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Quarterly Publication of the His-
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1915—1917
VOLUMES X—XII



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CINCINNATI, OHIO

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Selections from the Follett Papers, III

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- XXII. JULY 26, 1847, JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

In this issue of the Quarterly is given the third selection of letters from the Oran Follett Manuscript Collection, belonging to the Society. The first selection may be found in Vol. V, No. 2, of the publication; the second in Vol. IX, No. 3. These letters, so far as published, relate largely to the political situation in New York and Ohio during the years, 1830-1847, and are written by active participants in the struggle for the ascendancy of anti-slavery principles.

The letters of the Honorable Joshua Reed Giddings, addressed to Oran Follett, 1843-1847, form the nucleus of this number. While the predominating subject of these is the politics of Ohio, particularly the movements of the Whig party, there are various descriptions of the disturbed condition of the House of Representatives and many suggestive comments upon the actions of his associates that add to their interest.

No effort has been made to supply a historical setting to these, hitherto, unpublished letters, or to insert lengthy annotations regarding the prominent participants, of whom much has been written by historians and biographers. To those active supporters of the anti-slavery movement, of minor importance in that political arena, whose names appear herein, slightly more extended notes are deemed desirable as few references to them are found elsewhere.

L. Belle Hamlin.

I.

ORAN FOLLETT¹ TO V. W. SMITH.²

Sandusky, Feby. 3d, 1842.

My D[ea]r Sir,

Your favor of the 26th ultimo was duly recd, and has been considered in the light in which I doubt not, you desired. My silence could not, under the circumstances, have been considered in the nature of a withdrawal of personal respect or friendship, nor even of a suspension of the obligations of political brotherhood; But only as the result of one of those chances in life which interrupt the current of events, both in morals and physics. It is true, I had become less careful of the course to be pursued by our party in this State, because, 1st, we had the power of the minority only; and, 2dly, because in any event I saw but little chance of getting the good Whig ship fairly before the popular gale again, with a prospect of navigating her safely into port. In short, our counsels were distracted, at home and abroad, and there seemed nowhere lodged a conservative power sufficiently powerful to restore harmony of action, or wisdom in direction.

You will recollect with painful vividness, the course proposed last winter, in which I was called upon by our friends to take an advisory part. You will also recollect that not the least of [the] objects proposed was carried out or attained - even remotely. And you will bear witness how faithfully every consequence predicted to follow a neglect of the precautionary steps recommended, has been realized.

To say nothing of the total neglect to substitute other measures, for those proposed, where, let me ask, is the inducement to persevere? If we had even the poor consolation to be derived from the honest discharge of duty, in attempts to rectify positive mistakes, there would be something left on which to feed a patriotic feeling. But even this is denied us. We are dying as a party³ from the effects of negative causes- at least causes *nega-*

¹ See account of Oran Follett in QUARTERLY, Vol. V. No. 2.

² Probably Victor W. Smith, local ed. of Cincinnati Gazette 1853; associated with the Cin. Commercial 1858 and later.

³ Whig party.

tive to our professed principles- arising, on the one hand, from "stately stupidity" and on the other from faction, from personal love and attachments, and from that ambition which subjects the public good to a test too contracted for public virtue.

Then why place power in the hands of men who do not know how to use it? Why fret and toil through a period of time greater than that occupied in our Revolutionary war, to produce a second Revolution, if its fruits are to be committed to hands so unskilful as to dissipate them in a few brief months?

This, you will say, is fault-finding and no good can come from it. Not so. "History teaching by example." Let the past serve as a reason. We have a new starting point. The wide world lies before us. Who leads? Aye, who?

Thus you will see, though I have ceased to torment myself or my friends with "sage counsel," which cost much precious time in the giving and hearing, I might well do so, in mine own judgment, without subjecting myself to imputations any way personal. I did not know when you returned to your post, only as I guessed it from your labours, or heard of it by accident. And then what could I say? wherein aid? In nothing. The Journal⁴ has been ably directed in its course. The enemy *proper* has been ably handled, with one exception, as I understand it. I did not like your back-track upon resumption. I don't like back-tracks anyhow, and therefore it is that I wish Congress would adjourn before they quite run to the devil, for fear they will take the Country with them.

As to resumption you made a mistake. Resumption, of itself, was popular, and the Jacobins know just enough of Banks and Banking to understand that, *and no more*. What would the effect of immediate resumption be? Merely anticipating a *certain* evil. They (the asses) will not re-charter, nor will they make new Banks. The expiring charters must wind up, there is no help for that. The remaining Banks must curtail, and could do nothing. The expiring Banks *would not* resume either now or in August. If resumption is delayed, the evils of a literally irredeemable currency would be upon us, and its effects would be felt (for good or evil?) in our fall's election. An immediate resumption would hasten the paroxism, but could not aggravate or prevent. Now, let which course be taken that may, you may

^{4,5} State Journal of Columbus, Charles Scott & Co. were proprietors: ed. John Teesdale; supported the Whig party at this time.

be made responsible for the evil, but cannot claim the good that may result, for you have blown hot & cold. Against the evils of the first position taken, the public opinion would have been a shield. Have you not now thrown it away?

You speak in your letter about "the superior judgment and circumspection" of a certain friend. Please put the above lecture down to that account, and be more "circumspect" in your flattery hereafter.

I have been coming or going to Columbus all winter; but ill-health and business has prevented thus far. I am now tied up in watching an important piece of litigation in which I have an interest, executing commissions for taking testimony, &c. I mean to be down soon, upon the 22d if possible. Our friends here are taking no steps to call a county meeting to choose delegates, *and I shall not push them into it*, for good reasons. This hasty scratch is for your own eye.

Yours truly,

O. Follett.

Respects to Scott & other friends.

II.

V. W. SMITH TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Syracuse, July 22, 1843.

My Dear Sir:—

Yours of the 8th inst. was received in due course of mail, but I have no very satisfactory excuse for not answering it with more promptness. My engagements here are as engrossing as they have ever been anywhere, yet that is hardly sufficient to account for neglect of correspondents. But no matter. You speak of the anxiety of our friends at Columbus to have you take hold of the Journal. I can well appreciate their anxieties on the subject and have only to say that you must act in the premises without any reference to me, or my supposed claims or wishes of mine. You surprise me by the statement that Scott's^d expenses have exceeded his income. I take it that it could not have been on that ground, that he thought his establishment worth 5,000 dolls, more than he asked for it a few months before. But you are on the spot and can best judge what it is best to do, and what you ought to do. One thing I must say, that your

light has been hidden under a bushel too long, and ought in future to be permitted to shine. If we were in the concern together, as I have suggested once before, the services of a foreman for which Scott pays his brotherinlaw \$600, can be dispensed with. It is a labor I can perform and still find several hours each day in which to do up small work in. There is another thing that might be done, if the Whigs have the spirit to carry the State this fall. That is to give you the office of State Treasurer. That old *Lummax*⁶ from Lebanon has had it long enough without making the slightest return to the Whigs for it. It is a place he has found the means of getting rich upon. Its duties are light and you would have plenty of time for private labor. If I am in Columbus, I know I could talk the matter up for you. If you think this an object worth waiting for, it will preclude an arrangement with Scott, until after the election.

I am exchanging with some dozen Ohio papers, and perceive that the spirit is rising and good. I think you must carry the State- that is a majority in the House. As to the Liberty⁷ men you are right in regarding the leaders as a gang of mercenary, corrupt scamps, whose only object is office. We must keep the weather-gage of them by avowing all that is right in their creed as Whig doctrine, and endeavoring to satisfy the honest portion of the rank and file that we are with them as far as is reasonable or practicable. There are a majority of Whigs without them but it imposes upon us more labor to get them out, than if there was no third party.

You will see by the Alb[any] Eve[ning] Jour[nal] that Weed⁸ has been to see O'Connell.⁹ I have no doubt that O'Connell will be suitably impressed by him, Bishop Hughes¹⁰ and others, as to the state of affairs on this side of the Atlantic, and that the "Liberator"¹¹ will be stimulated to denounce slavery here more

⁶ Joseph Whitehill, 1786-1861; resident of Lebanon, later of Columbus; Mem. of Legislature 1830-2 and 1834; Treasurer of State 1834-46. A man of ability and greatly respected. Cf. *History of Warren Co., Ohio*, by Josiah Morrow.

⁷ Liberty or 3d party.

^{8,10} Refers to visit to England by Thurlow Weed and Archbishop John Hughes of New York, and a meeting with Daniel O'Connell. Cf. *Life of Thurlow Weed*, Vol. II, p. 102.

¹¹ Newspaper pub. in Boston, known as the "Garrison paper", established 1831 by William Lloyd Garrison, attacking the institution of slavery for 34 years. Cf. *Journalism in the United States*, by Frederic Hudson.

vehemently than ever. The Loco Foco hold upon the Irish is crumbling away in this State. The Whigs will ultimately get their votes- particularly in the interior. In this village we get a majority of them. I never permit myself to despond about anything. I say by next year the Whigs will take their places in battle array, with the best prospects. They will rise like a lion in his lair. Their present apathy and repose are only qualifying them for more resistless efforts. I never saw the spirit of disorganization so rife as it is at present in the Loco Foco party of this State. Three fourths of the intelligent men of the party consider it a false step to have Van Buren brought forward for a re-election. The Whigs here are as ready to contest the ground against him as any other man. Gov[ernor] Briggs¹² (that is to be) was here this morning and says he was told by a Van Buren member of congress, elect, in an east part of the State, on his way up, that he suggested that Van Buren was to be the candidate, and he greatly feared the result, that he would probably lose the State of New York. They must fight this winter in Congress from the start. Calhoun¹³ will not willingly surrender the Speaker- he will not vote for the Globe¹⁴ for printer, and then the Van Buren¹⁵ section have got to stand up to the rack on the tariff. I tell you they must split in two.

I see the Whigs of the Steubenville District have made a judicious nomination for Congress- one they will carry. What folly it was for the whigs at Columbus to get out Ridgway¹⁶ before the Loco Focos had made their nomination. They have thus driven McNulty off the course, when he was the easiest man to run under. That only shows how much they want a manager among them.

Don't forget to write with more alacrity than I have done.

¹² George N. Briggs of Mass.

¹³ John C. Calhoun.

¹⁴ Francis Preston Blair and John C Rives, editors of the "Globe", the organ of Jackson; subsequently of Van Buren; opposed to Calhoun. Cf. Hudson's *Journalism in the U. S.*

¹⁵ Martin Van Buren.

¹⁶ Joseph Ridgway of Franklin Co., O.; Mem. of Legislature; M. C. 1837-1843.

III.

JAMES A. BRIGGS¹⁷ TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Cleveland, July 26, 1843.

O. Follett, Esq.,

Dear Sir:

You are aware that in this District the Whigs must soon make a nomination for Congress; and as I presume that you are generally acquainted with the views, opinions & interests of the Whigs of this State, and the policy most likely to prove beneficial to them, I would respectfully ask your views as to the policy of the Whigs putting the Hon. J. R. Giddings¹⁸ in nomination & returning him again to Congress.

It seems to me that it is the best policy of the Whigs in this District to nominate Mr. Giddings]. I think it would give us the abolition vote of the District, and exert a good influence throughout the State. By so doing we make no sacrifice of any principle, or any measures, as Mr. Giddings] is a Whig, and a Clay man, and one who it seems to me will do us much good *on the stump* next year.

¹⁷ James A. Briggs was a nephew of Gov. Briggs of Mass. He was born in 1811; graduate of Williams College; served an apprenticeship of three years on the Vermont Gazette; settled in Cleveland, O., 1833; Aid-de-camp to Gov. Corwin, 1841; Commissioner for Massachusetts in Ohio in 1842. He was a Whig, active in support of Henry Clay, attended the Buffalo convention of 1848; opposed to Chase for U. S. Senator. Editor of the True Democrat, Cleveland, for several years; Auditor of Cuyahoga County. In 1860 Gov. Denison appointed him Transfer agent for Ohio in New York, which occasioned his removal to that city the following year. During the Lincoln campaign he made numerous speeches for the National Republican Committee and was considered an impressive orator. He was a frequent contributor to various newspapers under signatures, Quevedo, Huon, and others. In 1870 and for many years after was the financial editor of the New York Tribune, previously, being special agent for the U. S. Treasury Dept., and in 1873, State Assessor for New York. *Data from scrap-books*, formerly belonging to Mr. Briggs, now the property of the Western Reserve Hist. Society of Cleveland, for which we are indebted to the Director of that Society. See also, Smith, T. C., *Liberty and Free Soil Parties of the Northwest*.

¹⁸ Joshua Reed Giddings, statesman; born 1795, Athens, Pa., came with his parents to Ohio; was in an expedition against the Sandusky Indians, 1812. Elected to Ohio Legislature 1826; to U. S. Congress 1838, serving in all twenty years. Died in 1864 at Montreal where he was U. S. Consul-general. For further account see Julian, G. W. *Life of Joshua Reed Giddings*.

By giving me your opinions, and the opinions of the Whigs of Ohio, as far as you know them, you will much oblige

Yours truly, and respectfully,

James A. Briggs.

IV.

ORAN FOLLETT TO JAMES A. BRIGGS.

My Dr Sir,

Sandusky, 9th Aug. 1843.

I have your favor of the 26th July before me, recd by this evening's mail, asking "my views as to the policy of the Whigs putting the Hon. J. R. Giddings in nomination, and returning him again to Congress."

My impression in relation to such matters, is, that each District is the best able to judge for itself, in ordinary cases. And you know how ungrateful it is to the friends of rival Candidates, to have strangers putting their fingers in their affairs. Influenced by these considerations, when in your District some time ago at the instance of our State Central Committee, I forbore saying much on the subject *save to the Candidates and their immediate friends*. I thought this fair, and the only course to pursue among friends. I was of the impression then, and so expressed myself, that the nomination of Mr. Giddings would go far toward breaking up the *selfish* organization of the 3d party, on the Reserve, and would do good generally. I have seen nothing to change my views; and as a true Whig I feel bound to declare my opinion where the interests of the party may be concerned. The general opinion among our friends at the South is in accordance with this.

I am satisfied with the political character of Mr. Giddings, or I could not for a moment entertain the notion of his nomination by our friends. We now want men who are Whigs *first* & Whigs *last*—undoubted and unhesitating Whigs, for we have got to go through a fearful trial in the next two years. All things else being equal, it would give great satisfaction to the Whigs of the State generally, to see *Father Hitchcock*¹⁹ in Congress.

¹⁹ Peter Hitchcock, 1780-1853. In 1806 removed from Connecticut to Geauga Co., O.; elected to Gen. Assembly 1810; State Sen. 1812-1816; M. C. 1817-19; Judge of Supreme Court of Ohio many years and Chief Justice a portion of the time. Again Mem. of State Senate, of which he was twice president; Delegate to the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, 1850.

He is or was named as a candidate. There is a blunt straightforwardness in him, that inspires confidence. But will his nomination tend to quiet or break up the 3d party organization? You must ask yourselves this question, and answer it too. We must get rid of this 3d party somehow; and you know how hard it will be for the Whigs to organize against *them* and the Locofocos²⁰ too.

My opinions are frankly given, for your personal gratification. I have written in great haste, being obliged to leave for the South in the morning, and I am in the midst of preparation.

Very truly, yours &c.

J. A. Briggs, Esq.,
Cleveland.

O. F.

V.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson July 18, 1843

My Dear Sir

Yours of the 8th found me confined with the prevailing epidemic. I am now but barely able to sit up. I cannot speak with much certainty as to the prospect of my nomination. There is a very strong opposition to me at Cleveland and Judge Hitchcock is anxious to obtain it. I regard the result as doubtful though perhaps the preponderance is in my favor.

You ask the expression of my views as to the course we ought to pursue after the election. My opinion on this point is fully expressed in the articles signed "Pacificus".²¹ (I send you a copy in pamphlet form for your own convenience.)

To what is there said I would add, that I think our Whig press should speak of the Liberty party with kindness so far as possible, avoiding all harshness of expression and all personalities. Treating their policy as unwise and destructive, although it be honest and well intended. Our course should be steady and uniform at all times. So fast as we can bring our Whig papers and Politicians to come out boldly and avow the doctrines of a full and frank maintainance [sic] of all our rights of the free States, we shall approximate toward a Union. If the Whig

²⁰ Name applied to the Democratic party.

²¹ Essays pub. in the "Western Reserve Chronicle" (Ohio), after the election of 1842. Cf. *App.* to *Life of Joshua R. Giddings* by Julian.

portion of our Legislature at the coming session can be brought to pass resolutions declaring our right to be free and exempt from the institution of slavery, I shall then hope for our party in '44, although we may lose the election this fall.

Our State Journal²² should lead off gradually as it has done, calmly and quietly taking its position on this question, without any impassioned or high seasoned articles. Stating them to be as they really are the doctrines of the south to which we yield assent and hold to their application both for and against the people of the north as well as of the south.

But my dear Sir, I am unable to write

With great respect

Your Obt sevt.

J. R. Giddings

O. Follett, Sandusky City, O.

P. S. Our prospects here for a general union are far better than when I saw you and such too is the case in Trumbull

VI.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Cleveland July 27, 1843

My Dear Sir

I am now at this place. I regret that Mr Allen²³ is from home. I addressed the citizens last evening and at their request shall address them again this evening.

There is much of the right kind of spirit now existing among our friends. They all appear willing to step on to the strict line of our constitutional rights and to *maintain* that position. And the Liberty men appear to be somewhat satisfied with that feeling. I am inclined to the opinion that it will all go smoothly with us, but of course cannot speak except from present appearances. I feel somewhat anxious to know what the prospect is

²² See Note 4.

²³ John W. Allen, 1802-1887. Born in Litchfield, Conn.; settled in Cleveland, O., in 1825; lawyer; the Village president 1831-35; Mayor of the city 1841; Ohio Senator 1835; M. C. 1836-41; of the Whig party. In later years president of the C. C. & C. R. R. and incorporator of several other railroads; also, president of the Cleveland Society for Savings and Postmaster of the city. Cf. Kennedy's *Hist. of Cleveland*.

in your district. Cannot our friends there nominate yourself or some man who will step forth boldly and declare his intention and desire to maintain and support all the rights of the free people of the free States? And thus take from the Liberty men all the ground on which they now stand? If you will do that I think you may succeed for I find the Liberty men more yielding than they have been heretofore, and by bringing what influence we can to bear upon them, I believe they may be brought to sustain a Whig of that character. Please let me hear from you.

With great respect

O Follett,
Sandusky City, Ohio.

J R Giddings

VII.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson Aug 4, 1843

My Dear Sir

Since my return from Cleveland I have seen many of the 3rd party Leaders in this and Lake County. The spirit of union is on the increase among them. I think we shall unite in this County upon all except Rep[resentative] in Congress, and should I be the Candidate they will probably support me, but they express some fears as to Judge Hitchcock²⁴- who will be the Whig candidate if I am defeated and there is a strong hostility in Cuyahoga which will quite likely defeat my nomination.

I saw several gentlemen at Cleveland from Lorain County, one of whom is a strong abolitionist. He assured me that most of the 3rd party there would go for Mr. Hamlin²⁵ of Elyria, and he thought they would support any man whose feelings on the subject of northern rights were known to be correct. I cannot but hope that you will unite on some Whig so as to elect him. Our people here are becoming awake as to the election and if we unite we shall probably poll a heavy vote. I am anxious to carry the Legislature.

With great respect

Your obt servt

[O. Follett, Sandusky City, Ohio.]

J R Giddings

²⁴ Peter Hitchcock. see Note 19.

²⁵ Edward Stowe Hamlin of Lorain Co., O. had been an unsuccessful Whig candidate for 26th Congress. See later note, 42.

VIII.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City Jany. 10, 1844

My Dear Sir

My opinion is that Corwin²⁶ will be as strong a man as can be brought out for our candidate. We shall have trouble with the Liberty party I expect, let who will run, but Corwin will bring out more of our men than almost any one else. Todd²⁷ will be a hard Candidate to beat, and we should prepare to meet them with every advantage of which we can avail ourselves.

We have finally passed one bill,²⁸ that is to refund the fine assessed upon Genl Jackson after spending some \$50,000 of the peoples money. Our opponents have trouble. We let them [do?] just as they please with the Tariff and they dare not meddle with it. They show quite a favorable disposition in regard to internal improvements and dare not mention the *gag*. The Whigs are managing to the best advantage. I never saw our party's conduct as much in accordance with true policy as at this session. We force upon them questions on which they cannot and dare not act together, and we create much heart-burnings with them. The southern men have become disgusted with their "northern allies", Mr A V Brown²⁹ of Tennessee said to-day in a public speech that he knew and had long known the views of Mr Adams³⁰ & myself, but he had not expected that northern democrats were deceiving them, under pretence of friendship while they were in fact abolitionists.

With great respect

Your Obt svt

O Follett Esq
Columbus, Ohio

J R Giddings

²⁶ Thomas Corwin. See QUARTERLY, Vol. IX, No. 3.

²⁷ David Tod, 1805-1868. Elected by Democrats to Ohio Senate 1838; Defeated for Governor 1844; U. S. Minister to Brazil 1847-52; elected Governor in 1861.

²⁸ Bill passed 1844 for reimbursing the fine imposed upon General Andrew Jackson by Judge D. A. Hall, at New Orleans 1815.

²⁹ Aaron V. Brown of Tenn., M. C. 1839-43.

³⁰ John Quincy Adams.

IX.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City April 14, 1844

My Dear Sir

Permit me to thank you for the very appropriate resolutions reported by you at the meeting in your city and adopted by the meeting in regard to Texas annexation. They breathe the right spirit and approximate nearer to the ground which I think we should occupy than any others I have seen.

The treaty is signed as you see by the papers and the Spectator, the Calhoun organ announces that within thirty days it will be approved and Texas will be a part of this Union. I think our papers have touched the subject too lightly. Nothing will save us from annexation and dissolution except bold and determined ground. The days for forbearance and silence have passed. We should act and speak promptly. I have the most solemn assurance from *high* sources that the treaty will not be approved, but the subject will be pressed by the South with all the determination that can characterise a desperate party, and the northern Twofacers will aid them, though I feel confident they cannot carry all that party.

The prospect of Whig success still continues and increases almost daily.

Yours

J R Giddings

O Follett Esq

X.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington City May 12, 1844

My Dear Sir

Since the adjournment of the house I have found a copy of the book which you wish. I will get it enveloped and franked to you in the morning, as the weight is beyond my privilege.

If our people would place the matter of annexation in the light which you do it would have a much greater effect. I dislike to hear our people of the north talk of *dissolving the Union*. It sounds harsh to the great mass of the people, and they regard the subject entirely different from what they would were we to

place the fact of dissolution at the door of those who advocate annexation. That doctrine too would be the true and correct view of the act of annexation. I was aware that some of the meetings in my district and some in Mass[achusetts] take this ground, but I felt that you had very happily expressed yourself in the resolutions passed by your people.

This question of annexation is not yet put at rest. It is the determination of southern men to press it until they succeed, and nothing can save us but our firmness. They have resorted to the old Missouri plan of threatening to dissolve the Union if we do not submit to the annexation. This you will see by the Spectator and other Calhoun papers.

Mr Clay³¹ will carry out the sentiments expressed in his letter, and I am satisfied he will to the extent of his power maintain the Constitutional rights of the free as well as the slave States. Of this I am more satisfied than I ever was before.

The whole question in regard to slavery depends on the result of this annexation of Texas. The southern papers all declare that to be the great question of life and death with slavery. If they do not obtain Texas as a place to transfer their slaves, they will soon be compelled to give up the institution and surrender to the voice of the civilized world.

It would therefore seem that ever[y] abolitionist and every antislavery man would lend his whole aid in defeating that abominable plan, and I think the great mass of them will do so, yet I expect that some will have become so far lost to every consideration but that of a separate political organization that they will adhere to that plan until they find that the Whigs have done the work and reaped the glory while they were getting up a political party.

You see the democracy are in a most wonderful *fix*. There is great doubt whether they will push Van Buren off the track or not. The Southern democrats are fully of the opinion that he is not the man to carry out their plans. They have therefore determined to cast him off, and Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois appear inclined to go with them. The others are unwilling to surrender him up at the caprice of the slaveholding portion of their party. May their Dissentions be *perpetual*.

Very respectfully

O Follett Esq

J. R. Giddings

³¹ Henry Clay.

XI.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Private

Hall of Rep June 6, 1844

My Dear Sir

The Locos are putting forth every possible effort- they *bray* and endeavor to frighten our Whigs. At the south they are trying to ride upon the Texas bubble and are working up the people to a spirit of madness in favor of Texas annexation. And I am sorry to say they are actually frightening many of our friends at the South and I am compelled to say at the north also. It is a lamentable truth my Dear Sir that our members do not in my opinion meet the great question of annexation as becomes the Rep[resentative]s of a free people. We sat in silence and listened to six speeches in favor of annexation, four of which put the policy of annexation distinctly upon the *perpetuation of slavery*. Yet, Sir, I could find no northern Whig willing to meet them. I was therefore compelled to put forth my humble efforts in the speech²² of which I send you a copy. In it I endeavoured to touch upon the important points which I thought our northern whigs ought to maintain, yet that eternal delicacy and diffidence with which we of the north have been so long cursed still haunts the minds of our whigs.

This is the rock on which we are in danger of splitting. If we dodge these important questions which place our opponents in the real *servile* attitude which they occupy I think we shall incur the danger of defeat. I think our people in all their meetings should express their views upon annexation. Our press too should march up to the work. Our Candidates for Gov[ernor], for all other officers should be closely interrogated, make them say whether they will under any circumstances consent to unite with Texas giving to them an influence commensurate with the number of their slaves? And we should put forth as much effort and exhibit as much zeal in favor of Liberty as those of the south do in behalf of slavery. I think our State Central Com[mittee] should attend to this subject and recommend to our friends to be vigilant and active on this point.

Please give me your views. We have passed a resolution to adjourn on the 17th. With great respect

O Follett, Esq

Your Obt svt

J R Giddings

²² Speech upon the annexation of Texas, delivered May 21, 1844.

XII.

STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF WHIGS AND ORAN FOLLETT, EDITOR OF JOURNAL TO HENRY CLAY.

State Central Com[mittee] Room,
Columbus, O. Aug. 1844.

D[ea]r Sir,

It has occurred to us, since reading your letter³³ to Messrs. Jackson and Peters, under date of July 27, published in the Tuscumbia North Alabamian, and after witnessing to some extent the impression made by it upon the public sentiment, that it was highly expedient for us to communicate with you on the subject, alt[hough it] cannot be disguised from ourselves, nor should we attempt to disguise it from you, that the effect in this quarter is not happy.

You of course know enough of the public feeling both in this State and New York, to be satisfied, that the only hope of the Whigs in carrying them, is, in largely neutralizing the vote that ordinarily would be given for the 3rd party candidates. The impressions created by the reading of that letter, materially affects the efforts of our friends in that direction. We would not be understood ourselves as having any difficulty in reconciling all you have there said, with your previous letters. But, from one cause and another, all are not able to do so.

Without wishing to control your discretion, it has occurred to us to suggest whether, in your correspondence with some of our discreet friends in N. York, (Mr. Fillmore,³⁴ for instance,) you could not so express yourself on Annexation, without particular allusion to any moving cause for such renewed expression, so as to leave the impression distinctly upon the public mind, unmixed with individual preferences or opinion, of what would be your course in case of your election. We may be mistaken. But, under present appearances, we feel inclined to think that such a step would be highly useful, and may become necessary. If such a letter were written, at as early date as convenient, its use might safely be entrusted to such a man as Mr. Fillmore,

³³ The famous Alabama letter containing statement that he should "be glad to see Texas annexed . . . on honorable terms" which sentiment seemed to many to be directly opposed to his previous opposition to the annexation.

³⁴ Millard Fillmore.

who would correctly judge of the propriety of bringing it before the public, and the time when it should be done.

We have great satisfaction in assuring you of our full conviction of being able to carry this State for the Whig Ticket throughout; and should no change take place in the current of public sentiment, there can be no reasonable doubt of the result.

With renewed expressions of our confidence,

We remain, Dear Sir,

Very truly, Your obdt. serts., &c.

(Signed by most of the Central Com'e, and by
O. Follett, as Edr. Jour.)³⁵

To-

Hon. H. Clay,

Lexington. (The letter afterwards pub. in the Nat[ional]
[Intel[igencer] was the consequence.)³⁶

XIII.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson Nov 14, 1844

My Dear Sir

A man by the name of Davis of Columbiana County expects to attend at Washington during the coming session as a letter writer. He would like to write for you. I would say that I have some acquaintance with him. He spent one winter there in that business. He is a straight forward Quaker, will [tell?] you accurately what is going on and in Quaker language. He writes very well and I think will give satisfaction to those who employ him.

I suppose the die is cast, The story is told, We are defeated after a most animated conflict, yet we derive some consolation from the reflection that Ohio has maintained her political integrity while so many of our states on whom we relied have been led captive by "Polk, Texas, and eternal slavery."

The boldness with which we met that issue saved us. Had New York & P[ennsylvania] met it as frankly and as resolutely as we did they would have carried the vote for Clay. But our friends there evaded that issue when pressed upon them by

³⁵ This letter is drafted in the handwriting of Oran Follett.

³⁶ Letter of Mr. Clay to the editors of the National Intelligencer, Sept. 23, 1844, explanatory of the seeming inconsistency in his views as expressed.

their opponents, and the consequence may prove fatal to the Union. God grant that it may not. It appears to me that only one hope is left to our Whigs, and that is to meet promptly all attempts to encroach upon the rights of the free states by annexing Texas or otherwise. I hope our Whigs will meet their responsibility in our Legislature as becomes them. Let them give us Banks at once, pass strong resolutions against Texas, repeal our odious black Laws, and leave the Locos to oppose those measures.

Yours

O. Follett, Esq., Columbus, Ohio.

J R Giddings

XIV.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson Nov 18, 1844

My Dear Sir

I am greatly pleased with your Editorial "to the Whigs of Ohio" Your views and policy I regard as correct. We can only save ourselves by a firm and unhesitating *support* of all our Constitutional rights.

The question of slavery has been forced upon us by the Locos. If we attempt to evade the question, or if we quail before it we shall be lost irretrievably. It was the prompt manner in which we met this question in Ohio that saved us from the sad defeat into which our Liberty friends have precipitated New York and the nation, for it is to them that Mr. Clay's defeat may be attributed. Our Tariff is as much an antislavery measure as the rejection of Texas. So is the subject of internal improvements and the distribution of the proceeds of the public Lands. The advocates of perpetual slavery oppose all of them, they regard them as opposed to the interests of slavery. That party hold it as a cardinal principle that slavery must be maintained even at the sacrifice of every other interest. Now all these interests must be maintained together or they will all go down together, and Texas will be annexed. I regard the subject as perfectly plain and obvious. If Texas be annexed all our rights of the north will of course be trampled in the dust. On this point I hope you will speak plainly. I go with Gov[erno]r Slade³⁷

³⁷ Governor William Slade of Vermont, M. C. 1831-43; elected Governor 1844.

in full. I regard the attempts of the federal to unite Ohio and Texas as unauthorised, and should Congress pass a law to that effect that Law would be void and in my opinion should be resisted by our State. I deem it important that this view should be taken of it. It is the formation of a new union with Texas that must itself dissolve our present compact. Our position therefore is in favor of our present Union and against its dissolution. Should it be dissolved however we ought not for an instant to think of again entering into another Union with Texas or with the slaveholding states. If you agree with me on this point you will aid those who will take this distinct ground by informing your readers on the subject. We shall have hard fighting and it is therefore important that those who possess the requisite firmness to stand forth boldly. If Texas be annexed it will probably be done at the coming session, provided one or two Whig senators can be purchased or instructed into the measure.

With great respect

Your obt servt

O. Follett Esq.,
Columbus, Ohio.

J R Giddings

XV.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Hall of Rep[resentative]s Feby 18, 1845

My Dear Sir

It is time that every friend of our Country was looking forward to the coming campaign and the approaching crisis. We think that Texas will be annexed at this session. If any law pass it will be left for the next Congress to ratify and in any event the *repeal of the Union* thus formed will hereafter form the point on which parties must & will rally their forces. The longer we hesitate in meeting this question fully the more strength we loose. Indeed, if our friends in New York had met it as the principal issue at the last election Mr. Clay would now have been elected Pres[ident]. In short, sir, it seems that our duty requires us to put forth every possible effort to save our country and in so doing to save our party. You are probably aware that the anti annexation Convention in Mass[achusetts] has in effect united many of the Locos and most of the Liberty men

with the Whigs. Such would undoubtedly be the case in Ohio could we call a Convention of those who are opposed to annexation. Let the call be *without distinction of party*. In that case it will be opposed by Medary³⁸ and the barnburners,³⁹ while the moderate and thinking portion of the party will be with us and all of the Liberty men.

The object of my present communication is to suggest to you the propriety of consulting our friends and if approved that you put forth an article through your columns to the people of the State and bide the response of the press. We should hold it at an early day as it is desired to hold a national Convention as early as the 4th July. At each of those Conventions able addresses should be published and the attention of the people of the States called to the question.

Now Sir I regard this as the crisis of our Country and of parties. The old issues are given up and cannot be made the line of separation in New York or in P[ennsylvania]. If we seize this issue with energy we may save both. The north cannot be carried for it. It must destroy the Locos if we press it upon them. I beg your attentive consideration to it.

Very truly

O Follett

J R Giddings

XVI.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

(Confidential) Hall of Rep[resentative]s March 1, 1845
My Dear Sir

I have read yours of the 25th ult. with great interest. We appointed a Committee early in the session to draw up an address but a part of these were southern men and they fear that we shall take too strong ground against slavery and the result is that we shall send out no general Circular but each goes to his constituents prepared to act on general principles against that institution, and against Texas. I intend to address my Constituents and so will others. As to Mr Vinton⁴⁰ I will

³⁸ Samuel Medary, State Printer, editor and proprietor of the Ohio Statesman 1837-53 with the exception of several months in 1846.

³⁹ Term applied to Anti-slavery Democrats.

⁴⁰ Samuel F. Vinton of Ohio, M. C. 1823-37; 1843-51.

say to you that he and Mr Vance⁴¹ are Politicians of a former day when it was held an evidence of a want of political orthodoxy to resist the slaveholding power. He is an excellent man but not suited to this subject.

I should be willing to entrust the matter with yourself entirely to write the address. I will aid you if I can do so by furnishing you my views in full, for to this subject I am prepared to devote my time and talents. I am in the midst of the most perfect confusion & scarcely know what I write.

Very truly

O. Follett Esq

J R Giddings

XVII.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson June 2, 1845

My Dear Sir

In the course of last winter I became acquainted with Mr Hamlin⁴² of Elyria who I believe is also personally known to

⁴¹ Joseph Vance of Ohio, M. C. 1821-35; 1843-74; elected Governor of Ohio by Whigs 1836.

⁴² Edward Stowe Hamlin, 1808-1894, of New England parentage; settled in Elyria, Ohio, 1830; prosecuting attorney 1833-35; nominated by Whigs candidate for the 28th Congress, was unsuccessful but elected to the 29th (1844), receiving many Liberty votes. Cf. Philanthropist, Nov. 8, 1843. In 1846 he established the True Democrat which he edited for a year or more. As an anti-slavery Whig he attended the Liberty party convention for the Northwest, Chicago, 1846, where he "spoke for Ohio with liberality and good sense, holding to his Whiggery, but avoiding anything that could rasp his Liberty audience." Cf. Smith, T. C. *Liberty and Free Soil Parties of the Northwest*. This author describes the aid given by him to Chase and the Democrats in the Ohio Legislature of 1849. *Ibid.* pp. 165-175. He drafted the somewhat famous instrument signed by Townsend, Morse, and others, in which the contracting parties agreed to vote for the Democratic nominees to all State offices provided they would vote for Salmon P. Chase for U. S. Senator. Previously Riddle, Lee, and other ex-Whigs had entered into a deal with the Taylor men in regard to the offices, hoping to secure their support later on for the election of a U. S. Senator. Cf. *Ibid.*

The Ohio Standard, Columbus, was established as a Free Soil paper by E. S. Hamlin and I. Garrard, 1848; subsequently, 1854, the former assumed control of the Columbian, Columbus. Member of the Free Soil convention in Buffalo, 1848, and one of the Committee on Resolutions. Served three years as president of the Board of Public Works of Ohio, and by special act of the Legislature, was attorney for the State to arrange the water leases of the

yourself. From his letters to the Cleveland Herald and some other writings of his I formed a very favorable opinion of his talents as a writer, and often spoke with him upon the subject of being employed as an Editor. I again saw him last week and again suggested the same thing to him, and he informed me that he was not now employed in any other business than that of his profession and that he would have no particular objections to editing a paper. Can you inform me where there is a suitable opening for him? If you do [sic] will you please inform me when convenient?

O Follett Esq

Very respectfully

J R Giddings

XVIII.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson July 7, 1845

My Dear Sir

Enclosed I send you a copy of a letter rec[eive]d from Com[mitte]e of Correspondence appointed by the Meeting at Faneuil Hall in July last.

I am far less acquainted with the public sentiment in the southern & middle portion of the State than you are, and I would feel under obligations to you if you would give me your views upon the questions propounded. I judge from the character of the men who lead the public mind in Mass[achusetts] that they mean what they say and will carry out whatever they undertake. The movement will probably be made in good faith if made at all and the resolutions of their Legislature to "submit to no undelegated powers," will be observed.

With great respect

Your obt sert

O Follett Esq

J R Giddings

canals. Declined the appointment of Attorney-General of Ohio. Planned several canals and railroads in Ohio, and was the attorney for the Cincinnati, Indianapolis & Lafayette R. R. for a number of years. Later his various projects took him to Virginia. For further accounts see Hart's *Chase*; Townsend's *Account of the 47th General Assembly of Ohio, 1848-9*, in *Mag. of Western History*, V. 6, p. 623; also, *Letters of Salmon P. Chase* (45 in number) to Edward S. Hamlin, in *American Hist. Association Annual Report, 1902*, Vol. II.

XIX.

COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE FOR THE WHIG
CONVENTION OF MASSACHUSETTS, 1845, TO
JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

Sir,

Boston, June 25, 1845.

The convention of Massachusetts opposed to the annexation of Texas which was held in Faneuil Hall on the 29th January appointed a committee of correspondence in whose behalf we address you.

By the appointment of such a committee it was the design of the Convention to provide for immediate communication with the opponents of Annexation in this and in other States as soon as any emergency should be deemed to require a general consultation. The passage of the joint Resolutions providing for the admission of Texas as a new State into the union upon terms which if they should be accepted by Texas will await only the legislative action of the Congress carried into effect, furnishes the occasion upon which we shall be expected to commence the performance of our duties.

In view of this proceeding of Congress we take it for granted that you agree with us that the constitution has been violated, that the reserved rights of the States and the People have been interfered with and subverted & that a compact with a foreign nation for an unconstitutional object has been undertaken in a mode in which the treaty making power cannot be exercised. We presume that you will estimate as we do the design and effect of the measure, that you feel the blow which has been aimed at the rights of the Free States, that you will foresee the political consequences which must result from all the preponderance of the Slave-holding States in the Senate, & from the unlimited extension of the rights of representation in the House of Representatives and electoral Colleges, and in such an attempt to increase to an incalculable extent & to prolong for an indefinite [time?] all the evils of slavery you will discern a sure prognostic of National degeneracy & disgrace.

If the Annexation [of] Texas was already consummated, if it did not necessarily await the further action of Congress, if the voice of the people might not yet be heard in remonstrance against it, we should feel that we could only consider and ask you to consider the last alternative of submission to a violated

Constitution and the will of the violaters or an effort to obtain at whatever hazard that constitutional guaranty of liberty unaltered- with slavery which alone can secure to the country of our Fathers the spirit of and substance, and not merely a form of Republican Government. But the work is not wholly done. It is yet in the power of Congress to retrace its steps, and the mortifying fact that the country has been brought into its present dangerous position by the votes of the Representatives of the free States makes it certain that the People of the free States if they will only now arouse themselves & act together & instruct their Representatives how it is in their power to preserve the constitution & the union inviolate. We make it our first duty therefore to appeal to them for this object, and implore them to consider the magnitude of the issue [which] they must decide. With this short explanation of our views and purposes we take the liberty of addressing you for the sake of asking your advise and cooperation. We desire to be informed of the present state of opinion & feeling in your State & to receive all the suggestions in regard to a course of immediate and general action throughout the free States, which you may be pleased to communicate to us. If it be practicable, we deem it important for an arrangement to be made for holding a series of popular conventions, in which the subject in all its aspects can be fully discussed, and which will afford to the people an opportunity, in the most suitable and effectual manner, to declare their will & exhibit their spirit and strength. We wish also to secure the aid of the Press throughout the free States, in favour of the cause & of whatever movement may be resolved upon. As much as this must be done, if anything is attempted; & as soon as we can be assured that those whom we address are prepared to take such preliminary measures, as, in their judgment may be probably expected of us.

Hoping to receive from you an early answer to this communication, we remain very respectfully

Your friends and fellowcitizens S. C. Phillips⁴³
Charles Allen⁴⁴
C. F. Adams⁴⁵

An answer may be addressed to the committee under cover to
Hon. S. C. Phillips, Salem, Massachusetts.

⁴³ Stephen Clarendon Phillips of Salem, Mass.

⁴⁴ Charles Allen of Worcester, Mass.

⁴⁵ Charles Francis Adams.

XX.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson July 16, 1845

My Dear Sir

I have carefully considered yours of the 12th. I regard the present as a time requiring caution and energy.

The coming year is to decide the presidential contest of 48. Our complete triumph or perfect prostration as a party is not far distant. I am most confident in the belief that quiet submission to the flagrant outrage of annexation, supinely permitting ourselves to be sold and transferred like southern slaves to the political control of the Texian slave-holders, and forming a new union with that government will prove the grave of the whig party: And that a purely antislavery party will rise in its stead: While a determined opposition to the annexation of Texas; repudiation of that volley of rascals hereafter and of all unconstitutional support of slavery, will secure to us future triumph. I regard it as perfectly idle to attempt keeping the question of slavery out of view. A large portion of the whigs of New England, of New York and northern Ohio will never sustain any man for President who panders to slavery. Our friends in the south part of Ohio I think are not conscious of the rapidity with which public opinion is moving forward on this subject. We may reasonably expect it to continue going ahead. Revolutions never go backward. You must be aware that Mr Clay lost his election for the reason that he courted the slave power too much, and the Antislave power too little. That this spirit of freedom is to prevail I entertain no doubt, but I apprehend that our whig friends will move too slow to profit by it. The New York members of Congress will not dare to vote for the annexation of Texas as a slave holding state, at least so thinks Mr Greeley⁴⁶ and so I think. If the whigs after the admission of Texas go for *repeal* New York Locos must go so too or be defeated. Now I think a series of conventions between this and our next election will arouse our whigs, and discourage our Locos, and will enable us to carry the Legislature next fall and in all probability give us a permanent ascendancy in this State. That will be a great object but a still greater one will be attained in bringing our

⁴⁶ Horace Greeley.

party on to common ground so that we may all act together with hearty good will hereafter; and will lend strength and courage to our friends in other States. I am willing to have opposition to annexation a *whig measure*. I apprehend that Texas will be admitted at all events and the object of agitating the question this season will be more to prepare the public mind in future than the mere rejection of Texas. A series of conventions proposed in the circular will enlighten the public mind in regard to the manner in which the slave power has trampled upon our rights and interest, and will place the object of annexation in full view before the people. The Locos will then be driven to take sides against our interests, our honor, and our cleanest constitutional rights and in favor of slavery and against Liberty or they must go with us. If then we add a convention of the free States and let this subject of our being rendered subsidiary to slavery be placed before the nation by a lucid address, I should entertain little fears of the Locos in any free State not even in New Hampshire; for I verily believe Hale⁴⁷ will make that an antislavery State within two years. The omitting to hold a State convention I regard as a political mistake; Had we met and taken the stand that we must take before we ever succeed, it would have used up the Liberty party. I think with you their leaders would have been *on hand*, but there would have been whigs enough to keep matters straight. While that Convention was expected our Liberty men here regarded it as the grave of their party, and the great mass of their men would have been now with us as I think had we carried out that policy while the demagogues of that party trembled at the prospect of that convention. Since that plan was abandoned the Cincinnati convention has been held and has tended to strengthen them and I incline to the opinion that they will rally next fall as strong perhaps as they did last, but I am quite sure that on the Reserve they could not in April last carry one half their former vote. But after all I may be in error, I merely give my views.

Birny⁴⁸ and the Leaders of that party undoubtedly desire to

⁴⁷ John P. Hale of New Hampshire. Mem. of State Legislature; elected M. C. 1843; Speaker of State Legislature 1846; U. S. Sen. 1847-53; 1855-59; Free Soil candidate for Vice-President 1852.

⁴⁸ James Gillespie Birney, 1792-1857, statesman; editor; candidate of the Liberty party for the Presidency 1852.

break up the Whig party in order to bring the antislavery portion of it into the support of their party. Indeed I regard it as perfectly clear that the Liberty party and that portion of the Whig party which is strongly antislavery *will ultimately unite*. They cannot in my opinion continue to fight each other a great while. If the Whig party take the bold and plain ground of maintaining our rights free from slavery then the great body of the Liberty party will be with us. If our leading politicians refuse to take that ground then such a portion of our party will probably leave us as to render our future success hopeless, for I repeat, that this antislavery feeling has become too strong to be trifled with. I am aware that the old idea that we shall drive the south from us if we take the position of standing upon our constitutional rights, is still adhered to by many whigs, but I assure you it is a mistake. The public sentiment of the south keeps pace with the north and I entertain the opinion that Kentucky will not be behind us on the subject, and that we shall rather gain than loose in the south, by such movement.

But I have written too much already. I shall tax you too severely to read it, but I do not wish to trouble you for an answer, I have thrown out these hints for your consideration merely.

Very respectfully

J R Giddings

XXI.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

(Private)

Washington City March 23, 1846

My Dear Sir

I regret that my poor speech⁴⁹ should have given you so much trouble. I had intended to give authority for every statement I made. I was aware that the facts taken together were somewhat extraordinary, and that I must give the proper references or the Locos would quibble. Under these circumstances I was rather surprised to see the Journal give out an intimation that my statements might be doubted. I felt that the editor

⁴⁹ Speech made Feb. 18, 1846, on the proposition to amend bill making appropriations for the benefit of the Indian tribes so that no money should be paid for fugitive slaves or as compensation for fugitive slaves, under the treaty of January, 1845, between the U. S. and the Creek and Seminole Indians.

should have waited until some one whose duty it was to know the truth had expressed a doubt. Under these circumstances I wrote my note which I intended should be perfectly respectful. Your reply is entirely satisfactory and would have been had you not taken the trouble to write. As it is, the note may serve to call attention to the speech when published. Messrs. Delano⁵⁰ and Root⁵¹ were sick in their rooms, and Tilden⁵² was at home when the vote was taken and many others *dodged*. I have no objection at seeing them inquired of as to their reasons for voting the appropriation. While the question of sustaining southern slavery is attracting attention both among the people and in Congress there are too many who trouble and turn pale at the bare mention of slavery. I am striving to press the subject upon the attention of members as fast as I can, but I much fear that the Whigs will have to lose another Presidential election before they will come up to the support of the constitutional rights of the north. After I had delivered my speech my friends requested me to write it out but on looking at the vote I hesitated as I was conscious it would place some of our northern whigs in an awkward position before their constituents; but those who voted with me desired it to be in print as they thought it might do good.

The news from N[ew] Hampshire has aroused some of our friends to look at the policy of resisting the encroachment of the slave power, and I hope to see more unanimity on the subject hereafter.

With great respect

O Follett Esq.

Your frd & sert.

XXII.

JOSHUA REED GIDDINGS TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Jefferson July 26/47

My Dear Sir

Yours of the 19th is before me. The principal difficulty with which we have to contend is a feeling of timidity on the part of our political leaders. Our party seems cursed with a set of politicians who are destitute of firmness and of confidence with their own principles. On the 11th June 1846 while the war bill

⁵⁰ Columbus Delano, member of the 29th Cong. (1845-51).

⁵¹ Joseph M. Root of Ohio, Mem. of 29th Cong.

⁵² Daniel R. Tilden of Ohio, Mem. of Cong., 1843-47.

was under discussion in the senate (you know we were not permitted to discuss it in the House) I obtained the floor on another bill of kindred character in the house and then laid down the true course of policy as I thought for us to pursue. It was at once to withdraw our troops to our own territory. Of the correctness of that policy I have never doubted. But you know that only fourteen whigs agreed with me at that time and our number at the close of our session amounted to little more than forty.

In the House it was openly declared by J R Ingersoll⁵³ of Pa. that the whigs as a party were in favor of the war and of carrying it on. The whig party I have no doubt will say they will have no more territory. But here again comes a fatal difficulty *will they stop fighting? Will they withdraw the troops?* No Sir, it is not probable that more than about fifty whigs will be found in the next Congress who will vote to withdraw the army. We shall probably continue the war until Polk can make a treaty which he will not do until he gets territory, and then it will be taken as *slave* territory, and the freemen of Ohio will be further degraded to the level of Mexican slaves. This appears to me the final result of the issue of having *no more territory*.

If however we make the extension of slavery the issue and attach the Wilmot Proviso⁵⁴ to our appropriations, the army will at once withdraw, and the war ended. On this issue we can obtain the result we seek. On the other we must fail. This is the difference in the issue as I view the subject.

The extension of slavery was our issue in 44, and has been kept up ever since. The northern democrats who have come over to us on this point have done so for the reason that they saw their party doomed to destruction if they continued to support the principle of extending the slave power, and if we now recede from it, and throw our force upon any other we shall be charged with tergiversation.

Again the south have ever opposed this plan of limiting slavery and are now determined to make it an issue and I apprehend it would be fatal for us to falter or withdraw from the issue

⁵³ Joseph R. Ingersoll of Pa., Mem. of Cong. 1835-37; 1842-49.

⁵⁴ David Wilmot, Democratic Mem of Cong. 1845-51; U. S. Sen. 1861-63, was the author of this proviso attached to the first War appropriation, 1845, that slavery should be forbidden in any soil purchased with the money appropriated.

tendered us. It was the real issue in 44 and has in fact continued such up to this time and if we now evade or seek to evade, our enemies will charge us with backing out, and they will become clamorous in its favor. It is also the *strongest issue which can be persented at this time*. I am perfectly aware that it must for a time separate us from southern whigs. But if they won't stand with us on so plain a principle we cannot depend upon them to aid us in any severe contest where slavery is concerned. This I suppose to be the real truth. Our political conflicts must in future be between slavery and freedom. I [assume?] that is clear to every thinking man. Now in such a war can we look to slaveholders for aid? I think not. We must have the north. They are in favor of the Constitution, of freedom, and of their own rights. They cannot in future evade acting for the north. They must therefore be with us if we remain upon the issue made in 44, and [then?] we must succeed. While this is the case the whigs as a party have ever opposed the acquisition of territory. The adoption of the Wilmot Proviso will secure a triumph on that issue for the troops will be withdrawn so soon as adopted. Yet on this point many leading members of the party are in truth favorable to obtaining free territory. Mr Webster⁵⁵ and Mr Winthrop⁵⁶ and some whig members of Congress would not go with us on that issue if directly made. Others say it is useless to oppose the extension of territory to the Rio Grande. I have heard at least one influential member from our own State declare that we must take the territory this side of the Rio Grande and it would be useless to oppose it. But the democrats of the north will go to exclude slavery from it, and if so we shall not have it. I have no doubt that a treaty securing the Country to us on this side of the Rio Grande up to 36° 30' would be ratified by the senate today. I think Webster and perhaps other northern whigs would vote for it, if we take north of that line west to the Pacific. That will spread slavery over some five such States as Ohio, adding to the senate two more slaveholding members. Now I desire to cut that project off by the Proviso.

I have no confidence in the sincerity of the leading Locos of New York. They seek power and they know that to obtain it they must take antislavery ground, and they wish to attain a position which will apparently place them in opposition to

⁵⁵ Daniel Webster.

⁵⁶ Robert C. Winthrop of Mass.

slavery and the whigs in favor of it. They feel their triumph will then be secured. Now sir, I regard our course as plain we go for *no territory*; and I hope to try our strength on that first, and think we shall, but I would not relax our efforts upon the other for I do not expect to succeed in this. We must succeed however on the extension of slavery.

I am delighted with the apparent subsiding of the "Taylor fever."⁵⁷ That movement has shaken my confidence in the whig party more than any thing that has previously happened. It bespoke a recklessness of principle, a hypocrisy of profession, a profligacy, a servility in many leading whigs that disgusted me. I am almost incapable of viewing it calmly or of speaking upon it dispassionately. Webb⁵⁸ of New York and those of his character would sell the party and Country too, if they could but get office by it. But why our Whigs and the whig press should have lent such encouragement to those reckless demagogues is unaccountable to me. But I think the old man's letters are awaking even demagogues to the hopelessness of their plans.

Very respectfully

O Follett Esq

J R Giddings

⁵⁷ Zachary Taylor.

⁵⁸ James Watson Webb editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer

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APRIL AND JULY

Journal of Francis Collins
An Artillery Officer in the Mexican War

Edited by

MARIA CLINTON COLLINS

CINCINNATI
THE ABINGDON PRESS

Francis Collins, the writer of the following Journal, was born 1820, in Lowville, Lewis Co., New York. His parents were Ela Collins and Maria Clinton, the children of General Oliver Collins and the Rev. Isaac Clinton. Both families had been long known and respected in connection with the early history and settlement of New England. Francis Collins received his early education at the Lowville Academy, and in 1841, he was appointed to and entered West Point, as a member of the class of 1845. Being graduated with the rank of Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery, he was employed in the recruiting service in Virginia and North Carolina. On the breaking out of the Mexican War, he engaged in active service. According to the record of the Army Register, Mr. Collins was Second Lieutenant, August 18, 1846; First Lieutenant, September 13, 1847; resigned December 11, 1850. Brevet rank; Brevet First Lieutenant, August 20, 1850 for gallant and meritorious conduct at Contreras and Churubusco.

