL AND SINGULAR THE TRACTS, PIECES AND PARCELS OF LAND, HEREDITAMENTS AND PREMISES HEREBY GRANTED, WITH THEIR EACH AND EVERY OF THEIR APPURTENANCES UNTO THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, AGAINST HIM THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS AND HIS HEIRS AND ALL AND EVERY OTHER PERSON OR PERSONS WHOEVER CLAIMING OR TO CLAIM BY, FROM, THROUGH OR UNDER HIM, THEM, OR ANY OF THEM, SHALL AND WILL BY THESE PRESENTS WARRANT AND FOREVER DEFEND AND THAT HE THE SAID ROBERT MORRIS, HIS HEIRS, SHALL AND WILL AT ANYTIME HEREAFTER, UPON THE REQUEST OF THE SAID CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD, HIS HEIRS AND ASSIGNS, MAKE DO AND EXECUTE OR CAUSE TO BE MADE, DONE AND EXECUTED ALL SUCH FURTHER OR OTHER ACTS, DEEDS, MATTERS OR THINGS FOR THE BETTER AND MORE PERFECT GRANTED AND CONFIRMED THE SAID TRACTS, PIECES OR PARCELS OF LAND AND PREMISES TO HIM OR THEM AS HE OR HIS OR THEIR COUNSEL LEARNED IN THE LAW, SHALL OR MAY REASONABLY DEVISE, ADVICE OR REQUIRE.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, THE SAID PARTIES TO THESE PRESENTS, THEIR HANDS AND SEALS HAVE HEREUNTO SET THE DAY AND YEAR FIRST ABOVE WRITTEN.

ROBERT MORRIS (SEAL)

MARY MORRIS (SEAL)

SIGNED AND DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF RUFUS KING.

THOMAS PIKE LATHYS

RECEIVED OF THE DAY OF THE DATE OF THE ABOVE WRITTEN INDENTURE
OF AND FROM THE ABOVE NAMED CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD
THE FULL CONSIDERATION MONEY ABOVE MENTIONED.

ROBERT MORRIS (SEAL)

WITNESS TO THE SIGNING:

RUFUS KING (SEAL)

THOMAS PIKE LATHY (SEAL)

ON THE 28TH. DAY OF MAY A.D. 1796, BEFORE ME THE SUDSCRIBER OF THE
ASSOCIATE JUDGES, OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS, FOR THE COUNTY OF
PHILADELPHIA, CAME THE WITHIN NAMED ROBERT MORRIS AND MARY, HIS WIFE
AND IN DUE FORM OF LAW, ACKNOWLEDGED THE WITHIN WRITTEN INDENTURE TO
BE THEIR ACT AND DEED AND DESIRED THE SAME MAY BE RECORDED AS SUCH THE
SAID MARY, VOLUNTARLY CONSENTING THERETO, SHE BEING OF FULL AGE, SEPARATE
AND APART FROM HER SAID HUSBAND, BY ME THERON EXAMINED AND THE CON-
TENTS THEREOF FIRST MADE KNOWN UNTO HER.

WITNESS MY HAND AND SEAL:

REGNOLD KEEN (SEAL)

RECORDED: OCTOBER 28, 1797.

COMP:

JON. THOMPSON.

STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA



NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY, SS:

I, LESTER ALBRIGHT Recorder of Deeds, Etc., in and for said County and State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true and correct copy

of the record of DEED - - - -

ROBERT MORRIS, ESQ. & WIFE

TO

CHARLES MAURICE TALLEY-RAND PERIGORD.

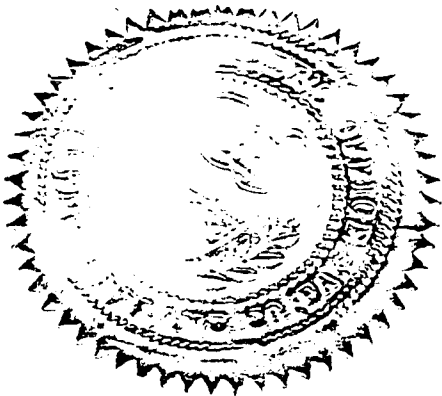
so full and entire as the same remains of record in the Recorder's Office in and for said

County in DEED Book No. "K", Page 5

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and official seal at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, this NINTH day of OCTOBER

A. D. ~~195~~ 1960.

Lester Albright
Recorder of Deeds



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