At the close of the war Lieutenant Collins was put in charge of a ship conveying troops to the North. Yellow fever broke out among the men and made terrible ravages. Amidst the horrors of such a situation, Mr. Collins displayed heroic qualities in nursing. Although stricken with the disease himself, he did not give way until he had landed his men at Fortress Monroe. He lay then at the point of death for many days, and probably never recovered entirely from the effects of the disease. After two more years of service he resigned, and studied law in the office of the Hon. William S. Groesbeck of Cincinnati. Being admitted to the bar in 1851, he took up his residence in Dayton, O. In 1852, he married Helen, a daughter of the Hon. Alfred Kelley of Columbus, O. In 1853, Mr. Collins removed to Columbus, where he resided until his death. In 1856, he

was elected to the City Council and served two years. During the many years of his residence in this city he filled many public and responsible positions with marked ability and integrity.

Francis Collins was a brother of William Collins of Cleveland and of Isaac Clinton Collins of Cincinnati, both well-known Ohio lawyers. Colonel J. T. Holmes of Columbus, O., says of Mr. Collins in his Memorial printed in the reports of the Ohio State Bar Association, Vol. 9, 1888:

“Of medium height, sturdy build, dark-featured, black hair and eyes, courtly manners, kind-hearted, he remained through his work in our profession, his travels and decline, to the end what his early education made him, a scholarly, accomplished, and thorough soldier and gentleman.” Compiled from Obituary notices in the Columbus, O., papers, 1882.

THE JOURNAL OF FRANCIS COLLINS, AN ARTILLERY OFFICER IN THE MEXICAN WAR.¹

The following notes of incidents in my life and experience, were mostly written down at the time of their occurrence. Sometimes circumstances would not permit this; but in all cases they were made while the incidents were fresh in my mind. It was my custom to carry in my pocket a little note book and pencil, during the time I was an actor in the scenes herein narrated, and when anything occurred which I thought it would be pleasant to recall when time would have obliterated it from my memory, I made a note of it. At the first it was my intention to have kept a regular journal of such events, connected with the operations of our Army in Mexico, as fell under my immediate observation; but for many reasons some good, and some bad, I greatly neglected the matter, and in consequence the following meager and barren notes are all I have preserved. Such as they are, however, they are interesting to me, because almost every incident narrated recalls others to my mind with which it is associated.

It could not happen often that anyone, however heedless and unobserving of passing events, could go through two years of campaign life in active service in an enemy's country, engaging in battles, and performing the varied duties of a subaltern officer, subject to the hardships and dangers of such a position as well as enjoying in a careless and happy way everything that had fun in it; working hard, and getting little credit for it; but generally relieved from much responsibility—it could not often happen but that one would see much which was worth remembering and pleasant to recall. Such an experience, too is not wanting in lessons of useful knowledge, and subjects of philosophic reflection. If I was such a charming old gossip as Montaigne, I would sit down in my idle moments (of which I

¹ The original MSS. is in the possession of his niece, Maria Clinton Collins, Cincinnati, Ohio. The transcript thereof is exact with the exception of a few changes made in orthography and punctuation for the sake of clearness.

am thankful, I have not many) and write out all these thoughts in such a familiar way as would make it like talking with an old friend of the almost forgotten incidents of our by-gone years. But as I cannot do this in so quaint and pleasant a way as the delightful Frenchman has done, in giving us the fruit of his experience, I will content myself with saving from forgetfulness what will, perhaps, in time to come reward me for my labors.

In the month of June, in the year 1841, I was entered a cadet in the United States Military Academy at West Point. I remained through the regular term of four years, and was duly graduated in June 1845, when I received a commission as Brevet Second Lieutenant in the U. S. Army, and was attached for duty to the Fourth Regiment of Artillery. After receiving my diploma at West Point, a furlough of three months was granted me. At the expiration of my furlough October 1, 1845, I joined the army at Old Point Comfort, Va., and was assigned for duty to Company F. commanded by Brevet Major John L. Gardner. The Fourth Regiment of Artillery was commanded at that time by Col. John B. Walbach and had its Head Quarters at Fort Monroe, Va.

I remained in this garrison until May 1846, when war being declared against Mexico,² all our small force was sent into the field. The regiments were mere skeletons, and in order to fill them up as rapidly as possible all the officers which could be spared were distributed through the different states on the Recruiting Service. I was sent first to Raleigh, North Carolina, where I remained about two months, and then visited different towns west of Raleigh.

In the early part of the month of October of the same year, I received orders to close my rendezvous and join my company at Fort Monroe, Va., preparatory to embarking for the seat of war. This was what I had long been anticipating with great

² President Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor, who had been sent to Texas with about four thousand men, to cross the Nueces River, and later ordered him to advance to the Rio Grande. The Mexicans, regarding this forward movement as an invasion of their rights, attacked and defeated a small detachment of Taylor's army. When the report of the conflict reached Washington (May, 1846), the President informed Congress that "Mexico has shed American blood upon American soil. War exists, and exists by the act of Mexico herself." Congress accepted the issue thus raised, and war followed. The Mexican War was in reality an attack on a weak nation by a strong one. —*Channing: Students' History of the United States*, p. 447.

pleasure. I was at this time in the dull, uninteresting town of Greensboro in Guilford, Co., N. C., which was so inaccessible to all news that I was utterly ignorant of what I was most desirous to know, Viz., how my comrades were getting on in the field, and whether they were not advancing their promotion, while I was vegetating in that remote and insignificant village. A few days sufficed to enable me to close my rendezvous, and, with such recruits as I had on hand, join my company at Old Point Comfort. No sooner had I reached there, however, than I was seized with a violent attack of bilious fever which had been accumulating for months in my system during my sojourn in the unhealthy regions of North Carolina. It went very hard with me, and when I finally recovered my company had sailed for Texas. Colonel Walbach being upward of eighty years of age though still vigorous, was not allowed to accompany his regiment into the field, and remaining behind in an empty garrison, he tried hard to detain me on nominal duty with him. To this I very much objected, and at last succeeded in getting orders to join my company on the Rio Grande, Texas. I was not yet quite strong enough to travel, but fearful lest the old Colonel might succeed in his efforts to detain me in his command, composed for the most part of innumerable fat, lazy dogs, and wives and children, which the soldiers were obliged to leave behind them, I was determined to start for my post.

Traveling by way of Baltimore and Wheeling, down the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers, I arrived at New Orleans on November 7, and on the 10th sailed for Brazas, Santiago, where I arrived on the 15th. Here I learned that my Regiment was at Camp Belknap on the Rio Grande opposite the Mexican village of Berita.

Owing to the complete failure of our Navy to obtain possession of any important sea-port town on the Gulf, it was in contemplation at this time to attack Tampico by land, and with this in view it was designed to concentrate a force at Fort Belknap, or some other point on the river to march on Tampico, under the command of Major General Patterson. Patterson did not belong to the regular army but was appointed for the war by President Polk, and was one of the poorest of his appointments. The expedition against Tampico progressed slowly. Only four or five companies of Artillery, serving as infantry, had been collected at Camp Belknap, when Commodore Conner

arrived off the mouth of the Rio Grande with the intelligence that Tampico had been evacuated by the Mexican troops, and that the city was ready to surrender to our troops. Our whole force amounting in all to not more than four hundred men, under command of Lieut. Colonel Francis Beltan was immediately embarked with a small supply of ordinance, and on the 21st of November sailed for Tampico, where we arrived on the 23rd. When we reached sight of the city there were Mexicans enough gathered on the landing to have driven us back with clubs and stones, if they had had the spirit to have done so, but they offered no resistance and we boldly disembarked and took the town.

Tampico is regularly laid out and substantially built, without much pretension to beauty of architecture. It contains a population of about five thousand inhabitants. Its situation is very favorable to defense, being in an elbow of the Pemico River, which on the opposite side is marshy and inaccessible. In the rear of the city is Lake Carpentero, so situated as to make the only approaches by land, over two narrow necks lying between either extremity of the lake and the river above and below the city. As soon as we obtained possession and had time to look about us and see the nature of our position, we immediately began the construction of fortifications at the necks, and made such a disposition of our small force as would enable us best to defend ourselves from any outward attacks or risings of the people in the town. This being done, we began to feel a little more secure, but still our situation was so inviting of attack, owing to our limited numbers, that we looked for an arrival of reinforcements with more than ordinary anxiety. In the course of a week, or ten days they began to arrive, and it was not long after, before we felt strong enough to defend ourselves and the city from any force that the enemy could have brought against us.

Not long after Brig. General James Shields arrived at the post with two regiments of Illinois Volunteers. He had been appointed civil and military governor of the city, and immediately on his arrival assumed command. I was, on his application, appointed his aid de camp. This appointment was much more agreeable to me than doing duty with my company, which I never much liked. At this time we had almost daily rumors of what the Mexican government was preparing to do. One day it would be said peace was soon to be made; the next day,

there could not be enough war to wipe out the foul pollution of the Yankee footsteps.

Except occasional rumors of an approaching enemy, matters went on quietly in Tampico, and we found our sojourn there very pleasant. The streets of the city gradually began to assume a more American aspect. The inhabitants who had fled at our approach began to return to their homes; goods and merchandise from the United States arrived in large quantities, the city was well governed and the natives themselves admitted that they felt more secure in their persons and property than they did when they had the government in their own hands.

About the first of January, 1847, Generals Patterson, Twiggs, Quitman, and Pillaw arrived with a part of the northern army from Monterey and Camargo, having performed a long and laborious march across the country. Their force consisted of about six thousand men mostly regulars, and was to compose a part of the army which at this time General Winfield Scott was concentrating at the island of Lobos, preparatory to an attack on Vera Cruz. This force encamped about three miles from town at a place named by them Camp Watson, in honor of gallant Colonel Watson Commander of the Baltimore Battalion of Militia, who fell at the siege of Monterey.

The first date I find among my notes is:

Tampico, Mexico, January 29, 1847.

To-day occupied with my usual routine of duties, which I find less tedious since my appointment as Aide-de-Camp to General Shields. This relieves me from drills, guards, and working parties, a drudgery for which I have no particular fancy; and as Shields is new at the business of soldiering, being but a Militia General, I feel no oppressive sense of his superior rank when thrown in contact with him. He is frequently compelled to rely either on his Adjutant or me for knowledge respecting his duties. All the new Generals appointed for the war have selected for their military families young men from the regular army, who have been educated at West Point, on whom they are compelled to rely for information and aid in the discharge of their duties. This evening I attended a very brilliant party given by Mr. Eversman, the German Consul, on the occasion of baptizing three of his children. Each of the guests received three small pieces of silver with holes through them, and suspended by ribbon of different colors—one for each child. This

seems to be a custom among the Germans, the origin of which I did not learn. The evening passed off very pleasantly. The Mexican *Senoritas* condescended to bestow their smiles on the barbarous Yankees, who were present, and we did not allow them to think their beauty passed unnoticed. It was late in the night when the party dispersed. Hammond had his watch a valuable gold one stolen from his pocket, in consequence, I think, of having become a little too much under the influence of the Jollie God. He and I had an adventure on our way home, which place he did not reach until the next morning. Having as I afterwards, learned occupied some of the soft stones in the Plaza as a bed. When I got home I found Hack Brown in bed, but very talkative.

Our quarters consist of a delightful cottage situated in a pleasant part of town, occupied solely by three of us, Brown being also one of General Shields's family on duty as topographical officer. Our cottage being pleasantly situated, and always plentifully supplied with good entertainment, it is a favorite resort for all our friends when they come into town from the camps. Having employed a couple of French cooks, and having a fine market to obtain supplies from, our table always presents a very tempting appearance to those who are not so favorably situated and who are compelled to content themselves with the coarse provisions and cooking necessarily found in camps.

January 31,—Another proof that campaign life is full of ups and downs—The fine easy cottage life is ended, and I am again back to duty with my company. To-day Colonel Gates made representations to General Shields that there were not officers enough on duty with the regiments, and requested that I should be relieved from duty as *Aid-de-Camp*, and ordered to my company. My services not being very necessary to the General's staff, Shields granted Gates's application, and here I am again for drills, guard duty etc., and my fine horse taken away from me. All positions are just what we ourselves make them, so here goes for a good time, notwithstanding the loss of a few comforts.

February 3'' Captain Miller, the commanding officer of company "A" (my company 4th Artillery) and Magiltan, Sub-Lieut. started this morning with a detachment of fifty of our men, to the relief of two hundred and eighty volunteers of a Louisiana regiment, who are reported to have been wrecked on

the coast about thirty miles below Tampico, and to have lost most of their arms and provisions, and in consequence are in great fear of being captured by the Mexicans. The remainder of our company comprising about fifty men are left under my command.

Feb'y. 6''. 2d. Lieut. Daniel Gibson, 2d Artillery, died here to-day of fever and dysentery.

Feb'y. 9''. Capt. Miller returned from his expedition—having rescued the Louisiana soldiers from a most deadly assault of mosquitos. Magiltan gives a very rich account of the expedition.

Feb'y. 19'' General Scott arrived here to-day from Brazas, Santiago, where he has been for sometime past perfecting his arrangements for a descent on Vera Cruz. He declares martial law in force throughout all the Mexican provinces of which we have possession. He comes here for the purpose of organizing troops near here under the command of Gen'ls Patterson, Twiggs, Pillow, Quitman, and Shields, about six thousand strong. We expect soon all to be put in motion for the island of Lobos where the Vera Cruz army³ is to be concentrated.

20'' Feb'y. Twiggs ordered to evacuate camp Watson and move with his division⁴ to the mouth of the Pambico river from which point he is to embark for Lobos.

25'' Feb'y. To-day four companies of the 2'' Reg. Arty. and my company all under command of Colonel Bankhead, sailed from Tampico on board the ship Maine for the island of Lobos.

27'' Feb'y. Arrived at Lobos Island. There are about forty transports here laden with troops and stores. It is probable we will be detained at this place for some days awaiting the arrival of the other transports. This island is about sixty miles down the coast from Tampico, south; and between ten and fifteen miles off shore. It is about one mile and a half in circumference, and much of it covered with a dense growth of chapperel that is a thicket of bushes and small trees interlaced with vines etc. None of the troops have been disembarked on the island except those on the transports where disease began

³ At this time Scott stated Taylor's army, including Wool's command, to be 20,500, to be shortly increased to 27,250 by nine additional regiments of volunteers. From them he proposed to withdraw 14,000 for the Vera Cruz expedition. *U. S. Govt. Doc., Cong. 30, Ses. 1, H. Ex. 59, p. 59-60.*

⁴ See p. 75 of Journal for description of Division.

to make its appearance, which is confined entirely to "volunteers." They have embarked in this campaign in anticipation of a grand frolic, but I fancy before they get through with it they will wish they might be comfortably at home again. I think they will find more reality and less romance in it than they thought, and will wish themselves comfortably at home again.

30th Feb'y. During the past few days many more transports have arrived with troops and still they come. All are in high spirits. From daylight until dark the waters are spotted with small boats filled with visitors from one ship to another. Crowds of officers are gathered about on the decks, some laughing and singing, and others earnestly discussing the grand operations of the approaching campaign. The private soldiers are busy scrubbing, cleaning, cooking and smoking, and all the mass of these thousands of human beings are excited by the coming contest. General Scott is busily engaged in perfecting the organization of his army and orders emanating from him are hourly circulating through the fleet. He is on board the steamship Massachusetts, and has some of the companies of my regiment with him. He has directed that when the Massachusetts makes the signal agreed on, all sail shall be set immediately for "Anton Lizards", the rendezvous appointed near Vera Cruz.

2nd March. Today at Twelve o'clock the old Massachusetts fired her signal, and immediately after came ploughing through the fleet, giving the lead for Vera Cruz, or rather Anton Lizards. Shouts and cheers, and martial music, peal upon peal, burst from the ten thousand throats, as the old chief towering high, with uncovered head, stood on the deck as his ship passed along, dashing the spray from her bows, as if knowing her charge to many victories. Never did I witness on any other occasion so much enthusiasm. Proud should be the man and confident, who commands such hearts! In a very short time every sail was set, and an hundred ships with a good breeze were under way for the appointed destination. It was indeed a magnificent sight and one long to be remembered.

5th March. Soon after leaving the island of Lobos the wind stiffened, and the captain of each ship, sailing according to his peculiar mode and fancy, the fleet soon became separated. For the first and second days out the wind was ahead, sometimes blowing a gale. Our progress, therefore was slow. On the third

day, under a heavy "Norther" we bore down rapidly on the harbor of Anton Lizards. This morning it was in sight, the tall masts of the ships which had out-sailed us being visible. Now the first occasional glances were caught of the famous castle of San Juan d'Ulloa. But long before we had any other indications of land, while we were yet far out at sea the snow-capped peak of old Orezaba could be seen reaching up into the clouds. After pitching about for a while, and carefully picking her way among the coral reefs, our good ship Maine came up, and dropped her anchor by the side of her beautiful sisters of the ocean.

8th March. One after another all the transports of the fleet which left the island of Lobos, have concentrated here at this point, within view of their prey, the castle and city of Vera Cruz. Again may be seen the same groups of officers, engaged as at Lobos, and on every hand are heard the sounds of mirth, music and singing, and the busy hum of earnest preparation.

The harbor of Anton Lizards is formed by a reef of coral running parallel to the coast and about one mile or a little more from it. Ships lying between this reef and the coast are well protected from the furious "Northers" and rough seas so common in this latitude. There is a great deal of discussion among us as to the point where General Scott will disembark his army. There is no operation so hazardous as that of landing troops on a hostile coast, opposed by enemies. We are unable to see from where we are, any indications that the Mexicans are making, or even preparing to make any opposition to our landing. It seems to me they might oppose it with great success. We could land from our present anchorage, and in many respects it is a favorable point to do so. Its distance from the city, being about eight miles, is greater perhaps than General Scott wishes, from the focus of his operations, and there are probably other objections to it, that those who are not in the secrets, are ignorant of. But twenty-four hours more will determine the matter.

9 March. This morning all the troops that could be crowded on to them were transferred from the different transports to the steamships. My company was transferred to General Scott's ship, the Massachusetts, where the other companies of the Fourth Artillery were collected. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon all weighed anchor and got under way for the anchorage of Sacrificios from whence, it had been decided, that the disem-

barkation should take place. The United States men-of-war, and the steam ships led the van, the sail vessels containing the remainder of the army following close after, being favored by a good breeze. In about two hours all arrived in position under shelter of the small island of Sacrificios which lies about three miles south of Vera Cruz, and one fourth of a mile from the coast. Behind this island the ships had a safe anchorage, and were able to approach within a quarter of a mile to the land. Under the most favorable circumstances the descent of an Army on an enemy's coast is a most delicate operation. In this case it was to be made on the most dangerous coast in the world, within view of a strongly fortified and garrisoned city, and almost under its guns. It was to be accomplished, too, by means of surf boats capable of carrying about seventy men each, which were to be impelled through the beating surf. It must necessarily, therefore be a slow operation, and of course, if any opposition was offered, a hazardous one, since, packed as we were in the small boats it was impossible to make any resistance. The Army—that is the regular troops—(in this the General showed his want of confidence in the volunteers, or new levies, for any operations requiring the best qualities of a soldier) were organized into two lines for the purpose of effecting the landing. The first line, under the command of General Worth, was to take the lead. This was composed of the Second Regiment Artillery, and the Fourth, Fifth Sixth and Eighth regiments of Infantry. After these boats had effected a landing the surf boats—of which there were not enough to land both lines at the same time—were to return and land in like manner the second line. This was composed of the First and Fourth Artillery and the First, Second, Third, and Seventh regiments of Infantry under the command of General Twiggs. The men-of-war formed on the flanks of these movements ran up as near to the coast as the depth of water would admit, and took position to cover the disembarkation with their heavy guns. These arrangements being effected, about six o'clock in the afternoon the troops of the first line were thrown as rapidly as possible into the small boats. There being some surplus boats, General Scott ordered them alongside the Massachusetts, and transferred the companies of my regiment into them. It was a moment of intense excitement, for as yet we did not know whether we would meet with any opposition from the enemy. Running

parallel with the coast at this point, and not more than one hundred and fifty yards from it, was a range of sand hills affording a strong and complete protection, behind which the enemy might, and for aught we knew, had placed batteries enough to riddle us to pieces. While in the boats we could offer no resistance, our troops not being allowed even to load their guns. If the Mexicans should open their fires upon us, we were to face them as bravely as possible, until the boats reached water, shallow enough to enable our men to leap out; this they were directed to do and forming as rapidly as possible on the coast, immediately attack the enemy. Fortunately, however, we met with no opposition, and soon our standards were floating on the hostile shores of Vera Cruz. The disembarkation of this line of troops was a grand spectacle, and indeed all the operations of this day have been of such a character as to excite the admiration and thrilling interest of all who beheld them. There were lying in the harbor of Vera Cruz two or three English and French men-of-war. It is wholly inexplicable to us why the enemy did not oppose our landing. There was a most singular combination of favorable circumstances to enable them to do so successfully. As soon as we were landed the boats returned for the second line, and the rest of the army followed. It was near morning when the disembarkation was completed. Our camp fires soon extended more than a mile along the coast. After our suppers, from what chanced to be in our haversacks, we lay down on the sand to get a little sleep or at any rate rest from the fatigues and excitement of the twelve hours past. Before leaving our ships orders had been given that every man should be provided with four days' rations in his haversack. As for bedding, we have not a blanket to cover ourselves with at night, and the dews are heavy and the air almost always chilly, notwithstanding our southern latitude.

While I was standing on the deck of the Massachusetts today as she came to anchor, Major Kirby came up to me as I was looking with intense interest on the surrounding scene, and said "What do you suppose the people up in the Black River country would say to such a sight as this?" This sudden mingling of the peaceful, quiet scenes of home with the grand and terrible business we have on hand, produced a very singular effect upon my mind. Major Kirby is a son-in-law of General Jacob Brown, of Brownsville, New York, and has some acquaintance with

my father. He regards the Black River country as his home as well as mine, hence his allusion to it to-day.

10th March. We did not get much rest last night. Our picket-guards came in contact with the guards of the enemy two or three times during the night. As each time it resulted in the exchange of a few shots, our entire camp was as often roused to arms. Our sleep and rest was the only thing damaged by the collisions.

At the break of day this morning the drums beat to arms, and in a short time the whole army, about thirteen thousand in numbers, was in motion, advancing towards the city of Vera Cruz. On the level beach and all together, the eye could take in the whole army at a glance. It was a very stirring military scene. Worth's division constituting the first line was the first to move off. After some skirmishing, resulting in a small loss on both sides, the division occupied the position assigned to it in the line of investment of the city; this was on the south side of the town and towards the point where we landed. The right wing of the division resting on the coast of the Gulf. Our division (Twiggs') constituting the second line is encamped for the night in the rear of General Worth's. Three brigades of volunteers under command of General Patterson have been extending themselves during the day on the left flank of General Worth's division and have partly gained their position in the line of investment. They met with some opposition from the enemy's skirmishes, which however was overcome without much loss. The batteries of the city and castle of San Juan de Ulúa have been slowly playing on us all day, but without doing much damage as far as I have learned.

11 March. More or less skirmishing last night. General Scott and his staff disembarked this morning. At an early hour to-day our division began to move forward towards the north side of the city for the purpose of extending the investment. The enemy has kept his batteries playing upon us continuously during the day, both from the city and castle; but as we took a route bending around the city, well-protected most of the time by a low range of sand hills, our loss has not been great. Captain Albertus of the Second regiment killed; one lieutenant wounded, and three or four privates killed or wounded, is the extent of our suffering so far as I have heard. At the time Captain Albertus was killed, our division was at a halt, waiting

for the removal of some obstructions in front. Availing himself of this opportunity he had seated himself on a log, and was reading a letter which he had received a short time before from home; while thus engaged a cannon ball took his head off.

A body of about three hundred Lancers have hung on our flanks and along our line of march to annoy us and impede our progress, but they have not succeeded very well in their object. We are encamped for tonight on the road to Orizaba. The numerous difficulties and obstructions which have impeded our progress, and the annoyance which we have received from the enemy's guns have made the day's advance of three or four miles very fatiguing.

12" March. Our division has remained in camp to-day waiting for some reconnoitring parties to report the nature of the country. Although we are encamped within range of the guns of the city and castle they have not molested us, thanks to some low sand hills behind which we are sheltered. In the place of cannon balls, however, there has been a terrible "Norther" raging all day, and it would be difficult to decide which were the worse of the two. These northers frequently come upon us very suddenly and continue to blow with unceasing violence, sometimes for forty-eight hours. During such times the sand drifts about like snow in northern latitudes. It fills one's hair, eyes, nose and mouth; the finer sand gets into the pores of the skin, often causing painful irritation. At these times, too, we suffer much from cold. The destitute classes of the natives wrap their blankets, or "panchos" close around them, and squatting down in some corner when the wind in its greatest force is broken, they will hardly move for anything less than to save their lives.

13" March. We were a good deal disturbed last night by parties of the enemy prowling around our camp. The city of Vera Cruz seemed also to be a good deal alarmed. It kept its batteries playing all night, and at short intervals filled the air with rockets, and covered the plain around the city with fire-balls. The object of this bright illumination, so well as we could conjecture was to prevent any surprise upon the city by our storming parties; this for some reason seemed to anticipate, and tried to prevent by lighting up the country around.

This morning, our division left the position which we occupied yesterday on the Orizaba road. At an early hour we were in motion pursuing a winding course around the city, extending

our line of investment to the left. After a march of six or seven miles we reached the national road leading from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico. From our present position to Vera Cruz it is about three miles. The left flank of our division now rests on the Gulf of Mexico, and thus our army completely surrounds the city of Vera Cruz. Owing to the length of the line over which it is extended, the investment is not very close. There are considerable intervals between the different divisions. As we draw in nearer to the city, contracting our line, these intervals will close up, or so nearly so, that they can be safely guarded by advance pickets.

We made a good capture to-day of three or four casks of wine, a portion of which, by order of General Twiggs, was distributed among the soldiers, each receiving as much as was well for him to drink. Considering the fatigue and thirst—the water being very bad—it was certainly a grateful prize.

For the purpose of more clearly observing the enemy, and watching his operations it has been ordered to-day that one company from each regiment throughout the line of investment shall be detailed each day to draw in towards the town as near as possible, by taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground to keep themselves under cover, and out of the reach of the enemy's batteries. This movement will be necessary only in the night as during the day we can see from our camp everything going on around the walls of the city.

15th March. This morning we left our position on the Jalapa road, for another nearer the city. Our line still extends across this road, and our right wing being extended reaches General Patterson's left; while our left rests on the Gulf. By this movement we have effected a more complete investment of the city. Last night Captain Bainbridge of my regiment, commanding the advanced company, surprised a courier sent out from the city with despatches for the government at the capital. He was trying to make his escape through our lines of investment when he fell upon the captain's company, an advance guard. He succeeded in getting away, but his horse, sword, despatches, cloak, etc. fell into the Captain's hands. His escape was owing to the darkness of the night. His despatches were found carefully rolled up, and thrust into a hollow stick which he carried, and which, it was supposed probably would escape notice even if the bearer should be captured. A painful incident occurred in

connection with this event. In the attempt to capture the courier several shots were fired at him, and in the confusion, one of these accidentally struck sergeant Blake of Bainbridge's company. Blake died from the effects of this wound in a few hours. He was a fine, soldierly fellow, and the whole regiment regrets his loss.

16'' March. A continuous fire has been poured upon different parts of our line throughout the day, without much effect, other than some annoyance to us and some relief, perhaps, to the feelings of the enemy.

17'' March. For the last five days, a severe Norther, accompanied by rain has been blowing with little interruption. Last night it subsided. During its continuance, no communication could be had with our shipping in consequence of the fury of the sea breaking on the coast. It has, therefore, been impossible for us to land our guns, mortars, ammunition, and materials of war, and our offensive operations, in consequence, have been much retarded. To-day, we have landed some cannon and mortars, and the batteries will soon be established. We hope then to return the compliment of the many balls we have received. The enemy made several attempts to break thro our lines last night, in order to get into the town; but they succeeded in none of these.

18'' March. All quiet last night, and to-day. Slow progress has been made in getting our artillery ashore. Every one is impatient at the delay in establishing our batteries. Here we are lying day after day in the sand, under the midday sun, and the heavy, chilling dews of night, without anything to shelter us, with but little of the hardest kind of food. Of course, there is some grumbling, and to be sure it is a pretty hard business, the necessity of which is admitted with reluctance. It will be singular if many of us do not get sick.

19'' March. To-day is the festival of Saint Joseph.⁵ Now I

⁵ Saint Joseph, the husband of Mary. Feast of Pius IX. in 1871 proclaimed St. Joseph Patron of the whole Church as follows: 'Our most Holy Lord, Pius IX., Pope, moved by the recent deplorable events, was pleased to comply with the desires of the Prelates, and to commit to the most powerful patronage of the Holy Patriarch, Joseph, both himself and all the faithful, and solemnly declared him Patron of the Catholic Church, and commanded his festival, occurring on the 19th day of March, to be celebrated for the future as a double of the first class, but without an octave, on account of Lent.' *Dictionary of the Bible, James Hastings Ed.*

presume this canonized gentleman was a kind peaceful, man-loving man, and although canonized, no lover of cannon. Yet these God-forsaken Mexicans have to-day acted as though nothing could be more acceptable to him than a human sacrifice. Since about ten o'clock this morning, they have kept up a continual roar of heavy gun, throwing their balls at us, and have absolutely done their best to prevent us from constructing batteries, for the purpose of blowing down their houses about the ears of their wives and children. They gave us no rest until darkness closed the scene. They must indeed be heathen!

20" March. A few days ago a French Bark came down the Gulf, under a full press of sail, in a pretty stiff "Norther", and thus favored succeeded in running the blockade of the port of Vera Cruz. The Frenchmen, thinking no doubt he was in a bad predicament, if our forces should succeed in capturing the city, attempted this evening about five o'clock to take advantage of a favorable breeze to effect his escape. But no sooner did he put out to sea than one of our small naval steamers ("Hunter") gave him chase. The Frenchman did his best to get away, but was soon overtaken and after receiving a few shots across his bows, he hove to, and suffered himself to be captured.

22" March. A furious "Norther" yesterday. The enemy has kept up a slow firing. Some of our batteries being in position and ready for action General Scott summoned the city to surrender. The Governor General in command replied in a courteous manner, that he had been entrusted with the defense of the town and castle, and had been furnished with the necessary means to do it; and that he was prepared to make use of those means as long as he was able. On receiving this reply, one of our batteries composed of seven heavy mortars opened a fire on the city. It was about six o'clock in the evening. The shells seem to have done great execution. The crashing, rumbling report which they make as they fall through the roofs of the buildings, bursting and scattering death and destruction around is truly terrible. The screams and yells of the populace, whether in defiance or fear could be distinctly heard, and now while I write do I hear them. This evening Captain Vinton, Third Regiment, U. S. Artillery, was killed in the trenches by a shell thrown from the enemy's battery.

23 March. A smart firing has been kept up during the night past and continued through the day on both sides. This morn-

ing three of our companies were detailed for service in the trenches. We left our camp in the evening and marched around to the other side of the line of investment, about six miles to General Worth's position, where the trenches are opened. A furious "Norther" has been blowing all the afternoon and the air is filled with clouds of piercing fine sand My hair, beard, and the pores of my skin are filled with it, causing no little suffering.

24'' March. As soon as it was dark enough last evening to screen us from the enemy's batteries we took up our position in the trenches. The trenches are within range of the Mexican guns, and it is necessary to approach them after dark to avoid the direct fire from the batteries concentrated upon that part of our line. Throughout the whole of last night we have been working hard to establish a battery of four 24 pounders and two 8 inch howitzers, but have not got it ready for action yet. It will talk loud when it does open its mouth. The "Norther" spoken of last night still continues. A heavy battery, occupying a position some distance from the left of our trenches, composed of guns taken from the shipping, and served by sailors and marines, opened for the first time this afternoon. It is under the command of naval officers. As soon as it began firing all the guns of the town that could be brought to bear, were turned upon it. For an hour or two the firing on both sides was brisk and effective. I thought our sailors served their guns with more spirit than skill, still they did good execution on our side; midshipman Shubrick, and a number of sailors were killed. The loss on the part of the enemy is not known but two of their batteries were silenced, and a part of the town very much riddled and battered. We have had a constant cannonading directed upon us all day, but being protected by the embankment of the trenches we have suffered but little. One or two of our men have been killed and several wounded.

25'' March. We left the trenches shortly after dark last night and arrived at our camp about midnight, completely exhausted after having been on a tour of severe duty for more than forty hours.

To-day we received intelligence that there is a force of about two thousand Mexicans in our rear, in the direction of Medelen. Colonel Harney of the Second Regiment Dragoons was sent out with a small force of cavalry to reconnoitre, and if expedient to attack them. He found them posted for a fight at the stone

bridge of Moreno. The bridge being fortified, Harney sent back to camp for some artillery. Lieutenant Judd of the Third Artillery was sent to his assistance. It did not take long to demolish the enemy's barricades, and he was soon after driven from his position and pursued to the village of Madeline, about six miles from the bridge. Our loss in this skirmish was small, that of the enemy much more considerable. There has been other skirmishing along our line, through the day, which has annoyed us some, but caused little damage. The cannonading from the town, and castle has been going on in the meantime.

26th March. This morning there was a spirited cannonading on both sides. It did not last long, however, and since it ceased all has been quiet. Terms of capitulation are said to have been offered. My camp is so far from Headquarters, General Scott being on the other side of the city—we only get this news as rumor. White flags have been passing to and from the city during the day. It is thought that unless the place surrenders soon it will be taken by storm. If this takes place it will be attended with great destruction of life.

27th March. All is quiet to-day. Negotiations are still pending.

Evening. Terms of capitulation have been agreed on; the Bravos Mexicanoes have surrendered into our hands the city of Vera Cruz and the Castle of San Juan de Ulloa.

From the disembarkation of our troops up to this hour, General Scott has conducted the siege with that patience, energy, and skill which all expected from so great a general. Almost insurmountable obstacles have opposed us, not among the least of which may be reckoned the hostile elements, wind and storms of sand. This for several days, at the opening of the siege, prevented our landing our stores and munitions of war, which caused delays in our offensive operations, and caused some to complain of inefficiency in the commanding General; but with equal patience he overcame the obstacles and endured the murmurings.

28th March. To-day has been given to the enemy to make their arrangements preparatory to evacuating the city. No American is permitted to enter until this is done. To-morrow morning at ten o'clock the Mexicans march out and lay down their arms.

29th March. At ten o'clock this morning the "Magnanimous" nation marched out of their bulwarks—four or five thousand of them and laid down their arms in the presence of our army.

It was all done in order and quietness, and especial care was observed that nothing should be done to wound the feelings of the vanquished. They were permitted to go where they pleased —on parole. In the name of cannon-balls, what does parole mean among such people! It will have no more force with them than a promise never to eat anything again would have. Yet go they must, for it is impossible for us to keep them prisoners of war, and they may as well go on parole as without. Many of them, no doubt, are country people, caught up by the authorities, and forced into service. Such will return to their homes, thanking us for their release from a cruel service.

Immediately, after their departure the stars and stripes threw out their folds over the captured forts and the far-famed castle, and looked only the more impudently inspiring, as being half concealed by the rising smoke of five hundred cannon belching harmless thunder in honor of our victory.

8th April. Since my last date nothing has occurred in my vicinity and experience, worthy of particular report. Until this morning we remained at our old camp among the sand hills occasionally going into the city to get a good dinner, or other creature comfort. The usual amount of grumbling and good-humor has prevailed, and our mess has gradually improved, to effect which, I hold to be the true test of a good campaigner. During the siege we have been compelled to live very scanty, and on coarse food. Sometimes we scarcely had anything to eat. I disembarked on the ninth day of March with four days rations in my haversack, consisting of sea biscuit, and boiled beef. From that time till the close of the siege on the twenty-ninth we were compelled to live almost entirely on the Mexican cattle which we found wandering among the hills and woods in the neighborhood of our camp, and they were poor miserable things; but such as they were we appropriated as many of them as were necessary for the subsistence of our troops. This scarcity of food was owing in a great measure to the violent storms which prevented us from communicating with our shipping and landing our stores, and the position too which our division occupied in the investment, had something to do with it; for, we were so far from the place where the supplies were finally landed that no time could be spared to transport them to us. I fared as poorly, indeed suffered a great deal more, for want of protection from the intense heat of the sun, and the chilling dews of

night, for I did not bring anything ashore except the clothing I had on my back, and in consequence, I was under the necessity, much of the time, of sleeping on the ground without anything to cover me. The nights were often, or rather always cold, and I suffered from it. Occasionally, I shared part of the blanket, or overcoat of my more fortunate companion—more fortunate because he had found the blanket which some volunteer, in the heat of the day, had found to be an oppressive incumbrance to carry on his back, and had imprudently thrown it away to lighten the burden. Such is the thoughtlessness of a soldier. The present is all that occupies his thoughts. Two or three days ago, I was able to get my baggage. We then had tents and other luxuries in abundance. Under other circumstances, I should have thought I had endured no little hardship during this siege, but plenty of excitement and good fellowship knocked off the rough edges, blunted the points and gave no time to think of such things.

The city of Vera Cruz does not cover a very large area, but is compactly built, and some of the structures have rather an imposing appearance. Most of the buildings look very ancient. About one half the city was much damaged by the bombardment. Many of the higher classes of inhabitants left it before it was invested, and when they return and witness the ruin spread around their shattered dwellings, they will no doubt, be thankful they were not at home.

The shells, falling on the tops of the houses, crashed through the roofs into the interior, and then exploding produced the most frightful and terrific effects. The thunder of these explosions was truly awful at the distance of a mile from the scene. There must have been the most horrible suffering and dismay among the women and children.

I doubt whether a city, after being well invested, and having no reasonable prospect of successful defense from within, or aid from without, should refuse to surrender when summoned to that effect. The high perfection to which the science of war has attained in this age has very much simplified a decision in such a case, and it seems only a consideration of the relative value of human life, and human glory, the latter being a very ambiguous commodity, when it wears a feather in its cap, according to my experience.

The castle of San Juan de Ulloa may well sustain the reputa-

tion for strength which it has so long enjoyed as a military fortification. I think it must be considered impregnable to naval attacks even in this day of scientific warfare. It is a complicated and very curious structure, and well repays a visit. It is built on a coral reef in the harbor, and stands about five hundred yards from the city. Both city and castle when they fell into our hands were in the most filthy condition it is possible to conceive.

A rigid police has been organized, which will, if efficiently carried out, remove the exciting causes to disease before the most unhealthy part of the season begins, and it is to be sincerely hoped will tend to abate the violence of the Black Death vomite which rages here so fearfully.

We broke up our camp among the sand hills this morning, about nine o'clock, and commenced our march into the interior in the direction of Jalapa. We have marched today about thirteen miles. Our division, Twiggs's thus leads off towards the capital which we design to capture, if we can as it is necessary to terminate the war. The remainder of the army is still in camp in Vera Cruz. It will follow us in divisions, one day separating each. Our route today has been over a very sandy road, worn deep into the earth, in many places three or four feet, thus enclosing us between sand walls. The sun poured down upon us with a boiling heat, not a breath of air stirring, or a single leaf or twig to shade our burning heads. Some of our men have dropped down by the roadside, and died a few minutes after from the effects of the heat. Once or twice, during the day, the veins in my head became much swollen, my eyes dim, and I felt a sensation of dizziness, all indicating a strong tendency to congestion of the brain.

At least four-fifths of the entire Division have been left on the roadside, overcome by the excessive heat. They will probably revive, and come on and join us in camp, sometime during the night. By an exercise of the greatest fortitude I succeeded in keeping up with the head of the column and arrived in camp with the first. But I no sooner reached here, than I fell upon the ground and lay there for an hour or more, without the power of raising an arm. We arrived here late in the afternoon. There are officers with us who have been with the army in all the long and arduous marches it has made, both in this country, and among the swamps and everglades of Florida, yet they all with

one accord say they have never endured such suffering on a march as they have experienced to-day.

It has resulted from this that the general at the head of the column and all the superior officers are mounted on horses, and consequently they, who regulate the rate of marching, and the restings, did not appreciate the heaviness of the sand, boiling hot, over which we were passing nor the rapidity of the pace we were required to keep. Again, it should have been remembered that it was the first day's march after having been for a long time quiet in camp at Vera Cruz, and that this first day is always the hardest to get through with. It requires two or three days at marching to bring soldiers in a good trim for it. After that they may be sometimes crowded, and compelled to make forced marches, without wearing them down much.

Of the appearance of the country all may be said in a few words. It is sandy, and barren, and shows but little evidence of cultivation. It is covered mostly, so far as I could see, from the highroad, with a kind of wild grass, and clumps of chaparral were here and there seen. There are very few ranches, or dwellings along the roadside, and what there are of the poorest kind. The chief productions of this part of the country, however, if I may judge from the appearances about our camp is the wood-tick in every variety, and this affords me a very delightful prospect in the way of sleep to-night, for I must make my bed with them. There is scarcely any place, however, so bad you cannot find some comfort about it, and I found it here in a delightful bath, in a stream that runs near by, to which I was able to drag myself after recovering a little from my exhaustion.

9 April. Camp at Puente de los Vigas. Marched today about eleven miles over an excellent road. The heat has not been quite so oppressive as it was yesterday, and a few of our men have in consequence been left behind on the road. The country has somewhat improved in appearance and shows more signs of cultivation. We have passed but few dwellings, though some large haciendas could be seen at a distance in the country. We are encamped by another stream, which has afforded me the luxury of another bath, and truly it is a luxury, that one cannot comprehend who has not enjoyed it under such circumstances.

General Scott's means for transporting his army into the interior was so limited, that we were compelled before leaving

Vera Cruz to reduce our baggage to the least possible limit. For beds, therefore we have but a blanket or two apiece, and my wardrobe consists of what is on my back, and a change of underwear stowed away in a small basket. This must answer until we conquer our way into some town, where we can replenish our supplies and await in a more healthy locality than the one we are leaving behind for the arrival of more transportation.

Our march is in the direction of Jalapa, a little more than sixty miles distant from Vera Cruz. We have no certain tidings of the enemy, but rumor says he will ere long present himself in our way. It is thought not, however, before we reach the Puente National, or National Bridge, or Puente del Rio, Bridge of the King, as it was formerly called.

10 April. After an easy march of six miles, we arrived today at the Puente National. There was no enemy to be seen, yet there are indications that the Mexicans intended to make a stand here, and oppose our progress. Ditches have been recently dug across the road, first over several arches of the bridge, and then partly filled up, indicating a change of plan on the part of the enemy.

Our camp, tonight, is in an open field, found on crossing the Bridges for there are two of them, but so near to, and connected with each other as to have the name, and appearance of but one. Nearly opposite our camp, on an eminence to the left of the road is to be seen a fine Hacienda, or farm belonging to General Santa Anna. The scenery along our route today has been beautiful, and the country generally has presented an improved appearance.

11 April. Camp at Pian del Rio, We have marched fifteen miles today. This is the entrance to a strong mountain pass. On our arrival here the enemy was reported to be in force two or three miles in advance, and prepared to dispute our further progress. A small cavalry force was immediately despatched for the purpose of reconnoitring his position. It soon returned and reported that the Mexicans were occupying the pass of Cerro Gordo, strength unknown. We shall give ourselves no more trouble about them tonight, but will wake them up early tomorrow morning.

12 April. This morning our Division advanced towards the pass of Cerro Gordo with the view of making a more satisfactory inspection of the enemy's position, strength etc., and if prac-

ticable, brush him away, and continue our march. But we found on a near approach to the line of fortifications that the Mexican force was twelve, or fifteen thousand, and strongly posted behind almost impregnable natural and artificial fortifications. The comparative smallness of our own numbers, there being about two thousand, five hundred of us, and these advantages on the part of the enemy, determined General Twiggs to move back to his original position at Plan del Rio, and there await the arrival of the other division of the Army under Generals Worth, Patterson, and Pillow. One of these divisions will probably join us this evening. No sooner had we made our appearance before the Mexican lines this morning than they opened a spirited fire upon us from their batteries, but without serious effect.

April 13. General Patterson arrived last night with his division of Volunteers. The enemy's position proving so much stronger than was anticipated, most of the day has been spent in reconnoitering it. No active measures have yet been taken.

April 14. It was generally expected that an attack would be made on the enemy to-day, but General Patterson of the Militia, being the senior officer present with our forces, seems to decline the responsibility of a general engagement, and in consequence we have been laying on our arms all day awaiting the arrival of General Scott. He has just arrived with General Pillow's division. Two or three prisoners, and one deserter from the Mexicans have been taken to-day. We are all anxious to have the contest come off.

April 15. We have remained quietly in our camp to-day. General Worth's division was expected to join us to-day, but has not arrived. The enemy has been more on the alert than heretofore.

April 16. Still in camp at Plan del Rio. Nothing of consequence transpired to-day. Small parties have been out reconnoitering the enemy's position. It is very strong. General Worth's division joined us after dark this evening. All of Scott's Army is now concentrated at this point.

April 17. At seven o'clock this morning our division was put in motion to gain a position opposite the left flank of the enemy's line, which was accomplished, but not until a part of the division became engaged with the advanced posts of the Mexicans.

April 18. At an early hour this morning the battle of "Cerro Gordo" began. General Twiggs's division commenced the action by attacking the left flank of the enemy's line, with a vim, to turn it, and if practicable gain his rear. This was only partially accomplished when the post of the Mexican line gave way and the advantages thus gained were pressed with great vigor until a general breaking up of the whole line ensued. Owing to the character of the ground the severest fighting was mostly for positions, for the small hills surrounding the high hill called "Cerro Gordo." The latter commanded nearly the entire field of action, and was evidently relied on by the Mexicans as the decisive point in their line of fortifications. The way being cleared to it, however, our soldiers seemed to vie with each other in seeing who should be first on the summit of Cerro Gordo. They rushed up its rough sides under a galling fire, but still they pressed on gallantly. The Mexicans stood their ground well, and it was not until driven from their position at the point of the bayonet that many of them left it. While this attack on the hill was going on, General Shields was ordered to turn the left flank of the enemy's line, and cut off the retreat. His Brigade was composed of the New York volunteers and the 3rd and 4th Regiments of Illinois volunteers. In this service General Shields was very severely wounded by a grape shot passing through his side.

The enemy's left having given way, the rest of the line soon followed, except the extreme right. This was strongly fortified, and had successfully resisted two attacks by the Pennsylvania and Tennessee volunteers commanded by General Pillow. But soon being surrounded by our forces and deserted by their own, they were surrendered by their commander, Gil La Vega, one of the best of the Mexican generals, the same who fought so well at Resaca de la Palma against General Taylor's army, and who was captured there also, and sent a prisoner of war to New Orleans. General Worth's division came up during the action to-day, but took no part in it.

Our loss, considering the obstinacy of the contest, has not been very great. That of the enemy is considerably greater than ours. In this fight we did not have more than three thousand men actually engaged at any one time. The nature of the ground was such as not to admit of a larger force being brought

into action. The Mexican army was computed at fifteen to eighteen thousand.

The pass of Cerro Gordo is about fifteen miles from Jalapa. It was toward this town that the enemy retreated. We pursued them within three or four miles of the town. We are encamped to-night at "Encerro" a beautiful Hacienda belonging to Santa Anna. It is seven miles from Jalapa.

April 19. It is as serene and everything as quiet to-day as though the fierce conflict of yesterday had never occurred. Grief for those of our friends whom we left dead on the field seems to be suppressed by the gratitude which all feel for their own preservation. Armies soon recover from the moral effects of battle, so far as those effects are visible in their external character.

We broke up our camp at Encerro this morning at seven o'clock, and are to-night in Jalappa.⁶ We arrived here about two o'clock this afternoon. As we entered the town the inhabitants collected in large numbers along the roadsides to get their first view of the terrible Yankees, of whom, however, they gave no indication of being afraid.

To-day, for the first time since leaving Vera Cruz, the country has presented a rich and fertile appearance. It is pretty well cultivated and the vegetation looks green and healthy. In, and around Jalapa everything is beautiful—really wonderfully beautiful! There can be no other place on earth more nearly approaching Paradise. The trees, the plants, the shrubs, the air, the sun, all enchant me.

April 20. No excitement to be discovered in any quarter to-day. We have been looking about the town to spy out all that is new or interesting, and trying to make ourselves as comfortable as possible, for it is not known how long we may be compelled to stop here. The inhabitants seem disposed to be civil. I should think the population of the town was not far from five hundred.

I don't like this rheumatism that has tortured me for so long a time since my exposure at the siege of Vera Cruz. I hope it will leave me after a time.

April 21. General Worth's division came up to-day, and, passing through the town without stopping, continued on to

⁶ After the defeat of Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo, April 19, General Scott constituted Jalapa a depot for supplies.

occupy Perote. Worth was rather thrown in the rear at Cerro Gordo, but he seems resolved to go ahead now. He probably will not find any opposition to his march on Perote, or his seizure of the castle situated near that place, and so famous in the annals of Mexican revolutions.

April 22. All quiet in town to-day. We have no tidings of the remnants of the Mexican Army dispersed at Cerro Gordo.

Since our arrival here I have, until to-day, been living in my tent pitched in the Plaza, or Public Square, but to-day we have located ourselves in a vacant house, and find it very comfortable quarters.

May 20. Our division (Twiggs's) is still occupying Jalapa. Time rolls on very quietly and pleasantly. General Worth has continued to advance his division and is said to be now occupying Puebla. Nothing worthy of particular notice relating to the operations of the Army has occurred since my previous date. General Worth met with no opposition from the Castle of Perote. It was surrendered into his hands as soon as he presented himself before it. At the town of Amazoque, ten miles this side of Puebla he came near being surprised by a body of about one thousand cavalry under the command of Santa Anna, who had been laying in wait for him. Fortunately, however, he managed to extricate himself from his danger without any loss. He continued on to Puebla and took possession of that city without any opposition. For the past month Jalapa has been full of rumors—sometimes favorable to a speedy termination of hostilities, and the next hour indicating war to the knife. We have learned a little of Santa Anna's movements since his defeat at Cerro Gordo. From that field he fled to Orizaba almost alone. There he succeeded in gathering around him a force of three or four thousand men, consisting in part of the fugitives of his Cerro Gordo Army, and in part raised in the neighborhood of Orizaba. With this small army, it is said, he has again placed himself in our front, and is now fortifying a pass between the city of Puebla and the City of Mexico. It is the Pass of Rio Frio (cold river) and is fifteen leagues from Puebla.

I am inclined to think we will have no more fighting, though I confess it is almost idle to form opinions relating to the probable course of Mexican policy in the government of this wretched country.

I fear my recollections of Jalapa, beautiful as the place is in

all that nature could do, will be anything but pleasant and agreeable.

Nearly all the time from my arrival here to the present moment, I have been confined to my room and some of the time to my bed. Having contracted, or rather having had a return of my old enemy—the *rheumatism*, owing to great exposure at the Siege of Vera Cruz, and on the route to this place, I suffered severely in consequence. The comfortable quarters in which I am now living had nearly restored me when I was most severely attacked by the jaundice from which I am now just beginning to recover a little. I am still very much prostrated by the effects of it, and greatly reduced in flesh. I hope soon to regain my health and strength. The jaundice is quite prevalent among us. I have heard of several cases.

May 22. At three o'clock to-day Twiggs started with his division en route for Puebla. This leaves Colonel Childs here as the military governor of Jalapa. His force is composed of the 1st Regiment of United States Artillery, the 1st Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, and three companies of the 2nd Regiment of that State.

Being unable to march with my Regiment on account of my recent illness I have been left behind to regain strength and vigor, and rejoin my company when I am able.

I changed my quarters to-day, and am now living with Lieutenant Frank Thomas, of the 3rd Reg. U. S. Arty., who has also been left behind a convalescent invalid. We are the sole occupants of the large, empty, old house, without any other furniture in it than our little cot-beds standing in adjacent corners of one of the largest rooms. Our only attendant and servant is a sick soldier. He cooks for us and attends to our room—all of which is no great task, as we eat but little and have nothing in our room to attend to. If one is sick on a campaign he must take care of himself the best way he can, for others have but little time to look after him.

May 28. and another day has gone, carrying its events of joy, sorrow, hopes, fears, gratified wishes, bitter disappointments, etc., etc., etc., on its silent, irresistible, ever-advancing, mysterious course, and emptied them—where? I will retain none of them. Let them float on, and mingle with the spoils of time.—What is *time*?

June 6. Orders received to-day from General Scott direct-

ing Colonel Childs to break up his garrison at this place as soon as practicable, and move forward to join the main army in Puebla. The general hospital which has thus far been located here is to be removed to Perote. I hope it will be practicable to take up our line of march soon, for this Jalapa is getting to be a dull enough place for me. Since I have been so far recovered from my sickness as to be able to walk out, I have had nothing to do but walk about the town seeking to make the hours pass away as pleasantly as circumstances would permit by gazing at everything I could find that was novel and curious. It would be much pleasanter for me if I could speak the language of these people for I could then doubtless find society enough. I have hardly command enough of the Spanish dialect, as yet, to make my simplest ideas understood by the people. I think, however, I am learning to speak it better every day.

To be well and strong, and with my regiment again is my strongest desire.

June 8. Captain Bainbridge 4th Arty. arrived here to-day from Perote where he was left behind the regiment sick. He goes to Fort Monroe, Va. under orders. A train arrived from Puebla.

June 10. We are making arrangements to move on to Puebla as soon as possible, and in consequence the inhabitants of Jalapa are in a state of uneasiness and alarm. They say the surrounding country is infested with robbers and guerilla bands, and that as soon as we remove our protection from the town they will rush in and rob, pillage, and murder the inhabitants. This is a fine state of things truly, when these people must call on a foreign invading army to protect them against their own country-men. It is a fact well-known to us, however, that some of the citizens of Jalapa have been in the practice of furnishing these outlaws, and legal assassins with powder, and lead to assist them in carrying out their depredations against us; and they must now justly suffer themselves the murders and robberies, that they are no longer able to direct against those who have heretofore given them protection. I have but little sympathy for these people, for they are not patriotic enough to defend their country, nor generous and manly enough to act uprightly towards those who—in conquering them—protect and preserve to them the free enjoyment of all their rights, to an extent never enjoyed under their own government. What a

wrong and unnatural thing it is that this beautiful country should be possessed by such a worthless, idle, vicious, mongrel race.

June 15. Since our arrival here on the 19th of April I do not perceive any decided change in the temperature of the weather. The sun is perhaps a little hotter during the morning from eight to twelve o'clock. Almost every day about noon it clouds over and in the afternoon we have a smart shower after which it soon clears up again. It is a most delightful climate.

June 16. General Cadwallader arrived here with re-enforcement of infantry and cavalry from Vera Cruz, en route for Puebla to join the main army. He brought a large train of supplies with him. He was much annoyed, and delayed on his route by guerilla parties, which succeeded in killing and wounding a good many of his men, and forced him to destroy a part of his train of wagon to keep them from being captured. This train left Vera Cruz on the 4th inst. Colonel McIntosh came with it on his way to join his regiment after having recovered from the terrible wounds he received at the battle of Rezaca de la Palma.

June 18. This morning we broke up our garrison at Jalapa, and are now on our way to join the main army at Puebla. Our force is about twenty five hundred strong—comprised of all the odds and ends of all the regiments and corps in the service—the whole in a state of great confusion and disorganization as must necessarily be the case when such a crowd of raw recruits and militia are huddled together, and commanded by officers like a majority of those we have with us, appointed from civil life and consequently most dangerously ignorant of their duties.

Our command, or Division, as it is called, is divided into two Brigades under the command of General Cadwallader, a very good Chestnut street soldier from the city of Philadelphia. For any other purpose than parading on Chestnut street he is absolutely good for nothing. The 1st Brigade is under Colonel McIntosh of the 5th Reg. Infantry. He is no holiday soldier. He is the gallant old officer who was so furiously assailed by a party of Mexican soldiers at the battle of Resaca de la Palma. They rushed on to him with their bayonets, three of which passed through his body—one through his arm, one through his thigh, and the other entering his mouth came out at the back of his neck. I have just been talking with the old Colonel about

it, and could hardly believe it possible he could have escaped death from such wounds, but so it is, for they are before my eyes hardly yet entirely healed.

The 2nd Brigade is commanded by Colonel Childs, 1st Reg. Arty. We marched to-day only four miles,—more for the purpose of organizing and arranging the large train of wagons we have with us, than for making a day's march. We have in the train between six and seven hundred wagons heavily loaded with provisions, ammunition, and baggage. When stretched out along the road they extend over a distance of about five miles. Of course such a train is very difficult to protect at all points from the attacks of guerillas, and scouting parties of the enemy.

June 19. Marched fourteen miles to-day through as beautiful country as there is in the world. In every direction as far as the eye can reach is seen the most luxuriant vegetation. About three o'clock this afternoon we passed the village of San Miguel which we found entirely deserted, some of the inhabitants having been frightened away by our approach, and others, no doubt, having fled to the mountains to aid the Guerillas in their efforts to annoy our progress, and hope to come in for their share of the expected plunder. We think they will earn it before they get it. Some small parties of the enemy were seen to-day hovering around us on the tops of neighboring hills. Our elevation has now become so great we are actually among the clouds, which rising from the Gulf of Mexico are here dashed against the mountain sides. During the latter part of our march to-day we were immersed in a vapor bath. The heavy dense clouds sweeping along and rolling up the mountains, permitted only a glimpse, now and then, of the country below us. We reached camp about dusk in the midst of a heavy shower of rain. Owing to the luxuriance of the country, the magnificence of the scenery, and the novelty of our position, this day's march has been of great interest to me.

20 June. The greatest opposition to our march today was made at the pass of La Haya which the Mexicans had spent much time in fortifying, but which was afterwards abandoned without trying to defend it. It is capable of being strongly fortified. We attained our greatest altitude in crossing the Sierra Madre today, near the village of Las Vigas. During our march we were frequently enveloped in clouds of vapor as they swept by us. It is useless to attempt any description of the

scenery. How surpassingly beautiful, and at times grand and magnificent beyond all the powers of description to express! We reached our camp at an unusually late hour, eight o'clock in the evening, in a heavy rain and darkness, benumbed with cold and fatigued by the cares and labors of the day. Before leaving Jalapa, Colonel McIntosh appointed me to act on his staff as Assistant Adjutant General, and the duties of this position threw much more duty and responsibility upon me than I otherwise would have had. Indeed, I was but an attaché, not properly on duty with this command, but simply going on with it to join my own regiment which was in Puebla. My services, however, were needed, and I accepted the Colonel's appointment. 21 June. Marched seven miles today, which brought us to our present encampment under the walls of the far renowned Castle of Perote. On our route today the country has not been fertile and well cultivated, as on our preceding progress, still it was interesting in its appearance presenting many picturesque views, and some very extensive and beautiful landscapes.

The Castle of Perote is situated near the south eastern side of an extensive and perfectly level plain, which is surrounded on all sides by mountains, the most remarkable of which are the Caffre de Perote and Pizarro's mountain. The peaks of the former are seen from Vera Cruz a distance of ninety seven miles.

The Castle is a large four bastioned fort, with small towers surmounting each of the salients. Its interior buildings and arrangements seem to have been constructed for the purposes of prisons and storage of supplies. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, with a counterscarp of cut masonry, which may, it is said, be filled with water to the depth of six or eight feet, by means of subterranean aqueducts. I do not think this can be so, since there is no apparent source for the amount of water such an operation would require. It is now perfectly dry. It is no doubt capable of making an obstinate resistance. Considering the position and construction of this work it is difficult to conceive what object the Spanish government had in view in building it. It has, I believe, heretofore been used chiefly for a National State Prison, and for that purpose it is very much needed under the present state of things in Mexico.

The town of Perote is about a mile from the Castle, and is one of the most dreary, desolate looking places on the face of

the earth. In passing through the dirty streets the eye rests upon little else than old dilapidated walls, with here and there a passage way through them. Behind these walls sneak the inhabitants of the town, snakey and unsociable in their appearance, and each one looking as though nothing but an opportunity was wanting for him to cut your throat or thrust a dagger into your back.

The winds here are constantly blowing, are always cold, and the dust fills the air and your eyes. I do not believe a more uncomfortable place could be found. . . . Fruits and vegetables are scarce. The Meguey or Pulque plant (century plant of our climate), used for many purposes by the Mexicans, first begins to make its appearance here.

The women look like old, ugly, withered hags, but in this country as in all others, some of the most admirable virtues and qualities of our kind are found among them. It is not unusual to find them faithful, benevolent, and affectionate, and in their estimation never sufficiently so towards the sick and unfortunate. As Providence designed women for the practice of such virtues among his creatures, it would be singular indeed, if they were not called into active exercise here, for, in no part of his creation can such services be more needed than in this wretched country. 22 June. . . Still in camp in Perote. Tomorrow morning we hope to take up our march again for Pueblo. It is rumored that there is a division of two or three thousand cavalry between here and there waiting for us, and that they have with them a battery of field artillery. They are lying in wait, it is said, to attack our train, which is well understood to be loaded with very necessary supplies for the Army. If they attack it vigorously, and with ordinary skill, it is possible they may succeed in doing us a great deal of damage, since our entire command, with the exception of a few individuals among the officers is made up of perfect raw recruits. This together with the encumbrance of a train four or five miles long may cause us some disaster.

23 June. . . This morning received information that our forward march would be delayed until General Pillow, who is reported to be at Jalapa with re-enforcements, comes up. This will probably delay us here for some days. My time is so much occupied in aiding Colonel McIntosh to organize this mob of recruits that I am unable to look about the place as much as I

wish to do. The weather continues dry, cold, windy, and dusty, and is very disagreeable.

24 June. . Still in camp, trying to drill into some kind of discipline this mustang command. A more heterogeneous, undisciplined compound of material called soldiers, I am sure never before was brought together in any Army. As the majority of the officers are more ignorant and difficult to instruct in their duties than the privates. When applying for their commission they could have had but a small idea of the duties they would be called upon to perform, and they certainly have not tried very hard to learn much about them since. They seem to have just found out that there is something to do on a campaign in an enemy's country besides playing gentlemen. It requires an immense deal of patience to manufacture an army out of militia.

28 June. . . Colonel Child's Brigade left here this morning for the purpose of establishing a camp at Tepeyahualco, an advance past eighteen miles from this. This movement was rendered necessary by reason of the scarcity of forage at this place. He is to remain at that place until we come up and join him. We are still waiting for General Pillow's re-enforcements.

29 June. . . . Captain Whipple of the 5th Regiment U. S. Infantry attached to our command died last night. We buried him with military honors today in one of the salients of the Castle. Many of our men are sick, and many more will be unless we leave here soon. It is a very unhealthy place.

1 July. . . General Pillow arrived here today from Vera Cruz with 2500 troops. He met with very little opposition on the way. His division is tolerably healthy, and a pretty good looking body of men.

2 July. General Pillow has consolidated his command with General Cadwalader's, and reorganized the whole division. Colonel McIntosh thinks injustice has been done to him, by not giving him a command proportionate to his rank. He remonstrates with Pillow and requests either to have justice done him, or to be released from all command in the Division. Pillow refuses the former, and grants the latter. This releases me from my position as an Assistant Adjutant General to McIntosh, and for the rest of the way to Puebla, our destination, the old Colonel and myself will travel with this army as attachés. No one can feel more rejoiced at this than I do, for it relieves me from all duty, while I am yet too feeble for hard service.

3 July. Camp at Tepeyahualco eighteen miles from Perote, which place we left this morning on our homeward march for Puebla. The general appearance of the country is barren, the growth of timber is small, and water is scarce. The country continues level; with here and there a huge mountain, which seems to have been elevated from the plain by some great interior force. Between these, views are sometimes to be caught of a soft, and fertile valley winding around the mountains until lost to sight.

4 July. . . . Starting at daylight this morning we marched twelve miles, and encamped at Ojo del Agua for the night. This is a small, dirty Indian village. Its name signifies "eye of water," thus named I suppose because of a spring which here gives rise to two small streams running in different directions. The country has pretty much the same appearance as that traveled over yesterday. This day being the anniversary of the declaration of independence, I can think of no better way, under present circumstances, of celebrating it, than by eating as good a supper as I can get, and then going to bed and sleeping as well as I can.

5 July. . . . Made a short march of seven or eight miles over a broken country. The water scarce and bad.

6 July. . . . Leaving camp at an early hour this morning, we marched twelve or fourteen miles over a beautiful country, in a much higher state of cultivation than any I have seen before in this country. The principal productions are corn, barley, and beans. As we were approaching the Pass of El Peñal, a body of cavalry was discovered on our right flank, occupying a large field; their force concealed by an elevation of ground. Captain Blake, with a squadron of 150 dragoons, was sent out to reconnoitre. He discovered that the body was seven or eight hundred strong. It moved off as he approached, towards a considerable town some three or four miles distant. Our cavalry force being too small to pursue, and the ground being impracticable, or difficult for any other kind of force, we continued our march after capturing one or two prisoners. This was probably the body, it was rumored when we left Perote, would oppose our march. The prisoners that we took said it was their intention to attack our train. We are encamped for the night at El Penal.

7 July. . . . Starting at Sunrise, a march of twelve miles brought

us to the town of Amezoque. When we arrived here, we learned from General Smith whom we found here with his brigade, that General Scott had been informed that we had been attacked, and were surrounded by the enemy and needed assistance. On learning this it seemed Scott sent Smith to our assistance. We encamp tonight in Amezoque. This town is celebrated for the quantity, and quality of spurs, and bridle bits that are made here. In its appearance it is a dilapidated place—everything going to decay. It is ten miles from Puebla. The surrounding country is rich in soil and tolerably well cultivated. On our march today we passed through the town of Noplalucan, famous for making the best bread in the Republic. Judging from the specimen I saw it well deserves the reputation it has, for I never saw more beautiful bread in my life. In my own country I never saw anything that could nearly equal it.

8 July. . . This morning we entered Puebla, having been six days in marching from Perote to this place. On my arrival here my first care was to find where the old 4th was quartered, which would be, of course, my home.

17 JULY. A wish having been expressed by several officers, to visit the renowned pyramid of Cholula, the general gave his permission that the 4th Artillery might accompany those who wished to gratify their curiosity by a visit to this ancient ruin. We left town about seven o'clock in the morning; a march of seven miles brought us to the pyramid. It presents very much the appearance of a natural mound in its present condition, having lost the symmetry and regularity which it still shows some indications of having at some time possessed. It is now covered over with a rich vegetation with here and there a few small trees. A gradual slope, or paved camp carries you about half way to the top, and from this point there is a flight of stone steps leading to the summit. The ascent is on the north-western side. There is now standing on the top of the pyramid a small chapel dedicated to the "Virgin of Remedies." This wonderful structure of a people of which we know nothing is built of adobe, or sun dried brick. There is still remaining of it four stories or terraces. It is said that in cutting a road some years since, through the lower terrace, two human skeletons, and some works of art were discovered in a stone chamber which was laid open by the operation. From the chapel on the summit a magnificent view is presented of the perpetually snow crowned

Popocatepetl, and its gigantic rival Ixtaccihuatl, or the "white woman". Near the pyramid are the site and ruins of an ancient, and once populous city of Cholula. It was here that Cortez gave the simple Indians such a terrible, and bloody example of the fate of those who dared to deal treacherously with him.

6 August. . . Tomorrow the army begins its movement for the City of Mexico. Miller's company A, the one to which I have been attached since I joined the army, is designated to remain here as a part of the garrison of this place. By my application I have been transferred to Company C (Ridgley) and will go with the army. This company arrived from Vera Cruz today, in charge of a light battery. Getty came with it.

7 August. . This morning Twiggs' division⁷ left Puebla in the advance for Mexico. This division is composed of the 1st and 4th Artillery 2d, 3d, 7th Infantry, Rifle Regiment Detachment cavalry and Taylor's field battery of Artillery. The country over which we have passed today is level, soil fertile, cultivation tolerable. Encamped to-night at Rio Prieto, 11½ miles from Puebla.

8 August. . . Left our camp at Rio Prieto at five o'clock in the morning and arrived at our present camp, San Martin, at half past eleven A. M., distance today eleven miles. The country still continues level. We have not yet left the plain of Puebla. Soil fertile and presents an appearance of good cultivation. We seemed to have been moving today almost at the base of the snow mountains, although 20 miles distant. Our elevation is so great, and the air, in consequence, so rarefied that distant objects seem to be much nearer than they really are. While we were scorching in the torrid sun, it was somewhat difficult to conceive that the immense white caps of these mountains was really snow. The magnificence of the scene can be understood only by those who have been so fortunate as to witness it. No ordinary exhibitions of the grand and beautiful in nature can much excite the feelings of one who has passed over the national road from Vera Cruz to the capital of Mexico. From the start, it is one continually varying scene of beauty, magnificence, and grandeur. No one has yet attempted, or at least succeeded, in describing the features of nature as they are here presented, and in consequence, they are comparatively but

⁷ See also, *Ripley's War with Mexico*, II, 17-18.

little celebrated. This is my birthday, and I have actually forgotten how old I am.

9 August. . . Camp at Tesmolucas ten miles from San Martin. After leaving the latter place the country becomes more broken, gradually rising as you advance. It is fertile and well cultivated. A wooden fence is seldom to be seen in this country; its place being supplied, either by a ditch, or a row of aloe or maguy plant. This plant makes an enduring and an impenetrable fence, by being planted in rows so close together that the branches and leaves may intertwine. Thus it makes a barricade that neither man nor beast will desire to penetrate. Either a picket of the enemy, or a gang of guerillas was discovered in our front today; they fled on our approach. General Scott joined our division last evening at San Martin. There is a diversity of opinion among us as to whether we will have a fight before we reach the capital. It is possible we may, but not very probable.

10 August. . . Camp at Venta de Cordova, eighteen miles from Tasmolucas. The route today has been over a most excellent road though gradually ascending. The country abounds more in timber than here-to-fore. The growth is principally pine and more abundant than I have seen in any of our previous marches. We found also plenty of fine cool water. Although it is now what is called the rainy season, we have had very favorable weather for marching. There has been some rain but not until the march for the day was finished, and all snugly stowed away in camp. In the middle of the day the sun is hot, but the air is cool and pleasant. The nights are uncomfortably cold. Was up on picket guard all last night, in consequence of a report that was sent into camp by our advance guard that a large body of Mexican Infantry was in our vicinity, with the intention of surprising us. Nothing of the kind was attempted nor did I believe at the time, that the enemy would think of such an enterprise. After marching seven and a half miles, we came to the pass of Rio Frio. It was the intention of the enemy, at one time, to defend this pass. We found their deserted fortifications. It does not seem to me by any means to be as defensible a position as that of Cerro Gordo. Five and a half miles from Rio Frio we crossed the highest point of the range of mountains that divide the plains of Puebla and Tlascalala from the valley of Mexico. A few miles beyond this point the valley of Mexico

opens before you. I have no language to portray even in outline its features. Indeed, words have not the power to convey to the mind any conception of it. As Niagara is the pride of waters, so is the valley of Mexico of lands. From the highest point of the range of which I have spoken, the road descends rapidly to the bed of the valley.

11 August. Camp at Ayotta, nine miles from Venta de Cordova, We began our march at nine o'clock this morning. Last night a body of Lancers endeavored to reconnoitre our camp, but were discovered and driven off by our cavalry. General Quitman's divisions left Puebla on the 8th inst. and is now occupying Chalco, a considerable town to the left of the main road as you approach the capital. It is known that the enemy are in force at El Piñon, eight miles in advance of our present position and about eight miles from the capital.

12 August. . . At nine o'clock this morning the 4th Artillery, a section of Taylor's field battery and a squadron of cavalry accompanied Captain's Lee's Engineers to make a reconnoissance of the enemy's position and defenses at El Pinon. This is a hill rising abruptly out of the dry bed of the surrounding lakes to the height of 400 feet. It seems completely to barricade the approach to the city on this side. The waters of the lakes of Chalco and Tuzcuco extend near to its base on the north and south. Our approach to the city was on the east. What may be behind the mountains on the west I am, of course, unable to say. It seems to be a very strong position and is well fortified. It will not be taken without a great loss on our part. General North's division left Puebla on the 9th inst. and arrived in Chalco today where he is encamped.

13 August. . Pillow's division left Puebla on the 10th inst. and arrived at Chalco today where he has established his camp. Smith's brigade (Briggs's division) went to El Pinan in support of a reconnoitring party. General Scott has not yet made known his plan of attack on the city, and, of course much speculation is indulged in, as to what will be. The general seems to have the perfect confidence of all his subordinates; little uneasiness is therefore felt as to the mode he may adopt in his operations.

14 August. . . I have been out all day with my company reconnoitring Lake Chalco, near the borders of which we are at present encamped. It was the object of this expedition to ascer-

tain whether there was a canal, as had been reported leading from this lake to another nearer the city, through which large flat boats could enter, and also whether there was an outlet to the lake. Our expedition was unable to accomplish either of these objects. This lake has an average depth of water from ten to fifteen feet. There are numerous islands floating about in it. These are formed along the shores of the lake, from which they are detached by strong winds and blown about from one place to another. They are covered by a rank growth of swamp grass. The lake is perhaps ten or fifteen miles in circumference, at one time evidently much greater. It contains but few fish, they are small, few water fowls, plenty of water snakes. No important military operations have been going on above board today.

15 August. . . Sunday. All quiet as a calm before a storm, orders out for marching tomorrow morning at five o'clock. It is not known in what directions. The crisis is at hand which is to determine which is the greatest, Mexican folly or Yankee impudence; her folly in not coming to terms before we obtain possession of her capital, or our impudence in placing ourselves beyond support with an army of ten thousand men, to attack a strongly fortified city, containing a population of two hundred thousand, and defended by an army of at least thirty thousand men. History has no parallel to this, and all are anxious to know what the result will be.

16 August. . . Left our encampment at Ayotha this morning at six o'clock, retracing our steps for a few miles, then turning to our right by a route leading through Chalco, thus avoiding the fortifications of El Pinan. We had advanced about two and a half miles when it was reported that the enemy were in force in front of our column. The train was moved on, and as we came up the enemy appeared in the field on our left. His strength was variously estimated from six to ten thousand, a large proportion of which was cavalry. The second brigade of the division was immediately formed in line of battle, and thrown forward to bring on an engagement. This brigade is composed of the 4th Artillery and the 2nd and 7th companies of Infantry, with these were united three pieces of Taylor's battery. The 1st Brigade was drawn up in rear to form a reserve. We advanced rapidly towards the enemy for about half a mile, and then gave him six or seven rounds from the battery, when he

gave way, manifesting no disposition to engage us. We did not get within musket range. Some execution was done among the Mexicans since they left five or six dead horses on the field, and an officer's hat with a part of his head in it. What number of men were killed could not be ascertained, since they were carried off. Our force was about three thousand. After making a halt for some time and being convinced that the enemy did not intend to give us a fight, we resumed our march around the lake to the western side of the city, whence the main part of the army had preceded us. We are encamped tonight two miles beyond Chalco.

17 August. . . . Marched today about nine miles over as bad a road as ever was traveled. A force of five cavalry hung on our flank last night, but have not been seen today. Our route lays round the southern border of Lake Chalco. The soil in this part of the valley is extremely fertile. A miserable kind of rice corn seems, however, to be the only grain the natives try to cultivate. The stalk is very large and grows to a great height, but has very little grain in it. Of this rice there are immense fields, containing hundreds of acres. We passed through several Indian villages, the houses of which are constructed of mud and sun dried brick, and filled with miserable naked Indians. On every hand are indications of ruin and decay, none of prosperity and improvement. We are encamped tonight in a large magnificent olive orchard, to which is attached a mill for manufacturing the oil.

18 August. Camp at Jochemilco eight miles from the olive orchard. It has been a very unpleasant days' march, most of the time the rain has come down in torrents, and the road is horribly bad. Nothing but Yankee ingenuity and enterprise could have overcome the obstacles which we have encountered today. It may well surprise the Mexicans to see how we contrive to get our heavy siege train and other ordinance over such places. A few guerillas showed themselves in our rear, one of whom was killed. General Worth's division, which preceded us a day or two, has been reconnoitring the enemy's position at San Antonia which is still some distance in the advance. While thus engaged the enemy fired on a party of our cavalry: the first shot killing Captain Thornton of the Dragoons. For the next few days we shall have plenty of work to do.

19 August. Left Jochemilco for San Augustine where we

arrived about ten o'clock A. M. Immediately on our arrival we were informed that Pillow's division was three or four miles in advance, endeavoring to make a road for the purpose of turning the right flank of the enemy's works at San Antonia. Twigg's division having its train at San Augustine, received two days' rations in haversack, and moved on to support Pillow in his operations. We came up to his position at two o'clock P. M. Magruder's and Taylor's field batteries and the mountain Howitzer battery were the only guns we could bring to bear on his position. And this at such a distance that little execution was done by the Rifle Regiment, thrown forward as skirmishers, because engaged with advance parties. While the enemy was thus engaged in front of his line, Colonel Riley's brigade (4th Artillery, 2nd, and 7th Infantry) moved to the right over ground considered by the enemy as impassable. He had selected his position under this supposition. Our route lay across a "Pedregal," or in other words, over a series of dikes, fissures, and sharp rocks of volcanic formation. The object of this move was either to turn the enemy's left flank, or attack him in the rear as circumstance might determine. We succeeded with some annoyance from artillery fire in gaining the position we sought. Parties of cavalry were sent out to oppose us. These were several times repulsed with considerable loss. While we were engaged in reconnoitring and in watching the enemy from our position, Santa Anna made his appearance in our rear with a force of six or eight thousand men and a battery of artillery. The day was now drawing to a close. It was not known at this time that re-enforcements had been sent to us, across the "Pedregal," and we, as well may be imagined, felt anything but confidence in being able to maintain our position. Our brigade consisted of only about thirteen hundred men, and we were surrounded by thousands. The ground, however, was favorable to us. In retracing our steps for a short distance to the little hamlet of Contrarius, which in consequence of broken ground, trees, and orchards, was not visible from the position we occupied, we found that Smith's and Cadwallader's brigades and some other troops had come to our assistance. Darkness soon ended all operations for the day. We had accomplished apparently little towards routing the enemy, and had suffered more than we wished to acknowledge. We had been subject to a heavy cannonading from the time the action commenced. The light artillery we

had employed was nearly used up, and we had gained nothing but our position. St. Johnston, 1st Artillery, killed at one of the batteries. Pillow planned the operations of the day, and at its close confessed himself unsuccessful, with little hope of gaining a victory should the action be renewed in the morning. Night closed in with black clouds hanging over us, threatening to deluge the earth. Soon the rain poured down in torrents. We had no shelter and everyone was forced to lie down where he stood. The fatiguing operations of the day however, had rendered us insensible to slight inconveniences. We had two or three hours of sleep before operations were commenced again.

21 August. . . . At three o'clock this morning, rain still pouring, we were noiselessly called to arms, and informed that the camp of Contrarias was to be stormed at daylight, and carried without firing a gun, at the point of the bayonet. Silently, we made our way through by-paths and ravines for about one mile and a half, which brought us to the rear of the enemy's camp, at which point the assault was to be made. Before we arrived here, day had dawned, and our approach was discovered. The original plan of attacking, with the bayonet only, was abandoned. Nevertheless, it was determined that the assault should be made. The lateness of the hour resulted from the fact, that a portion of the troops had missed the way, and thus had become separated from the rest. The assaulting columns were formed, and the command to advance was given. We marched within musket range, displayed our columns into line under fire: which done, the 4th Artillery, on the right, the 7th Infantry, on the left, and the 2nd Infantry, in the rear, forming a second line, the command was given to charge. In seventeen minutes the camp of Contrarias was ours. The spoils were twenty-two pieces of cannon, mostly heavy guns, great quantities of ammunition, hundreds of pack mules and horses, and about eleven hundred prisoners. Unfortunately, Valencia who commanded this force escaped. This was his invincible division, which a short time before left San Luis Potise to save the capital. Among the captured guns were two six pounders lost by O'Brien of the 4th Artillery at the battle of Buena Vista. The regiment that lost them there recaptured them here. They were presented in perpetuity to the Regiment by General Scott on the field where the enemy lost them. Scott said he would have inscribed

on them, "Lost without dishonor and regained with glory." The 4th Artillery occupied the captured camp. The remainder of Twiggs's division together with Pillow's started, immediately after this glorious victory to assist Worth, who had for two or three days been keeping the enemy in check at San Antonio. As soon as Valencia's defeat had been made known to the remainder of the Mexican army, it hastened to abandon the works at San Antonio, since being turned they were no longer capable of good defence. They fell back on Churubusco, and the fortifications at that point. The divisions of Worth, Twiggs and Pillow soon came up, and became hotly engaged. After a bloody conflict, which lasted for three hours, with great loss on both sides, victory again crowned the American arms, for the second time the same day. The Mexican force was about two and a half or three times greater than our own. In this action we lost many valuable officers. Captain Karney in command of a squadron of Dragoons most gallantly charged the retreating foe to the very gates of the city. In doing which he lost his arm, and performed one of the most daring and distinguished feats of the war, far surpassing May's celebrated charge. There is no doubt that there was a want of distinction and regularity in the attack. If proper attention had been given to these points, our loss would have been less, and our victory more easily attained. Worth's division marched from the field to the town of Tacubque, Twiggs's to San Angel, Pillow's to Miscoac. Quitman remaining where he had been during the day, at San Augustine. In the engagement in the morning I received a musket ball through my right hand.

21 August. . . . Negotiations for an armistice going on. . . the anticipation of which caused Scott to withdraw his army yesterday instead of following the enemy into the city, which in the opinion of all could have been done, without much loss or resistance. General Scott is severely censured by many for not making the attempt. He disregards these censures in his efforts to attain a great national object. He sacrifices a great temporary reputation in doing as he does. It is urged that the Mexicans are not sincere, that they are deceiving in order to gain time, and to recover from their recent discomfitures. Perhaps this is their object, but Scott has every evidence that ought to influence reason, that as an advantage of this armistice they will honestly endeavor to reconcile the differences between the two

nations. By doing so, they will probably preserve the little honor that is left them, by saving their capital from conquest, and in averting the many evils that will be consequent to such a result.

22 August. . . The armistice concluded yesterday. 4th Artillery quartered at Cozvacan. Myself in the hospital at San Augustine nursing my hand.

27 August. . . . No military operations in progress for the last few days. Much discussion concerning the armistice, and speculations as to whether anything will result from it favorable to peace. The Quarter Master by virtue of an article in the armistice sent a train of wagons into the city today, for the purpose of obtaining provisions for the army. The exasperated mob stoned the teamsters and mules. No escort accompanied the train into the city, one was sent with it but was not allowed to proceed farther than the city gates. Mexican authorities guaranteeing the safe conduct of it. Santa Anna renders reasons and excuses satisfactory to General Scott for this outrage. Scott is severely censured by some for accepting any apology for such a flagrant insult and breach of faith. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts in the case to form any opinion on the subject.

28 August. . . The recent excitement of the battles has in a great measure subsided, and a quiet impatience rests on every one. All the camps are full of rumors, started no doubt to furnish something to talk about.

6 September. . . . One of the articles of the armistice stipulated that either party could terminate it by giving previously forty eight hours' notice to the other. During the last three or four days the Mexicans have so openly and indecently violated its conditions that Scott resolved today to give the notice, although abundantly justified in immediately recommencing hostilities. Troops disposed in different positions to be ready to renew operations.

7 Sept. This evening at six o'clock Riley's brigade evacuates Cozvacan and San Angle. . . . takes up a position near the city on the Riedad road. General hospital and depot established at Miscoac. Colonel Harney in command. My wound not allowing me to go with my regiment, I go to Miscoac. Orders were given tonight to organize a command for the purpose of making an attack in the morning on what is supposed to be an

iron foundry, standing at the base of Chapultepec. It is supposed that the enemy are using this for the purpose of casting cannon, shot, shells etc. and it must therefore be destroyed.

8 Sept. . . . Early this morning a dash was made on the foundry but the reception we received soon convinced us that the enemy was formidable, both in numbers and in position, and that with our plan of attack he could not be easily routed. More troops were ordered up by Scott, making our force in this engagement including infantry and cavalry, just 3251. Soon the action became general and lasted for about two hours. The enemy numbered not less than ten, or perhaps fifteen thousand men, posted behind strong entrenchments. This unexpected and undesirable action resulted in a complete rout to the enemy, but not without severe loss on our side, at a time when every man's life is precious. Our loss is estimated at 600 including many valuable officers. Some of these were killed on the field by the enemy after they were wounded. The gallant old McIntosh was on this field mortally wounded. A braver man never lived. The battle of "Molino del Rey" has spread a gloom over the army, in consequence of so great a loss of friends, war material, and the apparently barren results of the action. The enemy supposed it was also our intention to attack Chapultepec, which not being attempted as was positively ordered, gave him the idea that we had failed in our object, and it may be inspiring him after the successive defeats of Contrarias and Churubusco. This battle was fought by General Worth's and a part of Pillow's Divisions. Captain Drum, 4th Artillery, commanding a field battery, gained great reputation in this engagement. Duncan's light battery also did good execution.

9 Sept. . . . Great speculation as to the real point at which General Scott intends to attack the city. Threatens two or three points, for the purpose of disconcerting the enemy.

10 Sept. . . . There has been some firing today at our advance pickets. . . nothing of importance transpired in public: the General's plan of attack is not yet divulged.

11 Sept. . . . Council of war held. . . Twiggs with the 2nd Brigade of his division ordered to la Piedad. Pillow and Quitman to Lacubuyu. A strong display of Lancers this evening in the direction of the city, which were driven in by a few rounds from McGruder's battery. Steptac's battery to be placed in

position tonight. The batteries on Chapultepec have kept up a close fire on us during the day.

12 Sept. Batteries on, or near, la Piedad road opened early this morning. Others near Lacubuya have kept up a regular fire on the fortifications of Chapultepec during the day. It has been determined to storm the heights of Chapultepec early tomorrow morning. The storming party has been organized from various regiments. Lieut. Hill and Dr. Russy, 4th Artillery, volunteer for this service.

13 Sept. This morning all the guns that could be brought to bear on it, opened on the fortress of Chapultepec. At a concentrated signal the cannonading on our part ceased, and our troops advanced rapidly to storm the height. The assault was vigorous, determined, and successful. This was thought by the Mexicans to be an almost impregnable point: yet by nine o'clock in the morning we were in possession of it. As soon as this work fell General Quitman's division reinforced by General P. F. Smith's brigade followed up the enemy as they retreated to the city by the Lacubuya road, in doing which, the men were well protected by the arches of a famous aqueduct, from a very warm fire that opened on them from the city. General Worth also brought up his division as the route commenced taking the San Cosmé road in his advance on the city. He carried some outer works defended by the enemy, and towards night succeeded in gaining a lodgment in the suburbs of the town. Quatman followed up his successes until he had also gained a lodgment in the suburbs, at the garita de Belen. This point was hotly contested, nobly carried, and resolutely maintained under a destructive fire from the citadel and adjacent fortifications. It was here that the brave Captain Drum and Lieutenant Benjamin, 4th Artillery, fell mortally wounded, while at their battery. Colonel Riley with his brigade is ordered to re-enforce Worth tonight. Worth has made good progress on the San Cosmé road. The enemy are now driven entirely within the city, all their works having fallen. They still have possession of the Citadel, a most formidable work.

14 Sept. During the early part of the night past, while our forces were busily engaged in taking advantage of the successes gained through the day, for the purpose of renewing operations with the morning, and after a few heavy shells had been thrown into the city, the civil authorities came and de-

manded a conference with General Scott, which being granted, they informed him that Santa Anna had fled from the city with all the forces he could induce to follow him, and that it could no longer be defended. An unconditional surrender followed this announcement. Early this morning our troops cautiously entered the city. They were fired upon from the tops of the houses and from out of windows by armed mobs, and struggling bands of soldiers, all of whom were no doubt anxious to incense us to such an extent that we would sack the city, in which event they hoped to obtain a share of the plunder. With the aid of artillery, and by breaking open houses, and ascending to the tops, we succeeded in killing and dispersing many of the lawless villains, not however, without suffering considerably from their firing. The 4th Artillery quartered tonight at the city prison near the Alameda.⁸

15th Sept. The 4th Artillery received orders last night to take quarters in the national palace. The firing from house tops has been continued through the day. Our troops have been sent, in small parties, into different parts of the city proper for the purpose of dispensing these lawless bands, and of restoring quiet. Many of the Mexicans have been killed.

16 Sept. Firing from the houses still going on though somewhat subsided. Every means has been taken to suppress it, both by General Scott and the civil authorities of the city.

17 Sept. There has been very little firing today, the city is comparatively quiet, and our army is quartered in different sections of the city with a view to its defense. The sick and wounded are being brought in from the neighboring towns, and the indications of the late bloody conflicts are rapidly passing away.

15 October. Between seven and eight o'clock a few mornings ago, while I was standing at a mirror tying my cravat, the heavy doors leading from my room on to the balcony in front, suddenly began to sway back and forth in a manner which I thought very singular and only to be accounted for by supposing they were moved by the wind. I walked to the opening: there was not a breath of wind stirring. I placed the doors, which were very heavy, and about five inches in thickness, back in their usual position. I had no sooner done so than

⁸ A park and promenade consisting of 40 acres.

they began to swing again. At this moment I felt a dizziness of the head and sickness at the stomach. I walked a few steps for the purpose of gaining a chair which stood near by, which I performed with the sensations and after the manner of a drunken man. These feelings lasted only for a few moments, but it was some time before I ascertained the cause of them. It seems that without suspecting it, I had had the pleasure of experiencing the sensations of an earthquake, which severe as it was I did not divine at the moment. The pools of water standing about in the streets were visibly affected by it, long lines of buildings could be seen to wave and heave causing the occupants to leave them in terror, not wishing to be buried in the ruin which threatened them. The Mexican population seemed to be more affected by the threatening danger, than those who were less accustomed to it. Merchants left their shops, coachmen jumped from their boxes, muleteers left their mules, those who were in their houses came out, and all fell on their knees on the ground, and crossing themselves muttered their Aves to the holy mother that she would interfere and avert the impending calamity. I am of a naturally curious disposition, fond of witnessing unusual exhibitions and grand phenomena in the heavens and earth, yet I hereby declare my curiosity is abundantly satiated in regard to earthquakes. Since the occurrence of this grand shock, there have been several others perceptible, though not in any way alarming.

I am much disappointed in the size of the city of Mexico. From its population, which is said to be about two hundred thousand (and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of this estimate) I expected to find it a much larger city. I am sure an American town containing fifty thousand inhabitants would cover as much ground. It is not unusual here for eight or ten persons to occupy one room. The streets are perfectly straight, level, and laid out at right angles to each other. It is by no means an uninteresting sight, standing at the head of one of them to look towards the other end. What a motley crowd of human beings, animals, and things which it would be difficult to class with either the human or brute creation! Extending the view you catch a glimpse of the distant fields, and still farther off, limiting the vision, are to be seen rising into noble heights the hills which encircle this lovely valley. The population of Mexico is a mixed crowd. There are still remaining a

few families of immediate Spanish origin, and many who are descendants, or are anxious to be considered as descendants, of Spanish ancestors. In this class may also be placed some who are of pure Mexican descent. These constitute the aristocracy of the country. They are generally very wealthy, possess more or less refinement, are hospitable, proud and vain, and I am forced to add most singularly ignorant. The tradesmen are mostly foreign French and English, very few respectable Americans are to be found among them, our countrymen being generally represented by roving adventurers. The Liperoes constitute the great bulk of the population. They are idle and vicious, have no regular employment, and live in the streets. They subsist on what they steal and beg, sometimes obtaining possession of old books, old clothes, or gaudy trinkets, which they hawk about trying to sell them at enormous prices: but they will take any sum one is pleased to give. The Indians of the surrounding country, every day flock into the city in great numbers to find a market for their products, consisting mostly of vegetables and fruits. They supply the wants of the city in these productions. As a body they are honest, and laborious but their efforts not being directed by any intelligence suffice only to afford them a bare subsistence. They are little elevated above brutes, yet knowing no higher state of existence, seem to be contented and happy. What I have been least able to comprehend in the organization of society in this country is the influence which the Roman Catholic priesthood possesses over all classes of people, high and low, rich and poor. It is incomprehensible to me how reason, common sense, natural instinct, can become so utterly subverted as to tolerate, yes venerate, an institution, dignified by the name of religion, which is so impious, tyrannous, and corrupt, as the church of Rome in this wretched country. Its ministers have most certainly stolen the garb of the court of Heaven to serve the devil in: and dressed in this garb they dare to stand at the altar professedly erected to the worship of God, and with their own souls reeking in the foulest sins to pronounce in the name of the Almighty, absolution and forgiveness to those who in comparison to them are pure of heart; and from these priests they must receive advice, spiritual counsel, and the aid necessary to direct their steps to heaven. Though few there must be some of the clergy who are virtuous and pious men, otherwise such corruption would de-

stroy itself. As it is, it cannot be that the time is far off when the light of truth will dispel this wonderful illusion, and pure temples of Christianity rise up in those places where now stand grand cathedrals, gloomy, mysterious convents, and ecclesiastical whore-houses. There are many magnificent edifices in the city of Mexico, surpassing anything of the kind I have ever seen before. Among them the Cathedral and Minesia, or College of Mines, take the first rank. The National Palace is a very extensive building, having a long front, and presents rather an imposing appearance. The Museum, insignificant in comparison with what it might with little trouble be made, contains many objects of great curiosity: such as, the household and agricultural utensils of the Aztecs, the grotesque figures which expressed their ideas of superior beings, and many things illustrating the state of arts and sciences among that singular people. Montezuma's dial, and the armour of Cortez, are still preserved. The famous aqueducts which supply the city with water are indeed grand works, comparing not unfavorably with any similar works of the age.

1 November. A train of about three hundred wagons left the city today en route for Vera Cruz. The first train that has gone down since we left Puebla. Many wounded and sick officers go with it. Colonel Harney in command.

13 Nov. Visited today the fortifications at Churubusco, Mexichalsugo, and Pinan. General Scott and many other officers in the party. Lovely day and I enjoyed the ride very much. The distance by the route we followed is about twenty-three miles. For a part of the way we skirted what were formerly the Salt Lakes of the valley, but which are now shrunk into the dimensions of shallow marshes. The borders of these are covered with a white incrustation of salt. The plains in the vicinity of these marshes are apparently barren and unproductive, owing, I suppose to the soil being so impregnated with salt, arising from overflows and evaporations. I climbed to the top of El Pinan where I had a magnificent view, of the surrounding valley with its lakes, its ancient city and lesser villages. It was no inconsiderable satisfaction to look down on the plain below, where on the fifteenth of August, with a mere handful of men we had lain the entire day eying this noble eminence, begirt with fortifications and guns from its base to its summit, anxiously speculating on the result of our wonderful enterprise. The re-

sult is now known. It is well, I think, that we did not attack the city at this point or at Mexichalsugo, both are by nature very strong positions, and would have been difficult to carry. 18 Nov. . . . A mail arrived today from the United States. I received three letters from Clint, latest date August 21. Not very late, to be sure, but I had not heard from home before these since May. No letter from any of my sisters.

20 NOV. . . . Rumor says that the 4th is going to Vera Cruz to garrison that place. The move is not wished for much by some of us. I am almost indifferent about it. Would like to spend the winter there, but unless the war terminates there is no hope of getting away, and I had rather take my chance on the sulphurous field than to fall by the vile vomito. That which has no remedy, however, must be borne.

25 NOV. . . . Tonight came off the first genuine revel in the halls of the Montezumas. The officers of the 2nd division of the army, commanded by General Twiggs, who is about to leave us for Vera Cruz, complimented the old General by giving him a dinner in the National Palace. Being in this division since its first organization at the siege of Vera Cruz, I was one of the number present. It was a most magnificent affair.

It is rumored that Mr. Trist, our commissioner, has been recalled. Not knowing at Washington what may be the condition of affairs here, it is singular if he has been recalled unconditionally. It is my opinion, however, that the sooner he leaves the army, the better will be the prospects of peace. It is questionable whether it was good policy to send him here at all. It is said, that General Scott for the thousandth time has received instructions to prosecute the war with more severity. The Mexican Congress at Querotaro broke up some days ago. It is rumored that troops are collecting there. Doubtful.

29 NOV. . . . It has been very cold for a few nights past, a heavy white frost appearing in the morning. Old Popocatapetl is covered with snow near to his base. An hour or two after the sun rises all is warm and bright as nature ever is when she smiles. The old white-haired king of mountains proud, cold, and stern, scorns to smile. From his haughty, noble features, one seems to read his history. An insubordinate, rejected child of the sun, hurled from his burning home, to suffer as penance, the reverse torments of eternal winter. No less noble than women may be, without suffering diminution, is she whom he has se-

lected for his bride. . Iztacutaitl. There side by side, among their people for thousands of years have they reigned, still refusing to admit the superiority of the sun.

4 December. . . . Today with another pleasure party I visited the pretty village of San Angle, the battle field of Contrarias, and the renowned pueblo de San Augustine. In riding over the battle field, engaged in many pleasant reminiscences. Save the fort scarcely a vestige of the bloody carnage remained. The village of San Augustine lying eight or ten miles south-east of the city of Mexico is a great place of resort during three days of the month of June. The principal amusement is gambling. It is sometimes carried to a most startling extent, thousands of dollars being staked on the turn of a card.

12 DEC. . . . I am officer guard at the Acosdada, and in consequence have been prevented from witnessing the celebration of the festival of Our Lady of Guadalupe at the shrine of the goddess erected on the spot where she made her first appearance to the Indians. This is the most noted of all the fête days in Mexico. Thousands resort here from all quarters, particularly Indians, to make their offerings and their worships. There is not a house in which her image will not be found, and in all the churches she is the prominent deity. As the fable of her first appearance is curious, and as it is so implicitly believed among all classes here, I have preserved a very good narration⁹ of it which will be found in the back of the book.

17 DEC. . . . General Orders No. 376 published today. This order announces one of the most important events of the war. The policy, which it declares will hereafter be pursued, entirely changes our position in this country and will undoubtedly cause the Mexican people to think more seriously of the advantages of a peace. This order relates to imposts, taxes, etc. and as far as practicable, to the military occupation of the entire country.

18 DEC. . . . Today, I visited the tower of the Cathedral, a spot from which I could overlook the entire city, and surrounding valley. How unsurpassingly lovely was the scene, and how wonderful the associations connected with it! All the squalor, misery, and vice, which flourish here with such a rank growth were far below me. I saw none of the dark spots of the picture. Could I have forgotten that there were such, I would have had

⁹ Newspaper clipping that is too extended for insertion in the Quarterly.

no other desire than to spend the remainder of my days in this enchanted region.

19 DEC. . . . A beautiful morning. Rode out to meet Colonel Johnston's train on its way from Vera Cruz. After a ride of fourteen miles, met the train at Ayotha. As the day was rather far advanced, we, that is, Brown, Getty, and myself were induced to remain in camp for the night. In the evening, I attended a meeting of the Altinators, a society of officers formed for the promotion of wit, fun, and good fellowship. They were surely as rare a band as one can meet with. at twelve o'clock I went to bed, that is, I lay down on the ground and pulled a blanket over me, after having taken a goodly number of hot punches, shared in a roast pig, and exhausted myself by hours of immoderate laughter. Was fresh in my saddle by sunrise in the morning, and started for the city, arriving in due time.

20 DEC. . . . Captain Sneed arrived today with company M. of the 4th. Within the last four or five days, Generals Butler, Lane, Cushing, etc. have arrived. Scott has recently reorganized his army, mixing up the old veterans with the new arrivals. The "Cerro Gordo Division" (Twiggs's) has lost its identity by this new arrangement. The old veteran "Contrarius Brigade" (Riley's) is swallowed up in the same mixture. The 4th is now in Cadwallader's brigade, which is composed of the 4th Artillery, 1st, 6th, 8th, & 11th Infantry, and Stepton's light battery. Alas, when will human calamities cease!

25 DEC. . . . Christmas! the second I have passed in this country. Whether it was this fact or some other that made me so merry this evening, I can not exactly determine. It may be a combination of causes, producing a combination of results, which will explain and illuminate the truth of the matter. Moved today from the Convento de Profeso to No. 6 Collegion de Santa Clara, a house occupied by the lady of General Pena y Barrezan. I like the house exceedingly, or rather I should say, a sweet and charming senorita exceedingly, who is one of the occupants, and a daughter of General Barrezan. I am afraid her proximity will endanger my patriotism.

26 DEC. . . . The 9th Infantry, Col. Withers commanding, left town today for Pachuca. Lieut. Hill, 4th Arty. and twenty men accompany the command in charge of two pieces of artillery (8 Rds.). Pachuca is a small town about sixty miles west of north of Mexico, situated on the border of the state of Quer-

etaro. Near it is a large mining company, "Real del Monts."
27 DEC. . . . Nothing of importance transpires today. It is
rumored that a general move will soon be made north.

30 DEC. . . . Rumour says, that Davie Hill has had his pieces
taken from him that Generals Scott, Worth, Pillow, and Colonel
Duncan, the three latter in arrest, are ordered home to have
their conduct investigated: that General Worth is to relieve
General Smith as civil and military governor: that General
Cushing is to relieve Smith as governor &c, &c, &c.

1848

1st January. . . According to custom I visited some of my
friends this morning (New Year) Found them all happy, some
very happy, was tolerably happy myself. As the sun went
down, I went up. As the moon went up, I didn't go down, and
when Phoebus rose, I went to bed rather happy.

2 JAN. . . General Valencia was taken prisoner at his hacienda
last night, by Colonel Wynkoop, (Penn. Volts.) with a party of
Texans. Colonel Wynkoop went out for the purpose of cap-
turing the famous priest and brigand, Jaranta. With Gen. V.
was also taken Col. Arrietas, one of the General Staff. Today
orders were published to our brigade (Cadwallader's) to hold it-
self in readiness to march on the 5th Inst. Toluca, forty-five
miles south-west of this city is supposed to be our destination.
I am appointed ordinance officer to the brigade.

4 JAN. . . This morning Cadwallader's brigade left the city of
Mexico en route for Toluca, marched 14 miles and encamped
tonight at Guaemulpu. After leaving the basin of Mexico, the
country over which we passed today, has a black, barren, vol-
canic appearance, sparsely inhabited, and cultivated only in
spots. We found but little water, and no timber. From Tacu-
baya, which lies in the basin, and only three miles from the
Capital, the road gradually ascends. It is in excellent condition,
perfectly smooth and hard. As we ascended the hills the en-
chanted valley, which lay spread out like a map before us, re-
quired no great effort of the imagination, to throw over it an air
of romance, far surpassing that of the most fabled lands of an-
tiquity. There were the shining lakes, and the fields and groves,
enriched by human gore. For, age upon age, these had wit-
nessed the many fierce struggles of men contending for power,
for plunder, and for liberty. Savage with savage, civilization
with semi-barbarism. Amid all this havoc there these valleys

were, unchanged, quiet, beautiful. Conspicuous above all rose the mound of Chapultepec, the favorite resort of Aztec kings: still shaded by the grove of tall cypress trees, under whose outstretched arms effeminate and irresolute Montezuma once held royal fetes, and Indian maidens wove their garlands of flowers, destined to deck the brows of the successful braves. Alas, how little was then foreshadowed the fate of this lovely valley!

It is rumored that the brigand priest, Jaranta, has a force in our advance, 8 or 900 strong, with which he intends to dispute a pass through which our route lies. There is no probability that he will do so. The day has been lovely, but we are in regions so elevated now, that the nights are uncomfortably cold.

7 JAN. . . . Camp at Lerma, 15 miles from Guaemalpu, which place we left at an early hour this morning. In our progress today we continued to ascend for about five miles, when we attained, at "Las Cruces", the highest point of the range of mountains over which the road passes, that divides the valleys of Mexico and Toluca. Here we caught the first glimpse of the "Valley of Toluca". It burst unexpectedly on our sight, lovely and beautiful as the brightest imagination can picture it. From this point, we commenced a rapid descent, with the town of Toluca and the one in which we are quartered for tonight, constantly in view. At the base of the mountains is the town of Lerma. It is small. The houses are built mostly of adobe. The inhabitants are principally Indians. Until we got into the valley there did not appear much evidence of cultivation. The country over which we passed the first part of the day has a volcanic appearance, black, barren, and very much broken up by deep ravines and yawning chasms. Mountain streams were abundant, affording us a noble supply of delicious water. There is also a very good growth of pine trees along this part of the road. About six miles before reaching Lerma, we came to the pass where it was supposed Juranta would make his stand if he intended to oppose us. At this place the road winding around the base of the hill crosses a deep ravine, over which is constructed a massive stone bridge. On the opposite side of this ravine, to our approach, the Mexicans had thrown up a line of fortifications, consisting of three field forts, completely commanding the pass. Although the place looked formidable, I do not think it would have been difficult to carry, had the enemy attempted to maintain it. Also we found on approaching Lerma

that a line of fortifications had been constructed commanding the usual entrance to the town, which was by a narrow causeway. The town is surrounded by impracticable marshes, which would have given us some trouble, had any opposition been made to our advance. But in place of meeting with bayonets and cannon, we were greeted with white flags, one of which hung from every hovel and house.

8 JAN. . . . Toluca, 11 miles from Lerma. We arrived here today about one o'clock A. M. From Lerma to this place the road is perfectly straight, and level, running longitudinally across the bed of the valley. The soil is very rich, and it is said cannot be surpassed in fertility by any other part of the country. Certain it is, evidences of cultivation are superior to anything I have seen in other parts. There is no timber in the valley, though an abundance of pine on the mountains which hem it in. There seems to be very few running streams. There are a few small lakes or ponds. When possible the owners of the haciendas cause large ponds to be constructed on their estates. These, by means of aqueducts, are filled with water, which is drawn for purposes of irrigation. This process is very necessary during a part of the year as the earth becomes very much parched for want of rain, which rarely falls during the latter part of autumn and winter. The entire valley is beautifully dotted over with Indian villages and haciendas. A hacienda is an estate owned by a landed proprietor. They are sometimes very large, frequently containing thousands of acres. The land is tilled by Indians. The proprietors generally live in the cities, and employ some one, who is called the administrator, to manage the affairs of the estate. Each one is a little village, or society by itself, making its own laws and executing them. As the form of religious worship is the first consideration of every Mexican, each hacienda has its chapel, in which all religious rites are observed. As crime is no less a characteristic, a prison is also attached. The principal productions of the valley are corn, barley, and some wheat.

The town of Toluca has a pretty appearance, is well built, and contains a population of about 6000. It is the capital of the state of Mexico. There is little pretension to fashion, or style, even among the higher classes. The greater part of the population are poor, miserable, ill clothed creatures. In a valley of such abundant production, one would hardly expect to see

the people picking up in the streets, the few kernels of corn that drop from our forage wagons as they pass along, yet such is frequently the case. I think there are more beggars in this town than in any other, in proportion to its population, in the republic.

There are very few houses, or establishments in any part of the country for the maintenance of the poor. I have never been able to account for this, since there are probably more true objects of charity among these people than any other in the world. Deformed and contorted limbs are the most frequent afflictions. It is sometimes almost impossible to recognize in these horrible, revolting, and disgusting objects any traces of the human species. You stop to converse for a moment in the streets, and you are interrupted by a whining noise behind you. On turning to see from whence it comes, you behold an old woman, whom sixty years have bent nearly to the earth. The dirty rags that hang about her scarcely conceal the bones, that are protruding through her wrinkled skin. Her bleared and sunken eyes emit no light of life. She extends towards you her bony, withered arm on which there is a hand that never had but one dwarf finger; in tones of misery she begs for charity. Although I have now seen so much of this, it still makes my blood run cold to witness it. Total blindness is also very common. You can scarcely walk a hundred yards without meeting some blind beggar, led along either by a child, or by an equally intelligent dog. The sidewalks are lined with them. They swarm around the doors of the churches and in every thoroughfare, chanting in most doleful strains their supplications for charity. In order the more to excite the benevolence of passers they strive to render still more hideous their horrible afflictions, by twisting into contortions their disgusting deformities, and rolling their sightless eyes. The very terror with which they inspire me has sometimes prevented me from giving them alms. It does not seem that those who are able, are unwilling to maintain these unfortunates, and I am unable to understand why public houses are not appropriated to them, in which they would be secluded, society being taxed for their support. However, it may be that the church ordains that they shall hobble and crawl about, for the purpose of keeping alive and active the charitable and benevolent qualities of the people. If so, I am sure the devil suggested the plan, and laughs at its success in

hardening the hearts of men against the misfortune of their fellow creatures.

This valley like that of Mexico, is a complete basin, surrounded on all sides by mountains. Among these is the Novada, or the Volcan de Toluca, a peak perpetually covered with snow. From the town of Toluca, it is a little west of south, about 16 miles distant.

20 FEB. . . . Today, the report that General Scott had been recalled, or suspended from the command of the army, was confirmed: in consequence of which universal dissatisfaction and mortification prevail throughout the regular army, and of so much of the other part of the army as has the intelligence to comprehend what a blow its efficiency has received. I was prepared to witness almost every abuse of power, was not ignorant of the foul workings of a contemptible scheme of political partyism, yet I did not believe Mr. Polk, or his advisers would dare to strike such a blow at the best interests of the service, and be guilty of such an act of flagrant injustice towards one who has so eminently served his country as has Scott as to suspend him from the command of this army, and at this time and place. It was well known that any mistake, failure, or misfortune, that might befall any of his operations would be for him, as it was for the generals of semi-civilization, a signal for his sacrifice. But he has made no mistakes, no failures or misfortunes have befallen him. His great abilities and honest purposes have triumphantly carried him over the enemy that was before him, and I had hoped would completely silence the dogs that were yelping on his track behind. It is impossible for an honest man to assign an honest reason for this infamous and disgraceful act. General Butler issues his order, taking command of the army.

24 FEB. . . . Last night six men from Stepton's battery deserted in a body to the enemy, each man taking a horse and all his equipments with him. This is the most remarkable instance of desertion that has occurred during the war. It was occasioned probably by the prospects of a speedy peace and the temptation of a high reward.

28 FEB. . . . It is said another armistice has been agreed upon . . . for how long, or upon what terms, I do not know.

1 MARCH. . . Gen. Butler reorganizes the army. Gen. Smith's brigade is composed of the 4th Artillery, Taylor's battery, 1st,

2nd, 3rd &- 7th, Inftys. Mounted Reg. Riflemen, and the Marine corps.

6 March. . . . Today the armistice was published, sanctioned by Gen. Butler and the Mexican authorities. It will be severely censured by our government, unless peace soon follows. It reads as though the Mexicans had dictated it to their conquerors.

9 March. . . This day ends one year since with Gen. Scott's army I landed on the coast of Vera Cruz. Who could have anticipated at that time that the coming months would be crowded with such great events. How many of those brave, gallant, and generous souls, full of life and lusty hope have fought their last good fight. To those of us who have had the good fortune to see its close, it has been a year full of hardship, danger, and suffering. How few know the cost of military glory!

The *Voltigeurs* [light infantry] and 14th Reg. Infty. arrived in Toluca today from Mexico. They relieve the 6th. & 8th Infty. at this garrison, in accordance with the recent organization.

15 March. . . . Received intelligence of the death of John Quincy Adams.

A full ripe shock lies mouldering.

2 April. . . Relieved from duty as ordinance officer of the 3rd Division of the Army, on an application by Major Brown for my services with the regiment.

3 April. . . Intelligence that the Guadalupe Treaty of peace has been ratified, with some modifications, by the Senate of the United States reached the city of Mexico today. The alterations which have been made in it will not probably cause its rejection by the Mexican government.

8 MAY. . . . We are all patiently waiting for a sufficient number of Deputies to arrive at Quintiso to enable the Chamber to proceed to a consideration of the treaty of peace, which, of course, is the all engrossing subject of our thoughts. There seems to be great difficulty in forming a quorum.

22 MAY. . . . Received information that the treaty had been ratified by the Chamber of Deputies. Peace is now considered as virtually made. The Senate will act upon it immediately, and there is no doubt it will sanction the treaty. Homeward bound at last!

27 MAY. . . . We, this day, received information that the treaty had received the final action necessary to peace. The Mexican

Senate has ratified it. Orders are issued from the Headquarters of the Army in the city of Mexico, concentrating the troops in the city, preparatory to our taking up our homeward march. These are surely glad tidings.

31 MAY. . . . This morning left Toluca en route for the city of Mexico. The Tolucans seemed very sorry to part with us. They protest that they have never, under their own government, enjoyed such a great feeling of security for their lives and property, as they have under ours. It is with no little concern that they see this protection removed. The inhabitants of Toluca are simple in their manners, and kind in their feelings. Leading, for the most part a contented agricultural life, they are less demoralized than their countrymen. The only interest they seem to feel in political events is that the government may be honestly administered on an unchanging basis.

In no part of the republic have I received so much kindness at the hands of Mexicans as at this place, and I certainly did not leave it without some feeling. I was forced to part with many good friends, with the conviction that I never should meet them again. Be it thus! I am homeward bound, and in this selfish consideration I find a counterpoise for all regret.

2 JUNE. . . . We arrived today in the city of Mexico, and are encamped on the Penan Plain outside the city. We expect to remain here until the 5th inst. when with the 1st brigade of Gen. Karney's division we move towards Vera Cruz. Major Morris, 1st Infy. commands this brigade.

Line of march back to Vera Cruz.

5 JUNE, Camp at Ayotha.

6 JUNE, Camp at Rio Frio

7 JUNE, Camp at San Martin

8 JUNE, Camp 3½ miles from the city of Puebla.

9 JUNE, " at Amuzoque,

10 JUNE " " EL PEñal

11 JUNE " " Ajo del Aqua

12 JUNE Camp at Tepeyahualco

13 JUNE, Camp under the walls of the castle of Peroto, 18½ miles from Tepeyhualco. There has been no change (save in the graveyard) in this place since I was here one year ago the 21st of this month. It is the same desolate, inhospitable, villainous town in its appearance as it was then. We are to remain here tomorrow for the purpose of resting our men, and of allow-

ing the troops in advance of us to get out of our way, it being inconvenient to move so close together.

14 JUNE. . . The 2d brigade of our division arrived here, at Perote today. Gen. Karney this morning received information from Gen. Smith at Vera Cruz that there would be some delay in the arrival of transportation at that place. In consequence of supplies for the army being insufficient at Jalapa, the General has determined that his division shall remain encamped here, until he receives more favorable information of the arrival of ships to carry us home. We are all disgusted with this necessary arrangement.

18 JUNE. . . Still at Perote trying to curb our impatience for an onward move, yet there is little hope of that for the present. I have been very busy for the last three days as Judge Advocate of a Military commission which has been in session in the castle for the trial of a band of robbers, which was apprehended in this vicinity a few days since. These men thirteen in number, formerly were attached to the army as teamsters, and were discharged from it in the city of Mexico. They formed an association for the purpose of highway robbery. Each one possessed himself of a good horse and equipments and thus mounted they set out on their marauding expeditions. When the band first organized in the city of Mexico it contained forty men, the captain of it being a Spaniard. I obtained sufficient proof of the guilt of those who were apprehended here to convict them.

19 JUNE The Cerro Gordo Division was on parade today, probably for the last time, as a division, to witness the punishment of the robbers referred to above. I never saw a finer body of men. It is undoubtedly the best division ever on the American continent, and its gallant deeds will be long remembered. We will leave this place tomorrow.

20 JUNE. . . Camp at La Haya, 19½ miles from Perote.

21 JUNE. . Camp at La Bandrilla, 9 miles from La Haya and 3½ miles from Jalapa. We are to remain at our present camp until transportation is ready at Vera Cruz to carry us to the United States.

22 JUNE. . . This morning Major Morris, 4th Artillery, joined us with companies A & L. We left him behind at Puebla, when we passed through that city, where he had for some time been stationed with these companies. Gen. Worth's division also

arrived here this morning thus bringing the "regular army" all together again.

26 JUNE. . . Camp 4 miles from Jalapa, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ from La Baudrilla, which place we left this morning for reasons unknown to me. It was a delightful spot. So is this. We remain here a day or two.

28 JUNE. . . . Camp at Eucesso, 9 miles from Jalapa. By very short marches we are gradually drawing nearer to the coast. Yesterday, we received the orders from Washington, designating the different points in the United States for which the troops would sail, on leaving this country. The 3d and 4th regiments of artillery go to Old Point, in Va.

Our proximity to the Tierra Caliente, or hot region, is beginning to be apparent in the increased fierceness of the sun. One of Santa Anna's haciendas is located at this place.

3d JUNE. . . . Camp at Plan del Rio, 14 miles from Eucesso. We have suffered much from the heat today. About 11 o'clock we passed the famous heights of Cerro Gordo, and we encamped on the same ground that we occupied for several days previous to that battle. It is a low, dirty, and unhealthy place: the limit of the vomito.

1 JULY. . . Camp at Puente de las Vigas, 19 miles from Plan del Rio. To day, we recrossed that stupendous work of art, the National Bridges. This part of the country abounds in grand and beautiful natural scenery. Today, we caught for the first time glimpses of the gulf of Mexico. Our march today has been very fatiguing.

2 JULY Camp at Sante Fè, 17 miles from Puente de las Vigas. The day has been intensely hot. Some of our men, one or two, falling down dead from the effects of the sun. Water very bad.

3 JULY. . . Once more at Vera Cruz, and our long march ended. It seems now as if going home, though I am sorry to say there is no shipping in the harbour ready for us. Why we were marched down here into this hot and deadly region to wait for transportation to the United States is more than the wisest of us can understand. If ships have not arrived as fast as was expected, why were we not allowed to remain in the healthy region of Jalapa, until they were ready for us? There are at this moment, thousands of men congregated on this beach in the immediate vicinity of the fatal city of Vera Cruz. They have been hurried down here, from the upper and healthy country, expecting to leave

the coast, as soon as they arrived in it, but instead, they must remain here, no one can tell how long. In the meantime, if the yellow fever begins its ravages, who shall say what havoc death will make? Some one is culpable of unpardonable neglect of duty in thus unnecessarily exposing the army to the deadly influences of this climate. There really seems to be some difficulty in the minds of some men, in understanding to whom this blundering guilt should attach. Gen. Persifer F. Smith was ordered from the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz, weeks before the army began evacuating the country, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements, and of superintending the embarkation of the army for the United States. He was to provide shipping, and as fast as he was able to procure it, to keep Gen. W. O. Butler, at that time commanding the army, informed, in order that the troops might be drawn out of the healthy region, only so fast as they could be embarked at Vera Cruz; it having been decided by the surgeons of the army, that the army could be withdrawn from the country, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, if this mode of effecting it, was adopted. But about this time Gen. Butler received the nomination for Vice President of the U. S. On his receiving information of this, like the politician that he is, and not a soldier, he immediately left his army to shift for itself, thinking undoubtedly that the health and comfort of an expectant Vice President were of more consequence, than the lives of a few hundred vile soldiers, whom the country no longer had any need of. The next in rank to Gen. Butler, Gen. Patterson of Penn. was as unwilling as his prudent predecessor to share any of the dangers which the army was necessarily exposed to, as the season advanced, while it was waiting for transportation. He, also, left the army behind him, and hurried to throw himself into the outstretched arms of a mistaken people, who were more generous than discriminating, in welcoming their soldiers home. It is true, neither of the gentlemen had ever shared in the dangers, or glories of the battle field with the brave men under their command, because it was necessary that they should be at home attending to the political welfare of the nation, while these terrible deeds of blood were in progress in this country. It may be that this is the best reason, why they ought not to have been expected to remain faithful in the station of danger and responsibility which they have just deserted. The army being thus deprived,

at a very critical period, of a directing head, its movements have not been regulated with proper intelligence and system, at any time since it marched out of the valley of Mexico. Gen. Smith, however, was in the city of Vera Cruz, and knew how many transport ships were in the harbour, and it was his duty to have made known to the army, which, he was well aware, was advancing towards Vera Cruz, that he had not enough ships to send off the troops as fast as they would arrive at the coast: then they would undoubtedly have been detained in the upper country until shipping had arrived. Therefore, I think Gen. Smith is properly answerable for the lives that must be sacrificed, through this strange blunder, or more properly, this infamous operation. If he did give the necessary information, and notwithstanding, the army has been crowded down upon him, then, of course, he is not culpable. It is not generally understood that he did give such information. Every one is indignant that he is the subject of such unpardonable stupidity, whether owing to Smith, Worth, or all of them combined. It is hard, indeed, that these men who have just completed a long fatiguing march, who have endured every hardship without a murmur, and for their services are well-deserving, should be compelled to lie about in these burning sands, in this deadly climate for two or three weeks waiting for the arrival of vessels, all the time conscious that their sufferings have been unnecessarily brought upon them. Well, well, a soldier's life is full of lights and shade! This is only an episode in ours.

4 JULY. . . . The anniversary of our national independence. May it be the last that will come round to me, under circumstances like the present. The sun is hot enough to explode gunpowder!

7 JULY. . . . Doctor Cuyler who has been with our regiment for a long time, and whom we all esteem very much, leaves us today for the United States. Lieut. Elminger has resigned, and also starts today for the White Settlements on the other side of the big lake.

The doctors here present with the army have sent in a protest to Gen. Karney against the troops remaining any longer in this unhealthy position which we are now occupying. They have recommended, that those regiments which will not soon embark, be marched back into the country to some more healthy

situation. So it seems we have not yet finished our marching. There is no doubt a move will be ordered.

8 JULY. . . . In consequence of the protest made yesterday by the surgeons, we broke up our camp on the beach where we suffered from the intense heat and burning sands, but enjoyed a fine sea breeze and surf bathing, and we are now on our route for the town of Madeline, or rather, we have arrived in this town. It is situated south west from Vera Cruz, and about ten miles distant. the ground is low, the soil alluvial, the vegetation, rich and luxuriant, to a degree surpassing every thing of the kind I have seen else where. Indeed, so rank and rapid is the growth, that the air is strongly scented with the odours of the different plants: a combination that is offensive is thus formed. The Madeline river, at this place, twenty yards wide and one yard deep, runs by the town. Its waters are impregnated with sarsaparilla. During the rainy season this river becomes so much swollen as to overflow the town, thus causing much sickness. At other times the place is considered healthy, and during the hot months is a resort for the inhabitants of Vera Cruz. Every variety of tropical fruit flower, and bird is found here in abundance. Notwithstanding the eyes are ravished wherever they turn with these voluptuous beauties of nature, still one can not but feel that there is disease lurking in every green leaf, that it is warbled from the throats of birds. The lungs, as if instinctive of it, refuse to perform their office well, and struggle against the prison of this dank, close air. It smells like a grave yard. We had all of us rather have remained on the beach where we were yesterday, notwithstanding we were within the sound of the tolling bells of the vomito's victims. We have been sent out here by men, who having committed a blunder, involving the lives, perhaps of hundreds of men, were fearfully desirous of shifting the responsibility from one source to another, an attempt as dishonest as it is difficult.

My tent, in which I am writing this, is pitched under two large cocoa-nut trees. Oranges, limes, pine-apples, and bananas are growing on every side in profusion. From the genial appearance of this region, I am reminded of the country around Tampico.

9 JULY. . . . 1st and 3d Infantry left here this morning for Vera Cruz. The 4th Artillery is the only regiment now in camp here.

12 JULY. . . This morning we broke up our camp at Madeline, expecting that on our arrival at this place (Vera Cruz) all the regiment would immediately embark: but when we got here it was found that there were ships enough for only one half of it. Accordingly companies A, F, H, and L embarked, leaving companies C, D, and E to go by the first opportunity to come. Thus are we again (I am commanding compy. C) encamped on this desolate coast about which we have been so long hovering. If the wind freshens it may bring in some more transports to-night, in which event we will be able to get off tomorrow.

13 JULY. . . this morning at seven o'clock we embarked (companies C. D. and E) on board the transport ship Nonantum, 650 tons burden, Capt. Lord, bound for New Orleans. Major W. W. Irwins commanding. Besides the three companies above named, we have on board 100 men who have been in the Quarter Master's employ, and 41 prisoners, who have been confined in the castle of San Juan de Ulloa. Ten days since we arrived at this port, and during this time every care has been taken on our part, every rigid measure put in force to prevent our soldiers from going into the city of Vera Cruz, or in any way becoming affected with the yellow fever. It was for this cause we left here a few days since, and marched to Madeline. It is to see whether this frightful disease is going to make its appearance among us, that we are now bound for New Orleans (the nearest American port) instead of sailing directly to the distant place of our destination, Fort Monroe, Va., it being humanely considered, that if the event dreaded does take place, we, by thus shortening our voyage, will suffer the least possible from it. Now, what have all these precautions availed us? We have this morning been compelled to receive into our midst 100 men who have for days past been breathing the polluted and poisoned air of the grog shops of Vera Cruz and of its hospitals: and 41 others from the castle, in whose prisons the yellow fever had been busy in knocking off chains! What strange and unaccountable inconsistency! If there was an apparent necessity for thus hazarding the lives of these brave and well-deserving soldiers, who after a long and hard service in a foreign country, are now flattered with the hope of soon visiting again their families and homes, it would not be, perhaps such wanton inhumanity thus to throw in among them the leaven of a dreaded disease. But there is not the shadow of such a necessity.

I cannot say positively that General Smith caused these men to be put on the same ship with us, but, whether he did or not, he is certainly responsible for the consequences, for it was his especial trust to ship the troops, with the least possible exposure. I think, too, our immediate commanding officer, Major W. W. Morris has not made as strong a protest against receiving these men on board as he should have done.

14 JULY . . . We have not yet weighed anchor. Every one is asking why we don't get under way, and no one can answer the question.

15 JULY At nine o'clock this morning we weighed anchor with 414 men on board for New Orleans. Never before did I leave any place with one half the pleasure with which I am now leaving the shores of Mexico. During the two years I have spent in that country, I have seen and suffered much. From savage and soft experience I have learned a stern lesson, never to be forgotten. In my future life it may not be altogether useless to me. Only to God be thanks, that I have thus far escaped the accidents of war, and the influences of an uncongenial climate. Our ship is a good one, and we all hope for a safe and speedy passage.

19 JULY. . . . At Sea. . . This is our fifth day out from the harbour of Vera Cruz. We have had tolerably fair winds, and made corresponding progress. Several poor fellows have found a deep grave, or from the jaws of death have passed to the almost equally voracious jaws of sharks. Some of these, as was so reasonably anticipated, died of vomito, or yellow fever. The deaths, thus far, have been confined exclusively to those infected men thrust upon us from the city of Vera Cruz.

21 JULY. . . . This morning at daylight, we hove in sight of the Belize, at the mouth of the Mississippi River. A thrill of delight shot through the hearts of all, as we caught a glimpse of the home of comfort and civilization. A steamer came alongside, and took us in tow. We are now gradually making our way up the river towards New Orleans.

22 JULY. . . . This morning at sunrise the city of the south—New Orleans—greeted our eyes. On our arrival we found several transports which had left Vera Cruz before us, anchored in the river, laden with troops. Among them were our friends, the other part of the old 4th, and we learned, that as soon as we could get ready, we would put out to sea again, and sail for

Fort Mounroe. During our passage here we have had several deaths on board, but the disease has not extended to our soldiers. We have been seven days on the passage, which, on the whole, has been as pleasant as circumstances would permit. The consciousness of leaving hostile for friendly shores, disposed all to feel lightly as possible the necessary evils of our situation.

23 JULY. . . . Today my company was transferred from the good Nonantum to the transport Robert Parker. I am, by no means, satisfied with the change, but as I have nothing to say in the matter, it can't be helped. I have spent most of the day in running about the city.

25 JULY. . . . At two O'clock this morning the transport Robert Parker, with companies C, D, and H, on board, Maj. H. Brown in command; Sabattis, with companies A. and E., Maj. W. W. Morris in command, and the Mary A. Jones with companies F. and L., Capt. W. P. Bainbridge in command left their anchorage near New Orleans, and are now making their way down the river towards the sea.

26 JULY. . . . Crossed the bar at Belize, and hoisted sail for Old Point. We have made little progress during the day. Head winds.

4 AUGUST. . . . For several days we have been beating against head winds, have been becalmed, and occasionally carried gently forward by favorable currents. A fine breeze sprang up during the night, which brought us this morning at sunrise, in view of the island of Cuba. It presented a bold and prominent outline, the highest peak of which was the Ran of Matanzas. The low southern coast of Florida has occasionally made its appearance.

6 August. . . . We are now in the Gulf Stream, and making tolerably good progress. A little to the southward of cape Florida, we passed a steamship bound south, supposed to be the Crescent City destined for New Orleans.

12 August. . . . Not a breath of air stirring. . . . While lying becalmed we were visited by a doctor from a transport which has been in our company for a day or two past. He came aboard to get a supply of medicine, his having given out. He reports, that he is direct from Vera Cruz, has one company of the 1st Artillery on board, has had a tedious passage, and that the yellow fever is raging among the men. They are bound for New York. The yellow fever made its appearance on board our ship, before we got out of the Gulf of Mexico, since which

it has ended the earthly troubles of many a poor soldier. When we left New Orleans we had on board about 250 men, of these nearly 100 have been attacked by this fatal disease. Some have recovered. The epidemic had its origin, no doubt, in those infected men that were forced among us from the city of Vera Cruz. Captain Snead Lieuts. Howe and Magilton are now lying sick with it.

13 August. . . At two O'clock this morning we came to anchor in Hampton Roads, after a passage of seventeen days from New Orleans, and twenty-nine from Vera Cruz. I hope during the remainder of my life, never to be called upon again to undergo so much painful feeling, and personal suffering as I have during this voyage. It is not pleasant to think of. We had no terrible storms during the passage, and, indeed, much of the time not wind enough, since we did not make a very quick trip. We looked on the old Fort with great joy after so long an absence. I felt, for the first time, in many days, as though my troubles would now find a termination. I am weak, exhausted, worn-out, and not much better than a skeleton. If I had been, or am now sick I have not acknowledged it to my self. It is a singular coincidence that our friends of the Sabattis and Mary A. Jones who left New Orleans in company with us, should have arrived at Old Point the same day we did, since we parted company at the Belize, and had not seen each other until our arrival here. Neither of these transports were affected by the yellow fever. After receiving a cordial welcome home from our old Colonel Walbach, we busied ourselves in transferring our men from the ships to the Fort, and are now as snugly stowed away again as though we had not been absent.

17 AUGUST . . . I had scarcely passed a few hours on land, when I was seized by the yellow fever. During the days of the 14th and 15th, I do not know how much I suffered. However, the crisis soon passed, and I am now so far convalescent as to be able to think a little. I did not from the beginning see how it was possible for me to escape the fatal disease. My duty and humanity made it necessary, when on ship board, to take care of my men, many of whom were infected: for this purpose, I was in the habit of visiting the hold of the ship, in its narrow limits and confined air, we were compelled to place our sick. Those of my company were among the rest, and it was here that I breathed

in the rank poison. Indeed, no part of the ship could be free from it. It was infected in every part.

19 August. . Today, brother William arrived from Washington. On his return to Lowville, N. Y., he will take Columbus, O. in his route. If I can get a leave of absence granted me, I shall accompany him home, provided he can stay here until I gain a little strength.

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ANNUAL REPORT

CINCINNATI, OHIO

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

CHARLES T. GREVE FREDERICK W. HINKLE
MISS L. BELLE HAMLIN

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending
December 6, 1915



CINCINNATI
THE ABINGDON PRESS

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The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for 1915

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During the corporate year, closing this day, there has been a fair improvement in the general condition of the library accomplished by the usual methods of classifying, cataloguing and such other work as required in libraries, and through additions to the collection by gifts, purchases, exchanges and the binding of pamphlets and periodicals.

The volumes contributed number 153; those acquired by purchase, 57; by exchange and binding, 81. Together they amount to 289, which added to the total number of volumes reported last year—26212—makes the present total 26503. Pamphlets donated this year number 1271.

The accessions secured by purchase are: 30 volumes and 2 pamphlets credited to the Margaret Rives King fund; 25 volumes to the Elizabeth Haven Appleton fund; 2 to the Society of Colonial Dames fund. Those obtained by exchange number 6; by binding, 67; and 8 small volumes, that had sufficient bindings, were withdrawn from the pamphlets and placed among the volumes. With the exception of 2, the pamphlets acquired this year were gifts to the library—a portion given in exchange for our Quarterlies. Besides the periodicals subscribed for annually, numerous odd numbers of similar publications, needed in our library to complete imperfect sets, are being added, thereby gradually perfecting the sets.

The titles of some of the late additions of volumes to the library are:

- Biographical History of Franklin County, Ohio;
- Fremont and '49, by Dellenbaugh;
- Thayer's Life of John Hay;
- Harper's Weekly, 1860-65 (Civil War Period);
- American Diplomacy, by Fish;
- History of Travel in America, by Dunbar;
- History of the National Capital, by W. B. Bryan;
- Life of Alexander Hamilton, by A. McL. Hamilton;
- Life of Henry Laurens, by Wallace;
- Lee the American, by Bradford;
- Winning of the West, by McElroy;
- Some of the First Settlers of the Forks of the Delaware, Kieffer;
- History of the Currency of the United States, by Hepburn;
- Filson Club Publication, No. 27;
- Schouler's United States, Vol. 7;
- Eighty-Third Ohio Volunteer Infantry;
- Early Chicago (Vol. 4 of Chicago Historical Society Collections);
- Winthrop's Canoe and Saddle with his western Letters and Journals;
- Johnston's Bull Run;
- Life of Millard Fillmore;
- Ellis's King Philips War;
- Writings of John Quincy Adams, ed. by W. C. Ford, Vol. 4;
- De Shields' Border Wars of Texas;
- Sectionalism in Virginia, by C. H. Ambler;
- Virginia under the Stuarts, by T. J. Wertebaker;
- The American Flag;
- The 122nd Regt. of Ohio Vol. Infantry;
- Gurley's Mission to England;
- Clowes' Black America;
- Stewart's Liberia;
- Stockwell's Republic of Liberia;
- Alexander's History of Colonization on Western Coast of Africa;
- Slaughter's Virginian History of African Colonization;

NOTE:—The last six volumes upon African Colonization were secured by exchange.

Several publications of a genealogical nature have been acquired:

Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County and Church, by Brumbaugh;

Bond's History of Watertown, Mass.;

Genealogical Notes of Barnstable, Mass.;

Town Records of Woodstock, Ct.;

Records of Sharon, Ct.;

Edwards Genealogy;

Clarke Families of Rhode Island;

Massachusetts Marriages, Vol. 3;

Van Cullemborg Allied Ancestry;

Woodward Family.

A complete set of the "Mayflower Descendant" has been given to the Society by *Mrs. Herbert Jenney*, consisting of 16 volumes. These have been bound and we have subscribed for a continuance of this Quarterly. Another genealogical publication, "Lewisiana," has been almost perfected by additions of lacking numbers.

Mr. Richard Ellison has contributed a copy of "Heads of Illustrious Americans and Others, No. 1," published in 1783, which contains twelve engraved portraits of distinguished men.

Mr. W. H. Williamson: Military Land Grant of land between Little Miami and Scioto rivers, 1804, to assignee of Callahan Minnis.

Mr. G. S. Comstock: View of Arch on Main and Fourth Streets at the Grand Rally, Oct. 1, 1840.

Mr. Joseph Wilby: Manuscript letter of Senator George H. Pendleton, Sept. 23, 1884; several photographs of old residents of the city; and two French manuscripts.

Mr. Jerome B. Howard: An interesting and lengthy sketch of John Champion Vaughan written at the time of his death in Cincinnati, 1892, by Samuel Bernstein.

Indiana Society of the Sons of the Revolution: Full length photograph of General George Rogers Clark, 1752-1818.

Mr. W. K. Bixby: Three volumes that are reprints from the original manuscripts in his private collection. The number of copies printed are limited to about 300 and are for private distribution. Fine portraits and illustrations are inserted. The titles are:

“Letters from George Washington to Tobias Lear, with an appendix containing miscellaneous Washington letters and documents”;

“Letters of Zachary Taylor from the Battle-Fields of the Mexican War”;

“Inventory of the Contents of Mount Vernon, 1810”.

Two manuscripts from his Jefferson collection—one of these is inserted here in full as it was drawn up by citizens of this city and is their testimonial to the integrity and good character of the Hon. John Smith, U. S. Senator from Ohio, 1803-1808, when his name was being associated with the Aaron Burr conspiracy. It reads:

“Cincinnati January 14th 1807. A number of the Citizens of Cincinnati having met for the purpose of expressing the general sentiments that prevail here at this time, David Zeigler was called to the chair, and Isaac G. Burnet appointed Secretary. Doctor John Sellman, Mr. Andrew Burt, & Doctor Edward H. Stall were chosen as a committee to prepare resolutions to be laid before a general meeting of the inhabitants at Griffin Yeatmens tomorrow evening at seven o'clock.—

Pursuant to a very general notice, a large number of the most respectable citizens of Cincinnati assembled at Mr. Yeatmans Hotel on the evening of the 15th instant, and the whole committee reported the following address and resolutions which were adopted without a dissenting voice.

To Thomas Jefferson President of the United States. Sir, The citizens of Cincinnati impressed with esteem and veneration for you are encouraged by it to take the liberty of addressing you on a subject they have at heart. They are aware that not a little of your valuable time is wasted by trivial and officious representations; but being convinced that the true interests of your Country and the health of its members are the primary sources of your public actions, they trust that the present address and the resolutions accompanying it will not be deemed officious or unacceptable.

Resolved. That this meeting feels the highest confidence in the principles and efficiency of a republican form of government as guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved. That we view the rising prosperity and happiness of the western country with pleasure and satisfaction and our connection with the Union as the surest palladium of our liberties and rights and we execrate as traitorous every attempt to sever or weaken it.

Resolved. That we have the most entire confidence in the patriotism and political integrity of the Honorable John Smith and it is the opinion of this meeting that his character has been maliciously traduced by misrepresentations to the President of the United States, which have implicated him in the designs of Colonel Aaron Burr.

Resolved. That in the opinion of this meeting the resolution of the Legislature of this State requesting the Honorable John Smith to resign his seat in the Senate of the United States has been procured by erroneous impressions, made on the minds of the individuals who compose that respectable body, by false and malicious sentiments.

Resolved. That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Western Spy and a copy transmitted to the President of the United States, signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

David Zeigler Chairman."

"Isaac G. Burnet Secy.

The endorsement "Zeigler, David, Resol'ns, Cincinti, Jan. 14, '07, recd Feb. 4" is in the handwriting of Jefferson.

The other manuscript—gift of Mr. Bixby—is addressed to Ex-President Thomas Jefferson, dated Warren County near Lebanon, Ohio, July 30th, 1824, signed by William Ludlow, Sec. for the Society. This document begins: "From the common stock society of the Ration Brethren and the Church of God in union." Six closely written pages are devoted to an account of the views of the society and aims for benefitting mankind by forming communities holding property in common. He states that they have purchased land on Coal Creek near the Wabash in Indiana, and are about to move there. The Articles of this Association are upon the County Records of Butler Co., Bk. F. pp. 41-45, and are followed by certified statements of property belonging to Wm. Ludlow, Israel Ludlow and James M. Dorsey, transferred to the Rational Brethren of Oxford, with certain restric-

tions. Copy of these entries of record are in the McBride Papers of the Manuscript Collection belonging to the Society. William Ludlow was elected to the Ohio Legislature from three different Counties, Hamilton, Butler and Franklin; he was one of the Commissioners appointed by the State to select and locate the college township and was president of the Board of Trustees of the Miami University. He may have removed from this State, but his brother, Israel Ludlow remained in this locality. The latter was an original proprietor of Cincinnati and one of the most important men of this section. James M. Dorsey was for awhile associated with the Miami University.

We are indebted to the Hon. Joseph B. Foraker for six volumes, in attractive morocco bindings, of his political speeches, covering a period of about forty-five years, 1869-1913.

December 6, 1915.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.

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Missouri State Historical Society		4
Mt. Vernon Ladies Association		1
National Education Association		1
New England Historic Genealogical Society		1
New Hampshire Historical Society	2	
New Haven Colony Historical Society		1
New Jersey Historical Society		3
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Coast and Geodetic Survey		3
Department of Labor		1
Interstate Commerce Commission	1	256
Library of Congress	8	1
Smithsonian Institution	2	11
War Department	2	
University of California		4
University of Chicago	2	3
University of Colorado		4
University of Illinois		4
University of Nebraska		1
University of North Carolina		1
Washington University State Historical Society		4
Western Reserve Historical Society		1
West Virginia Department of Archives and History		1
Wisconsin State Historical Society	2	
Worcester (Mass.) Public Library		2
Yale University	1	2
Andreae, P.	1	
Betty, W. G.		2
Bromwell, J. H.	1	
Clark, W.		1
Comstock, G. S.		i view.
Corwin, Mrs. M. B.		4
Ellison, R.	1	

	VOL.	PAM.
Fess, S. D.		1
Foraker, J. B.	6	
Granger, S. M.		1
Hall, G. D.		2
Harriman, C. C.		1
Hartman, Mrs. P.		1
Hinkle, P.		4
Holmes, Mrs. C. R.		8
Howard, J. B. Mss.		
Japan Society	2	3
Jenney, Mrs. H.	16	4
Katzenberger, G. A. newspaper clippings.		
Kilgour, B. L.		1
Ludlow, W. S.	1	
McCumber, Mrs.		1
Morganstern, J.		1
New York Stock Exchange	1	
Nichols, Miss E.		2
Parker, Sir Gilbert.		17
Pirtle, A. newspaper clippings.		
Providence Record Commission.	1	
Rice, E. W.	1	
Riebel, Miss M.	1	
Sellers, E. J.	1	
Shadwell, A.	1	
Stanwood, Mrs. T. 1 photo.	2	1
Thayer, G. A.		38
Thompson, S.	1	
Wells, Miss F.	1	
Western Pacific Railway.		1
Williams Directory Company.	2	
Williamson, W. H. 7 broadsides & misc.		
Woodward, Miss A. E.		1

MEMBERS

Bixby, W. K. Mss.	3	
Bliss, E. F.	18	100
Chatfield, A. newspapers.	2	17
Chatfield, Mrs. A.		381
Foulke, W. D.	1	
Greve, C. T.		3
Hamlin, Miss L. B.	11	17
Neave, Miss J. C.	1	
Storer, B.	9	
Wilby, J. mss. & misc.	7	46
Wilson, Mrs. O. J.	1	
Worthington, W.	2	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Quarterlies for the year 1915 have appeared as follows:

Vol. X, No. 1, January-March, contains "Selections from the Follett Papers, III," consisting chiefly of letters from Joshua R. Giddings to Oran Follett, 1843-1847. They are from the manuscript collection belonging to the Society; of which two other selections have heretofore appeared in Vol. V., No. 2, and in Vol. IX, No. 3. These were edited by L. Belle Hamlin.

Vol. X, Nos. 2 and 3, April-July, under one cover, Journal of Francis Collins, an artillery officer in the Mexican War, edited by his niece, Maria Clinton Collins, from the original manuscript in her possession.

Vol. X, No. 4, will consist, as usual, of the Annual Report of the Society.

We have lost by death during the past year one Corporate Member, Joseph Thomas Carew, December 11, 1914; and two Corresponding Members, Charles Francis Adams, March 20, 1915, and Albert Harrison Hoyt, June 10, 1915.

In the cornerstone of the New County Court House now building there was deposited, at the request of the Commissioners, printed copies of the Constitution of our Society and of the number of the Quarterly containing our annual reports and lists of members for the year 1914.

Mr. Albert H. Chatfield, after more than seventeen years of service, resigned as our Treasurer last July, and Mr. William Lytle Foster was elected in his place. Mr. Chatfield had abundantly earned the right to be relieved of the responsibility of this office, which he had filled so long, so faithfully and so efficiently.

JOSEPH WILBY, President.

December 6, 1915.

REPORT OF TREASURER

DECEMBER 6, 1915.

For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

I have the honor to present the annual report of the Assets and liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1915.

Schedule "A."

STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

At November 30, 1915.

ASSETS

Cash in Bank and on Hand.....		\$3,043 32
Librarian's Petty Fund.....		32 86
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co.—Int. Account.....		19 85
Investments, Exhibits 1 and 1A.....		40,399 03
Call Loans (Secured by Collateral).....		31,725 00
TOTAL ASSETS.....		\$75,220 06

LIABILITIES

FUND.	ACCOUNT.	EXHIBIT	
General.....	Income.....	2.	\$983 26
Building.....	Investment.....	3.	243 12
Building.....	Principal.....	3.	17,700 00
Building.....	Income.....	3.	1,642 06
Endowment.....		4.	12,320 00
Life Membership.....	Investment.....	5.	5,037 13
Julius Dexter Publication...	Investment.....	6.	1,324 42
Julius Dexter Publication...	Income.....	6.	59 59
E. H. Appleton Memorial...	Investment.....	7.	4,626 30
E. H. Appleton Memorial...	Income.....	7.	246 35
Halsted Neave.....	Investment.....	8.	6,878 37
Halsted Neave.....	Principal.....	8.	1,019 01
Halsted Neave.....	Income.....	8.	89 49
Erasmus Gest.....	Investment.....	9.	5,838 99
Erasmus Gest.....	Income.....	9.	38 39
Margaret Rives King.....	Investment.....	10.	9,214 38
Margaret Rives King.....	Income.....	10.	639 87
A. J. Howe.....	Investment.....	11.	5,949 01
A. J. Howe.....	Income.....	11.	48 96
Colonial Dames.....	Investment.....	12.	200 00
Colonial Dames.....	Income.....	12.	15 90
Binding.....	Investment.....	13.	1,087 31
Binding.....	Principal.....	13.	5 50
Binding.....	Income.....	13.	12 65
TOTAL LIABILITIES.....			\$75,220 06

Schedule "B."

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
For Year Ended November 30, 1915.

RECEIPTS

Dues—1914.....	\$20 00	
1915.....	440 00	\$460 00
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:		
Life Membership Fund.....	274 50	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....	45 85	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....	204 70	
Margaret Rives King Fund.....	358 25	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	12 00	
Binding Fund.....	37 80	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....	139 87	
Halsted C. Neave Fund.....	273 90	
A. J. Howe Fund.....	127 88	
Building Fund.....	3 00	
		1,477 75
Interest on Call Loans.....		1,174 93
Call Loans Repaid.....		6,500 00
Kineon Coal Co. Bond Matured.....		1,000 00
TOTAL RECEIPTS.....		\$10,612 68

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....	\$750 00	
Assistant to Librarian.....	93 50	
Janitor.....	300 00	
Printing.....	241 81	
Postage.....	24 55	
Stationery.....	16 19	
Subscriptions and Dues.....	19 50	
Magazines and Papers.....	14 50	
Paper for Quarterly.....	31 37	
Auditing.....	25 00	
Safe Deposit Box.....	7 00	
Miscellaneous.....	13 71	
		1,537 13
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund—Books and Magazines Purchased.....	82 07	
Margaret Rives King Fund—Books Purchased.....	91 43	
Colonial Dames Fund—“ “.....	20 25	
Binding Fund—For binding.....	56 30	
		250 05
77 Shares Cincinnati St. Ry. Stock Purchased.....	3,744 12	
Call Loans.....	3,250 00	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.....		\$8,781 30
Excess Receipts over Disbursements.....	\$1,831 38	
Cash in Bank and on Hand at December 1, 1914.....	1,244 80	
Cash in Bank and on Hand at November 30, 1915.....		\$3,076 18

ACCOUNTED FOR AS FOLLOWS:

Balance—Nov. 30, 1915, as shown by Bank Pass Book.....	\$3,110 32
Less Outstanding Checks: No. 483.....	\$1 00
No. 489.....	3 50
No. 491.....	62 50
	67 00
	\$3,043 32
In Hands of Librarian.....	32 86
	\$3,076 18

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:		
3 C. H. & D. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$2,882 50	
13 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	677 50	
2 " " " " " " " ".....	144 50	
6 " " " " " " " ".....	291 75	
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. 4% Bonds...	314 37	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	97 50	
Part Interest in St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	191 15	
Savings Deposit—Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.	27 03	
		4,626 30
HALSTED NEAVE FUND:		
C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	\$1,000 00	
2 N. & W. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,755 00	
Part Interest in Ky. Cent. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	487 50	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	165 75	
1 American Book Co. 6% Bond.....	1,115 00	
Part Interest in St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	458 75	
39 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	1,896 37	
		6,878 37
MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:		
4 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	4,512 50	
7 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	481 25	
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.	1,551 25	
Part Interest in Kent. Cent. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,462 50	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	390 00	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	458 75	
5 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock 6%.....	358 13	
		9,214 38
COLONIAL DAMES FUND:		
4 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....		200 00
BINDING FUND:		
10 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	\$680 63	
4 " " " " " " " ".....	194 50	
Part Interest in C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	97 50	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	114 68	
		1,087 31
ERASMUS GEST FUND:		
1 C. & O. Ry. 4½% \$1,000 Bond.....	\$1,017 50	
1 Chattanooga Station Co. \$1,000 4% Bond.....	930 00	
1 Cin'ti, Newport & Cov. St. Ry. 5% Bond.....	1,045 00	
2 Western Pacific Ry. \$1,000 4% Bonds.....	1,870 00	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	229 37	
5 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	358 12	
8 " " " " " " " ".....	389 00	
		5,838 99
A. J. HOWE FUND:		
5 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	\$5,087 50	
Part Interest in 2 St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	229 38	
13 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....	632 13	
		5,949 01
BUILDING FUND:		
5 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. 6% Stock.....		243 12
		<u>\$40,399 03</u>

Exhibit 2.
GENERAL FUND
At November 30, 1915.

INCOME

Dues—1914.....		\$20 00
1915.....		450 00
		\$470 00
Transfer from Endowment Fund, being interest on this Fund loaned to Building Fund.....		615 00
Transfer from Life Membership Income Account.....		274 85
Interest on Call Loans.....		123 36
		\$1,483 21

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....		\$750 00
Assistant to Librarian.....		93 50
Janitor.....		300 00
Printing.....		241 81
Stationery.....		16 19
Postage.....		24 55
Paper for Quarterly.....		31 37
Rent Safe Deposit Box.....		7 00
Magazines and Papers.....		14 50
Subscription and Dues.....		19 50
Librarian's Dues.....		10 00
Auditing Treasurer's Books.....		25 00
Miscellaneous.....		13 71
		1,547 13
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS.....		1,547 13
EXCESS DISBURSEMENTS OVER RECEIPTS.....		\$63 92
Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....		1,047 18
		\$983 26
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....		\$983 26

Exhibit 3.
BUILDING FUND
At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:		
Interest on Secured Call Loans.....		\$1,010 45
Dividend—Cin'ti St. Ry. Co.....		3 00
		\$1,013 45
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Interest on Endowment Fund.....	\$615 00	
Purchase of 5 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Stk.	243 12	858 12
		\$155 33
EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS.....		\$155 33
ADD:		
Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....		1,486 73
		\$1,642 06
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....		\$1,642 06

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Purchase of 5 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock. \$243 12

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914. \$17,700 00

Credit Balance at November 30, 1915. 17,700 00

Exhibit 4.

ENDOWMENT FUND

At November 30, 1915.

RECEIPTS:

Interest on Loans to Building Fund transferred to
General Fund. \$615 00

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT:

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914. 12,320 00

Credit Balance at November 30, 1915. 12,320 00

Exhibit 5.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Dividends. \$261 00

C. & O. Ry. Bond Interest. 13 50

Interest on Savings Deposit. 35

TOTAL RECEIPTS. \$274 85

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund. 274 85

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914. \$5,037 13

Credit Balance at November 30, 1915. 5,037 13

Exhibit 6.
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND
 At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$110 31

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Dividends.....	\$37 50
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	3 75
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	4 60
Interest on Savings Deposit Account.....	68

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... \$46 53
\$156 84

DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchase of 2 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock.... 97 25

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.... \$59 59

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$1,227 17

Purchase of 2 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock..... 97 25

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915..... 1,324 42

Exhibit 7
E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND
 At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$414 43

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$49 50
C. H. & D. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	135 00
C. & O. Ry. “ “.....	13 50
C. L. & N. Ry. “ “.....	2 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	4 70
Interest on Savings & Deposit Account.....	1 04

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... 205 74

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books and Magazines Purchased.....	\$82 07
Purchase of 6 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock....	291 75
	373 82

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.. \$246 35

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$4,334 55

Purchase of 6 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock..... 291 75

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.... \$4,626 30

Exhibit 8.

HALSTED NEAVE FUND
At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$695 73

RECEIPTS:

C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$23 40
Kent. Cent. Ry.....	20 00
N. & W. Ry.....	80 00
Kineon Coal Co.....	50 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.....	11 25
American Book Co.....	60 00
Interest on Call Loans.....	35 24
Cin'ti St. Ry. Co.....	29 25

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... \$309 14

DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchase Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock..... \$1,004 87

915 38

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.... \$89 49

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$5,982 00

Purchase 39 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock..... 1,896 37

\$7,878 37

Less—Kineon Coal Co. Bond Matured—Transferred
to Principal Account..... 1,000 00

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.... \$6,878 37

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914..... \$1,000 00

Purchase 39 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock..... 980 99

\$19 01

Add—Kineon Coal Co. Bond Matured..... 1,000 00

CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915..... \$1,019 01

Exhibit 9.

ERASMUS GEST FUND
At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 14, 1914..... \$287 52

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti, Newport & Cov. St. Ry.—Bond Interest..	\$50 00
Chattanooga Station—Bond Interest.....	40 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	22 50
St. P. & K. C. S. L.—Bond Interest.....	5 62
Cin'ti St. Ry. Dividends.....	21 75

TOTAL RECEIPTS..... \$139 87

\$427 39

DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchase of 8 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Stock.....	389 00
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915....	<u>38 39</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$5,449 99
Purchase of 8 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	389 00
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....	<u>\$5,838 99</u>

Exhibit 10.

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND
At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$373 05
--	----------

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$36 00
C. H. & D. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	180 00
C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	63 00
K. C. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	60 00
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	8 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L.—Bond Interest.....	<u>11 25</u>

TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	<u>\$358 25</u>
---------------------	-----------------

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books Purchased.....	\$731 30
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915....	<u>\$91 43</u>
	<u>\$639 87</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1915.....	\$9,214 38
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....	<u>9,214 38</u>

Exhibit 11.

A. J. HOWE FUND
At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$553 21
--	----------

RECEIPTS:

C. & O. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	\$112 50
St. P. & K. C. S. L. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	5 63
Cin'ti St. Ry. Dividends.....	<u>9 75</u>

TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	<u>127 88</u>
---------------------	---------------

DISBURSEMENTS:

Purchase of 13 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock...	\$681 09
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915....	<u>632 13</u>
	<u>\$48 96</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$5,316 88
Purchase of 13 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	632 13
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....	<u>\$5,949 01</u>

Exhibit 12.

COLONIAL DAMES FUND

At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$24 15
RECEIPTS:	
Cin'ti St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	12 00
	<u>36 15</u>
DISBURSEMENTS:	
Books Purchased.....	20 25
	<u>15 90</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915....	<u>200 00</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$200 00
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....	<u>200 00</u>

Exhibit 13.

BINDING FUND

At November 30, 1915.

INCOME ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$25 27
RECEIPTS:	
Cin'ti St. Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	\$33 00
C. L. & N. Ry.—Bond Interest.....	2 00
St. P. & K. C. S. L.—Bond Interest.....	2 80
Interest on Call Loans.....	5 88
	<u>43 68</u>
TOTAL RECEIPTS.....	\$68 95
DISBURSEMENTS:	
For Binding.....	56 30
	<u>12 65</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915....	<u>12 65</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$892 81
Purchase of 4 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	194 50
	<u>1,087 31</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....	<u>1,087 31</u>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Credit Balance at November 30, 1914.....	\$200 00
Purchase of 4 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Stock.....	194 50
	<u>5 50</u>
CREDIT BALANCE AT NOVEMBER 30, 1915.....	<u>5 50</u>

REPORT OF AUDITOR

DECEMBER 2, 1915.

To the President and Members of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

SIRS:

We have audited the books and accounts of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ended November 30, 1915.

As a part of this report, we submit the following Schedules, which are accompanied by Exhibits, showing in detail the various items contained therein.

Schedule "A"—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30, 1915.

Schedule "B"—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ended November 30, 1915.

Receipts shown to have been received have been properly accounted for, and disbursements have been made in accordance with authorized vouchers on file. Cash as shown on deposit and on hand at November 30, 1915, has been verified.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been examined and are in agreement with the account as shown by Exhibit 1.

We hereby certify that the above Schedules correctly show the operation for the period examined, and the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1915.

Respectfully submitted,

GEO. R. LAMB,
Certified Public Accountant.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Anderson, Larz W.	Holmes, John R.
Anderson, William H	James, Davis L.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Keys, Miss Mary E.
Ault, L. A.	Kittredge, Edmund W.
Brunswick, B. H.	Levy, Harry M.
Caldwell, Charles E.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Callahan, John R.	Meador, A. B.
Clark, Jesse R.	Nippert, Alfred W.
Dabney, Charles W.	Outcalt, Miller
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Patterson, Jefferson
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Patterson, John H.
Draper, Walter A.	Patterson, Robert
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Foley, B. W.	Procter, William Cooper
Foster, Miss Anna H.	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Foster, William Lytle	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Shillito, Stewart
Freiburg, Maurice J.	Shinkle, A. Clifford
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Storer, Bellamy
Gates, John	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Goepper, Edward	Strong, Edward W.
Greve, Charles Theodore	Taft, Charles P.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Whitcomb, Merrick
Harrison, William H.	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Hinkle, Mrs. A. Howard	Winslow, Mrs. John F.
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Worthington, Edward
Hoadley, George	Worthington, William
Hollister, Howard C.	

LIFE MEMBERS

Bliss, Eugene F.	Livingood, Charles J.
Bullock, James W.	Neave, Miss Alice
Chatfield, Albert H.	Neave, Miss Jane C.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Procter, Harley T.
Fleischmann, Julius	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Thomson, Peter G.
Gest, Joseph H.	Vail, Henry H.
Jones, Frank J.	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.	Wilby, Joseph
Laws, Miss Annie	Woods, Harry F.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Bixby, William K.	Morrow, Josiah
Cox, Isaac J.	Quaife, Milo M.
Foulke, William Dudley	Rowland, Dunbar.
Galbreath, Charles P.	Storer, Moorfield.
Green, Samuel A.	Thayer, William R.
Hayes, E. G.	Young, Bennett H.
Heath, William McK.	

HONORARY MEMBERS

Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	Taft, William H.
Hulbert, Archer B.	Venable, William H.

DIED

Joseph Thomas Carew, December 11, 1914.
Charles Francis Adams, March 20, 1915.
Albert Harrison Hoyt, June 10, 1915.

Quarterly Publication of the His-
torical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

Vol. XI, 1916, No. 1
JANUARY-MARCH

Selections from the Follett Papers, IV

CINCINNATI
THE ABINGDON PRESS

CONTENTS.

- I. APR. 22, 1833, ORAN FOLLETT TO WILLIAM LARNED MARCY.
- II. JUNE 10, 1833, ORAN FOLLETT TO WILLIAM LARNED MARCY.
- III. FEB. 1, 1834, MILLARD FILLMORE TO ORAN FOLLETT.
- IV. MAR. 5, 1834, MILLARD FILLMORE TO ORAN FOLLETT.
- V. DEC. 4, 1837, ORAN FOLLETT TO THURLOW WEED.
- VI. SEP. 30, 1839, TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE WHIG DISTRICT
CONVENTION TO ASSEMBLE AT NEW HAVEN,
FOR THE CHOICE OF A DELEGATE TO ATTEND
THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AT HARRIS-
BURGH.
- VII. OCT. 18, 1839, ORAN FOLLETT TO GEORGE H. FLOOD.
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- XX. DEC. 26, 1848, WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO ORAN FOLLETT

The Letters comprised in this Number, are selections from the Follett Manuscripts in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio Collections, and like those hitherto published in Vols. V, No. 2; IX, No. 3; and X, No. 1, are written by Oran Follett and his political associates, relative to the National political conditions then existing, but more especially in regard to the activities of the various contending political parties of New York and Ohio, and the final results effected thereby.

L. B. Hamlin.

I.

ORAN FOLLETT¹ TO WILLIAM LARNED MARCY.²

Confidential

April 22, 1833, [Buffalo.]

Dr Sir

You will allow me to avail myself of the recollections of "lang syne", to say a few words of the state of parties, &c., in this region, with a view of asking your advice and concurrence in several suggestions I am about to make.

It has not escaped you that there exists here rather a singular state of things. The remark applies to the present condition of all *three* of the parties that have divided the State and Union. The anti-masonic party, in point of numbers, no doubt contains a majority of the people of the western counties of New York. The Jackson party and the National Republican party, in about equal numbers, composing the minority, relatively occupy such positions as will insure the ascendancy of Antimasonry as long as those positions are maintained, and just so long as the people will allow themselves to be gulled by the cunning devices of the common enemy.

The Jackson party—(you will allow me to speak plainly for I speak from experience and careful examination)—is led by a class of men in most of the counties, calculated to secure to it the cordial opposition of both antimasons and Nat[ional] Republicans, for an independent period, or at least until fair dealing and respectability cease to be considered as requisite for carrying on operations and keeping up a healthy political organization. You will understand the remark in the sense I mean to use it, without my descending to particulars. The re-

¹ Oran Follett was a resident of Buffalo, N. Y., where he edited the Daily Journal until his removal to Sandusky, O., May, 1834. Later he edited the Ohio State Journal at Columbus. See *Quar. V. No. 2*.

² W. L. Marcy was appointed Judge of the Sup. Ct. of N. Y., 1829; elected U. S. Sen. 1831; Governor of N. Y., 1832 and re-elected 1834. Subsequently member of Pres. Polk's cabinet; Sec. of State under Pres. Pierce. He was of the Regency party. See *Alexander's "Political Hist. of State of N. Y." and Quar. V. 2*.

sult of elections is proof in point and is worth all the other evidence I could adduce.

The fact alluded to is felt and acknowledged by very many of the most respectable and influential, (tho' not the most active,) members of the Jackson party as lately constituted. They would remedy the evil but *how* it is to be done, they are not so clear. Some correspondence and much conversation with those I have been able to see, has taken place on this subject. One thing is certain— the present *front rank* men of the Jackson party in these counties never can successfully approach the Antis or Nationals.

I have a plan not yet submitted to the gentlemen with whom I am in correspondence, which I think will obviate many of the difficulties. It is to revive in this city the old Buffalo Gazette (which you will recollect was a Jackson paper) in opposition to the Journal. The paper in order to be effective *must* be Tariff, but will yield a fair and liberal support to the government of the State and Union. This paper will, or can, be indorsed by leading Nationals and Jacksonians as well as patronised by them, and in order to render the movement entirely successful it must be indorsed also by the State paper for as great an amount as circumstances will possibly allow. The effect will instantly be felt. The present Buffalo Republican will be discontinued or merged into the new paper— the Journal will be robbed of its influence with the Nationals— a general rally under the auspices of the new paper will be made in this and the adjacent counties against antimasonry— and success will assuredly crown our efforts. In this way, a vocal influence will be gained that can be exerted effectively as opening events may require. A party can then be built up, for whose discretion I will hold myself responsible provided confidence and reasonable assistance from head-quarters are extended to me. If necessary, (and my present purpose is to do it) I will take charge of the new paper, and bear the brunt of the battle, myself.

But, in order to accomplish all this, I must be intrusted with discretionary powers— I must not be doubted or suspected come what may. I never yet made a proposition that I did not reasonably answer, and I never yet sought confidence to abuse it.

You will, however, do in this matter as you please. I voluntarily throw myself on your confidence, knowing that my trust will not be abused. You will, in return, act your pleasure as

interest or inclination shall prompt. One thing I will say, is quite certain, – that whatever may be the eventual direction of the party there can be little doubt but that a concentration of effort for local and western objects, by men of political sentiments heretofore quite opposite, will take place, and that too at no very *distant day*. I can say no more. The remark is made in kindness; and I will further suggest that no time should be lost in returning an answer to this hasty communication.

I had thought of dropping my old friend Flagg³ a line. But, on reflection, I have considered it best to omit it for the present.

I shall leave here the first of next week for Batavia, Rochester, Canandaigua, &c. to be absent about two weeks. A letter addressed to me at Canandaigua, so as to reach there the 12th to the 15th May or sooner, will be recd in due course of mail. . .

II.

ORAN FOLLETT TO WILLIAM LARNED MARCY.

(Confidential)

[Buffalo] June 10, 1833

Dr Sir,

Yours of the 6th ultimo, in answer to mine of the 22d of April was received at Canandaigua in due course. I return you my thanks for the free and confidential character of your communication. I did not answer it immediately on my return home for several reasons. In itself, your letter did not require an immediate answer, and one is now deemed advisable mainly for the purpose of informing you of the progress of events connected with the subject of my first communication.

Before leaving home, and after my letter had been written, I opened my views *confidentially* to several gentlemen of this place. I called together *seven* of the wise ones, (including myself) embracing in their number *five* Jacksonians and *two* Nationals, and asked their opinion and concurrence in the projected plan of operations. Assent followed, as I had expected, almost as a matter of course. Previous to this, I had carefully *felt* of several leading Nationals, and had so placed matters before them, that concurrence was certain, as soon as things were ready.

³ Azariah C. Flagg of N. Y. was State legislator; of the Regency and later of Jackson party. Subsequently Comp. of State. See *Autobiog. of Thurlow Weed*, and *Alexander's Polit. Hist. of State of N. Y.*; also, *Quar. V. 2.*

I then left for the adjoining counties, leaving my Jackson friends to manage at home in those matters which more immediately rested with them and their friends. But they were less successful than I had been.

In their opinion, to the success of the movement, it became advisable to convert the present Buffalo Republican (a Jackson paper) into the engine of attack, retaining the present printer Faxon⁴, and dropping Stryker⁵ as editor. Stryker, you are no doubt aware, is the main obstacle in the way of reconciliation, as matters now stand. By getting rid of him they thought that an important point would be gained. He came here, an adventurer, was taken into favour and patronized, made editor, Judge, manager & subsequently Indian agent. Like most such men, having no positive merit of their own, he soon learned to fancy himself the dispenser of favors instead of the recipient. His conduct was in accordance with this vagary. Here lies the difficulty, one of the principal difficulties that has paralyzed the efforts of your friends. Stryker and some of his dependents (all men I believe have dependents)—disregarding the great interests of the party, have stood forward, affecting to speak its voice and claiming all as a reward for their independent course, their courage, their perseverance, in fighting single handed the colossal enemy—when in truth, like the fly on the bullock's horn in the fable, they were of no consequence one way or the other and became as you have seen an easy prey to the *enemy*. They drove off your real and effective friends and attempted to occupy their places; but the effort sat upon them like a giant's jack-boot on a Lilliput. Since the breaking with his friends, he has been suffered to go on without opposition, rather than make a serious breach. He was poor but has continued to sustain himself—his friends say, by means of his Indian money but of this I know nothing. Thus matters stood when I proposed the new movement and thus they stand still. Stryker got wind of the plan in some mode or other, and Day⁶—the Journal printer—(E. J. R.⁶ is the editor) and Stryker put their heads together and made common cause of it. Between them they have kept us all at bay. Faxon who is an honest, careful man, was unwilling to

⁴ Charles Faxon of the "Buffalo Republican & Bulletin" and "Buffalo Daily Star."

⁵ James Stryker of Buffalo.

⁶ Elijah J. Roberts. David M. Day.

take upon himself the responsibility of forcing Stryker out of the concern, and so he remains, no hope existing that he will go voluntarily— for all his *greatness* depends upon the continued ability, thro' his paper, of keeping the political elements in violent commotion. In this the Journal will assist him— the former fearing the loss of power abroad— the latter loss of power at home. By looking at the Republican of the 8th inst. you will see one of the means made use of. I am there made to occupy a very conspicuous place, rather more than I deserved. Stryker's object is apparent. I must hold on to my National friends, or how shall I be able to reach them hereafter? But let this pass.

Now, unless this means Stryker can be muzzled, it becomes necessary to establish a new paper. It looks rather odd that such a man should be able to do so much mischief. In politicks as in mechanicks any bungler can pull down, but it requires ability and experience to build up. What would you recommend to be done? I tell our friends to be ready, but wait until yourself, &c. &c. shall reach the west. We shall then have time to do something before the fall election. But every week is now of value. The west can be regenerated and should be saved, but the present machinery is out of order. Tracy⁷, at the head of antimasonry amongst us is preparing himself for some move. The truth is, the Antis came near running clear off with the god-like Daniel. We would not permit this for the plain reason that we could drop him ourselves much easier than we could force them to do it.

This communication is without the knowledge of any one. The other I was obliged to make known in substance, in order to explain to my associates here the whole plan. That an answer was rec[eive]d they know, and that it was satisfactory they were told— nothing further. This it is not necessary they should understand.

Yours with great respect.

⁷ Albert H. Tracy of Buffalo, U. S. Sen. 1830-38. Of the anti-mason party.

III.

MILLARD FILLMORE⁸ TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, Feb. 1, 1834

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 27th ult. came to hand yesterday. I had only Clay's and Binney's speeches, which I forwarded you last night. I have been at all the printing offices for the others, but can only obtain a part, all the others are disposed of. Those which I could find I ordered, and they are sent to the House to be folded, and I will forward you a copy of each.

We have much speculation on the subject of the next presidency, but nothing yet in a tangible shape. The impression seems to be that Mc Lean⁹ is the only man that can possibly be elected against Van Buren¹⁰, and that his success would depend on a union of the opposition upon him.

I think there is no doubt that he can carry Penna & Ohio against *Matty*. But all is yet mere conjecture as to what will be done.

I am Yours in haste

M. Fillmore

IV.

MILLARD FILLMORE TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, March 5, 1834.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 19th ult. came to hand on the first inst. and I have shown that and the enclosed letter to Mr. Pleasanton to Mr. Patterson¹¹, who manifests a willingness to render all assistance in his power, and it is hardly necessary to give the same assurance with reference to myself.

⁸ Millard Fillmore was member of Ho. of Reps. at this time.

⁹ John McLean resigning as Postmaster-General 1829, was appointed associate justice of U. S. Sup. Ct. 1830. Identified with anti-slavery party; his name was before the free-soil convention, 1848, as candidate for nomination as President.

¹⁰ Martin Van Buren.

¹¹ Wm. Patterson, M. C. 1833-38, from 14th Dist. of Ohio, embracing Sandusky. An effort was being made to secure an appropriation fr. Congress for the improvement of the Harbor and River of Sandusky. See *Follett MSS., Fillmore to Follett, Feb. 21, 1834.*

I have forwarded the enclosed to Mr. Pleasanton. I am happy to see the folks in motion in Buffalo, & look daily for their memorial.

Petitions and resolutions, filled with the distresses of the people, and execrating the acts of the executive in removing the deposits¹², are pouring in from all quarters. From Maine to Georgia there is one agonizing groan— one universal shriek of distress and despair, and yet I fear it can have no influence upon the majority of the House of Representatives. The Regency men from N. Y. laugh at the proceedings. Call them *panic meetings* and *farces* & affect to believe there is no real distress.

But the mail is about to close.

I am Yours &c. In haste

M. Fillmore

V.

ORAN FOLLETT TO THURLOW WEED.¹³

T. WEED, Esq.

Dr Sir,

There seems an expression in your paper of the 20th November, when speaking of the late riot in Alton, which I regretted very much to see: I allude to the expressed opinion that "speedy justice must be visited upon the murderers, or this Republic will be convulsed to its center."

The habitual attention and interest with which I read the Albany Evening Journal, adds to the regret which I feel at seeing this subject treated in this manner in your paper. The occurrence of which you speak is a melancholly one; the crime committed against the laws in the violent death of Mr. Lovejoy¹⁴, calls loudly for prompt action on the part of the civil authorities of Illinois; but, are we to believe that *this* murder more than one hundred others that stand registered on the criminal calendars of the different States, is to "convulse the republic to its center"? Are we to admit for a moment that *any* single murder,

¹² Reference to the extermination of U. S. Banks and removal of the government deposits.

¹³ Thurlow Weed, then editor of the Albany Evening Journal.

¹⁴ Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy, murdered in defense of the liberty of the Press, at Alton, Ill., Nov. 7, 1837. See *Memoir by J. C. & O. Lovejoy*.

or other crime arising from incidental excitement, not pre-meditated, nor arising from extended concert on the part of the perpetrators, is capable of producing such a result? And unless we are, can we doubt the ability or willingness of our sister, to maintain the administration of justice in her boundaries? Let me ask in all kindness is it wise to utter such a sentiment as that quoted above?

I perceive on the part of several of our ablest journals, a disposition to make every occurrence connected with slavery and its abolition, a *national question*. Foremost in this lead stand the New York American, a paper which I read with great interest, and in general have no occasion to regret the dependence and value I place on its editor's opinion.

Abstractly, the question of slavery is a great national question.— Simply considered, there is nothing about it to excite alarm. It is one the southern statesmen approach as fearlessly as any other, and one they were the first to agitate in a deliberative form in this country; and, I may add, one which they *have* discussed as ably and dispassionately as any other portion of our countrymen. Why then seek to mix it up with every act of violence that can directly or indirectly be traced to it as a moving cause?

I know what the reply will be in the present case for already the American has said on this subject—"To maintain the freedom of the press, no perseverance can be obstinate— no daring rash; and that journal which is not prepared— without any reference to individual opinion as to the right or wrong, the expediency or inexpediency, of the course pursued by any other journal— to maintain and defend, to the uttermost— the right of such journal, always in subordination to established law, to the fullest freedom of discussion, and to entire immunity in doing so,— is unworthy of the high privileges which the *theory*, at least, of the American Constitution secures to us all."

From an editor who is famed for his conservative doctrines, this is strange language and stranger doctrine when it shall be carried out in its full bearing. In the heat of zeal, he seems to forget that licentiousness in liberty, is as hateful as oppression in slavery. Nay, worse— licentiousness tears down and destroys— the other expresses and holds in abeyance its antagonist's principle, that itself may flourish.

The liberty of the press is one thing. Its licentiousness, an-

other. Let us beware how we mistake one for the other, lest like Ixion we embrace the shadow for the substance. The liberty of the press is a dear privilege, dear to every freeman. I would as soon think of making war upon the liberty of conscience, as on well defined liberty of the press, and well is it understood with what eagerness the American people will fly to its defence, when repeated attacks on their constitutional rights thro' the medium of Legislation shall fail to arrest their slightest attention. The abuse of either privilege as a general rule, will correct itself. The dissemination of false doctrines, political or religious, whether through the press or from the pulpit, may safely be tolerated when not aimed at the peace and legal organization of society. The irruption of the disciples of Mormon into Missouri, produced violence and threatened bloodshed. But who thought of arousing the Union in defence of the rights of conscience?

I condemn both parties in this abolition movement; the slaveholder for his petulance and irritable jealousy; and the abolitionist for his unavailing and pestilential zeal. The latter, however, is most to blame, for he is not only the aggressor, but he offends against knowledge. In the exercise of *his* rights, he denies to the slaveholder a like privilege. The right of free discussion is unalienable—so is the peaceable enjoyment of property; yet both privileges may be abused, and in such cases, are liable to correction under the law. Cases may occur, however, not provided for, or beyond the reach of the law; and such do occur in the use of both privileges every day. What is the consequence? Communities and individuals according to the nature of the offence, imagined or real, will redress themselves, and in so doing incur a penalty which is always enforced, sooner or later. And here the matter should end, unless indeed, combination and organization should ensue, holding itself superior to, and in derogation of, the law of the land. Then the case would become one fitting for the invocation of the moral sense as a touchstone of legal right and publick justice. A contrary course conveys an implied censure on local government, in itself weakening the restraints of law and subversive of good order, inasmuch as it would seem to question the existence of the latter or the desire to establish the former.

In the present case, how stands the question? Understand me—I do not mean to take issue on, or discuss the liberty of the press for it is not in danger; nor do I mean to discuss the sacred-

ness of the person when engaged in lawful pursuits; this is admitted and rests on a basis as broad as our Constitution. But, how stands the question between the slaveholder and the abolitionist? This is the real question, and to this it is the intention to bring all others that have or may be started in the handling of this two edged sword. The slave-holder has entered into *no combination* not forced on himself by his opponent; he was in the free enjoyment of his rights *and it was not necessary. This cannot be said of the abolitionist.* Here lies the difference and I may add the evil. But it will be said he has the right so to do always holding himself "in subordination to established law." What is the answer which every dispassionate man must make? It would be founded on the nature of the question, that we are bound so to exercise our rights as not wantonly to interrupt others in the enjoyment of theirs.

If I am right, it almost necessarily follows that modern abolitionist is wrong. I use the term modern abolitionist understandingly. The abolitionist of former periods, was a different man in the leading characteristics of his pursuit. His philanthropy did not run ahead of his judgment. Appeals were addressed to the understanding, and the question was considered in its physical and political bearing (I use the latter term in its broadest sense) and not so exclusively as now in its domestic and moral tendencies.

The question of slavery in the United States is a political question. It can be usefully considered in no other light so far at least as any useful action by Congress or by the Legislatures of the different States, is to be expected. Its character is mistaken by most abolitionists, especially that class styled immediate abolitionists. This is, and will continue to be the source of much evil. To this error may most of the outrages that have disgraced the land be referred. So long as the question is urged principally as a measure of moral reform, so long may we expect the bitter and jealous opposition of the slave-holder, arising as well from the nature of the subject, as from the character and consequent indiscretions of those who urge it. The public mind has not been prepared for it in this shape, and therefore it is that I look for little good from the misdirected zeal of the modern abolitionist. As a political question, southern statesmen have taken the lead in its discussion. The brightest ornament in Mr. Jefferson's public life, (to say nothing of

others, dead or living) is, in my opinion, his wise forecast on this subject, and his exertions to save his native State from the evils of slavery.

I owe you an apology for so long a lecture. But I trust you will forgive me. I could not well say less, having once broached the subject: I could wish that it had been said better. Confiding in my good intentions, you will pardon any omissions and charitably construe the ambiguities consequent on the condensed form of expression necessary in such discussions.

Yours truly,

A friend to Equal Rights.

Endorsement in Oran Follett's handwriting, as follows:

"Copy- To Thurlow Weed, Esq.
on the subject of Slavery
Dec. 4, 1837, sent 6th."

VI.

TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE WHIG DISTRICT CONVENTION TO ASSEMBLE AT NEW HAVEN, FOR THE CHOICE OF A DELEGATE TO ATTEND THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AT HARRISBURGH.

Sandusky, Sept. 30, 1839.

The undersigned having been selected as Delegates by the Whigs of Erie county to meet the Delegates appointed in other Counties of this Congressional District, for the purpose of performing the duty of selecting a Delegate to the National Convention, regret their inability to meet their Whig brethren and join with them in their deliberations. Though absent, we are with them in *spirit*; and we are willing beforehand to pledge our acquiescence, and the acquiescence of the Whigs of Erie county, in the action of the Convention on the subject in hand— not doubting but that it will be met in the true Whig spirit,— *how can we best protect and advance the interests of the Country*, and not *how can we best promote the election of this or that candidate*.

Having said this much, we will now state, that a majority of the Delegates from Erie county (and we are assured the whole Delegation, consisting of Burdette Wood, Esq. in addition to the undersigned) are impressed with the belief that the selection of Henry Clay of Kentucky, as a candidate for the Presidency,

would best subserve the objects which the Whigs of the Union have in view; not because he is a better Whig or a purer patriot than General Harrison, or any other candidates that have been named— but because he would unite the largest influence, in the different states of the union, in his behalf. As citizens of Ohio, we should feel a pride in casting our votes for a candidate from our own State— we believe we have a fit and proper person for a candidate amongst us, in General Harrison; but the question does not rest here:— Were we, however, surrendering any great *principle* of our party by insisting on any other individual— were we compromising any leading interest of the State or Union by so doing, we should be amongst the last to give him up as our first choice.

Instead of making any such surrender or compromise, we feel that we should be doing right the reverse; we should be promoting the advancement and spread of our principles, and paving the way for their adoption as the governing rule for the administration of our government. Any thing that will do that— any act that will promote the ascendancy of the principles of the Whigs of the Revolution— restoring the government to its legitimate action, and making it a government for the *People*, instead of a government for a *Party*, ought to command the hearty concurrence and support of every Whig of the Union, not as members of a party, but as American citizens, as lovers of their Country, her institutions, her laws.

If, however, our brethren assembled in Convention, should differ with us in the means of bringing about so desirable an end— If they should think that the objects of the whole Whig party would be best advanced by the nomination of General Harrison, we shall most cheerfully acquiesce in the superior judgement of our friends. “Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseperable,” is our motto, and under it we are ready to do battle as long as there is a shot in the locker.

With much respect,

We are your friends and fellow-citizens,

O. Follett.

Jno. G. Camp¹⁵.

¹⁵ Major John A. Camp removed from Buffalo to Sandusky in 1834.

VII.

ORAN FOLLETT TO GEORGE H. FLOOD.

Strictly confidential

Sandusky, Octo. 18, 1839.

My Dr Sir,

The times are sadly "out of joint" and he who shall make himself prominent in mending them, is sure of honours and distinction enough to satisfy ordinate ambition. Has it not occurred to you, (if not you will thank me for the suggestion at some future day,) that *now* is the time for a move on the political chess-board that will be sure to check-mate the *King* and win the game? The original friends of General Jackson are thrust aside to make room for a parcel of N[ew] York Jackals, whose appetites much exceed their discretion or patriotism. Now, sir, if the *Original* friends of General Jackson would make a move for Gen[eral] Scott— call meetings for his nomination, first of counties then of State, the day would be theirs. The Whigs would be obliged to haul off, or if they kept the field they could do no mischief, whilst Mr. Van Buren's friends would be glad to make a compromise— or if they persisted, they would surely be defeated.

Think of this seriously. Such a move as I have suggested is under consideration in Pennsylvania. She first moved in behalf of Gen. Jackson. I am desirous that our own State should set the *genuine* ball in motion on this occasion. I have been casting about for a person of sufficient influence to whom to impart my views, and my mind has settled on you, and amongst other reasons because the manner of your recent election gave assurance that you possessed sufficient political catholicism to take this suggestion in its right spirit. Mr. Bryan of Columbus, it does seem to me, must see his true position by this time. I *knew* he was doomed by his party friends long ago and Mr. Van Buren expressly notified the idiot.

The political character of your county and your standing in a party light would make a move of this kind extremely easy by you, carrying with it much force backed as you will take care to be by the right sort of friends. It would be a matter for reflection whether the call for a meeting should exclude *any* original friends of the Old Hero, whether Whig or Democrat. Circumstances of a local and private nature will have much weight on this point.

This will be of course considered "strictly confidential" so far as my name is concerned. You may rest assured of my prudence and honour. If the suggestions contained are offensive it can be adjusted between ourselves. Yet as I feel the highest impulse of good faith in making them, I do not allow myself to doubt of the manner in which they will be rec[eive]d from

Your obdt. servt. &c.

Geo. H. Flood, Esq.,
Newark, Licking Co. Ohio.

Endorsement:

This letter was written and sent as appears on its face. The object was to draw off a portion of the Van Buren party in support of another candidate. In other words to create a split. The proposition to the *original* supporters of Gen. Jackson, to come out in support of Gen. Scott, seemed the most likely course. The letter failed of its object in the main. After the death of Flood, and in the month of February, 1842, during the sitting of the Whig Convention in Columbus, (of which I was a member,) the letter was picked up in the streets of Columbus, by a Whig. I was apprised of the finding soon after— but not until *this day*, did the same come into my possession. O. Follett. Dec. 28, 1843—at Columbus.

Further endorsement: Flood, the spring after this letter was written, rec[eive]d the appointment of *Charge de affaires* to Texas, from Mr. Van Buren. His course and language in consequence of the letter and in pursuance of its suggestions, are supposed to have had some influence on the event.

VIII.

ORAN FOLLETT TO JAMES T. MOREHEAD¹⁶.

Sandusky, Ohio, Octo. 18, 1839.

Dr Sir,

Presuming on the slight acquaintance which I had the pleasure of making with you at Columbus last winter, and on that tie of Political brotherhood which should bind the whole Whig party of the Union together as one body, one soul with one destiny, I address you this informal and hasty note.

I did not read your character a right if you will not better

¹⁶ State legislator; Lieut. Gov. and Gov. of Ky.; 1838 Pres. of Board of Internal Improvements; U. S. Sen. 1841-47. *Lanman, Dict. of Cong.*

like a direct and frank declaration of my objects and motives in writing this letter than a tortuous and indistinct avowal.

The next Presidential election, and the results to flow from it, have formed the subject of my thoughts for many a day and night of late. Recent events, embracing the results of the elections in Democratic Indiana, Maryland, and Ohio, and the new suspension of the Banks in the Atlantic cities, which must under the circumstances I think become general throughout the country, give to the subject new features of interest, and much embarrassment. The question arises— what must be done to meet the exigencies of the case? Every intelligent Whig— every true patriot, will put this question to himself. Some will answer it one way— some another. But there is only one true answer to a proposition in physicks— can there be two in *politicks*? In this case (I grieve to say it) taking things as they are, the present state of the public morals, the heresies in government, and the ignorant prejudices of the multitude in relation to Treasury and men, there is but one answer now to be given, and that from the nature of the question must be negative. We can tell what *cannot* be done, but it would be a serious thing after the experience of the last 8 or 10 years to venture upon the converse of this in party *politicks*. I therefore declare it as my conviction, based upon much correspondence and serious reflection, that neither Mr. Clay¹⁷ or Gen. Harrison¹⁸ can be successfully carried through the approaching contest.

This conviction has been forced upon me, I need not say, against my most cherished desires. Until within the last month or two, I had hoped, nay, believed, that Mr. Clay could be sustained triumphantly before the American people. His great publick services— his eminent ability— his personal popularity, and his inflexible courage and incorruptible integrity, all seemed to point him out as "*the man*." But, now look— what a change "has come over the spirit of our dreams." I will not stop to point out that change. You have marked it— and in the dim light which the flashes of truth cast about us, we can see the army of ignorance and falsehood marshalling for the fight. I shrink from forcing Mr. Clay into such a battle, where defeat is certain and no new honours are to be gained.

Two grand mistakes have been made by Mr. Clay's friends—

¹⁷ Henry Clay.

¹⁸ William Henry Harrison.

the first in accepting office under Mr. Adams; the second, in placing him before the people in 1832. I opposed with my feeble voice the latter step. I was told by Gen. P. B. Porter (or my friends were, on exhibiting my communications) that such language was *treason*. Sir, had Mr. Clay declined the Baltimore nomination in such language and for such reasons as he would have used, probably no human power could have prevented his elevation in 1836. We were placed in a false position in 1832, and Mr. Clay was sacrificed. Shall we run the same course in 1840? I beg, in God's name— in the name of our common country and her torn and sundered interests, that it may not be so! Nay, I approach you as the friend of Mr. Clay, and if so selfish a motive can be honourably urged, I pray you save your friend— save him for himself— save him as a future hope for our country. I know Mr. Clay would spurn to fall back or falter in the course of duty. It is upon that I rely— personal considerations are nothing— his country is everything.

I have written to my friends in Albany and New York, in the same spirit that I write this to you, recommending a review of our position, and suggesting the probability, almost the certainty of retrieving ourselves on the popularity of Gen. Scott¹⁹. I do not like "Military Chieftains" but desperate diseases require appropriate remedies. In this State and it is so in Pennsylvania, New York, and the North generally the rank and file of those that were our administration men, cannot now be made to rally on Harry. Bank reform and Abolitionism have taken possession of different and large classes of our citizens. Pride of opinion is omnipotent, it sways the ignorant as well as the learned— the corrupt as well as the honest. A split is going on in the party of the enemy: the *Moderates* want a refuge— they cannot find it under the banner of Chiefs against whom they have battled. Let there be a call of the *Original* friends of *Gen. Jackson*, friendly to the nomination of Gen. Scott— Let the nomination at Harrisburgh be tendered to Mr. Clay, and at the proper time let him decline it, in his own open, free and spirit stirring language, and *all will be well*. This is my opinion. Will you favour me with yours? I may be wrong— but the error is one that may be forgiven.

I am, sir, with considerations of the highest respect,

Your obdt. humbl. servt, &c.

¹⁹ General Winfield Scott.

Hon. James T. Moorhead,
Frankfort, Ky.

Pennsylvania is the most wrongheaded State in the Union. It is there the move should be first made amongst the *Originals*.

IX.

ALFRED KELLEY²⁰ TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Cleveland, 14th June, 1840.

Dear Sir:

The various engagements connected with the celebration at Fort Meigs, consultations and arrangements as to our movements, have been such as to give me no time for writing to you since I left Columbus.

Our journey from Delaware to Fort Meigs, and thence to this point, has more resembled a triumphal procession than an ordinary journey. Numerous escorts— large collections of people at our stopping places— shouts of the multitudes— the firing of cannon, &c., have been such as to leave little opportunity for cool thinking, writing, or anything else.

The reception of the General at this place, although they had but a few hours notice of his intended visit, was of the most flattering and enthusiastic character. The visit was made at the request of a committee of the citizens who were at Fort Meigs, and to redeem a promise made some two years ago, "that if he came again into the northern part of Ohio, he would visit Cleveland."

He yesterday addressed, in a very happy manner from the balcony in front of the American House, a concourse of four or five thousand citizens. Mr. Harris²¹, of the Cleveland Herald, will probably publish a short sketch of the speech, which you will of course see. The General returns tomorrow morning by way of the canal in a packet-boat, to Newark or Hebron. He will probably reach Columbus on Wednesday evening or Thursday forenoon.

General Harrison has in this journey given the people the

²⁰ He was Chairman of the Ohio State Central Committee, 1840, and active in the campaign which elected Gen. Harrison to the presidency. For sketch of his life see *Hist. of Cleveland, comp. by C. Johnson, p. 364; and Hist. of Ohio, Randall & Ryan, Vol. 3.*

²¹ Josiah A. Harris, proprietor of the Cleveland "Herald and Gazette."

most conclusive evidence that he possesses, both mental and corporeal vigour of a high order— the stories of his political opponents to the contrary notwithstanding.

You will see in the papers, and hear from others, a more particular description of the celebration at Fort Meigs, than I can give you at this time. All went off well without any accident to mar the general joy and enthusiasm.

Very respectfully,

O. Follett, Esq.

Columbus, Ohio.

X.

ORAN FOLLETT TO THURLOW WEED.

Sandusky, Sept. 18, 1840.

My Dr Sir,

It has seemed to me ever since I read Benedict's²² letter to Kelley, that I would write you, in the spirit of old times, and ask how it was that you had committed such a mistake as you evidently did in the recent movement? Was there any doubt of who should be consulted on the point stated, it is clear to my mind that that doubt would be converted into a certainty by the step taken, and you and your friends would suffer by the conclusion. But, inasmuch, as independent circumstances have placed Seward, etc. etc. (including all you would wish) directly in the position you and B[enedict] sought to *assure to them* by the visit of our friend to Ohio, I repeat again that I am a little *surprised* at the *mistake* you committed. When our friend was in Columbus, I thought I saw clearly the error of the whole thing. He was frank on most points. But there was a kind of reserve which was unnecessary between either him or me, or Mr. K[elley]. Had we fully comprehended him my language at least would have been different from what it was. Now that we do understand each other, I need not assure you, in addition to what K[elley] has said in his letter to B[enedict] that so far as any influence from Ohio is concerned, all will be as you would wish. Of this there can be no doubt. Only manage the thing properly at home, and there will be no difficulty.

You did right in keeping Gen. V. S.'s name off the Electoral

²² Lewis Benedict of Albany, for many years a member of the Whig State Committee.

Ticket, and he ought to be able to see the propriety of the thing, if he does not, and you ought to have made him see it before it was done, that the old soldiers' grief should have been swallowed up in duty. It is very easy to get along with such men provided you have regard to their individual preferences and their innate sense of duty which might be flattered, they are the worst men in the world to hedge and drive. However this can be all cared for. There is no need of guarding against anything from that quarter if you will take the slightest steps to put things right, and then assure Gen. V. S. of there being no want of personal respect, &c. This will be proper for though nothing *positive* will come from that direction which you need care for, yet the old Sympathies which will be kept alive between the parties, had better be in your favour than to remain passive. I am understood I trust. There can be no doubt on the subject generally. Depend upon that. Benedict when he wrote, was, I see, a little spleeny and vexed. Tell him to keep cool and calculate on results as he was wont.

This letter is of course *private*. I promised myself I would write simultaneously with K[elley]. But I was so occupied before I left Columbus, that I could not find time. I left there on Friday morning, and am necessarily away to attend to some *family* requirements which a husband and father can only appreciate. I have been quite worked down this campaign and need rest to recruit my wasted energies. I can look a little to things from here.

I have a letter from J. W. Allen²³ before me, in which he speaks most encouragingly of the Reserve-- 9000 as the minimum. Corwin²⁴ *must* come on to the Reserve with a snug majority or else we are so wretchedly deceived that it will never do again to depend on our friends. To tell the honest truth, Ohio is not more than half organized. We are obliged to depend upon the spirit of the people. This is not right. It has been a source of great anxiety to me all summer, but I was powerless, neither having time myself to attend to it, nor associates that could. Mr. K[elley.] is nearly the only *certain* man amongst them. This will be remedied in future, or Ohio can be carried by any party or set of men who will take the trouble of exciting her population.

As for your State I never have doubted her. You will

²³ John W. Allen of Cleveland, O.; M. C. 1837-41. See *Quar. X, 1*.

²⁴ Thomas Corwin of Ohio. See *Quar. IX, 3*.

recollect my letters and talk as far back as 1832-33-34 & 5. New York has always been Whig, and so has Ohio. The difficulty has been in an organization that would bring out the votes. You have remedied that, and so must Ohio.

When I left Columbus, Corwin was confined at Gambier, Knox Co. I have not heard from him since I have been home. His speeches and meetings have done great good, and his loss from the active canvass can hardly be supplied.

The Great Meetings at Urbana, Dayton, and Erie, you will have heard of. The gatherings at Chillicothe came off yesterday. The day was not pleasant here, but there will be no repressing the spirit of the People. Let me hear from you occasionally.

Yours truly &c.

XI.

ALFRED KELLEY TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Columbus, March 17, 1841.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 2nd Inst. directed to me at Washington city, was returned to me under the frank of the Hon. A. S. Porter²⁵ and this day received. I returned from Washington somewhat sooner than I had anticipated on account of hearing of the death of Mrs. Bates's²⁶ little child and the sickness of my little son, who is now however well.

The matter of selling our offices by loco foco incumbents to Whigs or *pretended Whigs* is well understood at Washington, and will be treated as it deserves. The presumption of foul play in such cases is so strong that the *onus probandi* will be thrown on the recently appointed whig to show that there was no collusion in the case. Few if any *eleventh hour* appointees will be permitted to hold on.

While at Washington I rec[eive]d a letter from Mr. Cooke urging that the principal citizens of Sandusky city had agreed to recommend an old revolutionary soldier (whose name I do not now recollect) as post master. Your name & Mr. Hollister's with several others were mentioned as among those who con-

²⁵ Augustus S. Porter, U. S. Sen. 1840-45 from Michigan, later of Niagara Falls.

²⁶ Maria, dau. of Alfred Kelley, mar. Judge James L. Bates.

curred in the recommendation. I referred the matter to Mr. Granger²⁷ saying that I knew the gentlemen named as joining in the recommendation to be among the most respectable and influential men in Sandusky city.

In regard to P[ost] M[aster] at this place I believe the Gen[eral] feels rather favourable to the appointment of J. G. Miller²⁸, though he told me while at Washington that he had not selected or designated any one for that place. My understanding was that he would not do so. If he does not express a *decided* preference for Miller he will not be appointed. Mr. Ewing²⁹ said to me "that it would not do."

There are so many applicants and each one is so strongly opposed by a portion of our citizens that the P[ost] M[aster] G[eneral] will have much difficulty in making the selection; and in this condition of things he may be induced to appoint a non-resident. I intend to sound him on the subject— shall write him today. If this should be objected to I think a temporary appointment may be made with the understanding that a resignation and new appointment will in due time take place. Indeed a wish was expressed that I should take the appointment at least until affairs could be investigated and arranged. This however I declined as inconsistent both with my views and professions.

If our paper³⁰ at this place can be put on a satisfactory footing I am confident that a large amount of Gov[ernmen]t patronage can be obtained for it. I feel confident that it can be made profitable if it can be first made respectable. Scott³⁰ seems disposed to make a decided effort— *But he must have some man with more enlarged views connected with him.*

I will communicate the result of my correspondence with Mr. Granger. I shall be glad to see or hear from you.

With great respect

Your friend

O. Follett, Esq.
Sandusky City, O.

²⁷ Francis Granger of N. Y., then Postmaster-General.

²⁸ John G. Miller was appointed Postmaster at Columbus, 1841.

²⁹ Thomas Ewing of Ohio, then Sec. of the Treasury.

³⁰ "Ohio State Journal and Register". In 1837 the firm *Scott (Charles) & Gallagher*; the latter sold his interest to Samuel Douglas 1839, who sold out to Scott a few months later—James Allen, editor. In 1843 John Teesdale became part owner. *Lee's Hist. of Columbus.*

XII.

ORAN FOLLETT TO JAMES T. MOREHEAD³¹.

Sandusky, Nov. 3d, 1842.

Dr Sir,

In October, 1839, I took the liberty of addressing a letter to you from this place, on the subject of the coming Presidential election. In that letter, after some few prefatory remarks, I used the following language: "I therefore declare it as my opinion that neither Mr. Clay or Gen. Harrison can be successfully carried through the approaching contest."

I need not be reminded that my sagacity failed me in one important particular— that there *was* enough of *military glory* clustering round the name of Gen. Harrison to carry him safely through. Nor need we stop now to inquire whether it was wise to select him as our candidate, for since that event time and eternity have so wrapped themselves round the past— and treachery and patriotic hopes are so mixed up with the present, and so dimly is shadowed forth the future that to attempt to unravel the dark mass would look like presumption.

I now address you, not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on a doubtful point, or of making clear a questionable fact, but, to reassure you if recent events have shaken that belief, that the voice of the Whigs of Ohio is still in unison with the general public sentiment, in proclaiming Mr. Clay as *their* candidate for the Presidency.

The fact is undeniably so— and well it is that it is so for we cannot retract: It is now Mr. Clay or Mr. Calhoun— constitutional Law or Nullification— the Union as it is, or a Southern Confederacy. The issue is fearful. The country must look to Mr. Clay to carry it safely through. Whether Ohio will be found ranged along side of Kentucky in '44, is no more doubtful to my mind than any event in the future, *which depends simply on the use of right means*. Of the correctness of this opinion you will of course judge from a review of the facts bearing on the case, as they present themselves to your mind.

My object in writing is mainly to call the attention of the friends of Mr. Clay, in other States, to the fact as here stated. The "use of right means" is a very indefinite expression, it may mean much or little. Nothing can be accomplished without

³¹ See Note 16.

the use of *means*. Upon their right use depends the issue, whether it shall be more or less favorable. Our friends in this State are now, I believe, pretty well convinced that they have not rightly used the means in their power, for the last year or two. And the grand mischief is, that, in failing so to do, they have lost the power of sustained action which would have resulted from the possession of the State Government, Executive and Legislative, and the patronage incidental thereto.

Now, sir, what shall be done? Upon Kentucky, Ohio, New York and Massachusetts, (the latter representing New England) rests the heavy responsibility of preserving the integrity of the Union. Since the Election, I have had interviews with our friends in different parts of the State, and among others, with Gov[ernor] Corwin at Columbus. There is but one *feeling*, but many *opinions* about what is best to be done. We shall now lose the counsel of Gov. C[orwin]³² at the center, and there is great need of strength there. Have not the particular friends of Mr. Clay the means of throwing in additional aid? A broader and more elevated scope must be given to the discussion of Home Industry, value of Labour, Colonial Trade, &c. It must be raised above the distractions of *party*, or it will become so clogged with extraneous matter that it will stand in danger of falling by its own weight. Cheap publications unconnected with the political press and lecturers, seem to be needed. But I must not descend to detail in this letter. When it is seen how rapidly Free Trade notions and Nullification have spread, under the patronage of the central power, at Washington, it cannot be doubted but that something efficient must be done to counteract it.

I have been free in my communications with friends in New York on this subject. Something like concerted action would go far to restore the tide of battle, and revive the drooping spirits of our friends in this and other States. We feel strong hopes of New York, but after what has been witnessed in this State it is by no means certain that they will not even there need the balm of consolation under defeat. They have been more individual in their efforts than we were, and in that have acted wisely.

He who gives good advice is a friend. He who both counsels and executes is a benefactor. Upon the sons of Kentucky de-

³² His Governorship expired in 1842.

volve the latter office. Ohio, and the Union, have the right to insist that she shall take the lead in this matter. And, in these times, when treachery in high places is rife— when the friend of yesterday is the enemy of today— when the *boiling patriot* becomes a tool of power on the mere asking— and when, it would seem, “*thrift follows fawning*”— it is an honour to receive the homage of the true and faithful. “*Traitor*” was never yet written on the shield of a true son of Kentucky. Heaven save her, and grant that her particular star may rise in the ascendant!! Berkley’s old prophecy hath it— “*Westward the course of empire takes its way*” and why not *western men to guide it*? Let us accept the augury as suiting our hopes and our principles— taking care to do all we can to realise the promise.

Very truly . .

It does seem to me that Mr. Van Buren is a mine of wealth not properly wrought by the Whig press. His friends can never cordially support Mr. Calhoun. Is it not quite possible to force them— directly or indirectly— into the support of Mr. Clay?

XIII.

JOHN MC LEAN³³ TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, 5 March 1846.

My dear Sir,

I enclose five dollars for my subscription for the Journal the current year. After the receipt of this, please have my paper directed to Cincinnati. The Supreme court will adjourn on Monday next.

I have read, with attention, your paper³⁴ during the winter, and I take great pleasure in saying that it has been conducted with an ability equal to that of any other paper in the Union. Recently it has been stated to me that you would, probably, not agree to edit the paper much longer, which I hope is unfounded. I should regret to see you separated from it at this time, as I fear your place could not be supplied.

³³ See Note 9.

³⁴ In Sandusky Register, Oct. 17, 1894, it is stated that “in 1840, 1844 and 1854 he took a leading and active part in the political campaigns of those years, as editor of the Columbus Journal.” Neither Studer or Lee in their Histories of Columbus mention O. Follett in connection with that newspaper before 1854, yet letters in the Follett Coll. show an earlier association.

The administration party has, within it, the elements of destruction and recently indications have been given, of disaffection which has created alarm.

Very truly & sincerely yours

XIV.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY³⁵ TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, October 4th, 1848.

O. Follett, Esq.

Sandusky City, Ohio.

Dear Sir

The Hon. Truman Smith³⁶ concurs with me in the opinion, that it is best to send the documents for the Reserve in boxes, and not run the risk of the uncertainty of the mail. We shall attempt to make an arrangement with Adams Express line to convey the boxes at reduced prices.

Mr. Smith thinks the documents will be ready, and packed in two days. Many of them are to be printed. The box addressed to you will contain the following documents:

C. F. Adams ³⁷ Platform just put to the press (Most interesting)	1500
Hon. Dudley Marvin's ³⁸ letter (Excellent)	750
Mr. Van Buren's Platform	750
Sketch	750
Character of Gen. Taylor ³⁹ (Admirable)	750
	<hr/>
	4500

These are for Erie County. Another box containing the like number for John R. Osborn, Norwalk, will be forwarded to you, and you are requested to send it to him on its arrival. He will be advised that it will be sent. You will see the importance of distributing these documents without any delay. Of course, you will arrange to have some of your patriotic young men visit every township and deliver to the Committees their quote.

³⁵ M. C. 1823-39; Prosecuting Attorney for 16 yrs.; Auditor for Post-office Dept. and Comp. of the Treasury for many years.

³⁶ M. C. at this time; U. S. Sen. 1849.

³⁷ Charles Francis Adams.

³⁸ M. C. from New York.

³⁹ General Zachary Taylor.

This is the last effort for the Reserve. If you knew how anxious the whole Country is for the good old Reserve you would not shut your eyes (if you could keep them open) until after the election.

Mr. Smith will soon leave here. He has done the most that could have been expected of any man, and he asks, that others engage with the same zeal to save the country. The anxious attention of the nation is fixed on Ohio and more particularly the Reserve.

XV.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, October 11th, 1848.

O. Follett, Esq.,
Sandusky, Ohio.

Dear Sir,

Governor Seward⁴⁰ left here this morning. He has been addressing people in the eastern part of Pennsylv[ani]a and thinks he has done much good work in some free soil districts— next week he will be engaged in a patent right trial at Albany, and the week following a similar cause in which he is engaged is set down for trial in Boston. If absolutely necessary he thinks this cause might be continued, and if he could be of service, he would go into the Reserve. He prefers to speak in a house and not in the open air, as he thinks such audiences are more susceptible than mass meetings; but in this he will, of course, cheerfully conform to the arrangements which should be made.

Gov[ernor] Seward is a person who desires the extinction of slavery, and who believes it can be accomplished by human means. He says all the Whigs in New York are free soil men when the other party is divided on the question, and only about one half of them, can claim, to desire to restrict the extension of slavery. His opinion is, that the restriction of slavery depends on the union of the Whigs and that under the circumstances the only prudent course for the Whigs to pursue is, to support General Taylor. I think he is the very man to visit the Reserve before the 7th of November. He thinks Mr. Greeley⁴¹ would take a tour there also if he could be of service.

⁴⁰ William H. Seward.

⁴¹ Horace Greeley.

I wish you would write to Mr. Allen⁴² at Cleveland that there may be an understanding on the subject and concert of action.

The news this morning from Pennsylvania by Telegraph is cheering, and a few days will give to us the final result.

My anxiety is about the good old Reserve, that has saved the State so many times, and has been the favourite of the Whigs throughout the Country, do rescue her from the Vandals.

Most sincerely yours

XVI.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, October 19th, 1848.

O. Follett, Esq.

Sandusky City, Ohio.

Dear Sir

A box will be sent to you this afternoon, via Buffalo, containing documents⁴³ and principally if not exclusively German. The number will be at least 5,000 and probably more; as many as the box will contain. These are to be distributed at your discretion. They are intended however, for Erie, Huron, Sandusky, Ottawa, Rutland, Seneca, Crawford, Wyandott and Marion Counties, if you shall think they may be advantageously distributed in those counties.

Your position on the Railroads and your perfect knowledge of the wants of that section of Ohio, will enable you to put them in the right places. The limited time before the election, may make it expedient, to have all the arrangements made for a speedy distribution.

The country is greatly indebted to the Hon. Truman Smith for the vast amount of intelligence that has been distributed.

Most sincerely yours

⁴² John W. Allen of Cleveland. *See Note 21.*

⁴³ The Letters of Mr. Whittlesey, Oct. 4, 19 and 21, afford a view of the difficulties of distributing political documents at this period.

XVII.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, October 21st, 1848.

My dear Sir

The Hon. Truman Smith received a letter this morning from Mr. Hays of Lower Sandusky, wishing him to send more documents and particularly he wants the Life of Taylor in German. Mr. Smith has ordered a number to be sent by mail, but as the mail about these days may be "mighty *uncertain*", I give you notice of the request of Mr. Hays that you may supply his wants, in part at least, from the boxes sent to you.

We think it is certain that Mr. Ford⁴⁴ is elected in Ohio, and Mr. Johnston in Pennsylvania by very small majorities. The belief is here, that both States will vote for Gen. Taylor. I wish I had your opinion of Ohio. The Administration, and Mr. Ritchie⁴⁵ were thunderstruck by the first news from Pennsylvania. They never suspected that Mr. Longstrieth's⁴⁶ majority would be less than 20,000.

You will have the prayers of many to aid you in Ohio, and I have assured many an anxious enquirer, that the Whigs will do all that is within their power.

Gen. Dorman, a very respectable gentleman from Rockbridge County, Virginia, is here, and he has full confidence that Virginia will give her vote for Gen. Taylor.

Most sincerely yours

XVIII

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Auburn, November 9, 1848.

My dear Sir,

We are in the midst of calculations upon the fixed but unknown results of the great election. You see that New York has come out as we expected. Our information from Pennsylvania agrees thus far with our expectations.

Our chief uncertainty is about your own noble State of Ohio.

⁴⁴ Seabury Ford was elected Governor of Ohio, 1848.

⁴⁵ David Ritchie, M. C. from Pittsburgh.

⁴⁶ Morris Longstreth, Democratic nominee for governor of Penn., 1848, was defeated by Wm. F. Johnston.

I found that things had been, infinitely worse on the Reserve than I had conceived, and I found them improving more rapidly than I could have hoped. My first hope of Ohio was born after the election was ended.

But my object in writing was simply to express my thanks for the hospitalities I received there, and to assure you that I shall be a willing testimony every where to the noble and majestic efforts made by the Whigs of Ohio, let the result prove as it may.

With most respectful regards . . .

XIX.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Washington, December 12th, 1848

O. Follett, Esq.

Columbus, Ohio.

My dear Sir

Your esteemed favor of the 8th is received. Your silence need no apology, I have heard of your unceasing labour, and your time was better employed than it would have been, if it had been spent in writing to me.

The victory is important to the Country and I hope it will be the means of restoring the Government to the principles on which it was administered under Washington. While there is so much cause for rejoicing for the Country, the Whigs deplore the condition of Ohio. My opinion before the nomination was, and so announced by writing and verbally, that the nomination of any man who held slaves, would distract Ohio. It was for this reason, and because I had no doubt of his availability and qualifications, that I was anxious for the nomination of Judge Mc Lean⁴⁷.

If Mr. Clay had been nominated the free soil disunionists would have opposed him. They might not have been as successful as they were at the late election but they would have done their best to defeat him.

In General Taylor I had full confidence, and if he lives, I think his administration will be marked by good sound practical common sense, wisdom and nationality. While we lament the

⁴⁷ See Note 9.

condition of Ohio, I have not heard any one, doubt the correctness of the course pursued by the Whig members. It has been my opinion for more than a year, that it was the intention of certain politicians in Ohio, to break up the State government. I hope they may be frustrated, but I look for an announcement of the fact, that the State government is, at an end, and a call for a convention. Being on the spot, you are much better able to form an opinion than I am, of the intention of the party.

As to myself, I have no expectation of being invited to participate in the councils of the nation.

Judge Lazell⁴⁸ is well known, to the Whig members of Congress from Ohio, and his services are alike known to the people of the State. Without having any knowledge on the subject, I will take the responsibility to predict that caution will be observed against making hasty removals, and yet there may be instances, when the abuse of office has been so flagrant as not to admit of much delay. The appointing power may not be governed by the number of recommendations while it may desire to have such testimonials on file, as would satisfy the public that the appointment did not proceed from favoritism or secret influence. Entertaining these views my advice to Judge Lazell would be, if he intends to be a candidate for the office of Post Master at Columbus, to obtain the recommendations of some of the most prominent citizens of the City and surrounding country, interested in the office.

You can hardly conceive how anxious I am to hear of the proceedings at Columbus, and you will lay me under renewed obligations by writing to me often. Your position enable you to communicate much that does not meet the public eye, and in your observations, I shall place the fullest confidence. Mr. Evans will hand your letters to me.

If Mrs. Follett is with you please to present to her my respects.

Most sincerely yours

⁴⁸ John A. Lazell of Franklin Co., one of the Central Committee of the Ohio State Convention 1848.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD TO ORAN FOLLETT.

Auburn, December 28th, 1848.

My Dear Sir,

After an absence of nearly two months I came home from Washington on Sunday last, when I found here your letter of the 30th ultimo.

At this distance and with no better information than I possess, I cannot understand what are to be the political results of the organization of the Ohio Legislature. The way in which it has been brought about does not seem propitious. But we must wait for developments.

At Washington there is an anxious solicitude to know how the new ship of Administration is to be got off. General Taylor's arrival is to be delayed until quite late, and it is entirely certain that no grave matter will be decided or at least no decision in such a matter will be published until after General Taylor shall have arrived at Washington. It was understood the while I was in the city that Mr. Webster was willing to take the office of Secretary of State and Mr. Clayton willing to take that of the Navy.

I am very sincerely your friend.

Quarterly Publication of the His-
torical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

Vol. XI, 1916, Nos. 2 & 3
APRIL-JULY

Reprint of
"Recollections of Cincinnati"

By
GORHAM A. WORTH

CINCINNATI
THE ABINGDON PRESS

The reproduction of "Recollections of Cincinnati," by Gorham A. Worth, is largely owing to the author's attractive and racy manner of recounting his impressions of the city and its inhabitants, received while a resident there in early days. This, taken in connection with the evidence obtained of the scarcity of existing copies of this small publication, seems to justify a reprint.

The copy in this library is No. 133 of the Catalogue of the "Thomson Collection" belonging to the Society, *8vo. pp. 88*, and the compiler, Mr. Peter G. Thomson (from whom the collection was purchased) states that it is excessively rare; unknown to the Cincinnati Public Library, Ohio State Library and the Western Reserve Historical Society Library. In response to our various inquiries, the Library of Congress, New York (City) Public Library, Wisconsin State Library, and several others report no copies in their collections. The only copy located yet is in the State Library at Albany, in which city the book was printed.

In "Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley", W. H. Venable, the author, states that "The first book of home-made verse printed in the west was a pamphlet of ninety-two pages, by a Cincinnati banker, Gorham A. Worth. The title is 'American Bards; a modern Poem in Three Parts'. It came out in 1819 and had the honor to be published in Philadelphia— an honor not justified by the merit of the book, the value of which consists wholly in the fact that it is the *first*, and that it is rare."

The Society has a copy of this poem and upon the front fly-leaf is written, "Mr. Lewis Whiteman from his friend the author" and directly under, "Oh! that mine adversary would write a Book? Job." The handwriting is Worth's as shown by comparison with letters written by him.

Worth was the author of two other works, "Random Recollections of Albany from 1800 to 1808" and "Recollections of Hudson" (N. Y.) Three editions of each were printed, the first

and second, 1848 and 1849, by C. Van Benthuyzen, and the third by Munsell, 1866, with Notes by the publisher.

From these Notes we learn that the author's father went from Nantucket to Nine Partners, Dutchess Co., N. Y. and subsequently, with his family, removed to Hudson, where he taught school.

The son states "Though born on Quaker Hill, I have still been in the habit of considering Hudson as my native town, for the reason that my earliest recollections date from that place." When about twenty he went to Albany [1800] and soon after was appointed teller of the New York State Bank and when the Mechanics and Farmers' Bank went into operation in 1811 he was appointed its first cashier and took with him to Albany his kinsman, Mr. Thomas W. Olcott.

From 1817 to 1825 Worth resided in Cincinnati, later in New York, where according to the Publisher's Notes, "he acquired wealth and maintained a high position in society. He was president of the City Bank of New York. Mr. Worth died in 1856 aged 74."

The History of Columbia County, N. Y. states that Gorham A. Worth was cashier of the Bank of Hudson from 1809 to 1811.

In Quarterly, Vol. VI. Nos. 2 & 3, may be found twelve letters written by him to his friend, Thomas Sloo, Jr. These throw considerable light upon his life during the years 1819 to 1824, particularly regarding his financial troubles arising from the closure of the United States Branch Bank. Several of these letters were written after his removal to New York City.

L. B. Hamlin.

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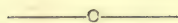
RECOLLECTIONS

OF

CINCINNATI,

From a Residence of Five Years,
1817 to 1821

By the Author of
"Random Recollections of Albany."



ALBANY:
Charles Van Benthuysen, Printer.
.....
1851.

TO THE READER.

The following pages are mere transcripts from memory, and as such, it is very possible that some trifling errors may have crept in among them—some mistakes perhaps as to names, and some petty inaccuracies as to dates. But for all errors, whether of dates or names, whether of facts or opinions, of men or of things, TIME rather than the TRANSCRIBER, should be held responsible. The latter is a mere mechanical agent, tied to the task, and restricted to the letter; while TIME rejoices in the largest liberty—treading now upon the hopes of Democracy, now upon the necks of Kings! If TIME, therefore, who in the plentitude of his power, has been running rough-shod over the original imprint of these reminiscences for more than thirty years!—if Time, I repeat, in the recklessness of his course, has ADDED or OBLITERATED—has altered the readings of the record, or confused its dates, the fault lies at his door, and not at the door of the TRANSCRIBER, who, it is well known, has no discretionary power, but is bound by every principle of transcription, to give the matter exactly as he finds it, regardless of discrepancies and incongruities, the meddlings of the imagination or the lapse of years.

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It is the fate of most men of lively imaginations to begin their career in life, by building castles in the air. A single one may perhaps be excused; even a second may possibly be atoned for: but woe unto him that shall build a *third!* The disease will then have passed the period of recovery, the mind will have lost all confidence in itself, and either the reins of judgment will be resigned to chance, or the order of life left to the rule of the passions. But what has all this to do with a journey across the mountains? Softly, my friend, and I will tell you. The scheme of that journey was itself *a castle in the air*, "formed of such stuff as dreams are made of;" yet to the eye of the imagination glittering in the morning sun, with columns and entablatures of gold! It was the *second* reared by the same hand— but let that pass. The *third*, if ever built;— but here comes the stage—

Now, gentlemen, take your seats and we'll move on.

We left Philadelphia on the ides of March, 1817, in the mail [p. 8] stage for Pittsburgh, from which place it was my intention to descend the river to Cincinnati, in the most feasible craft that should present itself. I had with me a large sum of money, too large indeed, to be mentioned with prudence even now, and which in those days, when human habitations and mile stones were wide apart, it was desirable to keep as much in the shade and as far from the eye of suspicion as possible. It was accordingly stowed away in an old travel-stained and beggarly-looking portmanteau: so beggarly indeed, in its appearance, that it might have been taken for one of Uncle Sam's cross-road mail bags, or for wallet of the Wandering Jew; or from its venerable age, as a part of the puritan baggage that landed from the May Flower. I mention this matter now, as we may possibly have occasion to refer to it again in the course of our journey.

The road across the mountains, was then in its primitive glory; unturnpiked, unmacadamized, and untouched, I may

safely say, by hand of science or even of civilization; in one word, it was as rough and as wretched as could well be imagined.

Travellers had then no choice of routes or of vehicles. The mail stage was the only mode of conveyance, and the parties conveyed were as necessary to the conveyors as the conveyors were to them.

It was considered to be the duty of the passengers, not only to walk up all the steeper ascents, but to walk down all the deeper descents, and whenever circumstances required it, (which was at least ten times a day,) to hold the stage up in the bargain. To enable them the better to perform this last mentioned service, ropes were attached to the top of the stage on each side, and as the vehicle rolled or slid into the deep ruts or ravines, the passengers, (who were of course all out and on foot,) held on to these braces, and by their united exertions kept the craft from being thrown upon its beam ends, or from becoming engulfed in the *muddy deep!*

Even in the better parts of the road, particularly at night, we had a routine of *inside duty* to perform. The driver perceiving or guessing at the difficulties ahead, kept us upon the constant *qui vive*, by calling out, (after the manner of the leading fiddler at a cotillion ball,) lean to the right, gentlemen! now to the left! now to the right again! and so on, till the danger was passed. These orders were of course promptly obeyed: not so much out of respect to the distinguished source from whence they emanated, as from a natural desire to preserve intact the bones and ligaments of our necks.

On several occasions, I remember, we came to a full halt, and were, one and all, compelled to turn out and amuse ourselves by removing rocks and rubbish, filling up holes, and literally bridging our way over deep, and otherwise impassable gulfs and chasms. In descending the mountains, we often, indeed, came to places so steep and precipitous, as to render it indispensably necessary to cut down some large scraggy saplin and attach it to the hinder part of the stage as a *drag*, to prevent the old vehicle from performing a somerset and pitching down headlong.

In the midst, however, of all these provoking difficulties and delays, one thing struck me as admirable, and that was, the uniform excellence of the teams; nobler horses I have never seen, nor any, indeed, to be compared to them in size, in

strength, in steadiness, or in obedience to the voice of their drivers.

When we left Philadelphia we numbered but six passengers; [p. 11] but at Harrisburgh, the adjournment of the legislature, which had just taken place, poured in upon us a flood of opaque matter, filling every seat and giving us an amusing variety of persons, characters and tongues. We left this town at 3 o'clock in the morning, which was three hours before day-break, and found ourselves so irrespectively thrown together, so crowded, so packed, that no comparison to "figs in a jar" would reach our case, or illustrate our condition. There was no telling who was who, no distinguishing our own legs from those of our neighbors: and in this doubtful state as to personal identity, we rode three mortal hours in perfect silence! At length the day dawned, and our learned legislative thebans began to talk. This was a relief—nay, to my ear it was more. Their pronunciation, language and accent were curious and amusing. The same speaker was now Scotch, now Irish, now German, and now a compound of all three; nor was the warp or woof of their discourse less variegated, and yet, strange as it may appear, with one of these gentlemen I formed a brief but interesting acquaintance. His name has escaped me; but his figure, his features and his voice are still as fresh in my memory as they were on the morning after we parted. He was a Scotchman by descent, a lawyer by profession, and a scholar by education and taste. He recited Ossian in a style and manner superior to anything I had ever heard, giving to certain parts and passages a force and beauty, as new as they were admirable.

That passage in *Carthon* beginning with—"O, thou, that rollest above, round as the shield of my fathers! Whence are thy beams, O sun! thy everlasting light?" was, by his manner, rendered exceedingly beautiful. And again, in *Comala*, "There *Comala* sits forlorn! Two gray dogs near shake their rough ears and catch the flying breeze. Her red cheek rests upon her arm, the mountain wind is in her hair!" Nothing could be finer. The deep intonation of his voice, the roll of the *r*, even his Scotch accent added to the picturesque beauty of the passage. His style of recitation left so strong an impression upon my mind that months afterwards I occasionally found myself repeating the passages and imitating his voice and manner. We were together but a few days, and yet I parted from him as from

an acquaintance of many years. Most of our Harrisburgh friends left us before we reached Chambersburgh, so that when we arrived at that frontier town we had seats to let, although we had picked up some recruits on the way, and among them was one that attracted more of my attention, and made a deeper impression than even the Scotchman's eloquence. But the incident is entitled to a caption of its own, and to a chapter by itself. The recruit, or

[p. 13]

WAY—PASSENGER.

alluded to, was a young woman, or girl rather, of some fifteen or sixteen years of age, whom we had overtaken upon the road. She was alone and on foot, carrying a little bundle in her hand, and going, as she expressed it, on a visit to her sister at Pitts-
burgh. Her plain dress, but fine form and face caused her to be a good deal stared at by two or three of the passengers, who were evidently disposed to treat her with more familiarity than was either polite or proper. This, I was glad to perceive, was observed by a stout rosy-faced gentleman wearing the uniform of the navy, next to whom I happened to be seated at the time,—and it was immediately determined that a stop should be put to the impertinence. Without a moment's hesitation, therefor, the lieutenant, for that I afterwards learned was his rank, called to the driver to stop his team until the lady could be better accommodated. The order was promptly obeyed, the backs of the seats were lowered, and the lady passed aft, where she was safely moored by the side of my friend of the navy. The signal, "ready!" was then given, and the stage moved on. Not another word was spoken.

The thing was understood— the matter was settled. Still, to prevent any return of impertinence, we continued to pay her every proper attention, and to treat her with marked respect. One or the other of us always assisted her in and out of the stage, helped her at table, and saw that she had every accommodation that could be procured for her at the taverns in which we put up for the night. And all this was done in so quiet a manner as to attract no particular attention, and yet, at the same time, sufficiently marked to show others that the girl was not altogether an unregarded waif upon the travellers' common. Our civilities gave her no uneasiness, as they exacted nothing in return. No question was asked her, we did not even inquire

her name or the names of her friends. Still, she could not but feel that we took an interest in whatever concerned the comfort or safety of her journey. Our attentions were in fact such, and such only, as her unprotected situation seemed to require. Yet I have an indistinct recollection that there was an occasional effort, either on my part or on that of the lieutenant, (I forget which) to be agreeable— that there was something in the tone and manner of our address, that was not always nor altogether so formal as it might have been, or as we might have supposed it to be. She was, in truth, too interesting, as well as too sensible, not to exact some small tribute of admiration as well as of respect. Still, she did not mistake the feeling or the motive that governed our conduct, but behaved with great good sense and perfect propriety throughout.

It is hardly necessary to add, that long before we reached the banks of the Monongahela every boor in the stage was as civil to her as he knew how to be.

She took leave of us (and as I thought with but little ceremony) at the corner of one of the streets in Pittsburgh, and nothing more was thought of the affair. In the course of the evening, however, we were informed by the landlord, that a Lady and her husband in the parlor, wished to speak with us. On entering the room, who should we find but our young travelling friend, with her sister and her sister's husband, come to thank us for our protection and kindness, as they expressed it, to their young relative: adding that she was fortunate in meeting with gentlemen whose politeness was marked by delicacy as well as kindness.

I was never more surprised in my life,—the thing was so unexpected; they appeared too, to be persons of some standing in society; were certainly well dressed, and spoke with ease and propriety. The young lady herself, seemed to be not only changed in manner, but greatly improved in her general appearance. Her fine form now showed to advantage; even the features of her face, which at first glance on the roadside struck me as uncommonly handsome, now seemed more beautiful than ever. Her large dark eye was more thoughtful, more expressive. She looked taller too, and there was an air of mingled dignity and softness, that I had not before observed.

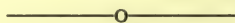
My red faced friend, with the anchor upon his buttons, partly from the fact of his being the *senior* partner in the con-

cern, and partly perhaps, from a belief that he had seen more service than myself, took upon him the office of spokesman, and in answer to their very flattering address, told them (in extremely plain English) that they had given themselves unnecessary trouble; that their notion of things might appear very plausible to the *marines*, but they would never be able to persuade *him*, that a mere common place civility could be construed into an obligation deserving of thanks; and assured them that in his judgment, *we* were the parties most fortunate, and most honored.

On their being about to take leave, the young lady reached out her hand and attempted to speak, but her feelings choked her utterance, and she burst into tears.

I was myself so strangely, not to say *foolishly affected*, that I could only bow and bid them goodnight: thus leaving to the navy the palm of self-possession, sense and eloquence. We were afterwards told by the landlord that the brother-in-law of the girl was a man of property, and that she was otherwise respectably connected.

This little incident, episode, or whatever it may be called, has brought us on to Pittsburgh somewhat in advance of the mail stage in which we set out— an irregularity that could not be avoided without breaking the thread of a story which I was determined to keep whole at all hazards, and present to the reader, unmixed with grosser matters. We will now, with the reader's permission, go back to the mountains and resume our regular line of march.



[p. 18]

AN ADVENTURE UPON LAUREL HILL.

On reaching Laurel Hill, the passengers, as usual, turned out to foot it up the mountain. The morning was dark and cloudy. There was still a good deal of snow upon the ground, and as the road was otherwise sufficiently bad, the ascent of the team was necessarily slow and laborious. Our breakfast lay on the other side of the mountain, some eight or nine miles off, towards which our appetites leaned with marked impatience.

While the stage was slowly lumbering up the hill, the passengers scattered themselves in little groups along the road—

some pushing on before, some lagging behind, and some, more prudent, keeping pace with the team. An English gentleman, who boasted of his pedestrian qualities, and myself, led the van. As the snow was sufficiently hard to bear our weight, the walking we found was better out of the road than in it. This led us to leave it occasionally, and in consequence of these digressions, and the windings of the track, we sometimes lost sight of the stage and our companions, altogether. But a short pause on our part soon brought the whole cavalcade in view again. Thus, partly through a restless and impatient temperament, and partly through a sort of pedestrian rivalry, we reached the summit of the hill, while the stage and our wiser companions were yet on its side some thirty minutes below. It was too cold to stand still, and as it seemed ridiculous to go back, we concluded to go forward, but at such a pace as would enable the stage to overtake us. After walking on for near half an hour, often looking back without hearing or seeing anything of the stage, we became somewhat alarmed, and held a short consultation as to the course we should pursue. The Englishman proposed turning back, but to that I objected. If we were on the right road, the stage was still behind us, and there was no danger, if on the wrong, it must have already passed us, and going back was not the way to overtake it. We therefore again moved on, and with a quicker step. At length we came to a place where the road branched off in different directions; but as the angle of divergence was not great, and as both held a westerly direction, we concluded that they were part and parcel of the same road, and therefore took the plainest and pushed on, though not without some misgivings. After continuing our course for fifteen or twenty minutes, we came to a sort of opening, where the snow had melted off, and where, to our inexpressible surprise *the road ended!* We had evidently been pursuing some hunter's or woodman's track, and were, in all probability, miles from the main road. The Englishman again proposed turning back, but to that I would not listen for a single moment. That old *beggarly-looking portmanteau*, with its contents, was uppermost in my mind, and a backward course I knew would never reach it. Our only hope lay in the possibility of regaining the stage, and hence the necessity of pushing *forward* with all possible speed.

The descending ground, the thickening evergreens, the in-

creasing size of the timber, all tended to show that we had crossed the ridge and were approaching the foot of the mountain on the western side, and, as I judged, considerably to the south of where the road crossed: so that, by running a northerly course parallel to the line of the valley, we should probably strike the road and overtake the stage, which had certainly passed us, and was now, as I hoped, waiting for us at the breakfast house on the other side. But my friend, John Bull, still talked of going back. He talked of our bewilderment, and expressed his belief that we were travelling in a circle. He considered it certain that we should be starved to death, or devoured by wild beasts, of which he assured me the mountains were reputed to be full. We had eat nothing, he said, but bears meat for the last three days, and that we were now destined, in our turn, to become meat for the bears! This forlorn speech, to say nothing of the lugubrious tone in which it was uttered, produced an unpleasant effect upon my nerves in spite of my contempt for its cowardly philosophy. It was evident that his imagination had got the better of his judgment, and that his fears were running away with his understanding; yet I could not get rid of the disagreeable sensation his foolish speech had produced. It did not, however, alter my opinion as to the course I should pursue, nor affect in the slightest degree my physical powers; yet I confess the thought of it annoyed me. The idea of being *starved to death upon the mountains*, or *devoured by wild beasts*, was disagreeable in itself—disagreeable even as an abstract proposition; but in the present case it was rendered more particularly disagreeable by the fact that I was not altogether satisfied that the contingency was not within the range of probable events. In plain English, I was not sure that the thing might not actually happen. It is easy for a person, sitting in a comfortable back parlor at the Irving or the Astor House, to ridicule the idea of danger either from starvation or the ferocity of wild beasts. But change the scene; take the stout-hearted gentleman from his claret and his cushioned chair; carry him back forty years and place him on the shaggy sides, or in the then dark and untrodden vallies of the Alleghanies, without food, without arms, without even the dial of the sun to direct his course! thus placed, let him understand and feel that he had nothing to hope from human aid; that his safety and his deliverance must depend upon his own sagacity, strength

and power of endurance: then, when he shall have escaped, ask him if the idea of starvation, or the fear of wild beasts did not occasionally enter his mind or occupy for a moment some secret recess in the airy chambers of his imagination? If he answer in the negative, I can only say that his testimony goes for nothing with me.

But in all cases, and under all circumstances, the greater evil cures the less. The possibility, or rather, (as my companion would have it) the *certainty* of becoming food for bears, unpleasant as it was, was overshadowed, lost and swallowed up by an evil of much greater magnitude, namely, the loss of that old portmanteau and its contents! an event, which would, I knew, inevitably happen, if any accident happened to myself. And *that loss*, under the peculiar circumstance of the case, would necessarily involve reputation, character and conduct! to the pains and penalties of which, the being devoured by wild beasts, would have been a *mere flea bite*.

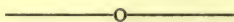
The very thought of it, as it flashed across my mind, put me in an agony that made the perspiration roll from my brow. But the thought and reflection were now alike idle. I put an end to the parley, by telling my companion that if he attempted to retrace his steps he was a lost man: and turning from him with an almost savage indifference to his fate, pursued my way at a rapid pace, fearing that even the few minutes I had wasted upon him might prove fatal to the hopes I entertained of regaining the stage. My spirits were in such a ferment, that notwithstanding I had been on my feet for more than three hours, I felt not the least fatigue. Rocks, gullies, holes and trunks of trees, were as mere feathers in my path. After a long and rapid run, the thought of my English friend, whom I supposed to be some miles distant, came suddenly to my mind, when, turning my head, *there he was*, within a hundred yards of me! Ah, hah! said I, the bears in his head have added spurs to his heels. I spoke a word of encouragement to him, and without waiting his reply, pushed on. In less than ten minutes from that time, to my unspeakable delight, I came triumphantly out into the long looked for road. I telegraphed the Englishman by a shout of joy, and looking down the avenue, saw the stage at the door of the little inn on the opposite side of the valley. The passengers had already taken their seats, the driver was on his box, and his tin horn was echoing among the hills.

My voice reached him,— there was a general shout, and in a few minutes I was along side of the stage,— my baggage was safe! I had partly finished my breakfast before the Englishman hove in sight. The poor fellow was nearly exhausted, there was not a dry thread in his jacket, and as for his face, it looked like the disk of the setting sun in autumn; or like the red dog-star, when it fires the autumnal skies! The driver, whose time and patience had been severely taxed, wanted to know “where we had been, and what the d——l we’d been about?” I pointed to the Englishman, who very promptly gave the following brief and pithy version of the whole affair: We left, said he, the *right road*, and soon found ourselves in the *wrong box*, we walked six miles and run four, but fortunately *here we are*, a little late to be sure, but fresh and ready for a new start!

With that the driver cracked his whip, and on we went, at a rapid pace.

— Not a word was said about the bears!

With the exception of one or two over sets, and three or four involuntary moorings in the mud, which required the exertions of all hands, with rails and levers, to get the vehicle upon terra-firma again, nothing occurred on our land rout worthy of record.



[p. 26]

PITTSBURGH.

We reached Pittsburgh on the afternoon of the 25th of March, ten days after leaving Philadelphia; which, considering the season of the year, was a short passage. I was particularly struck with the natural advantages, and singularly beautiful position of the town. Situated at the junction of two noble rivers, and at the head of an inland navigation of more than two thousand miles— rich in the richest mineral in the world— picturesque in its localities— washed on the one side by the deep but perturbed Monongahela, and on the other side by the pure and impetuous Alleghany— healthful in its region, interesting in its history, unrivaled in its manufacturing facilities, and offering the highest reward for industry and enterprise.

During my short stay in this city I became acquainted with judge Baldwin, then the ablest representative of Pennsylvania, in the national legislature; with Mr. Ormsby, a highly respectable and wealthy merchant; with Mr. Poe, cashier of the Branch

of the United States Bank, then just established, and with Mr. Johnson, cashier of one of the local banks, by each and all of whom I was treated with much courtesy. From Mr. Poe I received many attentions which it has always given me pleasure to acknowledge. He was an educated, liberal minded, gentlemanly man; able and capable as an officer, though somewhat jealous of his rank and somewhat stately in his bearing. His habits, tastes, and feelings, were, I should say, rather those of the south than of the west.

The only kind of craft upon the western rivers, in those days, were *barges* propelled principally by oars and poles, and huge flat-bottomed boats called *arks*. These latter were in fact, mere shanties, of an oblong form, carried down the river by the force of the current, and generally sold or abandoned on arriving at their place of destination. The light of steam had just dawned in the east. Fulton was trying his wheels and slowly feeling his way upon the smooth bosom of the Hudson; but as yet not a paddle had dipped its foot in the waters of the west.

The spring had opened early, and the river was in fine order for all descending craft; its waters were high, and its current rapidly reaching its greatest force. To me, and to one other similarly circumstanced, safety was of more importance than speed: we had, therefore, determined to take an ark rather than a barge, as by so doing we should avoid the necessity of employing boatmen— at that day a class of men of rather reckless rowdies, that were not to be trusted. The ark was moved by the current alone, and to guide it, required but little labor and less skill. Some knowledge of the river was, however, very desirable, and that knowledge we were in hopes to find in some western gentleman who would be willing to exchange it for a passage down. The necessary preparations for the voyage were soon made. We purchased a boat, fitted it up, laid in our stores, and were only waiting for a pilot, when we learned that General [p. 29] Harrison had just arrived from Washington and was, like ourselves, bound for Cincinnati. We immediately waited upon him (as he was just the sort of pilot we wanted), and offered him a choice of berths, a free passage and the command of the boat. My letters to himself, and other gentlemen of distinction in Ohio, satisfied him as to who we were, and he readily accepted the offer. I then took him on board and showed him our accommodations and stores. On casting his eye over the

list, he turned to me and said—"What a pity it is sir, I had not had you for my Quarter-master at the River Raisin: Why sir, you have provisions enough on board to take you to New Orleans." He then inquired how many hands we had; I answered, not one. No cook? No sir. How many persons in all? Five, including yourself, general; two of whom are merchants of Louisville, the other two, Mr. ——— and myself. We four have agreed, said I, to divide the night watch between us, each in turn, four hours; and I have, in addition to this, taken upon myself the offices of *cook* and *steward*. Your dispositions are judicious, said the General, and yet I suspect the office of cook will have to be divided. You may make the coffee if you please, but I shall claim the privilege of making the soup! It was then agreed that we should sail the next morning at 8 o'clock, or immediately after breakfast. At the appointed time the signal for sailing was given, when, taking leave of our friends, we cast off our fasts, and moving gracefully down the Monongahela, rounded the point of old Fort Du Quesne, (afterwards Fort Pitt,) and joining the pure and rapid waters of the Alleghany, found ourselves (and some of us for the first time in our lives),

[p. 30] upon the broad bosom of the beautiful Ohio!

The scene, to those who now looked upon it for the first time, was indeed truly beautiful. The weather was clear, the wind light, the air soft and warm. The foliage on the banks of the river was beginning to exhibit the livery of spring. While the steady, strong, onward flow of the united waters, now nearly level with their banks, presented a majestic spectacle, reminding me of Denham's celebrated couplet descriptive of the Thames.

Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong without rage, without o'er flowing full.

I must beg the reader, however, to leave out the first half of the first line; and I think Mr. Denham might have made to *his* readers the same request, as the words *deep* and *clear*, are as little applicable to the Thames as to the Ohio.

It would seem to be a little singular, that civilization and the march of improvement should destroy all that belongs to the picturesque, and much that constitutes the rich and the beautiful in the natural scenery of a country. But so it is. The banks of the Ohio at the present day, possess but little that can attract the attention of the traveller: and yet but a few years

have elapsed since the majestic river flowed in silence and in solitude, amid embowering forests, now dark with the rich luxuriance of their summer foliage, and now, bright in their autumnal livery of purple, gold and green; thus, presenting to the eye a still but striking picture of primeval beauty.

But much of this beauty has passed away, the axe has been at work; nature has been outraged rather than improved; silence and solitude, scorning the society of the squatter, have fled; the river has lost its poetic aspect, and with it, its attractive power. The naked, and in many places, unsightly appearance of its banks; the partial clearing, the half abortive towns, the frequency of the hut and the cabin, the noise and the smoke of the steamboats, all tell you that things have changed, that the river is now a mere *business* concern, and that its value depends not upon the beauty of its *scenery*, but upon the *depth of its waters!*

These changes had seemingly but just commenced in 1817 when I first floated down its current; they were then visible in particular places only; I noticed them at Marietta and round the mouth of the Muskingum. Blannerhasset's island (that poetic paradise of Mr. Wirt,) had been converted into a slovenly corn field, and its marginal banks, in many places denuded, and exposed to the attrition of the waters, had worn away, or slid into the river, giving to the beautiful island the appearance of dilapidation, neglect and ruin. But these evidences of the progress of *improvement* were few and far between. The valley of the Ohio was yet, comparatively speaking, an untrodden wilderness, and as beautiful as it was wild.

Our voyage down the river, was, to me at least, one of continued novelty and unabated delight. I had taken care in purchasing the boat, to purchase at the same time a skiff as a sort of gig or tender. In this tiny craft, and with its petty paddles, I rowed myself about for hours together, sometimes in pursuit of ducks, but oftener to the shore in quest of milk. This voluntary exercise was as useful as it was agreeable; never before had I enjoyed such an appetite, never since have I experienced anything like it.

Nothing could be more beautiful than the picture which the river at times presented— broad, beautiful in its range, and majestic in its strength, moving in silence its accumulated waters, and bearing upon its bosom whole fleets of petty Caesars

and their fortunes. We could frequently count from forty to fifty of the several kinds of river craft in sight at the same time. Boats, barges, arks, rafts, and flats; all abound like the Israelites of old, for the land of promise, "the far west," which then meant the State of Ohio; though in a few years after, it also included Indiana and Illinois. Of these various floating contrivances, the raft was to me the most attractive. It generally carried two, sometimes three families: and each family had its separate shanty or sheltering tabernacle, exhibiting its cloud by day and its torch by night; round which were grouped men, women and children, dogs, horses, oxen, wagons, bags, rags, boxes and bundles! It was a sight worth looking at. Whenever, therefore, we came along side of one of these floating villages, we threw out our grappling hook, made fast, and held a confab. In these greetings upon the waters the emigrants evidently selected their best orator, and put their best foot foremost; we followed their example. The General did all the talking on our side. As we moved on harmoniously together, the colloquy frequently lasted for an hour. In the mean time I amused myself by counting the noses of our new acquaintances; taking a sort of birds-eye inventory of their chattels; looking at the girls, and throwing crackers to the children. This (or at least the cracker part of it) the General encouraged, and the thing was repeated, until at length it became a matter of course: so that as soon as a raft hove in sight, the word was passed aft, and the small stores made ready, baker's bread, crackers, cheese, tea, coffee, ham, tongue, and occasionally a bottle or two of porter, were tossed aboard.

All this, as far as I am concerned, was a mere matter of fun—without any other thought or motive. But with the General, it was humanity. That tea and coffee, said he, are luxuries that many of them may not taste again for years. Several of the parties we met with, were bound they knew not exactly where, and stood in need of advice, which no one was more capable of giving than the General: nor was his kindness to the emigrants who were then pouring into Ohio limited to advice alone. His hospitality was proverbial.

During the few years of my residence in Cincinnati, I scarcely ever visited North Bend, without finding his house filled with strangers—emigrants, tourists, travelers, and gentlemen from the east, many of whom came regularly consigned to him. No

man in those days thought of visiting the west without letters to General Harrison. He once told me that he consumed at his own table three hundred and sixty-five hams a year. Other things were doubtless in proportion. He had a large estate, and might have been one of the richest men west of the Alleghanies. But money making was not his forte, his whole revenues were barely sufficient to meet his expenses.

* * * * *

He was at that time, better and more generally known than any other man in the western country. His civil and military services as governor of the North-western Territory, his victories on the River Raisin, and his great battle of Tippecanoe, had spread his name far and wide. And yet I am inclined to believe that he owed his subsequent elevation to the presidency, more to his personal reputation and social qualities, than to his civil and military abilities, great as they were.

The General was undoubtedly a brave and successful soldier, and experience had rendered him familiar with legislative and executive duties. Had he lived, we should hereafter have been enabled to point in our annals (amid surrounding degeneracy) to at least *one* honest and patriotic administration of the general government. He had virtues of the highest class, and many capital qualities. He had integrity, he had humanity— an instinctive love of justice and high sense of honor. He had firmness, and courage, and capacity; and as there was nothing selfish or sordid in his nature, corruption could not have reached him. That he had a slight touch of human vanity in his composition, no one will take the trouble to deny, for what clever man was ever without it? If he occasionally dwelt with some emphasis, and at some length, upon the history and the horrors of his Indian wars, it was much more from a desire to do justice to the merits and gallantry of others, than to attract attention to himself. Besides, no true soldier ever forgot the fields of his fame. Like the war horse in Job, "he snuffeth the battle afar off: he paweth in the valley, and mocketh at fear!"

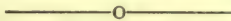
But we shall never get to Cincinnati at this rate. Let us, cast off our fasts, and move on.

The principle dangers we had to guard against, were running on upon the points of the islands; getting out of the channel, and consequently getting carried by the eddies into an insufficient depth of water; getting snagged; and, worse than all, getting upset by a sawyer. To avoid these evils a bright lookout was kept, particularly at night, when a regular watch was set. And yet, in spite of all our vigilance and seaman like precautions, we came within an ace of being capsized in the middle of the night by one of those terrors of the river, against which we had been so long upon our guard,—namely, a full-grown and firmly-planted *sawyer*. We ran directly upon his back, and for a moment pressed him beneath our feet. But, with that recoiling spring and recuperative energy, peculiar to his habits and his race, he rose again; and with him rose the boat, or at least one side of it, quite out of water, throwing all the starboard passengers out of their berths, and raking our bottom longitudinally from stem to stern. Fortunately, however, the force of the current carried us over before the boat had entirely lost her balance. As she came down into the water and regained her bearings, we recovered our feet, and were relieved from our terror. The next thing was, was to see what had become of our vigilant watchman. We found him (in nautical parlance) stowed away in the *lee scuppers*. In the sudden encounter with the sawyer, he had been thrown out of his watch box into a worse box on the opposite side, and partly stunned by hitting his head against the combings of the caboose on the larboard bow. We roused him up, however, and after rubbing his head with brandy, got him once more upon his *pegs*—rating him roundly at the same time, for quitting his post without leave; for failing to give notice of the sawyer, and for other *unwatchman*-like conduct.

The truth was, that poor Cochran got tired of looking at the dull monotonous surface of the river, and being fond of astronomy turned his attention to the stars. He afterwards confessed to me, that at the very moment of the rencounter with the sawyer, he was endeavoring to count the twinkling lights in the Pleiades, with a view to ascertain whether the lost star had been recovered or not. But for the interruption he met with, he would probably have been wandering during the rest of the watch

among the constellations in search of Arcturus, or in numbering the stars in the belt of Orion! Or, perhaps, amusing himself by watching the movements of Leo along the ecliptic, or by counting the lights in the tail of the great polar bear! This shows pretty conclusively that a knowledge of astronomy however amusing to the Arabian shepherd, or essential to the traveller in the desert of Zahara, is yet of no practical use in navigating the Ohio river.

The following morning, the weather being fine, we took an observation and found ourselves off the mouth of the Scioto—wind south-west, current three and a half knots. Wanting milk for our coffee, and seeing a cabin a short distance ahead, I jumped into the skiff and pulled ashore: but not finding what I wanted, I continued down the river in hopes of better luck at the next cabin, some mile or two ahead. But there, as above, they had plenty of whiskey but no milk.



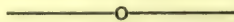
THE WHITE CAT.

[p. 41]

As I was pulling off from the shore, disappointed and somewhat vexed, I observed a large white cat quietly sunning herself on a little projecting ledge in the steep bank of the river, about half way from the top to the water's edge. I had my gun with me, and the mark was so fair, so tempting, that I could not resist the inclination to level my piece, though without having come to any positive decision as to whether I should fire or not. But, as the devil would have it, the gun went off (like a certain editor's mahogany-stocked pistol) at *half-cock*, and killed the cat as dead as Julius Caesar! The report of the gun brought out the inmates of the cabin just in time to see their poor puss roll of the ledge and drop lifeless into the water. The cry that was then set up, startled even the echoes themselves; and the threatening gesticulations that followed exceeded anything of the kind I had ever before witnessed. No teacher of rhetoric ever conceived anything finer. They were doubtless what Demosthenes meant by *action! action!* The extended and threatening fore-finger, the shaking of the clenched fist, and the stamping of the foot upon the earth, accompanied as they severally were by the loudest and the fiercest bursts of eloquence, produced a state of astonishment, that for a moment suspended all

my faculties, and I sat in my skiff as motionless, as lay the unlucky cat upon the surface of the waters. This was, however, of short duration. One of the children (a long-legged unpetticoated girl) was sent back into a piece of thick wood that lay at a short distance behind the cabin. I guessed at the nature of the errand, and at once became sensible of the danger I had so foolishly incurred. It is unnecessary to say that I recovered my senses, and plied my paddles with all the strength and dexterity I possessed. In another moment, as I had expected, the *he* squatter with his rifle in his hand came running to the bank. I was, however, well out in the stream, and, measuring the distance with my eye, said to myself— Now, if the fellow has no boat to enable him to pursue, his cat will go down with the current unrevenged. He gave a yell and brought his long tom to bear upon me. But he burnt his powder in vain— the distance was too great. The ball struck the water at least a hundred yards short of the mark. I saw him reload, but— I heard no more from him. The ark had already passed by, and was some distance ahead. I soon overhauled her, — and *that morning* was the first on which we took our coffee without milk.

On giving the General an account of my morning's adventures, he remarked, "It was fortunate for you, sir, that the *he* squatter as you call him, was not in the cabin at the time you committed the aggression; had he been there at the moment, it is more than probable that you would have kept company with the cat in her voyage down the river!"



CINCINNATI.

[p. 43]

A little before daylight on the morning of the 10th of April, 1817, (if my memory is correct,) we arrived at Cincinnati. Here the General and myself landed, taking leave of the other gentlemen of our party, who were bound further down the river. On our way to the hotel, which was near the landing, we were met by several distinguished citizens, friends of the General, to whom I was introduced. Among them was General Findlay, then receiver of monies, at Cincinnati. This gentleman, admitting no excuse on my part, took us directly to his own house, (which I found was Harrison's head-quarters when

in the city,) and gave us an excellent breakfast. A few minutes, however, before we set down to table, I heard the discharge of a cannon on the bank of the river, directly in front of the house. On its being repeated, I very innocently asked General Findlay what the firing was* for. To which he replied, it is in honor of your arrival, sir. Come, come, said I, that won't do, General, young as I am, I am too old to be flattered by so loud a compliment. *Here*, said I, placing my foot upon a part of my baggage, this is the respected object; it is in honor of the arrival of this old, travel-stained trunk, which I know has been looked for with some anxiety, that these cannon are fired. In faith, said the General, I believe you are *half* right, and that is as much as can be said for most eastern people, now-a-days. But what sort of a voyage had you down the river? One of the pleasantest that can be imagined— good company, an excellent pilot, provisions and stores in abundance, a fine stage of water and fine weather. Add to that, said General Harrison, the good luck of having escaped being drowned, and once shot. To quash the story of the cat, which I saw was coming, I proposed to take a look at the town. Cincinnati was then, and still is, the largest town west of the Alleghanies, and yet, its resident population at the period referred to, (1817,) did not exceed eight or nine thousand. It was, I believe, something short of ten thousand in 1820. Its appearance, I must confess, struck [p. 45] me at first rather unfavorably. Its size and its population were less than I had supposed; nor did it in other respects equal the picture my imagination had drawn of it. There was an air of life, a bustle and activity about it, and yet, taken together, it had a raw, unfinished, and slovenly aspect. The bank of the river in front of the town, was not only unsightly, but calculated to make an unfavorable impression upon the mind of a stranger. Parts of it had been worn away by the strong current of the waters, and parts had slidden down into the river. It was, in short, ragged, broken, and verdureless,— without tree or shrub, without wall or railing, protection or ornament. Nor was there anything in the shape of a dock or landing place at the water's edge. The operation of landing was indeed perfectly aboriginal. It was effected by three moves, as explained in the following order:— “Run your boat ashore, Josey, tie her to a stake, and jump out into the mud!” But this was owing, not

so much to a want of taste, as to a want of means— to the high price of labor, and the ever varying line of the water,— the *range* at Cincinnati being nearly sixty feet perpendicular.

The business of the city was then principally confined to two streets, Main and Front, the one running parallel to, and the other at right angles with the river. These streets were tolerably well built, and exhibited a lively business-like appearance. The residue of the town was scattered about in all directions, right and left, hither and thither— some on the *hill* and some on the *bottom*. The buildings in the suburbs, though without any apparent gregarious inclination, were generally in sight of each other, sometimes within call, or even shaking hands distance, but more frequently isolated and unconnected, having nothing to do with close files or regular lines. They were moreover, of all heights, sizes, shapes and colors.

The public buildings, though neither numerous or costly, were respectable, both in character and appearance, with the exception perhaps of two, and those, I am sorry to say, were dedicated one to the law and the other to the Gospel. I allude to the Presbyterian church and the Court House, both situated on the *hill*. The church was on the brow of the hill, and in sight of the congregation, but sufficiently aloof from the then business parts of the city. It stood in the midst of an old burial ground, uninclosed— itself in bad taste, disproportioned, unfinished, and open to desecration. The Court House was further on, by the side of the road, in an open field, protected (if protected at all,) by a post and rail fence. It was a huge quadrangular building, ill-conceived and ill-contrived, tasteless and inconvenient, looking more like a penitentiary or house of correction than any thing else. But the hand of innovation must have reached it long since, and has, I doubt not, levelled it with the dust.

But notwithstanding these instances of bad taste, or evidences of public indifference to architectural forms and figures, there were many private buildings in and near the town, that exhibited a better style; and some few (the residences of the wealthier class of citizens), that united simplicity with elegance, and convenience with taste. Among these, the mansion house of General Lytle, and that of Judge Burnet were conspicuous. The latter was situated on an eminence, some half a mile south and west of the city, commanding a fine view of the town, the

river, and the scenery of the opposite bank. Its healthful position, its fine shade trees, and its beautiful gardens, rich with the choicest fruits and flowers, rendered it one of the most charming residences in the State.

BISHOP CHASE.¹

[p. 48]

It was at the table of Mr. Burnet, that I first saw Bishop Chase. The impression he left upon my mind was highly favorable to his understanding. He was then comparatively young, with an agreeable countenance, and a stout portly person. He had nothing of the supercilious air of a bishop about him; nothing of the arrogance, nothing of the awkwardness of the church. He had (it was easy to perceive) no objection to a good dinner, or a glass of wine. His address was dignified, but easy; his manners, though somewhat stately, were yet pleasing. He had evidently been accustomed to good society. He was even fond of a joke, and would have been witty if he'd dared. He came nearer to my idea of a *well-bred* and *well-fed* English bishop, than any dignity of the church I had yet seen.

Bishop Hobart,² of New York, always reminded me of an active, bustling, methodical *man of business*. He had no mark of the church about him, unless it might be a touch of its assumption, or what might be called its levitical consequence. He looked like a man of business— he walked and talked like a man of business; and what is more, he *eat* and *drank*, like a man of business. He seemed to treat the affairs of the church as business matters, and to look upon his own official duties with a sort of professional eye, as matters by which he earned his bread. I do not speak this disparagingly. He was a man of excellent sense and genuine piety— he stood high in the church, and high out of it; which, taken together, are evidences of no ordinary merit.

But of all the bishops in the world, past or present, I know of no one who has earned, or left behind him a character in all

¹ Bishop Philander Chase, 1775-1852. See "*Philander Chase, First Bishop of Ohio and Illinois, Founder of Kenyon and Jubilee Colleges*" by his grand-daughter, Laura Chase Smith.

² Bishop John Henry Hobart, 1775-1830. See "*Memoir*" by Rev. Dr. Schroeder.

respects so admirable and so enviable as Bishop Heber.³ I would have gone almost as far to have seen him, as I would to have seen Saint Paul himself; and had I met him on the plains of Hindostan, I had revered him. What a reputation was his! What a combination of excellencies! A *Christian*, a *gentleman*, a *scholar*, and a *poet*! And in each and every walk of life, simple, faithful, unpretending, unaffected; full of talent and full of humanity.

From the central position of Cincinnati, as it regarded the trade of an extended region of country (then rapidly filling up,) it was easy to perceive that it was destined to become one of the great cities of the west. Nature seemed indeed to have formed its site with reference to its future greatness. The hills or elevated ridges that approached it on the north and east were here discontinued, or rather *pushed back*, as if to afford the necessary space, leaving a broad and elevated table land, forming the segment of a circle, with its chord or base line running parallel with the river, and whose area was equal to about four square miles.

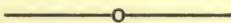
The narrow strip between the second table and the bank of the river, was that on which, in 1817, the principal part of the town lay. The town was then (following the line of Main street,) but just beginning to show itself on the brow of the hill. It was while looking down from the top of one of those elevated ridges upon the table land below, that an eastern gentleman, one of the party present, made the following prophecy: "before fifty years shall have expired, said he, the broad and beautiful plain at our feet will be covered by a population of two hundred thousand souls!" He was, to be sure, somewhat wide of the mark, but not so much so as I then thought him. The population of the city is now (1851) 117,000. The sixteen years yet to come, will doubtless bring to the relief of the prophecy a strong reinforcement,—perhaps fulfil it!

But those who wish to obtain correct or curious information respecting the early history, condition, growth and prospects of this "Queen of the West," would do well to turn from these jejune and random recollections to the higher and better authority of Dr. Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati." A work which De Witt Clinton pronounced to be the best exemplification of the phrase "*multum in parvo*" that had ever been given. It

³ Reginald Heber, Bishop of Calcutta and an English author.

contained, he said, more varied and valued information than he had ever before found within so small a compass.

Cincinnati became at an early period the head-quarters or place of general rendezvous for land agents, land purchasers, emigrants and travellers of all descriptions. The hotel, fronting the river, was a spacious building for those days. It was well kept, and for two-thirds of the year full to overflowing. At the time of my arrival in the city, there were from fifty to a hundred at the table daily; and among other things that attracted my attention, was the great quantity of liquors placed upon the dinner table, and the small quantity that was actually drunk—not one in twenty touching or meddling with the matter at all. One of the principal topics of conversation in all places was the public lands—the price, and the quality—the choice of location, tracts, quarter sections, entries, &c., &c.



THE BARBER.

[p. 53]

I was greatly amused with the peculiar notions which the barber of the town entertained in relation to this great subject of the public lands, as well as with the familiar and somewhat confidential tone he assumed in communicating the many sage opinions he had formed, and the various information he had acquired during his residence in the city.

On my first entering his shop, he looked and nodded as if he was about to claim me for an old acquaintance. But as the dialogue, or monologue, rather, that ensued, was not only curious in itself, but characteristic of the tonsor tribe, I shall give it as nearly as I can recollect it, in his own words.

“From the east, sir, I presume?” Yes, sir, I am from the east. “New-York, sir, I should guess.” Yes, from New-York. “I thought”, said he, I could not be mistaken. The people of New-York, sir, have a peculiar air about them, which distinguishes them from all other people, sir, and particularly from the people of these back woods. I am myself, sir, from New-York. I was brought up in the family of Chancellor Livingston—went with him to France, as his valet, in 1801, when he was sent to administer to the French court. I have seen something of the world, sir, but have never seen in any part of it so much land as there is here. New-York is a great state, and has a great deal

of land, particularly in the Genessee country, but nothing to be compared to this state of Ohio. Why, sir, there is more land, I believe, around this Ohio river, and in the backwoods, than there is in all Europe! They have been selling and selling ever since I have been here, which is now two years come next October, and yet the lands are as thick as they ever were. I am told, sir, that with the exception of a few little towns, of which this is the biggest, the whole country is nothing but land— 'tis all land, land! from the river to the lakes, and from morning till night, 'tis nothing but land! land!

This is a great country, sir, but the people are a strange people, and I have sometimes thought not very larned. They have, at least, a strange way of talking. They say *heaps* of land, and *heaps* of trees; while the land, save some few hills along the river, is as level as the back of your hand— and the trees stand every one upon his own bottom, independent of his neighbor. And now I think of it, the trees in this country are the biggest in the world, and I am told that those that grow on the Big Miami bottom, and round Todd's Forks, are still bigger. Another thing you'll observe, sir, the people here never say *great* or *small*,—everything is big or little. It is the language of the country, and though not very larned, I have got to using it myself out of compliment to my customers.

But what I think will surprise you most of all is the great and unaccountable number of hogs that at times make their appearance in this city. I don't mean the strangers, sir, nor the people of the country, but the *real hogs*. Where they come from nobody knows. It is kept, I believe, as a sort of state secret. When you go into the country you see nothing but trees, no houses, no hogs, nothing but *heaps* of trees, but all standing up as I mentioned before. And yet here, in the *hog season*, the first thing you'll know, will be that *they are coming*; and *on* they will come, and *in* they will come, till all the five and ten acre lots on the hill (particularly those round and about the Court House,) are filled with them. Why they should put them within the jerrydiction and under the very nose of the court I never could guess. I have always considered them as an irresponsible animal, and though not very easily *led by the nose*, yet totally unfit to be used either as witnesses or jurors. Their close connection with the court, therefore, has a queer, not to say an ugly look; but the lawyers don't mind that, they

are not a very scrupulous people. Now sir, in dull times, when money is scarce, these hogs are sold in the strangest manner imaginable. They are not weighed— they are not counted— they are *measured*, sir,— not individually, but aggregately; measured by the lot, and sold by the acre! Yes, sir, sold by the acre! So much for a lot of five acres and so much for a lot of ten acres. The western people, sir, love to do business upon a great scale, and this selling hogs by the acre suits their mind. This is no joke, sir, I have seen the thing with my own eyes.”

At this moment the door opened, and a customer came to my relief. For his *professional* services, the barber took from the change I offered him, twenty-five cents, with this remark, that the *information* he had given me was a *gratuity*.

THE BANKS.

[p. 57]

There were already (1817) three⁴ Banks in the city; of which the Miami Exporting Company was the eldest, and perhaps the best. In its younger days it had done the State some service, but being now somewhat advanced in years, it was no longer what it had been. The other two, were in a like crippled condition; their means were locked up— not in their vaults, but in real estate, in accommodation notes, and loans that were intangible, dead, or unproductive.

But somewhere about this period, a branch of the Bank of the United States⁵ was established in the city; and very sanguine expectations, I found, were entertained as to its favorable influence upon the trade and commerce of the place. It was indeed considered by men of all parties, as an event of the utmost importance, not only to the trade of the town, but to its future growth and general interests.

It is hardly necessary to say, that these expectations were never realized. A large monied capital, thrown suddenly into

⁴ The two other banks in Cincinnati at this time, were the Farmers and Mechaniks Bank and Bank of Cincinnati.

⁵ The United States Branch Bank commenced operations in 1817. Jacob Burnet was president, Gorham A. Worth, cashier. Directors: J. Burnet, Martin Baum, James Findlay, John H. Piatt, Hugh Glenn, James Keyes, Thomas Sloo, Jr., William M. Worthington, Andrew Mack, William Piatt, Joseph Perry, Daniel Drake and William Henry Harrison. See *Greve's "Ceniennial History of Cincinnati," pp. 569-573*, for an extended account of the bank and its disastrous effects upon the city and its residents.

the lap of a commercial community, but still subject to the management and control of men residing at a distance and having no interest in the section of the country where it is employed, is seldom productive of beneficial results to the borrowers. It is with fortune as with freedom, it must not depend upon the breath of others.

The policy of the parent bank, in the instance of this branch, was from the beginning at variance with the judgment and opinions of the local board. It was experimental and erroneous at the commencement, unwise in its progress, and violent, not to say vindictive in its end.

The withdrawal of the branch, under the existing circumstances, was probably for the interest of both parties—debtor as well as the creditor. But the manner in which it was withdrawn, was as unjust as it was unnecessary, and as oppressive as the absence of judgment and policy could make it. It was, indeed, marked and characterized by the grossest ignorance and the grossest folly. But the evil has passed away,—why revive the memory? And yet it is but just to say, that the Bank of the United States was in itself a noble institution; and for about one-half of its existence, was conducted with prudence, wisdom and ability. The first three years were experimental; there was a want of light, a want of knowledge. Then came conceit, vanity, and a withering sort of tyranny, at war with common sense, that dried up all its resources; leaving it like the strong man in the lap of the harlot. In this condition (to which it had been reduced by the genius of Error,) it came into the hands of Mr. Biddle, by whom it was reorganized, regenerated and disenthralled. The first eight or ten years of Mr. Biddle's administration of its affairs, were sound and judicious; useful to the country and honorable to the institution. But, becoming entangled with ambitious views and party politics, its latter years were dark and dismal—full of calamity, and full of disgrace. But even *then*, (or rather at the beginning of the contest,) it was as much sinned against as sinning. Had it lent itself to the administration of General Jackson,—had it sacrificed a few grains of incense upon the proper altar; had it made the *right sign*, and echoed the word *glory!* it would have been considered and fostered as a fountain of patriotism— it would have been held up to us by the Democracy as a burning and a shining light; and the same tongues that were then so loud in its execra-

tion, would now have been heard singing paeons in its praise! Still it travelled out of the record. It suffered itself to be brought with all its fiscal artillery, into the political field. It endeavored, by the use and abuse of its moneyed power, to extort from Congress a renewal of its charter; and for that and other high crimes and misdemeanors, it was virtually d——d! – and in my opinion justly.

PROMINENT MEN OF CINCINNATI IN 1817. [p. 60]

The following were among the many distinguished citizens of Cincinnati, at the period referred to: Jacob Burnet, General Findlay,⁶ Doct. Drake,⁶ Martin Baum, Jesse Hunt, David Kilgour, John H. Piatt, Gen. Gano,⁶ Gen. Lytle,⁶ Judge Brown,⁶ Judge Burke,⁶ James Keys, Hugh Glenn, Judge Torrence,⁶ Nicholas Longworth, Mr. Irving,⁶ Messrs. Samuel and Joseph Perry, Arthur St. Clair, jr., Oliver M. Spencer, Mr. Riddle,⁶ William Barr, Col. Davis, Mr. Stone,⁶ Mr. Vance, Col. Wm. Piatt, Mr. Oliver,⁶ and Thomas Sloo, jr.

Mr. Burnet was among the earliest settlers of the town, and I may add, was one of the ablest men in the State— distinguished from his first entrance into life by the soundness of his principles and the practical character of his abilities. In his early professional walk as a lawyer, he had but few equals,— as a legislator and a judge certainly no superior. His speech in the Harrisburgh convention, it is conceded on all hands, settled the question in favor of the nomination of Gen. Harrison, and may, therefore, be said to have placed that gentleman in the presidential chair. Mr. Burnet is one of the very few who have never changed their political creed. He was a federalist of the school and of the administration of Washington, and has had the independence and the manliness of mind to adhere to the principles he then possessed, down to the present time, regardless of whether they were *in* or *out* of fashion.

As a writer he is as remarkable for his habit of condensation and succinctness of expression, as he is for the correctness and

⁶ General James Findlay, Dr. Daniel Drake, General John A. Gano, General William Lytle, Judge William Burke, Judge Ethan Allen Brown, Judge George P. Torrence, William Irving, James Riddle, Ethan Stone, William Oliver, and Joseph Vance probably, he was Representative of Congress from 1821 to 1835.

purity of his style. His *Notes on the North Western Territory*, are invaluable. The greater part of the information they contain was confined to his own papers, or lodged in his own *memory*, and could not have been furnished from any other source, or given to the public by any other pen. In an historical point of view, as well as in general and abiding interest, they may justly be placed by the side of the celebrated *Notes on Virginia*. They constitute in fact the early history, civil and military, of an extensive region of country, and are interspersed with anecdotes and biographical notices of great interest.

But this is not the place, nor is mine the pen to do justice to the talents and character of Mr. Burnet. I must, however, be permitted to avail myself of the present occasion to express my sense of the many acts of friendship and kindness received at his hands during my brief residence in the west.

Gen. Findlay was the last of a race of men now utterly extinct. A race that formed the connecting link between the old school and the new, between the cocked hats and powdered pig-tails of the revolution, and the plain, straight-haired democracy of Mr. Jefferson's day. Still, in honesty and patriotism, as well as in air and manner, he leaned, I think, more to the former than to the latter. An honest man indeed never lived. He was frank, open, warm-hearted and hospitable. But hospitality, I am in honor bound to say, was the common and characteristic virtue of the west. I met with it in every part of the country, in every dwelling, from the highest to the humblest; and the cordiality, the apparent pleasure with which it was accorded, rendered it more acceptable, and to a stranger, more striking as well as more grateful. I never think of it without a feeling of indebtedness, which I know not how to express. But to return to the General, there was no subject upon which he did not entertain certain notions, and notions too, that were exclusively his own. He had been a general of militia— nay, he had, like other patriotic gentlemen of the west, volunteered his services and entered the army in the campaign of 1812, under the *heroic* Hull. He had, of course, seen some service, though (thanks to his commander-in-chief,) not much fighting. The campaign, however, gave him the right to dispute with Gen. Harrison upon military etiquette, military history and military law. Nothing could be more unique or more amusing than

these military, and yet *civil* disputations. Even if there should have been some little spark of vanity at the bottom of this love of disputation, who so unreasonable as not to admit that the disputation was all the better for it? But for the light with which that little spark animated the dialogue the argument perhaps would not have been worth listening to for a moment.

Doctor Drake. I had the pleasure of meeting with my old friend Doctor Drake but a few months since in the city of New-York, and though 34 years had elapsed since my introduction to him in Cincinnati, he appeared so little changed as almost to warrant the belief that *time* had lost sight of him altogether. The Doctor came forward in the career of science, and entered the republic of letters at an early period of life. At the age of 25 he was already a theorist, (that is to say a thinker,) a writer, a physician and a philosopher. I found him, in 1817, the ablest man in his profession west of the mountains, and yet he was even *then* more distinguished and more widely known as a writer and a man of science than as a physician. His picture of Cincinnati and the Miami country had already rendered his name familiar in the east. I knew Doctor Drake by reputation long before I had the pleasure of knowing him personally, and as a matter of course, I had drawn his picture in accordance with my notion of his character. I had given him a fine person, an easy dignified address, classic features and a capital head. When I came to see him, father Abraham! said I to myself, what a mistake is here! With the exception of that small, thinking grey eye of his, there was nothing under heaven of an intellectual appearance about him, nor did the sound of his voice so flatter the ear as to make amends for the disappointment of the eye. The same mistake might be made in drawing a picture of Mr. Clay, from a knowledge of his character. There is not a feature in the great statesman's face, there is nothing in his appearance, air or manner, (unless when speaking) that would lead one to connect with him any idea of talent or eloquence. On the contrary, put a tow-cloth frock on him, and seat him in an ox-cart, with a gad in his hand, and every body would swear that he was at home, and in the performance of the very duty for which nature had designed him. So little does the outward indicate the inner man.

Martin Baum, This gentleman, I believe, was among the earliest settlers of the town. He was a man of great probity of character, of plain manners and sound sense, and ranked for many years, among the first and wealthiest merchants of the place. He was one of the first directors of the Branch Bank, and was, I believe, designated by the parent board as its president— but that post he declined in favor of Mr. Burnet. The sudden withdrawal of the Branch, and the unexampled oppression practiced upon its debtors, closed the doors of at least two-thirds of the business houses of the city, and among others those of Mr. Baum. Many of the commercial houses thus unnecessarily and wantonly prostrated, never recovered the blow. The city at large groaned under the infliction for many years. Mr. Baum, however, I have understood, still left at his death a very considerable estate.

David Kilgour. There were few men in Cincinnati that united so many conservative and wearing qualities as Mr. Kilgour. He was a cool, calculating man of business— alike prudent and persevering; a thorough merchant, a good citizen, and a courteous, gentlemanly man. He knew how to make money, and what is far more difficult to learn, he knew how to keep it.

Talk of the *back woods!* said I to myself, after dining with Mr. Kilgour— by the beard of Jupiter, I have never seen anything east of the mountains to be compared to the luxuries of that table! The costly dinner service,— the splendid cut glass,— the rich wines,— the sumptuous dinner itself! Talk to me no more of the *back woods*, said I— these people live in the style of princes. I did not, however, like my friend St. Clair, after a great dinner at Findlay's mistake my longitude in the dark, and walk off the bank into the river! But I marched off most heroically, over the stones, and through the puddles, repeating to myself at every step— “talk to me no more about the *back woods!*” — “talk to me no more about the *back woods!*” always emphasizing the two last words— and before I reached home, setting the line to music, and repeating it, like the chorus of an old ballad.

I never after looked at the keen eye, the tall form, or hard hickory features of my friend Kilgour, without thinking of *that dinner!*

John H. Piatt. This gentleman was not, in my judgment, justly appreciated by the citizens of Cincinnati. There was, indeed, at one time, a strong prejudice in the city against him; on what account, or from what cause, I never knew. He was, to be sure, a bold and skilful operator,— a shrewd, keen, enterprising and persevering man. But he was liberal withal, and public spirited. He did more to promote the *interests of the city* than any other man in it; this was admitted on all hands. But he had made money, and his unpopularity, probably, arose from the fact of his having made it faster than some of his neighbors. I had opportunities of knowing him well. I had numerous business transactions with him, and I owe it to his memory to say, that his conduct was, on all occasions, correct and honorable. Gen. Harrison, who knew him better than any other man living, bore the like testimony to his character. His end, however, was unfortunate, not to say miserable. The Government owed him a large sum of money, (an adjusted and acknowledged balance,) upon the early receipt of which depended his ability to sustain his credit. It was withheld. He went on to Washington to urge its payment. It was put off, deferred, delayed, till ruin stared him in the face. His heart then sunk within him,— his proud spirit gave way,— and he died a victim to the shufflings of the treasury and the injustice of the government.

James Keys. What a quiet, comfortable world this would be to live in, were all its unfeathered bipeds as honest, as unambitious, and as free-hearted as was my worthy friend James Keys! He was my nearest neighbor. We dwelt together upon the hills that overlooked the city from the north. What a beautiful spot was that on which his house stood! Is it standing yet? or is it, like most of its former inmates and visitors, to be numbered among the things that were!

Thomas Sloo, Jr. I took a liking to Mr. Sloo from the first moment I saw him. I admired his cool temperment and quiet philosophy— I admired the gentle and gentlemanly tones of his voice. And then there was something peculiarly attractive (as well as indicative of good-fellowship) in the ruddy glow of the prominent feature of his face. There was, indeed, something classical in it; something that exercised both the imagination

and the memory. The following lines of a fine old Bacchanalian song, seemed written in letters of rosy light all over his face:

“My temples with clusters of grapes I'll entwine,
And barter all joys for a goblet of wine.”

He moreover reminded me of Peter Pindar's landlord—though I well knew that he did not, like Boniface, encourage the cultivation of the tobacco plant. Still, in *one* particular the resemblance was just as striking.

“This landlord was a boozier stout,
A snuff-taker and smoker,
And 'twixt his eyes a nose did shine
Bright as a red hot poker!”

I soon learned, however, that the sign was deceptive. That the blaze was inherent,—a sort of constitutional burning,—wholly unconnected with classical libations or bacchanalian rites. He was, in truth, the most temperate man west of the Alleghany mountains.

Mr. Sloo, though quite a young man, was a merchant extensively engaged in business—just married, and of course in the full tide of successful experiment, when the storm of 1821 and '2 overtook him, and drove him in exile to the prairies of Illinois. I had warned him of its approach, but he had not learned to read the signs of the times, and the warning was lost upon him. He was, however, better prepared than any man I ever knew, to change his position from the middle round and take up his abode at the lower end of fortune's ladder. He possessed that equanimity of mind, that steady fortitude, and that abiding hope of better days, that no adversity could shake, no time destroy. It was this happy temperament of mind that enabled him to pass, without a moment's hesitation or even a cloud upon his brow, from the ease and luxury of a city life, to the toils and short commons of a cabin in the wilderness. It was in that cabin that I last saw him. Some years after, he removed to New Orleans. He is, I am told, even in these golden days, possessed of but little of this world's goods, and I am sorry for it—would he were richer! for a man of gentler manners, kinder feelings, or more strict integrity, I have seldom met with.

Nicholas Longworth. Neither the *dress* nor the *address* of Mr. Longworth, was calculated to make a favorable impression

upon the mind of a stranger. His slovenly appearance and stentorian elocution, were certainly anything but attractive. And yet, even as far back as the period to which these reminiscences refer, he was a prominent personage in the business circles, and a lawyer of some standing in the city. He did not, however, claim to be a scholar, either in his profession or in the walks of science or of literature. His books were nothing, for he never read them; the same may be said of his office, for he was never in it. He carried his law in his head, and his papers in his hat. 'Tis useless to add that he was successful at the bar. But independently of his professional abilities, he possessed two different and distinct kinds of talent. The one was for *getting*, and the other for *holding on*; (good, separately considered, *together*, excellent!) Nor were they subject to any draw-back or debenture of any kind. He lost nothing from timidity, nothing from backwardness or indecision; nothing from neglect in setting forth his pretensions or his claims. On the contrary, he was blest with untiring industry, and the happiest assurance.

Such were the professional and business qualities and qualifications of Mr. Longworth, thirty years ago. But he had another set; some of them it is true of a later growth, but all of them of a higher and better order. He was in his nature humane rather than otherwise; and in his dealings with the laboring classes, just, if not liberal. He had some good tastes too— that are seldom possessed by the vicious or the vulgar. He was a horticulturist, a florist, a cultivator of fruits, and *the first great improver and patron of the vine in the west*. In these occupations and pursuits he set an admirable example, and by his experiments and enterprize “has done the State some service;” which, while it adds to his fortune, will be recorded to his honor.

When I first knew Mr. Longworth, (1817,) I doubt whether he was worth five thousand dollars. He is now said to be worth five millions! I shall only add, that if he is worth *half the money*, or has *half the good sense* that I have conceded to him, he will feel no disposition to quarrel with any part of this sketch; for it is evidently written by no unfriendly hand, nor is it wanting in truth or liberality.

Hugh Glenn. Mr. Glenn possessed in an eminent degree, the qualities that in those days characterized a great majority

of the landholders and gentlemen traders of the west—qualities that might be stereotyped, as applicable to nearly all, and as forming a part of the character of each. These qualities, if I may venture to name them, were, *a confidence in the increasing value of their lands*, growing out of the tide of emigration which was then setting strongly in; *a self-appreciation*, arising from the consciousness of the fact that they had made themselves what they were; *a frankness and an unceremonious cordiality of manner*, the natural offspring of ease and independence; *a hospitality*, unequalled in any other part of the Union; springing in the first place from the necessity, and continued from a sense of its liberality and dignity, until it became in time the law of the land; *a spirit of enterprize*, or disposition to go ahead and make a fortune; *a readiness to embark in large and hazardous operations*, with borrowed means, or even with no means at all. To these may be added *a disregard for trifles*,—by which they meant anything short of positive ruin; and *a sovereign contempt for prudence and small change!* By the latter was understood any sum less than five thousand dollars! It is hardly necessary to add to these, the then invariable characteristic of a western gentleman, *a high sense of honor*, which was in many cases, better than his bond.

Mr. Glenn was a gentleman both in his appearance and manner. He had seen something of the world, or at least the western half of it. He had been engaged in the fur trade, and had visited the regions beyond the Rocky mountains; and yet, he had more the appearance of a professional man than of a trader. The manner in which he wore his hair gave him indeed something of a clerical look; while his slender form and the delicate features of a face, entirely colorless, might have led one to infer that he was a hard student, a man of letters, or a *professor of Greek* in a western university. But he was neither a deacon, nor a doctor, nor a lawyer, nor a hard student, nor a man of letters, nor yet a professor of Greek in a western university. And any one who had taken him for any of these, would himself have been egregiously mistaken. Mr. Glenn was a merchant of high standing, but of a social and gentlemanly turn of mind. He was, moreover, one of the most agreeable traveling companions I ever met with. I still remember a journey through the country of two or three hundred miles, which we took together in a light one horse wagon. It was in the summer of 1821, at

the period of the troubles growing out of the withdrawal of the branch bank and the oppressive and indiscriminate prosecution of its debtors. Passing one morning just after sunrise through an extensive forest, we came across a countless multitude of squirrels, mostly of the large grey species, in the act of emigrating further west, in search, I presume, of richer lands, or more abundant food. The ground as far as we could see, was literally alive with them. We stopped our buggy to take a look at their order of march. They appeared to be in great glee; running up and down the smaller trees, hopping and skipping over logs and branches, barking, chattering and whisking about, here and there, on all sides! but still moving collectively in a western direction.

After looking at them for a few moments, Glen turned to me and said— "Do you see how happy these fellows are? how free from all care and trouble! and do you know the reason? It is this: *they owe nothing at bank!* They are not in the power of Mr. Cheeves, nor of Mr. Cheeves' man Friday, Wilson. If they were, they would not, I suspect, be in quite so gay and frolicsome a mood." This was said in a half serious, half jocular tone; still, there was more of feeling than of fancy in it. But for the idea of *losing caste*, I should myself have preferred belonging to the squirrel tribe, rather than to the tribe of debtors to the bank.

William M. Worthington. This young gentleman was from the east— a son of Doctor Worthington, of Georgetown, District of Columbia. I met him for the first time at the table of the hotel in Cincinnati, shortly after my arrival in that city. I was struck with his fine appearance and gentlemanly manners. Being nearly of the same age, and alike, strangers in the city, we soon became personally acquainted, and subsequently, intimate friends. He possessed a highly cultivated and well balanced mind, rather than great or shining talents. He had been liberally educated, and bred to the profession of the law. But he was too fastidious for the unstudied freedom of the region he was in. His notions were too precise and nice, for the *rough and tumble* practice of the profession of the law in the west. Still, he united in himself a greater sum of good sense, and a greater number of good qualities, than I had ever before found centered in a person of his age.

Over a temperament by no means frigid or insensitive, he held at all times an absolute control. The fiercest passions of youth— the thirst of distinction— the desire of fortune— the love of fame, were equally and alike held in subjection to his judgment and his will. It is in human nature, I believe, rather to disparage than to praise in others those qualities or accomplishments in which we feel ourselves deficient. But be that as it may. It was this regulating power, this mastery of the passions, this self-control, that I most admired and most envied in the character of Mr. Worthington. His higher education, his more polished manners, his better taste, together with his advantages of person and address, passed by me without awakening a feeling of inferiority, or levying the tribute of a thought. These I knew could be counterbalanced by exertion, or thrown into the shade by the rude vigor of common sense alone; but to find judgment and reason, passion and prudence, all yoked in the same team, and drawing harmoniously together, was well calculated to excite a feeling of envy not unmixed with self-reproach.

I don't like your friend Worthington, said Col. ———, to me one day. Why not? said I. Because, he replied, the fellow has no vices, no faults even; and I can have no sympathy or feeling in common with such a character.

Mr. Worthington succeeded well in his profession, but not equal to his expectations. He was neither satisfied with the progress he had made, nor with the prospect before him; yet no man of his age in the city stood higher, personally or professionally. He had not only been chosen a director of the branch bank, but without solicitation, had been appointed its solicitor and legal adviser; an office which in other hands would have been worth retaining. But though successful he was still dissatisfied. The truth was, he could not identify himself with the habits, tastes, and feelings of the west. His affections still lingered in the east; he was not at home; and he felt it. Shortly after my leaving the country, he resigned his office and removed to New Orleans; where, indeed, he found himself further from home than ever. Like myself, Mr. Worthington had built a castle in the air, and found it a painted cloud— a vision of the imagination!

I must not omit to mention the name of another young friend of mine, who though a mere lad in those days, was nevertheless distinguished for his good sense, good principles, and

gentlemanly deportment. Mr. Whiteman, although literally born in the woods and brought up in the office of a receiver of public moneys; although he had never seen the eastern side of the Alleghanies, nor, as a sailor would say, had ever been wet with salt water, had yet the air, manner and address of a well bred gentleman.

BIRDS.

[p. 81]

Judging from what fell under my own personal observation, (which, by the way, was very limited,) I should say there was but little game in Ohio, and but few native birds in her forests.

The wild turkey and the pigeon were the only game to be found in the markets at Cincinnati; and a solitary bird, resembling the blue jay, but of a slenderer form and wilder note, was almost the only one I ever met with in the woods. Quail, in 1817, were just beginning to appear in the settled parts of the country; though in a few years after I found them in great numbers in the vicinity of Cincinnati. Ducks were occasionally to be seen on the river, but they were worthless as game, and as such were never pursued. The wild goose was rarely seen, except high on the wing, leading his disciplined caravans through the trackless air to their accustomed haunts.

During my residence in the country, I heard *but once* the note of the whip-poor-will, and I could not but fancy to myself that he had *just arrived*, and in conformity with the customs of the country, had announced his name to the Genii of the Valley in which he had taken up his abode. But he must have ventured *alone*, and died of solitude, for I never after heard his voice. The robin, too, was a rare bird, seen only at intervals, and always alone. He seemed, indeed, unsettled, undomesticated, and like other emigrants perplexed and undetermined as to where he should *locate*. I remember of meeting with a large flock of robbers at Bedford, on the mountains, evidently moving with the tide of emigration, west. Many of my old acquaintances, however, were still lingering in the east. I missed the bob-o-link and red-winged black bird, the swallow, the martin, the humming bird, and above all, the summer evening "night-hawk." But the wild turkey and the pigeon were as plenty as

blackberries— the latter, in their season, were brought to market by the wagon load. Still, we had little or no venison, no woodcock, no pheasants.

It must be remembered, however, that these are *recollections* only— and of things as they existed more than 30 years ago.

○

QUAIL SHOOTING.

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The rights of hospitality were generally extended to the quail family throughout the west. It was a beautiful bird, harmless in its walks and social in its habits; and hence was rather sheltered and protected, than wantonly destroyed, as it is too often in the eastern states. As *game*, it was too small to be worth the powder it cost. Nothing, indeed, below the turkey, could attract the attention of a western sportsman. But in the eyes of those who had been accustomed to consider snipe and plover as worthy of pursuit, the quail necessarily ranked as high game. The prevailing practice of those in the west, who indulged in the destruction of these birds, was to pursue them on horseback, put them up, and take them on the wing without dismounting.

A young gentleman of my acquaintance, from the east, who was passing a few days at my house, and who had noted the frequency of the bird at our rides, proposed to try his luck in bagging *a few* of them. Though I had no taste for the *sport*, as he called it, and no skill as a sportsman, yet I consented, and we accordingly mounted our horses and scoured the roads and hills for some miles around, wasting a good deal of powder without doing much mischief. The quail we disturbed, were, I believe, in every instance, more scared than hurt. We were on our return home, empty handed, when we came upon a fine flock of them so unexpectedly that before we could get ready to fire they rose, flew across a deep but narrow valley, and settled upon an open-wooded knoll on the other side. My young friend, somewhat mortified at his bad luck on horseback, now determined to try his fortunes on foot. Dismounting, therefore, and tying his horse to a tree, he jumped over the fence, crossed the valley, and proceeded slowly up the hill, upon the crest of which the birds had lighted. The ascent was not only steep, but rendered somewhat difficult by the slippery dried grass with which it was covered. As soon, however, as his head

appeared above the brow of the knoll, the birds were off. This he did not, however, perceive; and as he was carefully reconnoitering the ground upon which he had seen them light, he came suddenly upon a huge heap of leaves, that seemed to have been raked together from a circle 50 yards in circumference, and so piled up as to excite his curiosity. After looking at it for awhile, and wondering what could have been the object of collecting together such a mass of dried leaves, he thrust his foot into the heap and was in the act of kicking it open, when to his surprise a hoarse, rumbling noise seemed to issue from the centre of it. In another instant the whole mass began to rise and shake, and before he could collect his senses or cock his gun, a huge slab-sided hog burst out from under the mass, with a tremendous whooh! whooh! and rushed upon him with such fury that he had no time to defend himself; and it was well for him that he did not attempt it, for his gun would have been as useless as a ratan in his hand, and in less than one minute he would have been hurled to the ground and ripped to pieces. The first I saw of him, after his entering the wood upon the knoll, he was on his return, rushing down the hill at full speed, without his hat or gun,— the enraged animal at his heels, snorting and barking, as it were, in the most terrific manner imaginable. He seemed to be not more than ten yards in advance, and was scarcely half way down the hill, when he either slipped, or struck his foot against a stone, and pitched head foremost (performing a complete somerset in his descent,) down into the mud and water at the very bottom of the run— the animal still in close and furious pursuit. At that moment I considered his life as not worth two pence. There was not, I knew, an insurance company in Wall street that would (under the circumstances), have issued a policy upon it, at any premium short of the full amount at which it was valued. But in that critical state of things, I had just presence of mind enough to fire my gun— not indeed with any expectation of reaching the animal, but in the hope of checking the pursuit by drawing its attention to a new enemy. It would not, however, have succeeded, had not the *interesting young family* upon the knoll, finding themselves unroofed and unprotected, crawled out of their beds and sounded a fresh alarm. The first note from *that quarter*— aye, the first *squeal* that reached the ear of the parent brute, brought her to a stand, and enabled my friend in the gutter to recover his

legs. The whole scene was changed in an instant. The chase was given up— the danger was over— the war was at an end. The hostile parties were now seen drawing off in different directions. The bristled animal was shuffling back with all speed to the family mansion on the knoll, and my sporting friend making the best of his way up the hill to the place from whence he started. When he reached his horse, he was so bruised, bemudded, be-deviled, and out of breath, that for some minutes he was unable to speak. The first words he uttered were — “This shall be my last quail hunt in this country!”

I endeavored to console him by reminding him that accidents and personal perils were inseparable from the life of a sportsman, and that every path that led to distinction was necessarily more or less beset with danger— that on the present occasion he had acted wisely, and even showed some generalship, in not coming to close quarters with his antagonist; and that in an unequal race of 2 legs against 4 he had come out three lengths ahead! that the loss of his hat was a loss that could be covered by a five dollar bill, and that his coat and pantaloons could be put to rights for about five more— that I should be enabled to recover his gun as soon as the family, whose castle he had stormed, were disposed to change their quarters— in short, that he had great reason to be thankful that his bones were unbroken, and that he had come out of the fight with so little injury. He pointed to his forehead and knees. ‘Tis true, said I, in answer to this appeal, that a little skin has been rubbed off here and there, but that is of little consequence— ten days will cover all these little breaks and bruises, and put you in a condition next to new. Besides, these accidents and chance-rubs are at the worst mere nominal evils, and not to be weighed against the conception and execution of a *sommerset*, which led to the defeat of the enemy, and covered you, as McCaully would say, with so much glory and so much mud.

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49-21

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

CHARLES T. GREVE FREDERICK W. HINKLE
MISS L. BELLE HAMLIN

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

For the Year Ending
December 4, 1916



CINCINNATI
THE ABINGDON PRESS

OFFICERS FOR 1916-17.

JOSEPH WILBY, - - - - -	PRESIDENT.
FRANK J. JONES, - - - - -	VICE-PRESIDENT.
HOWARD C. HOLLISTER, - - - - -	VICE-PRESIDENT.
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MERRICK WHITCOMB, - - - - -	
ELLIOTT H. PENDLETON, - - - - -	
JAMES W. BULLOCK, - - - - -	

The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for 1916

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

December the 4th, 1916.

To the President and Members of the Society:

During the year 492 volumes have been added to the library; 395 of these were donated; 47 purchased, and 52 acquired by binding periodicals and pamphlets. These, added to the 26503 titles reported the previous year, form a total of 26997 in the collection at the present time. The pamphlets acquired during this period number 1637, and were donated.

The Society purchased a volume containing the manuscript records of the Colerain, Oxford and Brookville Turnpike Company, 1832 to 1841.

Other manuscripts and some gifts of a miscellaneous nature received this year and enumerated here, are:—

Mr. Victor Abraham: Numerous documents relating to the estate of Jacob Hoffner, dec'd. Conveyances of Land, mortgages, certificates of various nature, leases, six surveys, five original plats of subdivisions in Cummingsville, etc., and documents relating to estate of Phineas Moses, newspaper clippings, etc. Also, Ballot-People's Ticket- James Findlay for Governor, Bellamy Storer for Congress, et al.

Mrs. M. B. Atchison (Washington, Pa.): Lithograph of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, 1868.

Mr. W. G. Betty: A section of the old wooden pipe, used to convey water, dug up on Fourth street during the past month, accompanied by a copy of the Cincinnati Telephone Bulletin that contained an article descriptive of the original water system of the city.

Board of Park Commissioners of Cincinnati: A lead box containing papers of record deposited in the Third Street Reservoir corner-stone in 1850 and recovered Oct. 27, 1915 by D. P. Foley, contractor, when wrecking the walls of the abandoned reservoir for park purposes. About 37 publications, principally reports, were found in the box, many mildewed and in bad condition, largely owing to the bursting open of the lead box. These have been cared for and all are now in this collection.

Mrs. A. C. Boman: Four manuscript Account Books of the Miami Exporting Co., beginning 1812 [probably Bk. 2] and last entries ending 1823; also, a manuscript Account Book of a Shoe Store, first date 1827- no name of firm given until reaching page 39, "June 1828, Jas. Oliphant admitted into the concern"; on page 59, under Aug. 6, 1829, is following notice without signature, "Having sold out my Shoe and Boot Manufactory, No. 116 Main Street, under the superintendence of J. Oliphant, I hereby give notice to all persons indebted to me for work had at sd manufactory or otherwise, to make payment to M. S. Wade or his order." This is followed by an inventory of stock belonging to J. Oliphant & Co. on Main St. The accounts continue until 1838- no firm name appearing. The City Directories of 1825 and 1829 contain the advertisement of James Oliphant Boot and Shoe Shop, and in 1839 Oliphant is clerking at Westcott's, while the name of M. S. Wade does not appear in Directories until 1831 when he and S. J. Wade advertised New Dry Goods Store.

Mrs. G. S. Comstock (Mechanicsburg, Pa.): Lithograph of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, no date, but judge it to be about 1845.

Mrs. F. B. Duveneck: Large photograph of the artist, Frank Duveneck.

Mr. H. Gove: A coin of the Confederacy, the obverse side bearing a palm tree, surrounded by motto "No submission to the North, 1860", and the reverse side has in relief a design of the products of the South with phrase "The Wealth of the South, Rice Tobacco Sugar Cotton". The metal appears to be brass. Also gave

A United States copper coin, obverse side has eagle couchant,

encircled by motto "Substitute for Shin Plasters, Nov. 1837, reverse side has "Specie Payments substituted May 10, 1837".

Mrs. Hester Ferguson Henshall (Tupelo, Miss.): Daguerreotype of the residence of Captain James Ferguson [her great grandfather], formerly on the south-west corner of Seventh and Vine Streets. Accompanying paper states that he assisted Col. Doughty to erect Fort Washington; that he was in the St. Clair and Harmar Campaigns and is mentioned in the St. Clair Papers and in Cist's *Cincinnati*, 1859, and that he died in 1852 aged 83 at the above mentioned home. Also gave a Cross cut from wood of the ram "Merrimac" as the inscription in the center on a plate states. The four ends are embellished with gold.

Mr. G. Hoadly: *Cincinnati* 9th Ward Ticket, April 1859.

Mrs. Harry W. Hughes: Daguerreotype of Mr. Charles Rowcroft, British Consul to *Cincinnati*, possibly better remembered by us as the father of Mrs. Emma Dexter, the singer.

Mr. G. W. Lewis: An engraving of his father, Henry Lewis, [1826-1893.] The latter gave to the Society in 1884 the door-sill of Abraham Lincoln's log-cabin home, located in Spencer County, Indiana, prior to its destruction. Mr. G. W. Lewis sent a short account explaining the way this door-sill came into the possession of his father. In 1816 Thomas Lincoln, the father of Abraham Lincoln, took up a quarter section of land about one mile and a half east of Gentryville in Spencer Co., and there Mrs. Nancy Hanks Lincoln, his wife, died Oct. 5, 1818 and was buried on the farm. In the autumn of 1871, Henry Lewis, Charles W. West, John Shillito and Robert Mitchell, all of *Cincinnati*, bought land in that county including the Lincoln property and when Lincoln City was laid out, they set aside and donated to the town a tract, surrounding the grave of Mrs. Lincoln. Subsequently a monument was erected to her memory and the tract inclosed, while the log-cabin was destroyed. Mr. Lewis had the door-sill cut out and presented it to the Society for preservation. On page 31 of Vol. I, Nicolay-Hay's "Abraham Lincoln" it is stated that "A stone has been placed over the grave by P. E. Studebaker, of South Bend, Indiana. The stone bears the following inscription:

Nancy Hanks Lincoln, mother of President Lincoln, died October 5th, A. D. 1818, aged 35 years. Erected by a friend of her martyred son, 1879."

Mr. H. A. McClelland: Permit by Provost Marshal to leave New Orleans for New York upon the Bark "Sea Brine", issued during the civil war; and a Certificate as engineer of Steamboats issued 1852, New Orleans, to Norman McClelland; also, Medal of Cincinnati Industrial Exposition, 1873.

Nomad Club of Cincinnati: Two manuscript volumes covering proceedings from 1902 to 1916.

Mr. T. B. Punshon: Map of the Sommer Islands [Bermudas], Abraham Goos, sculpt. 16x21, sold by G. Hamble, 1626. Reference to a Bibliography of Maps shows that this map was taken out of the publication entitled "The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain" by John Speed, 1631, pp. 41 & 42.

Mr. Joseph Wilby: Manuscript volume of Minutes of Law Cases, Cincinnati, 1871-2.

Mr. W. H. Williamson: Several miscellaneous papers relating to the Ohio Mechanics Institute 15th Exhibition.

Miss Mary Spencer: Portrait of John Payne Whiteman of Cincinnati, 1813-1907. He was a contractor for building early canals and railroads. Home at Riverside. Portrait painted by Miss Mary Spencer.

Mr. Vincent B. Brown: A sketch, written by him, of Dr. Richard Jordan Gatling and his great invention. It is interesting to note that the Gatling gun was first thought of and invented in this city, 1861-2, and that the first guns were made in the Miles Greenwood Plant in Cincinnati. Accompanying this gift is a framed photograph of the inventor with an autograph statement by him, which Mr. Brown states are given to us by several gentlemen: *Messrs. L. A. Ault, H. M. Levy, T. J. Corcoran, E. W. Edwards and David Davis.*

The Board of Trustees of the Hyde Park Baptist Church, by the President, Dr. T. F. Dickinson, has placed in the charge of our Society seven volumes of the Records of that Church, dating from 1790 to 1910; these records embrace the Baptist Churches of Columbia, Deer Creek, Mount Lookout and Hyde

Park. They have been deposited in our manuscript case in the fire-proof stacks of the library where they will be kept.

The titles of a few of the volumes added by purchase or gift, are:

- Manufacturing in the Ohio Valley, by I. Lippincott;
Aboriginal Sites on Green River, Ky. and certain Aboriginal
Sites on Lower Ohio River. . . . by C. B. Moore;
Life of William McKinley, by S. C. Olcott;
Notes of a Busy Life, by J. B. Foraker;
History of the United States, Vols. 7-9, by Henry Adams;
History of Fayette Co., Ohio, pub. by A. W. Bowen, 1914;
History of Allen & Putnam Cos. O., " " 1896;
History of Wayne Co., Ohio, " " 1910;
History of Canton & Stark Cos. O. " " 1904;
History of Wyandotte Co., Ohio, " " 1902;
History of Defiance, Henry, Williams, Fulton Cos. O, Beers,
1899;
Atlas of Clark County, Ohio;
Spanish Explorations in the Northwest (Original Narrative
Ser.);
Early Records of City and County of Albany;
Ulster Co., N. Y.;
Diplomacy of the War of 1812;
Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and
Mexico;
Writings of John Quincy Adams, Vols. 5 & 6, by W. C. Ford;
Companions of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of
the United States, an Album containing over 1500 por-
traits of Members;
Cincinnati, 1915, by National Education Association;
Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776-1861;
Wyman's Genealogy and Estates of Charlestown;
British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846;
Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General;
Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot, by R. Biddle;
Fenwick Allied Ancestry by E. J. Sellers; and, several volumes
of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire Town
Histories, containing Church and Town records, useful
in genealogical research.

We have received from the Secretary of State of Pennsylvania five volumes of the Pennsylvania Archives perfecting our set to date; from the State Historical Society of Iowa five volumes; from the Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors one volume, and numerous other publications have come from different Societies, Universities and Libraries, too many for specific mention here. We are indebted to the Canadian Archivist for several volumes each year, and to the Royal Society of Canada for various publications. Mrs. Robert Ralston Jones donated three volumes. Two of these contain the Annual Reports of the Cincinnati Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, 1903-1915; the third volume has the Proceedings of the Ohio Annual Conference of the D. A. R., 1899-1912.

Mr. Joseph B. Foraker donated 150 scrap-books filled with newspaper clippings of political import, arranged by years, and numerous packages of similar clippings not yet placed in scrap-books; also, 178 volumes of the Congressional Record. As 66 of these duplicated volumes in our set, they were handed to the librarian of the University of Cincinnati to fill any vacant spaces in the set there.

Mr. Eugene F. Bliss has added Vols. 81-90 inc. to the set of the Century previously given by him, and 3 volumes containing the Annual Reports of our Society from 1870 to date.

From Mr. W. K. Bixby we have received five publications, small, dainty editions of which only two hundred copies of each were issued for private distribution. The titles are:— Some Edgar Allan Poe Letters; Holograph Letter of Charles I.; Laurence Sterne's Letter; Marshal Guorchy's Own Account of the Battle of Waterloo; and, Stonewall Jackson's Way.

The "Quarterly" for the year has issued as usual and the cataloguing and other work continue to advance.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

	VOL.	PAM.
Albany Institute.....		1
Alliance Francaise.....		18
American Antiquarian Society.....		1
American Association for International Conciliation.....		8
American Jewish Committee.....	1	
American Jewish Historical Society.....	1	
American Telegraph & Telephone Co., N. Y.....		1
Anonymous.....		1
Boston City Hospital.....	1	
Bunker Hill Monument Association.....		1
Bureau of Railway Economics.....		64
California Sons of the American Revolution.....		1
Canadian Archivist.....		1
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	2	
Chicago Historical Society.....		1
Cincinnati—		
Business Men's Club.....		5
Chamber of Commerce.....	1	
Children's Home.....		1
Museum Association.....		9
Nomad Club.....	2	Mss. Vol.
Ohio Mechanics Institute.....		3
Ohio Medical College.....		17
Public Library.....		4
St. Xavier College.....		5
Symphony Orchestra.....	1	13
University of Cincinnati.....	2	9
Woman's Club.....		3
Colorado College.....		5
Colorado Scientific Society.....		2
Connecticut Historical Society.....		1
Connecticut State Librarian.....	1	2
Cornell University.....		1
Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga Co., O.....		1
Essex Institute.....		5
Fairfield Historical Society.....		1
Hispanic Society of America.....		4
Huguenot Society of America.....		1
Illinois State Historical Library.....	2	2
Indiana Sons of the Revolution.....		1
Indiana State Librarian.....		4
Instituto Geologico de Mexico.....		11
Iowa State Historical Society.....	5	4
Imperial Royal Consulate, Austria-Hungarian.....	1	3
Japan Society.....		3
Kansas State Historical Society.....	1	
Kijoto Imperial University.....		1
Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration.....		1
Lake Mohonk Conference (for Indians).....		1
Louisiana Historical Society.....		1
Louisiana State Museum.....		1

	VOL.	PAM.
Maine Historical Society	2	
Massachusetts Historical Society	I	
Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants		I
Medford Historical Society		4
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.		I
Michigan History Commission		3
Michigan Pioneer History Society	I	
Military Order of Loyal Legion—		
New York		3
Ohio		35
United States		2
Wisconsin		7
Minnesota State Historical Society		4
Missouri State Historical Society		3
New Hampshire Historical Society	I	
New Haven Colony Historical Association		I
New Jersey Historical Society		4
New York Public Library		10
New York Sons of the American Revolution		I
New York State Department of Education	2	I
New York State Historical Association	I	
New York Chamber of Commerce		I
Nova Scotia Institute of Science		3
Oberlin College		I
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station	2	
Archaeological and Historical Society		4
Board of Charities		2
Board of Health	I	6
Industrial Commission		13
State University		5
Paris Chamber of Commerce	2	37
Pennsylvania Prison Society		2
Pennsylvania Secretary of State	5	
Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Governors	I	
Rhode Island Historical Society		4
Rio Janiero National de Musee		2
Rockefeller Foundation		I
Royal Society of Canada		8
St. Louis Mercantile Library		I
Schenectady County Historical Society		I
Smith College (Northampton)		5
Tennessee Historical Society		4
Texas State Historical Association		4
United Shoe Manufacturing Co. (Beverly)		4
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology	5	
Bureau of Education		2
Coast & Geodetic Survey	I	2
Department of Interior	3	
Interstate Commerce Commission	I	738
Library of Congress	I	2
Smithsonian Institution	I	22
University of California		4
University of Chicago		I
University of Colorado		2
University of Illinois		5
University of North Carolina		3
University of Paris		I

	VOL.	PAM.
Vermont Historical Society.....	1	
Washington University State Historical Society.....		6
Wisconsin State Historical Society.....	3	
Worcester (Mass.) Public Library.....		1
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.....		1
Yale University.....		2
Ayres, S. C.....		1
Betty, W. G.....		1
Biddle, R.....	1	
Bromwell, J. H.....	1	
Brooks, J. N.....	1	
Burton, C. M.....	1	
Fisher, W. L.....	1	
Foraker, J. B..... newspaper clippings.	262	
Fuehr, K. A.....	1	
Harvey, E. T.....		1
Jones, Mrs. R. R.....	3	
Lawson, F. H. Co.....		11
Lewis, G. W.....		1
McAdoo, W. G.....		5
Maxim, H.....	2	
Moore, C. B.....	1	
Murray, W. H.....	1	
Parker, Sir Gilbert.....	2	67
Polk, W. M.....	2	
Sellers, E. J.....	1	
Thayer, G. A..... newspapers.	8	10
Thrall, Mrs. W.....	17	
Thurston, R. C. B.....		1
Von Frantzius, F.....	1	
Wilby, C. B.....		1
Williams Directory Co.....	1	

MEMBERS

Bixby, W. K.....	5	
Bliss, E. F.....	19	218
Bullock, J. W.....	1	
Chatfield, Mrs. A. H..... New York Times, 1915-1916.	1	92
Greve, C. T.....		1
Hamlin, Miss L. B.....		3
James, D. L..... misc. papers and cards.		
Storer, B..... newspaper clippings.		15
Wilby, J.....	7	16
Woods, H. F.....	1	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

At special meetings of the Board and of the Society December 17, 1915, it was decided to appoint The Central Trust and Safe Deposit Company as fiscal agent of our Society, to hold our securities, collect the dividends and other forms of income, and to disburse the same for our use, upon certain terms and conditions set forth in a written agreement which is spread on the minutes. Thereafter that agreement was executed by The Central Trust and Safe Deposit Company and by our Society, by its President and Recording Secretary, under due authority.

Mr. William Lytle Foster remains our Treasurer, according to the provisions of our constitution; but the details of the Treasurer's work are to be handled by the Trust Company. The arrangement seems to work satisfactorily.

The total amount of our assets in stocks, bonds, loans secured by collateral and cash is \$77,048.49.

Quarterlies have appeared during the year 1916 as follows:

Volume XI, No. 1, January-March. Selections from Follett Papers, No. IV, from the manuscript collection of the Society edited by L. Belle Hamlin.

Volume XI, Nos. 2 and 3, April-July, Reprint of "Recollections of Cincinnati" by Gorham A. Worth, with an introduction by L. Belle Hamlin.

Volume XI, No. 4, will consist as usual of the annual report of our Society.

During the past year Edmund W. Kittredge, a corporate member, died on June 27. Mr. Kittredge had been a member for over forty-five years, and during all that time was one of its most faithful friends and supporters.

JOSEPH WILBY, President.

December 4, 1916.

*For the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio.*

I have the honor to present my annual report of the Assets and liabilities of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1916, as shown by the following statement of the Central Trust & Safe Deposit Company.

WILLIAM LYTLE FOSTER, *Treasurer.*

DECEMBER 1, 1916.

THE CENTRAL TRUST & SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY
 IN ACCOUNT WITH
 HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

RECEIPTS

Dues for 1915.....	\$40 00	
“ “ 1916.....	460 00	
		\$500 00
Return Premium on Canceled Insurance.....		7 20
Sale of 77 Shares Cin'ti Street Railway Stock @ 55..		4,235 00
Repayment on Account of Call Loans.....		2,675 00
From E. F. Bliss, for Binding Fund.....		1 60
Income from Investments.....		2,948 95
Interest on Savings Account Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co.....		2 13
		<u>\$10,369 88</u>
Cash Balance December 1, 1915.....		3,043 32
		<u>\$13,413 20</u>

PAYMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....	\$1,000 00
“ “ Janitor.....	300 00
Printing Quarterly.....	202 11
Paper for Quarterly.....	32 71
Subscriptions.....	14 00
Dues.....	12 00
Books and Magazines.....	132 95
Binding.....	41 75
Insurance.....	90 00
Spring Cleaning.....	50 00
Miscellaneous.....	12 33
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., 3% on \$3,459.88.	103 79
	<u>\$1,991 64</u>
Jan. 24, 1916:	
Bought \$500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge 5% July 1 /35 Bond @ 103.....	515 00
Accrued Interest.....	90
Feb. 16, 1916:	
4 \$500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp., Mar. 1 /35 @ 105.93.....	2,118 60
Accrued Interest.....	41 25
Aug. 1, 1916:	
1 \$500 Cin'ti 4½% Hospital, Jan. 2 /54 @ 107.12.	535 60
Accrued Interest.....	1 81
1 \$500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp., June 16 /53 @ 107.66.....	535 30
Accrued Interest.....	2 81
Aug. 3, 1916:	
2 \$1,000 N. & W. Ry. 4%, July 1 /44 @ 89 5/8.	1,792 50
Accrued Interest.....	7 11
2 \$500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge 5%, July 1 /35 @ 102 3/4.....	1,027 50
Accrued Interest.....	4 44

Aug. 10, 1916:			
1 \$1,000 C. L. & N. R. R. 4%, Nov. 1/42 @ 91¼.	912	50	
Accrued Interest.....		11	00
Sept. 12, 1916:			
3 \$500 Hamilton Co. Longview Hospital 4¼%			
April 1/46 Bonds @ 104.30.....	1,564	50	
Accrued Interest.....		28	51
			<u>11,090 97</u>
Less Interest Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Savings Acct. Credited to Principal Acct....			\$2,322 23
			<u>2 13</u>
Nov. 30—Cash Balance.....			\$2,320 10
General Fund.....	\$292	27	
Binding Fund.....	247	14	
Building Fund.....	241	37	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....	222	80	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....	223	12	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....	170	32	
A. J. Howe Fund.....	98	69	
Margaret Rives King Fund.....	439	44	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	15	44	
Halsted Neave Fund.....	369	51	
			<u>\$2,320 10</u>

INVESTMENTS

	PAR.	BOOK.
145 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$7,250 00	\$8,448 88
7 1,000 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	7,000 00	7,395 00
8 1,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% ".....	8,000 00	8,285 00
2 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. 4% ".....	2,000 00	1,975 00
1 1,000 " " Ry. 4% ".....	1,000 00	912 50
2 1,000 Norfolk & Western Ry. 4% Bonds.....	2,000 00	1,755 00
2 1,000 " " " " ".....	2,000 00	1,792 50
1 1,000 Chattanooga Sta. Co. 4% ".....	1,000 00	930 00
2 1,000 Kentucky Central Ry. 4% ".....	2,000 00	1,950 00
1 1,000 Cin'ti Newport & Cov. Ry. 5% Bonds.....	1,000 00	1,045 00
2 1,000 Western Pacific Ry. 5% Bonds (Ctf. Dep. Equitable Trust Co.).....	2,000 00	1,870 00
1 1,000 American Book Co. 6% Bonds.....	1,000 00	1,115 00
2 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4½% Bd.	2,000 00	1,835 00
1 500 Covington & Cin'ti Bridge 5% Bond.....	500 00	515 00
2 500 " " " " ".....	1,000 00	1,027 50
4 500 Cincinnati 4½% Sewer Imp. Bonds.....	2,000 00	2,118 60
1 500 " " " " ".....	500 00	535 30
1 500 " " Hospital ".....	500 00	535 60
3 500 Hamilton Co. 4¼% Longview Hosp. Bonds.....	1,500 00	1,564 50
Total Bonds and Stocks.....	<u>\$44,250 00</u>	<u>\$45,605 38</u>
Savings Acct. No. 7169, Central Trust & Safe Dep. Co.	\$51 03	
Interest Accrued to Sept. 1, 1916.....	21 98	
		<u>73 01</u>
Call Loans.....		<u>\$45,678 39</u>
		29,050 00
Total Investments.....		<u>\$74,728 39</u>
Nov. 30, 1916:		
Total Investments.....		<u>\$74,728 39</u>

BUILDING FUND:

4 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bonds.....	2,118 60
2 500 Hamilton Co. 4¼% Longview Hosp..	1,043 00
Collateral Loans.....	16,730 00

19,891 60

ENDOWMENT FUND:

Collateral Loan.....	
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12,320 00

\$74,728 39

GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Dues for 1915.....	\$40 00
“ “ 1916.....	460 00

\$500 00

Return Premium Canceled Insurance.....

7 20

Transfer from Endowment Fund (being interest on
this fund loaned to Building Fund).....

328 19

Transfer from Life Membership Income Account....

270 75

Interest on Call Loans.....

18 11

\$1,124 25

PAYMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....	\$1,000 00
“ “ Janitor.....	300 00
Printing.....	202 11
Paper.....	32 71
Dues.....	12 00
Spring Cleaning.....	50 00
Insurance.....	90 00
Subscriptions.....	14 00
Books and Periodicals.....	35 40
Miscellaneous.....	12 33
Commission 3% on \$1,127.70 Income.....	33 83

1,782 38

Excess Disbursements over Receipts.....

658 13

Credit Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....

983 26

Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....

325 13

Less Petty Cash Fund in Hands of Librarian.. \$9 66

Less Expenditures by Librarian..... 23 20

32 86

\$292 27

BUILDING FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest on Secured Call Loans.....	\$471 50
Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	11 25
Interest Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bond.....	90 00
“ Hamilton Co. 4¼% Bond.....	21 24

\$593 99

Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....

1,642 06

Sold 5 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....

275 00

Call Loan Paid.....

970 00

\$3,481 05

PAYMENTS

Commission 3% on \$593.99.....	\$17 82	
Feb. 16, 1916:		
Bought 4 500 Cin'ti 4¼% Sewer Imp. Mch. 1 /35		
Bond @ 105.93.....	2,118 60	
Int. from Sept. 1.....	41 25	
Sept. 12, 1916:		
Bought 2 500 Hamilton Co., O., 4½% Longview		
Hospital April 1 /46 Bonds @ 104.30.....	1,043 00	
Int. from April 1.....	19 01	
		<u>3,239 68</u>
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		\$241 37

ENDOWMENT FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest on Call Loans.....	\$328 19
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PAYMENTS

Transferred to General Fund.....	328 19
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BINDING FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$39 00
Interest C. L. & N. Ry. Bonds.....	5 94
" St. Paul & Kansas City Sh. Line Bond.....	5 62
Interest on Call Loan.....	15
	<u>\$50 71</u>
From E. F. Bliss for Binding Fund.....	1 60
	<u>\$52 31</u>

PAYMENTS

Paid for Binding.....	\$41 75
Commission 3% on \$52.31.....	1 57
	<u>43 32</u>
	\$8 99
Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....	<u>12 65</u>
Income Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$21 64

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT

Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....	\$5 50
Sold 4 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	220 00
	<u>\$225 50</u>
Balance Nov. 30, 1916, Principal.....	21 64
" " " " Income.....	<u>21 64</u>
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$247 14

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$58 50
Interest C. L. & N. Ry. Bond.....	5 94
" St. Paul & Kansas City Sh. Line Bond.....	9 40
" C. H. & D. Ry. Bond.....	135 00

Interest Hamilton Co. 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ % Bond.....		10 62
“ C. & O. Ry. Bond.....		12 86
“ Savings Account C. T. & S. D. Co.....		1 08
		<hr/>
Sold 6 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....		\$233 40
Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....		330 00
		<hr/>
		\$809 75
Books Purchased.....	\$37 35	
Commission 3% on \$233.40.....	7 00	
Sept. 12, 1916:		
Bought 1 500 Hamilton Co. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ % Longview Hosp.		
April 1 /46 Bond @ 104.30.....	521 50	
Interest from April 1.....	9 50	
	<hr/>	575 35
		<hr/>
Less Interest on Savings Acct. C. T. & S. D. Co.		\$234 40
		11 60
		<hr/>
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		\$222 80

COLONIAL DAMES FUND

RECEIPTS

Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....		\$15 90
Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....		12 00
		<hr/>
		\$27 90

PAYMENTS

Books Purchased.....	\$12 10	
Commission 3% on \$12.00.....	36	
	<hr/>	12 46
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		\$15 44

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS

Cin'ti Street Ry. Dividend.....		\$40 50
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Sh. Line Bond.....		7 50
“ C. L. & N. Ry. Bond.....		13 62
“ Savings Account.....		70
		<hr/>
		\$62 32
Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....		59 59
Sold 2 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....		110 00
		<hr/>

PAYMENTS

Commission 3% on \$62.32.....		1 87
		<hr/>
		\$230 04
Less Interest on Savings Account Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Added to Principal.....		6 92
		<hr/>
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		\$223 12

ERASMUS GEST FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$33 00
Interest Cin'ti Newport & Cov. Ry. Bond.....	50 00
" Chattanooga Sta. Co. Bond.....	40 00
" Covington & Ci'ti Bridge.....	12 50
" St. Paul & Kansas City Sh. Line Bond.....	11 26
" C. & O. Ry. Bond.....	67 50
	\$214 26
Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....	38 39
Sold 8 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	440 00
	\$692 65

PAYMENTS

Bought 1 500 Covington & Cin'ti Bridge Co. 5% July 1/35 @ 103.....	\$515 00
Interest from Jan. 1 to Jan. 14.....	90 00
Commission 3% on \$214.26.....	6 43
	522 33
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$170 32

A. J. HOWE FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$29 25
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Shore Line Bonds..	11 26
" C. & O. Ry. Bonds.....	337 50
	\$378 01
Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....	48 96
Sold 13 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	715 00
	\$1,141 97

PAYMENTS

Aug. 3, 1916:	
Bought 2 500 Covington & Cin'ti Bridge Co. 5% July 1/26 Bonds @ 102¾.....	\$1,027 50
Interest from July 1.....	4 44
Commission 3% on \$378.01.....	11 34
	1,043 28
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$98 69

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$36 00
Interest C. L. & N. Ry. Bond.....	23 70
" St. Paul & Kansas City Sh. Line Bond.....	22 48
" Ky. Central Ry. Bond.....	60 00
" C. H. & D. Ry. Bond.....	180 00
" C. & O. Ry. Bond.....	64 28
" Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bond.....	11 25
	\$397 71
Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....	639 87
	\$1,037 58

PAYMENTS

Aug. 1, 1916:	
Bought 1 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. June 16 /53	
Bond @ 107.06.....	\$535 30
Interest from June 16.....	2 81
Books Purchased.....	48 10
Commission 3% on \$397.71.....	11 93
	598 14
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$439 44

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$261 00
Interest C. & O. Ry. Bond.....	12 86
" Savings Account.....	35
	\$274 21

PAYMENTS

Less Interest on Savings Account added to Principal.	\$3 46
Transferred to General Fund.....	270 75
	274 21

HALSTED NEAVE FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$87 75
Interest C. L. & N. Ry. Bond.....	90 80
" St. Paul & Kansas City Sh. Line Bond.....	22 48
" American Book Co. Bond.....	60 00
" Norfolk & Western Ry.....	80 00
" Kentucky Central Ry.....	20 00
" On Call Loan.....	27 14
	\$388 17

Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1915.....	89 49
Sold 39 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry. @ 55.....	2,145 00
	\$2,622 66
Collateral Loan Paid.....	1,019 01
	\$3,641 67

PAYMENTS

Aug. 1, 1916:	
Bought 1 500 Cin'ti 4½% New Hospital Jan. 2 /54	
Bond @ 107.12.....	\$535 60
Interest from July 2.....	1 81
Aug. 3, 1916:	
2 1,000 Norfolk & Western 4% First Mtge., July	
1/44 Bonds @ 89 5/8.....	1,792 50
Interest from July 1.....	7 11
Aug. 10, 1916:	
1 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. 4% First Mtge., Nov. 1 /42	
Bond @ 91¼.....	912 50
Interest from May 1.....	11 00
Commission 3% on \$388.17.....	11 64
	\$3,272 16
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$369 51

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Anderson, William H.	Holmes, John R.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	James, Davis L.
Ault, L. A.	Keys, Miss Mary E.
Brunswick, B. H.	Levy, Harry M.
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Callahan, John R.	Meador, A. B.
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Foley, B. W.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
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Foulke, William Dudley	Rowland, Dunbar
Galbreath, Charles P.	Storey, Moorefield
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Hayes, E. G.	Young, Bennett H.
Heath, William McK.	

HONORARY MEMBERS

Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	Taft, William H.
Hulbert, Archer B.	Venable, William H.

DIED

Edmund W. Kittredge, June 27, 1916.



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Letters of Thomas Boylston Adams

CINCINNATI
THE ABINGDON PRESS

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The contents of the present issue of the *Quarterly*, consists of a selection of letters written by Thomas Boylston Adams to Joseph Pitcairn, with one exception. Pitcairn was for many years the American Consul at Hamburg; he was also a merchant.

These letters are in a volume of our Manuscript Collections, generally spoken of as the "Pitcairn Papers." Upon the cover is inscribed "*Letters of John Quincy Adams, Thomas B. Adams, Rufus King, Alex. Lameth, &c. to my Granduncle, Joseph Pitcairn, 1795-1821. A. Oswald Brodie, 1869.*"

Mr. Eugene F. Bliss, a former president of the Society, inserted a "Preface" in 1898, in which he stated: "This Collection of Letters was bought by the Hon. Rufus King a few years before his death (1891), and was among the books left by his widow, Margaret Rives King, to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio in 1898."

There can be no question as to the genuineness of these Pitcairn Papers as the familiar handwritings of the writers of the letters establishes their authenticity aside from the foreign postmarks on the back of each. The original letters of John Quincy Adams to Joseph Pitcairn as published in *Ford's Writings of John Quincy Adams*—with one or two exceptions—are in the Pitcairn Papers. All the papers bear endorsement of when received and when answered.

Thomas Boylston Adams, youngest child of President John Adams, was born at Quincy (now Braintree) Mass., Sept. 15, 1772. He was a graduate of Harvard, Master of Arts 1790, and in later years Fellow of American Academy. He began the practice of Law in Philadelphia where he writes in January, 1794, to his cousin, William Cranch (Judge Cranch) of Haverhill, "I have had the satisfaction of addressing a Jury of my Country in my new capacity without those usual advantages of a powerful retinue of relatives & connections which those who are natives of this place enjoy; without general acquaintance with the middling classes who give the first lift to our profession, I come for-

ward to the Bar of Philadelphia . . ." (Cranch Mss. in the Society's Coll.) However the following October he accompanied his brother, John Quincy Adams, to the Netherlands, where the latter had been lately appointed Minister Resident, and later, when his brother was commissioned Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Prussia, he went with him to Berlin as Secretary of the Legation. He returned to Philadelphia in December, 1798, and finally went back to his native place where he remained during the remainder of his life. He continued the practice of law there and was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, 1809-1811. He married, May 16, 1805, Ann Harod, daughter of Joseph and Ann Harod of Haverhill, Mass. Died March 12, 1832, aged 59 years and six months. L. B. H.

I
LETTER
OF
THOMAS BOYLSTON ADAMS^a TO WILLIAM
CRANCH^b

The Hague April 8th, 1795.

Dear William

A favorable occasion presents itself of dropping you a few lines by a vessel for Georgetown. It is the first direct opportunity which has offered since I have been in this Country. Indeed since the conquest of it by the french, external intercourse has been until very lately, altogether interrupted. You may easily conjecture that *our* residence here has not abounded with scenes of pleasure or amusement. A state of war is always unfavorable to both. The variety of incident however has been great, and the period of the last six months has been peculiarly eventful in this corner of the Globe. In the North, under the immediate influence of the Constellation, not improperly termed the Great Bear of the Russians—we have witnessed the dismemberment of a heretofore powerful Empire, the completion of a partition of its territory and the irrevocable subjection of its inhabitants. Even the poor title of nominal independence is deprived it. In this quarter we have seen the Conquest of a Country not less distinguished heretofore among the powers of Europe but its conquerors were men. Savage & brutal barbarity, has heretofore neither marked their approach nor characterized their residence among the people subdued. A conduct at once generous and just seems to be the peculiar attribute of a french army. Instead of promoting the in-

^a From Cranch Mss., H. P. S. O. Coll. Description of earlier impressions at The Hague.

^b William Cranch was born at Weymouth, Mass., July 17, 1769. Grad. of Harvard 1787, A.M.; LL.D. in 1829; Fellow of American Academy. Removed to Washington, D. C., where he was appointed Asst. Judge of Circ. Court, D. C. 1801, and in 1805 Chief Justice of the same Court, which office he held until death, 1855.

testine divisions of this people, they have uniformly restrained both public & private acts of hostility between the different partizans. They have ameliorated the condition of the subdued faction, and protected obnoxious individuals not only from violence, but even from insult. In short the french army have literally given peace to this Country in its Conquest, and their presence is still necessary to maintain the tranquility. The two great factions which divide this people unite but in one sentiment, that of plotting the absolute ruin of each other, even the doctrine of Liberty, Equality & Fraternity has brought them no nearer to a coincidence of design, than the opposite one that prevailed before.

Times of public adversity should not be chosen to form an opinion of the character of a people; such has been the period of my residence here. Credulity which is a child of weakness & terror, is one of the characteristic foibles I have remarked, as particularly operative upon the mind in this Country.

Reports & stories are circulated to cheer the despondence of a defeated party or to intimidate the dominant faction, so destitute of probability, that one hesitates to decide, which is the most extravagant, he who fabricates them or he who believes them.

Exertions are making to place the naval force of this Country upon a respectable footing. It had fallen much into decay, and all the efforts that can be bestowed, will not shortly regenerate its respectability, or make it formidable to those against whom it will probably be directed.

France is upon the eve of another Revolution. The people of Paris have become already outrageous in their behavior towards the Convention. Real or nominal scarcity of Bread is made the pretext of an agitation which has lately become alarming, which has threatened the Convention with dissolution and individual members with death. The latest accounts which are to the 4th currt represent violent tumults among the people, forcing the doors of the Convention, and treating that body with insult. The Convention had been for some days, apprehensive of this extremity, because a similar attempt had been made a short time before. They took resolves, the severity of which was proportioned to the sense of danger, and a decree which had contemplated the Massacre of a majority of the Convention, provided for the assembly of the Survivors at *Chalons sur Marne*. But the last affair was more serious. It was a Massacre of the Jacobins to save their

partizans Collot, d'Herbois Barrere &c., and to reestablish their authority on the downfall of the Convention. The criminals, or rather as an impartial observer I should say, the accused members were convicted & sentenced to transportation out of the limits of the Republic. Eight other Jacobins were arrested; Paris was declared to be in a state of siege and the command of the city given to General Pichegru, who was upon the spot, whether casually or intentionally does not appear. The General had left this country but a few days, and was supposed to have gone to Paris to receive instruction for further operations in the ensuing Campaign.

This commotion will terminate either in the dissolution of the Convention or the total ruin of the Jacobin faction. The latter at present seem to be the most probable.

The future condition of this Country with regard to external relations with other powers, is yet undecided. A demand of an alliance with the french Republic has been made, but an answer is not yet given. The Sovereignty & Independence of the Batavian people in the meantime is nominally maintained. The Revolution in favor of the rights of Man, Sovereignty of the people, &c. is yet nothing more than words which have been attended with so little real benefit that they have scarcely operated a momentary delusion. Ancient forms have been abolished, but the substitutes in their stead, are hitherto directed by old principles. A National Convention which shall represent the whole people of the seven Provinces is talked of, but no measures have been taken to convoke it. At this moment there is actually no Constitutional Government in the Country.

One thing however may be observed. The party now dominant is better disposed towards our country than the former. They have annulled several restraints upon our Commerce which the old Government had imposed. They have decreed the *free* importation of Flour & Rye Meal into the Province of Holland till the expiration of the present year and have given other facilities to trade, which may eventually prove beneficial to our Countrymen. I mention the decree respecting the importation of Flour &c., because I suppose this letter will find you in a part of the Country of which grain is the principal staple & whose commerce forms a very important object.

Believe me, yours sincerely

T. B. A.

II
LETTERS
OF
THOMAS BOYLSTON TO JOSEPH PITCAIRN

The Hague 21st January 1796

Dear Sir,

Your favor from Paris of the 9th Instant has been some days in hand. I thank you sincerely for the intelligence both public and private contained in it.

The flourishing state of our American Commerce is a sufficient indication of our growing prosperity, it is if possible, perhaps too rapid for our benefit, though it might be difficult to inspire our Countrymen with such a belief.

Upon the subject of the disaster¹ you speak of, I have heard only vague reports, & those through Channels which at least justified doubt as to their credibility. It would afford me satisfaction to be informed of the whole truth upon that affair, as it is of a nature particularly interesting.

The English Minister apparently holds the purse strings of the Nation for the present. It is natural that the great Capitalists should seek some means of employment for their money in a time of War, when the ordinary sources of profitable speculation are obstructed, & perhaps a loan to the Government is now the most eligible that exists. Will they be equally ready after a peace to enable the Government to fulfill the engagements now & heretofore contracted? I conceive the day of payment, as the only one to be dreaded by the English Nation. They are enriching themselves with the conquests made of the fairest possessions of this Country in the East Indies, by the sale of Dutch Vessels detained in their ports, and these circumstances may strengthen the argument of Ministry for a continuance of the War. Nevertheless

¹ Probably alludes to the Fauchet compromising despatch and the consequent resignation of Edmund Randolph as Sec. of State.

a disposition for peace seems to be discoverable among the people & the Government declares itself ready to *hear* terms of negotiation for that object. You can better judge than I can what degree of sincerity there is in such a declaration.

The only intelligence I can give you of this Country is, that a National Convention is shortly to assume the Government here. The Provinces however are yet divided in opinion with respect to the propriety of this change, & what number of them will form the Republic one & indivisible is not certainly known.

With much esteem, I am Dear Sir

Your very humble serv^t

Thomas B. Adams.

The Hague 17th May 1796

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 10th inst. has just come to hand, and as I find a vacant moment, it cannot be better employed than in renewing my thanks for your kind attention to the Commission relative to my Books. I have requested Mr. Bourne to refund the cash paid by you on my account, as the prospect of my seeing him before you, is perhaps greatest. In my letter of the 4th inst. I gave you similar information, it has probably reached you ere this.

I have heard of the demand² made by the Representatives for the Instructions and other documents relative to the negotiation with Great Britain, & I am not a little curious to hear the result of a refusal. It is certainly a delicate point, and must try the strength of our Executive; I am not sure however, that the trial was not necessary. We have reached a period in our Government, when it becomes important to settle principles, & to define with minuteness the limits of power & prerogative which must be attributed to the several branches of Administration. The Constitution is our Charter, and every deviation from it, from whatever quarter it may come should be checked with firmness, or there must soon be an end of freedom among us. The popular branch in every Government where it exists is apt to encroach upon the

² Following the President's notice to the Ho. of Reps, of his ratification of the Treaty of amity, commerce and navigation with Gt. Britain, came the demand for the papers, etc., of the Jay Treaty by the Reps. and the refusal of the President to comply with the request. See *Camb. Modern Hist. VII*, pp. 319+; *Annals of Cong., Sept. 1795-6*, p. 465; *Life & Corres. of Rufus King, II*, p. 39.

powers, which are delegated to the Executive; they have a kind of self-sufficiency, or as the french say *esprit du Corps*, which makes them impatient under the exercise of functions in which they have no share, & if their spirit of usurpation be indulged in a single instance, the progress towards the assumption of sovereignty becomes rapid. We have hitherto had but few instances of this kind in our Country, but our Constitution I apprehend has not yet undergone its severest trials.

All accounts from America represent the state of our Commerce and Agriculture as flourishing beyond example; from the high price of provisions especially of grain, it may be feared that many of our young adventurers in the Commercial world will suffer. The European markets will not bear them out in their extensive anticipations added to the *enormity* of seamen's wages. The comparative estimate of our exports, with those of Great Britain is certainly flattering, but it must be allowed that our 5 millions of inhabitants have ten times the extent of territory from whence to draw their supplies for the European market under its present circumstances. Our imports generally have kept pace with the exports pretty closely, so that the balance of clear gain may be small.

My brother^a may be expected over very soon, as he waits only the receipt of a letter from me. He has to be sure had the advantage of me, in his Winter excursion, but bad as Holland is in point of climate, I prefer a residence here before that of London. Sickness out of the scale & the loss of *his* society, & I can say with truth I had no wish to be with him during his absence.

With sentiments of real esteem and friendship, I am Dr Sir

Your very humble servt

Thomas B. Adams.

Berlin 21 May 1798

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your favor of the 19th inst. and for the information as to the orders you have given respecting my books of which I desired you to take charge. The said books are however,

^a John Quincy Adams, then Minister Resident at the Netherlands, had gone to England to exchange ratifications of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay, but finding the task accomplished by Mr. Deas, he returned to The Hague. See Morse: *John Quincy Adams*, p. 21.

as I am lately informed, now in the hands of Mr. Bourne⁴ at Amsterdam, who will transmit them to *you* by the first opportunity.

The period for converting foreign loans into domestic debt of the United States at $\frac{1}{2}$ pr ct more interest than the loan bore, was originally limited to 18 months from the time of proposal, it has already expired, and no renewal to *our* knowledge has taken place, because the creditors of our foreign loans, at the time this proposal was made, did not choose to accept it, though it was judged—beneficial to them, especially if the U. S. should be involved in a war.

The Dutch & Antwerp loans are upon similar principles, & the Creditors in each hold, as evidence of the debt, what are termed *obligations*, which are transferred *by sale* in open market. The obligations are for *f. H.*⁵ 1000 each, bearing different rates of interest according to the nature of the contract. The purchaser of an obligation stands precisely in the shoes of the original holder. I know not exactly how the prices are now of obligations in the 5 pr ct loan, but about the middle of February last, they were at $93\frac{3}{4}$ à $94\frac{1}{4}$ those at 4 pr ct interest were $83\frac{1}{2}$ à 84 &ca. Probably from the prices these obligations usually bear, no great quantity could be purchased at a time without raising the price very considerably, but as to the facility of transferring or converting the loan into domestic debt the permission would probably on application to the head of our Treasury, be renewed, provided the sum to be converted were considerable.

What will be the policy of our Government in case of a war with France, towards their creditors in Holland & Antwerp I know not. You know what that of the British has been towards all Countries in which the french fraternity has prevailed by force of arms. I should conjecture, that if Holland takes no share in a war with us & France, our creditors there will be paid as punctually *as possible*.

The attack of the french on the Rocks of Marçou was new to us, the fate of L'Hercule was in the English papers. The expedition against England is I rather think deferred to a more convenient opportunity—it will be a misfortune—if they should prove so wise.

Our letters from Philada are to March 18—but from England

⁴ Sylvanus Bourne, American consul at Amsterdam.

⁵ Florins, Holland Currency (?)

—we hear that a message was sent by the President of the U. S. on the 19 of same month, relative to the contents of the dispatches from our Commissioners⁶ in France, this recommends very strongly further provision for defense, union & dispatch in the measures to be adopted &c. The Representatives want to see the dispatches at large, and probably will be gratified, at least so far as proper.

There is here no news, except the arrival of the Russian mediator, Prince Repnin. The Spring Reviews have begun here this day & I have been to see the finest troops in Europe, foot & cavalry about 25,000 pass before the young king, who is himself a soldier in grain. Fine fellows they would be if champaign had not made them drunk.

I enclose an original & duplicate for America and would like to know if any vessels will shortly depart.

With much esteem I am dear Sir

Your friend & Servt

T. B. Adams.

Berlin 28 May 1798

Dear Sir

Your favor of the 25 currt is at hand, and agreeable to your suggestion, I enclose letters for America to go by the first vessels—I shall always distinguish duplicates of dispatches by the figure 2 at the left corner, as on the enclosed, by which you will be able to distinguish them from originals and prevent their getting on board the same vessel.

We have seen the correspondence, documents, &c. of our Commissioners,⁷ and are much of your opinion respecting their publication; I am sure nothing would have been done in Congress without such a step, though it would certainly have been prudent

⁶ Charles C. Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry, who were app. Commissioners to treat with the Directory of France for a renewal of diplomatic relations which had ceased subsequent to Jay's treaty and the election to the Presidency of another federalist (John Adams.) They failed in their mission and were recalled as the demands of the Directory were offensive and could not be tolerated by the U. S. See *Channing, United States of America, 1765-1865; Camb. Mod. Hist. VII, 320-3.*

⁷ See Note 6.

to ensure the safety of our Commissioners. In understand the Directory have already come out against them quite furiously but have not seen the piece. Do our vessels going from Hamburg, arm for defence?

The expedition from Yarmouth returned into port on account of contrary winds.

If Mr. Sadler is still at Hamburg, please to make him my best Comps.

I am dear Sir,

Sincerely yours

T. B. Adams.

My dear Sir,

In one of your last letters to my brother, you ask for my dispositions of a certain box addressed to me, supposed to contain segars for smoking— In the first place then I beg of you to use & dispose of them, as of your own property, if you are yourself addicted to smoking, and if not, secondly, to keep them in your possession until I *call* for them, which, if my calculations do not fail, will be e'er many months elapse— I am sorry our ships dont *arm* from your port—and that they go home in ballast—though I know that in a foreign port it is not easy to find hands enough to fight & work too. I wish one of *the* frigates would come over, for I dont like to desert the colours of my nation, and I wont go unarmed; in the course of a short time—some chance may turn up of a f. [torn off] kind, if any such should occur with you I would be glad of timely no[tice] [torn off]

This project you will please to consider *confidential* from
yours

12 June 1798.

T. B. A.

Berlin 9 July 1798

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 6th currt is at hand. It is true that I mistook the statement in your preceding, respecting the exchange, but now comprehend it better. I agree with you also in opinion as to the propriety of drawing now rather than at a future day. Money in Holland will probably find less opportunity of improve-

ment than hitherto. As it respects myself, however, security is all I want for my property.

By all the accounts which reach us from home, there seems to prevail a wonderful spirit of independence & a resolution to assert it, by all the means within the reach of the people. The dispatches⁸ from our Envoys really seemed to operate a sort of divine revelation, but I had no conception that the mist before the eyes of our Countrymen had been previously so thick. To me I confess it is astonishing that for two years past there should have been two opinions respecting the french Government & their manner of conducting toward us. The spirit that is roused, I well knew to exist among us, but so little of it had appeared, when, in my mind, there had been so much to provoke it, that I began to despair of any powerful display of it in the present crisis. It will do infinite good if properly & judiciously directed.

We have just got through with the ceremonies⁹ & rejoicings upon the occasion of the homage which took place on friday last. The spectacle was novel to me, but excited no great degree of interest, because there seemed to be none of that enthusiastic ardor, which, like the electric spark communicates and spreads from man to man, upon occasion to which I have been a witness in my own Country; Such as prevails, I hope at this day, among us, and which will not suddenly be allayed or extinguished. There has been a wonderful decorum observed by the people, actors & spectators, and the *faintness* of the shouts which burst forth on the occasion was doubtless owing to the rigid regard to decency, which so abundantly prevails here on all public solemnities. The Sieyès¹⁰ was a spectator of the scene.

On Saturday evening there was a brilliant & splendid ball at the palace, which I found more to my taste than the first cere-

⁸ Despatches from the Commissioners at Paris, which roused great indignation in Americans and created a willingness to take up arms agst. the French Republic.

⁹ See *Ford's Writings of John Quincy Adams, II*, 332-335, for interesting account of the Ceremony of the Oath of Allegiance to the new King, Friederich Wilhelm III, successor to his father, Friederich Wilhelm II, who died Nov. 16, 1797.

¹⁰ Count Emanuel Joseph Sieyès, French statesman. His app. 1798, as Min. Plen. to Berlin, was not agreeable to the new king. See *Ford: Writings of John Quincy Adams, II*, p. 333.

mony; and yesterday there was a grand concert of sacred music, intended for a Te deum. This I found *tedious* beyond measure, as indeed to me, are all Concerts. Here, I believe, the show is over.

With esteem I am, dear Sir

Yours friend & servt

Thomas B. Adams

Berlin 20th July 1798.

Dear Sir,

Yours of the 16th with an enclosure for my brother came to hand last night. We hear also from New York that the Livingston faction is numerous, powerful & perhaps the prevailing one in the late elections, both for the State & Congress. How is this? It is idle to talk of patriotism & federalism with such facts as these before us— It is even doubted whether Mr. Jay¹¹ is re-elected. Seven opposition men returned for Congress out of ten— O God! This will lead us very shortly to the family vault.

Is the Ocean, Captⁿ Coffyn, armed for defence, and does she take the India Cargo with her? Will the Captain take passengers, and if so, on what terms? What is the latest probable period of sailing and for what post destined. Your answer to these questions will oblige me.

The sending in of a french privateer by one of the frigate is news to us, and very pleasant. I am gaping continually for more of the same kind—but I rather regret that they are not sunk at once. I have no bowels of mercy for pirates.

I know of no business which a prince of this family could have with you, nor did I know of one being where you are. It has been reported here that Prince Henry of Prussia is dead— He has been extremely ill, but the story of his death is not confirmed.

With esteem, I am dear Sir your's

Thomas B. Adams

¹¹ John Jay was re-elected to second term as Governor of N. Y., 1798, by vote of 16,012 as agst. 13,632 for Robert Livingston. See *Alexander: Polit. Hist. of N. Y., I, 82.*

Berlin 10 August 1798.

Dear Sir,

Upon my return from a short excursion to Pottsdam, where we passed three very pleasant days, I received your obliging letter of the 4th currt and thank you for the detail respecting the Hamburger's accommodations. My voyage, I rather think now, will be deferred until after the autumnal equinox—say commencement of October or last of September, because possibly by that time a person may arrive to relieve me at my post. I would not however forego a good & *safe* opportunity, by this delay, though I think it would not be convenient or even practicable for me to take passage with Mr. S. much as I would esteem the pleasure of his & and his lady's company. A neutral ship I believe to be the safest conveyance for *us* at this time, & therefore shall thank you for particular's chiefly in that line.

The remarks of Mr. Thatcher¹² & the reference of Mr. Harper¹² respecting a conspiracy against the Government, will I hope result in some discovery of consequence—a false alarm would be very hurtful in business of this nature. As to the existence of a treacherous correspondence with the french I have no doubt, nor have had for three years past, and I have thought the Government culpable for not using *all* the means in its power to detect & expose it. If a few of our *honest scruples* are not got over, the enemies of our Country & Government may organize insurrection & rebellion in perfect security—fearless of discovery & in defiance of punishment.

Dr. L.¹³ who has lately been with you, is one of the damned—He has come over as a Jacobin Agent—Plenipotentiary—he can have no authority from a *majority* of the Government; his character as a State Politician, I know something of—a man of some capacity—popular talents—a writer, famous in town & individual quarrels &c, but supereminently a democrat. He is employed, depend upon it, for the worst of projects against our Government—Hichborn¹⁴ too. Where is the Livingston deputy? There should regularly be *three*.

¹² Robt. G. Harper and George Thatcher, Rep, in Cong. at this time.

¹³ Dr. George Logan, Philadelphia Quaker; Republican; U. S. Sen. 1801-7. Went to Paris on private mission to secure more peaceful relations, but was considered a partisan interference in foreign affairs. See Bassett: *Federal System (Amer. Nat. Ser. XI, p. 245.)*

¹⁴ Benjamin Hichborn of Mass. Suspected of being an instrument of the French Government. See C. F. Adams: *Works of John Adams, IX, 29, 265.*

Gerry,¹⁵ we are told, is gone. I have seen his letter to the President, by Genl Marshall, beseeching to be helped out of a scrape into which he had purposely fallen, and from which he would be extricated—only in his own way. He advises also a fresh appointment—how often, in the name of God, would he have the experiment tried? There is here no news. Cobenzel is here, but for what?

I am dear Sir, your's

T. B. Adams

Berlin 31 August 1798

Dear Sir,

Your very acceptable letter of the 14th currt was received by me 10 days after its date at Dresden,¹⁶ where I have passed a few days with much satisfaction, in examining the various objects of curiosity to be found in that City, and in admiring the richness, fertility & beauty of the neighboring Country. I had formed high expectations of the place before I saw it, and I can safely say that the reality was not inferior to my anticipations. Mr. Childs, whom I accompanied, will probably pass the winter there, as he has seriously begun the study of German & French, besides having several other little inducements which contribute to render his time pleasant, perhaps, in point of instruction, profitable too.

The news you give us from home bears a good aspect in general. The reappearance of the patriarch¹⁷ of Mount Vernon upon the military theatre will animate, encourage & renovate what of spirit or enthusiasm, that may yet be dormant among us. Where is an example in modern days of such patriotic devotion, as this trait exhibits? Europe ought to blush at the sight and confess with shame and confusion that her degenerate sons will not bear comparison with the models of the new world. It was reserved for the youngest daughter of earth to bring forth from the nuptial bed, at least one prodigy of nature.

There is no news here. We hear however from England that Mr. G[erry] is fairly off at last, believing or pretending to be-

¹⁵ See Note 5.

¹⁶ See Journal of Thomas B. Adams, Jan-Dec. 1798, pub. in *Bulletin of N. Y. Public Library*, XIX, No. 11, ed. V. H. Paltsits.

¹⁷ Washington's acceptance of command of a provisional army as Lieut. General in the preparation of war with France.

lieve to the last hour that the dispositions in France are perfectly *pacific* towards us; Why not? But will he find *as he hopes* his own Countrymen, equally so, towards France. God grant he may, exactly in proportion as I believe in the pacific temper of the f[rench] Government & not the weight of an atom more. We shall then be better enemies than ever.

I have not renounced the project of going out this fall, though my brother wishes me to take the Spring as a preferable season for embarking. I am not positive whether I shall continue through the winter, but at all events, inform me of the best occasion for embarking.

With much esteem I am Dear Sir,
your faithful servt,
T. B. Adams

Berlin 7th September 1798.

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your favor of the 4th and the enclosures therewith for my brother. Although one of these letters was from home, of the 14th July, it contained no news but what you have collected from the Captⁿ.

Logan¹⁸ is received and the embargo¹⁹ *nominally* raised, but too equivocally yet to be trusted. Wonderful act of justice & generosity! Why, all the ships embargo'd in their ports don't amount I dare say to *a dozen*. If more so much the worse for the owners. Certainly however, the vessels caught in the snare, made in point of value no object to the generous Directory; but an *Embargo raised* as a proof of pacific intentions, reads just as well in a newspaper, when only one ship or even a fishing schooner is released by it, as if all the British navy were the prize renounced. You must know too, that for the raising of this embargo the merit is claimed by *several* pretenders, neither of which, probably brought it about. No! It is a gratuity from the Ex: Dy [Directory], for which however the patriots in America must not fail to be abundantly grateful.

Our Congress adjourned or rose towards the middle of July. I hope their successors will in general be stauncher men. The

¹⁸ See Note 13.

¹⁹ French embargo upon American vessels raised.

present Gentlemen finally did some good & spirited things, but the *tares* were much too numerous in the *wheat*.

I can now say positively to you, that I *go out* by the first vessel, which you will undertake to recommend. If the Elizabeth L. M. [Letter of Marque] which you mention be homeward bound & soon, after seeing the accommodations & asking terms of passage, I will thank you, if you approve them to take my passage, letting me know what provision I must make for the voyage, separate from the Captains fee. I shall of course wish to stay here as long as the delay of the vessel will permit, though the necessary preparation for the voyage will probably require my presence a few days prior to embarkment. I presume that all I can want may be had at short notice.

I send this letter by a private hand, a young gentleman who accompanies his father to England, to obtain a Commission in the Army. His stay at Hamburg will be only a single day, and if that should suffice to bring you acquainted with him I shall be very happy, as he is a particular friend of mine, and belongs to a family here for whom I have much esteem & regard. His name is Brown & his father is physician to the King.

I am dear sir, very truly your's
T. B. Adams

Berlin 16 September 1798.

My dear Sir,

I wrote you on the 9th instt a letter which I gave to a friend of mine going to Hamburg the next day. He has probably forgotten to deliver it, and as it contained a request for you to take a passage for me on board the Elizabeth Letter of Marque, provided you approved her accommodations, I take the liberty to repeat the request, from an apprehension that the first has failed. I wish to ascertain as near as possible the expected time of her departure, because I should prefer remaining here rather than at Hamburg until the vessel is nearly ready for sea, my own preparations for the voyage requiring but a short time. It is perhaps not certain that this vessel will be soon ready & if the probability be great of her being delayed far into the next month I should prefer going by another vessel, if any should be sooner ready.

Whenever you take my passage be so good as to be particular

& precise in making the terms with the Captain, both as to provision & accommodations, having as little *understood* as possible—former experience makes me suggest this precaution as advisable. I hope not to be delayed beyond the 1st week in October.

You have doubtless seen the young man,²⁰ arrived a few days since, who comes on to take my place here with my brother. He is a distant relation of our family & has just graduated at Cambridge university. I am happy that my brother will not, by my departure, be left alone—the drudgery of a foreign Minister's office added to the regular employment of it, is too much for a single *arm*.

In the hope of a speedy answer, I am dear Sir,
Yours friend & h'ble Servt.

Thomas B. Adams

Berlin 17th September 1798

Dear Sir,

Your favour of the 14th inst. came to hand last night a little time after my letter to you had gone to the post, its contents however may serve to regulate you as to engaging my passage, but I will add further, that as the season is so far advanced it would be imprudent to defer my passage for the sake of having accommodations quite to my liking— if therefore, a clever Captain & good vessel should soon offer, I will thank you to engage a birth for me, whether armed or unarmed. I see in the Hamburg "*intelligence Comptoir*" a number of American & Danish vessels advertized to be ready by the middle of *this* month, probably some of these may sail about the 1st proxo.

In reply to your enquiry respecting arms, I can only say that our War Department may have already given orders to our *Minister in London*²¹ for the purchase of a supply, as I know such a measure was contemplated, but whether they have actually been given I am unable to say. If you wrote to Mr. King the same intelligence as you have given me upon this subject, it might be useful, specifying the size-calibre &c. &c. of the Arms and the price at which they may be contracted for; deliverable at Hamburg or the U. S. The Prussian *fusee's* cost complete at the

²⁰ Thomas Welch succeeded T. B. Adams as Sec. to the Legation.

²¹ Rufus King.

manufacture upon an average Rx. 7. a piece; this is about *half* the sum allotted by the law of Congress—the expense & risque of transportation might amount to 3 Rx more which would afford a considerable profit as a speculation, even from hence. But if the Govt has already given orders for the purchase of any quantity you will probably be informed of it from the *sources*, though it would be well to advertize Mr. K[ing] of your prospects.

I wear a black cockade myself with my *uniform*, but otherwise not; though I approve the idea of wearing one at home, and agree with you that it is rather *apish* to wear it abroad, unless an officer. It can do no harm however unless it should produce a spirit of *persecution* towards such as do not assume it. I think a Consul should officially wear the cockade prescribed to the Naval Officers, and if his *emoluments* would permit—the uniform. You see my opinion would lead you at once into expence. You will do best to follow your own.

The Autumnal reviews are just commencing— I wish you could spare a few days to come & see them. You could come on with Mr. Welsh & return with

Your humble Srvt.

Thomas B. Adams.

Quincy 2d March 1799.

My dear Sir,

That I have hitherto given you no account of my voyage since my arrival, is imputable to the unsettled state in which I have been from the time it took place to the present moment. I have made a visit to Philadelphia to see my father,²² have passed nearly ten days at New York, and for the last fortnight have been here with my Mother,²³ whose state of health, though far better than it was during the last summer & fall, is yet very precarious.

I found our friends at New York & Philadelphia in health. You may remember I expressed to you, doubts respecting my reception from a certain person. I was wrong in *that* conjecture, but I was not wrong in others more distressing, which haunted me long previous to & during my passage. It is not necessary for me to be more explicit with you on this subject; it would ex-

²² President John Adams.

²³ Abigail Adams.

cite in you nothing but sorrow & disappointment. His wife & children are well, though unhappy.

The Alderman received me with his usual hospitality & kindness, but there is unluckily little harmony among the circle in which I was formerly acquainted at New York. *Ruination* & politics have dispersed & divided them more than you can imagine. If comfort & tranquility be dear to you, I think you have a better chance for them where you are, than at this moment you could have in this Country. Now, having finished my *croaking*, I will endeavor to present to you a more smiling picture of us than from the preceding specimen you may expect.

First, however, let me acknowledge the receipt of your favors dated November 15 & December 6, the first pr the Franklin, the last by the Four friends arrived at Philadelphia. I beg leave to notice for your instruction that I have not heard a word of my *Great-Coat*, which was accidentally left behind me at your house. I think you must have sent it by one or other vessels, though I have yet no notice of it. It would have been greatly serviceable to me this winter, if I had brought it, but I begin now to despair of ever seeing it. We have had a long and severe winter, with a great deal of snow, which has made and continues to make excellent travelling. It even snows pretty smartly at this moment.

I have written twice to my brother²⁴ since my arrival—the first time by Mr. McHenry,²⁵ who is gone to stay with Mr. Murray²⁶—the last from Philadelphia. I received the letter you enclosed me from him in your's of the 15 Novr and am obliged to you for the intelligence respecting him & family in yours of 6 Decr.

My meeting with my friends & relatives has been happy, and the reception they have given me, for the most part cordial. I observe very considerable alterations in our Cities, but little in the Country at large. The Society of Philadelphia is surprisingly altered. The night after my arrival I was present at a Ball there given to the P. U. S. and was much struck with the appearance of so many new faces, and so few that I had ever seen before. During the last season the pestilence²⁷ made greater ravages than

²⁴ John Quincy Adams, app. Min. Plen. to Prussia, 1797.

²⁵ James McHenry, Sec. of War, 1796-1801.

²⁶ William Vans Murray, then Minister Resident at The Hague.

²⁷ For Graphic description of the Yellow Fever in Phil. see *McMaster: Hist. of the People of U. S. II.*

ever it had done before in proportion to numbers remaining in the City. Two of the finest young women, Miss Lucy Breck and Miss Betsey Wescott, were among the victims. Young Bill Morris too, my particular friend, lost his life in attempting to alleviate the solitude of his father²⁸ in prison. In short Philadelphia & New York, Boston and many other towns are in sackcloth. Attempts have been made in all of them to rouse the drooping spirits of the inhabitants, but "still all goes on heavily." In Boston however we have recently celebrated the birth day of Washington in a decent & becoming manner by a splendid Ball and dinner, at which Patriotism presided and Federalism, feeling & felicity were distinguished guests.

I will give you a summary of what Congress have done this Session respecting measures of offence or defence. The first law of any importance which passed, was one authorizing the P. U. S. [President of the United States] to open an intercourse between any of the french Colonies & the U. S. from whence he should be well informed that no Privateers were out. The permission is supposed to refer to some part of Hispaniola where privateering has lately been stopped by order of Genl Toussaint,²⁹ who is said to have an Agent here treating for an acknowledgment of that Island's Independence. The law authorizing the building³⁰ & equipping of Six 74's and a number of vessels of smaller size, making provision for the establishment of two Dock³¹ yards & empowering the President to increase the number of guns on board some of the ships now in service, is the most material that has passed. Congress is just on the point of rising and nothing of importance is likely to take place. They would not declare—even like men, and take all the advantages of such a declaration but persist in the *dishwater* state in which we have been for a twelvemonth past, with all the inconveniences of actual war. The situation was precarious, dishonorable and deceptive, and the President has finally put an end to it, by the appointment of Mr.

²⁸ Robert Morris, signer of the Declaration of Independence; of the Convention who formed the Constitution; U. S. Sen. 1789-1795. Passed the latter days of his life in imprisonment for debt. Died 1806. *Lanman: Dict. of Cong.*

²⁹ Negro Chief of St. Domingo.

³⁰ Act. approv. Feb. 22, 1799. *Annals of Cong. III, p. 3804-5.*

³¹ Act approv. Feb. 25, 1799. *Ibid.*

Murray²² to negotiate with a Minister of equal rank & powers on the part of the french Republic to be appointed prior to any movement on the part of Mr. Murray.

This step of the Executive has caused great astonishment among some people in this Country. Peter Porcupine²³ abuses the *report* of its having taken place with all his acrimony. Englishmen & Anglo-Americans are universally mortified at it, and frenchmen as well as french Americans extol it as a most *glorious event*. If I mistake not these last will be taken in by the sequel. If our Representatives in Congress had good men & true, ready to follow or to lead in measures of energy, there would have been no occasion for this measure, which however has not been taken but in consequence of assurances demanded by the President having been received. We do not think rightly in this Country until we have had time for mature reflection. This measure is now *unpopular*. I am persuaded it must soon be appreciated differently by the public. The President did not expect that this nomination would induce Congress to repeal all their laws for the Country's defence & the protection of our Commerce, but I verily believe if they had time, the question would be brought seriously before them. Virginia politics prevail more or less as far as the confines of Connecticut, they predominate in the State of *New York*, and have many advocates in *all* the States. An appeal to *strength* would turn out much to their disadvantage, but it has been threatened.

Bonaparte has been killed nine times already in this Country; but the last death seems to be *credited* by some. *I* believe, and care not a whit about it. Our folks however are *extremely interested* in his fate. If he would come & put them on his contribution list, I should thank him, for one, because I believe their curiosity would thereby be allayed.

I have omitted drawing on you for the money I have in your hands because the sacrifice on Exchange would be so great. So long as it continues law, I *may* not draw, but perhaps equity would

²² William Vans Murray, Env. Ex. & Min. Plen. to France, 1799. App. jointly with Oliver Ellsworth and Patrick Henry. Henry declined and Wm. R. Davie was app.

²³ Assumed name of Wm. Cobbett, writer & pub. of Phil. He issued the first number of the *Porcupine's Gazette and United States Daily Advertiser* Mar. 14, 1797; the last issue was in 1799; previously had pub. his well known pamphlets.

allow me an interest of six per cent on the use of the money. I only mention this as a *hint*.

Accept my best wishes for your prosperity and believe me sincerely

your friend & humble Servt.

T. B. Adams.

P. S. You may continue to address me at Philadelphia, as I expect to return there by the first of next Month.

12th March Since the beginning of the letter, we hear from several quarters that Capt. Truxton of the Constellation frigate has fallen in with and after an engagement of two hours & three quarters, captured L'Insurgent,³⁴ french frigate of 44 guns. The engagement took place off St Kitts, where the Insurgent was carried after she struck. There is yet no official account of the action, but the Constellation is said to have had 13 killed L'Insurgent 50.

The nomination of Mr. Murray as sole Envoy was withdrawn & on the 25th ult. three commissioners were nominated for the same object, viz. Messrs Oliver Ellsworth,³⁵ Patric Henry,³⁵ & W. V. Murray.³⁵ The gentlemen are not to go hence until a reciprocal appointment takes place on the part of the fr: Rep:

With esteem, as above

Philadelphia 13th July 1799.

My dear Sir,

I address you again after a short interval from the date of my last, having little more to say than that hitherto, we are all in health, which I doubt not you will be glad to learn. We have had several attempts to conjure up the yellow fever among us, and I have no doubt that cases of it have already occurred, for towards the close of the last & beginning of the current month the weather was excessively hot and I never knew a very warm spell in the city that did not cause many sudden deaths from billious dis-

³⁴ Timothy Pickering, Sec. of State, to Rufus King: States L'Insurgent to be the fastest sailing frigate of the French Navy; she had 50 men killed & 30 wounded. The Constellation had 6 killed & 3 wounded. See *Life & Corres. of Rufus King*, II, p. 547. Ed. C. R. King.

³⁵ See Note 32.

eases. The weather has again become moderate and our apprehensions have in great degree subsided, though I am fearful the respite will be short. The fever of which perhaps ten or a dozen people died within a fortnight past, was not contagious, though a month or six weeks later it is conjectured that it would have proved so. Many families have left the City, but they had engaged houses in the Country before the approach of summer & since they must pay for them they are unwilling to lose the benefit of dwelling in them, but though the town is thin of inhabitants it is not quite deserted. I am about passing a few weeks in the Country, from choice, not from necessity, for I never knew Philadelphia more healthy than it seems to be at this moment. The approach of Autumn must necessarily increase the number of disorders and yellow fever most probably will be in the train. The Cities of Baltimore & New York are as yet healthy and God grant they may continue so throughout the season.

I have to request you would be so obliging as to purchase either ready made or give directions for the making of three large *coverlits of down*, such as they make at Hamburg for the use of ships, but large enough to cover a common size American bed for two people. The material used for stuffing these bed quilts is I think called ——— down, (I forget the first name) however you will know what I mean I presume from the above. The Calico in which the down is stuffed is generally very rotten unless particular orders are given to make use of a better quality; you will be good enough to pay attention to this circumstance if you should not find such a business too much out of your way. The application to me is from my Mother, whom I am sure you will oblige with cheerfulness, and if the order can be completed so that the articles can be made to reach Boston New York or Philadelphia before the winter, it will be a great accommodation. At the same time you may send me out a clever *winter great-coat*, in exchange for that I left behind me, & which I shrewdly suspect has been appropriated to *Consular purposes*. The expense and charges of the first order you will please to pass to my account.

The renewal of intercourse between us & certain posts of St. Domingo is the only occurrence worthy of notice of a recent date. At the same instant that the President's proclamation appeared authorizing this renewal, a report was circulated that Toussaint was dead, we have every reason to believe that it was a fabrication.

The waves of the Mediterranean, must sink beneath the burden of Ships & Cannon, which we hear have recently passed the straight of Gibraltar. What a mighty conflict may we not anticipate from the encounter of such numerous & powerful fleets. Their thunder will make old Ocean tremble for his domain. We are gaping for the sound of victory as if we were within battle.

Our friends in different parts of the Country are generally well. The season promising beyond example in this State. Trade flourishes & increases in spite of all vexations & discouragements from national causes, and political tranquility was never more predominant. Point to the spot on the map of Europe or turn the globe as you will, can any place be found of the same latitude in point of prosperity with the United States? I bequeath the problem to your solution, and subscribe with great esteem & consideration

Your friend & ob. Servt.

T. B. Adams.

Germantown 23d, October 1799.

My dear Sir,

Between the 8th & 16th instants I have been fortunate enough to receive your several agreeable favors of July 6thm August 10th, 15th, 17th & 18th with sundry pamphlets, &c. &c. for all which please to accept my thanks. The muskets by the Connecticut are likewise recd in good condition.

By the speedy passages of the Hamburg traders this season, we have been furnished with very recent European intelligence, and the triumphant progress of the allied powers has afforded matter of joy or regret, as the passions & feelings of individuals among us happened to be favorable or adverse to the cause of universal Monarchy for which they seem to be striving. It must always happen, so long as America is an independent Republic or nation, that the balance of power in Europe will continue to be of the utmost importance to her welfare. The moment that either France is victorious & Great Britain with her allies depressed, we have cause for alarm for ourselves. The same thing is true when the reverse of this happens. We are of too much consequence in the scale of nations, to be left in the peaceable enjoyment of our Commerce & gaining strength in proportion as others

are losing it, without a struggle at least to draw us into the vortex of War & waste. We have already resisted a single effort from each side since the commencement of the War, and if rumor has any truth in the tales it tells, we are not far removed from a fresh attempt to make us declare for one side or the other. We are, or in my opinion, soon must be in a state of hostility with all mankind, and I swear as an American, that I had rather encounter the whole rage of every power in Europe, as the Barbary States have formerly done, that be beguiled, associated or allied with any of them in a common system of defence. Either we can, or we cannot maintain our Independence, and I am of opinion that affairs in the Country are drawing fast to the issue.

Our commissioners to France are said to be on the eve of departure in the frigate United States to sail from Newport. This, I believe, may be relied upon. We hear that the British Minister has signified to the Government that the departure of these Envoys will be considered by *the Coalition* as an act of hostility. You have this as I hear it every day in public—I cannot vouch for the truth.

I submitted your letters of the 17th & 28th of August to the perusal of the Secy of State, who after reading returned them with no other remark than that he could not advise me to enter into the speculation you propose, since the price of those articles you mention, is much lower here than your calculations. On the subject of the Ship to be sold & the article of copper, he said nothing, but when I see him I will ask more on those subjects.

By a letter from my brother of the 16th July I learn that agreeably to a proposal I made him last May, he consented to take *MB*²⁰⁰⁰ of the money I left in your hands & had accordingly drawn for it on that day. I have written you also a request to purchase certain articles for my Mother at Hamburg, charging my account with the cost, which I presume would nearly make a balance between us. Friend Brush, who you say undertook to send my great Coat has never been polite enough to give me notice of its arrival, though he came safe himself some months ago. I had rather run the chance of getting one from you, according to my request, though you should charge it, than wait any longer for the other.

We are about to revisit the Capital after a long & unprofitable

²⁰⁰⁰ Mark branco (?)

absence. The disease has subsided both here & at New York, but not yet disappeared; the danger however of contagion is nearly gone. The Banks have remained through the season, in spite of the sickness, but the public offices removed to Trenton and are not yet returned. I expect my parents will pass this winter amongst us, which will contribute much to my comfort. The P———t is already at Trenton.

I will write again ere long, & meantime remain with esteem
Your very obdt. humble Servt.

[no sig.]

P. S. Our Election for Governor gives us Thomas Mc Kean by a majority of about six thousand votes. Numbers will always outvote property—or in other words the Democrats will always beat the Aristocrats on a fair trial of strength. If we are to fight G. B. [Great Britain] this State will deserve a third part of the burthen of the war.

Our Congress has a better reputation than I fear it will merit when it comes together. The Session will be long & stormy. I look for something great *to save the Country*.

Philadelphia 26th I find a vessel ready to sail for Bremen and I shall make up my packet for you under cover to our Consul at that place.

The departure of the Envoys will probably happen about the 1st of next month. The story of the British Minister's representations on the subject is very doubtful. I am disposed to discredit it, though I have no special authority for so doing.

I am as above

[Endorsed "Thomas Adams"]

Yours

Philadelphia 18th February 1800.

Dear Sir,

I know not whether I have acknowledged the receipt of any letter from you, since your favor of the 18th September, which I received about two months after its date. Several communications from you have reached me within a short period, viz. The few lines accompanying the two Bills of Lading the articles procured by my desire and shipped on board the Nancy, which arrived safe at New York some weeks ago. Mr. Mc Cormick, to

whom the bale was addressed has obligingly taken charge of the same & promised to hold it till further order.

The numbers of the very interesting work, called *précis des événemens &c.*, have reached me to No 7 inclusive, and your letter of December 3d, which is the latest I have from Europe, came to hand three days ago.

For all these marks of your attention & politeness, be pleased to accept my warmest thanks; especially for the execution of the Commission with which I charged you, & for the pamphlets which have been so punctually transmitted to me.

I have presumed that upon the score of expence, whenever the funds in your hands belonging to me, are exhausted & I should become your debtor, you would have the goodness to inform me thereof. If I have been wrong in the presumption, I beg you to receive this, as a formal request on my part, that this course may be pursued. I can form no precise estimate of the cost of the Articles you shipped at my instance, nor of the other little expences incurred on my account, therefore, I shall trust to your correctness for a statement of the pecuniary balance, between us.

I ought to have acknowledged, if I have hitherto neglected to do so, the receipt of my long missing Great Coat. Mr. Brush was faithful to his trust, and delivered the garment with a letter for me, shortly after his arrival, at a place, where he had reason to presume I should most readily hear of them, but until I wrote him a letter on the subject, he knew not that it had never been made known to me, where it had been left. The Great Coat you have sent me, will not however be too much, and if I live to see another winter, will be very acceptable.

You appear to have seen some of the commercial embarrassments, which in the course of the last Autumn & Winter, have been so ruinous in different parts of Europe; the consequences have been seriously alarming to the trading interests of this Country also, and the numerous failures which, within a short period, have happened at Baltimore, New York & Boston are sufficient evidence of the fact. Philadelphia, in comparison with her Sister Cities has wonderfully escaped the calamity, which is elsewhere so fatally felt. Excepting a momentary stoppage of payment, by one Merchant of pretty extensive concerns, there has hitherto been no instance of perceptible difficulty, and if this gentleman should, as he very confidently declares he shall, be able, to get

through, without a *Crash*, it is hoped & believed, that the commercial credit of this City will suffer no material shock.

We moralize upon the uncertainty of human calculations, when applied to the inscrutable ways of providence. Had our City not been scourged by an all destroying pestilence, during the season of commercial activity, we, like our neighbors might have been drawn into the vortex of ruinous speculation. It is conjectured that this single circumstance has saved to the trading Capital at Philadelphia, upwards of two millions of Dollars.

The law prohibiting intercourse of a Commercial nature with France and its dependences, by means of Vessels, owned by Citizens of, or Residents in, the United States, has been eluded & infringed in numerous instances, by the ingenious artifices of our Mercantile gentry, who like all others concerned in traffic are apt to regard all laws & regulations in restraint thereof as tyrannical, & therefore not obligatory in the Court of Conscience. Many seizures of vessels & Cargo's took place, and the merits of each case were discussed in the Courts of the United States, and although, the breach or evasion of the non intercourse law was clearly proved in every case, still the Judges could not think themselves authorized to condemn the property seized, because it was claimed by foreigners, being Neutrals. From the adjudications in the Circuit Courts appeals were made to the Supreme Court, and on full argument before it at the last term, which closed a few days since, the judgments of the Courts below were confirmed. The business has since excited the attention of Congress, and a provision is now under discussion for amending the non intercourse law in several particulars wherein experience has proved its defects. But who can provide against *the knavery of Merchants*. Our Congress is respectably composed for the most part this year. The House of Representatives particularly. More talent & more Nationality have never distinguished this branch of the Legislature; there is nevertheless formidable opposition to all measures tending to strengthen the federal arm, and frequent attempts have been made to enfeeble it.

This being the last Constitutional or legal Session of Congress at this place, preparations are going on with *some* activity, to provide for their accommodation at the City of Washington. More funds will be required to complete the buildings now begun, and what provision will be made for this object, it is not easy to fore-

see. There is a manifest reluctance in Congress to furnish the necessary supplies out of the public Treasury, and Virginia seems to concern herself little, whether any general Government shall exist at all. The whole burthen therefore seems to rest upon Maryland, but we know very well what little this reliance amounts to. When the great folks get upon the spot, I conjecture there will be a more potent & efficacious appeal to open the National purse, than has ever yet been made.

We are expecting daily some tidings of or from our Commissioners to France. By many people here, the recent & thorough change of men in power at Paris, is deemed a favorable symptom for our concerns. We have some hopes, indeed, that to all the other great & splendid qualities attributed to the Corsican hero, that of *doing justice* may be superadded. If in this hope, America shall not be disappointed, I would not for one, refuse to join in the fashionable ejaculation of a french multitude—"Long live Buonaparte, the Corsican." But *Sieyes, Talleyrand, Volney, Ducos*— These men must have no voice at the tribunal of Justice, or her cause will be perverted & her claims will be converted into humble supplication for redress, to which the most probable answer would be a demand for bribes.

Peace which was so earnestly looked for as a consequence of the new state of things in France, is said now to be less probable, at least we hear that active preparations are making for a vigorous continuance of the War in all quarters, and hence conclude that another Campaign may be expected. This sort of reasoning is not always infallible.

The sudden death of General Washington, of which you will hear very speedily created a lively & universal sensation of grief throughout the Country. Every mark of respect which his Country is capable of showing his character & his memory, will be exhibited, and the 22d of this month has been set apart by public authority for the purpose of commemorating the virtues, the services & the peculiar merits of the deceased. Already every part of the Country has anticipated the general voice by exercises adapted to the same great occasion; but these effusions were voluntary and may not improperly be repeated under public sanction.

I am, with sentiments of esteem
your friend & hble Servt. Thomas B. Adams.

Philadelphia 31st May 1800

Dear Sir

On my return last evening from a short journey into the interior of this State, I received your favor of April 7th, accompanied with No. 10 of the *Precis militaire*. The two last preceding Numbers have not yet come to hand, nor any letter of a later date than December 3. From my brother I have no accounts so late as from yourself. Just before my departure from the City, I recd a letter from Mr. Jay dated London, September of the last year & informing that it was accompanied by the numbers of the *British Mercury* which you had requested him to forward. The three volumes are consequently complete, and I am happy to have in my possession, a work of so much merit.

I believe you begin to find me an unprofitable correspondent, at least I think myself to be such, for I have so little pleasure or satisfaction in dwelling upon the prospects of the time, that I cannot detail the current events with zeal or spirit.

Take this as a specimen of present despondency, my conjecture relative to the probable turn of political events in this Country. First, the complete success of the Democrats as to the grand object of Mr. Jefferson's election. A pretty sudden and complete change of the administration, both in the persons & measures of our political rulers. A recall of all foreign *Ministers & Consuls* to be replaced by the friends & adherents of the chief magistrate. An attempt, possibly a successful one, to subvert the funding system. A division of the Continent into three separate governments—Northern, Middle & Southern. An intestine war to settle the boundaries of each, wherein the district or division, likely to fail of success would resort to foreign aid and for assistance, and call in either french or English to complete the work of confusion.

Suppose a momentary and satisfactory adjustment of our differences with France; a renewal of intercourse on fair & liberal principles, &c.. Our Countrymen engage in an extensive trade—disregarding perhaps, the fair rules and regulations which have been established by authority—they load ships with articles contraband of war—British vessels stop, overhaul & send them in for adjudication. Is or is not such a course of proceedings probable? what results from it? If our ships are dismantled & our Navy abandoned, there is no security for peace, other than the benefit to be derived from our trade. The twelve Regiments

which were to have been raised & to serve for the term of three years or until a settlement of our variance with France, are to be disbanded the 15th of next month at all events; thus, without any assurance of a favorable result to the negociation begun by our Commissioners, without a syllable having transpired of the progress hitherto; upon the strength of the favorable reception of our Envoys alone, are we reducing our defensive system. This policy I dislike, for although the army was not likely to be of much effective service, the disbanding of it, looks & sounds like a premature dereliction of an imposing attitude.

Should present appearances not be eventually realized, should the same Chief magistrate³⁷ or one of the same politics be elected to the chair again, I look for Rebellion, Insurrection &c., as the consequence. The discontent which now rests in this Country, which is kept alive & increased by every artifice which falsehood & wickedness can invent—discovers itself only in murmurs—the magic of expectation keeps it within these boundaries for the present, but should disappointment succeed to such sanguine hopes of an immediate change in the administration—I know of nothing to restrain the impulse though perhaps my estimate of the acrimony may surpass the reality.

The Fed's have split. Some are resolved to abandon the present leader while some abide by him and resolve to see it out with the Anti's. Genl Pinckney³⁸ will be run as V. P. [Vice President] in several of the Eastern States and as President in the Southern, which according to some calculations will put him into the chair. All the opinion I can give at present is, that the federal candidate will not prevail.

Congress adjourned on the 16th currt and nearly all the public offices are removed to the future seat of Govt, the federal City, where the President has gone for a visit. Messrs. Marshall³⁹ & Dexter⁴⁰ have each accepted the offices of Secretary of State & of war, to which they were respectively appointed just before the close of the Session. This is all the important news within my present recollection.

Our commerce is still suffering, partially under the french &

³⁷ Thomas Jefferson.

³⁸ Charles C. Pinckney.

³⁹ John Marshall of Va.; app. Sec. of State, May 13, 1800.

⁴⁰ Samuel Dexter of Mass.; app. Sec. of War, May 13, 1800 & May 31, s. yr. Sec. of the Treas.

british depredation, and we understand that the English Cabinet discover little solicitude to enter upon further negotiation. Some late captures and condemnations at Halifax have excited surprise on account of the reasons & principles upon which the adjudication were made, viz that the vessels & Cargoes though confessedly American property at the time of the late captures, had heretofore, (the vessels) been trading to an enemy's port. There is yet some reason to doubt the authenticity of this reported decision.

The internal prosperity of our Country is equal to any former period, the season has hitherto been very favorable to the Agricultural interest, but in some of the richest and most flourishing parts of this State there is an unaccountable sourness in the public opinion, prosperity, abundance & increasing wealth will be the ruin of this Country, sooner than a flood of the most afflicting calamities. I advanced a similar sentiment, in my correspondence with you, and though you thought I advanced a paradox, it still remains a portion of the creed of

Your friend & hble Servt.

[End^d "Thomas Adams"]

Philad. 30th July 1800.

My dear Sir,

The ship Pennsylvania sails for your port, tomorrow and I avail myself of the opportunity to thank you for the 8th & 9th No of Le Précis, which came to hand a few days ago, with a line from you of the 1st May. I have also received from England the Numbers of Le Mercure, up to March of the currt year, and I learnt with much concern the death of the learned Editor of that work, by the same occasion. We are told however that a successor of talent has been found in a friend of the late Editor, by the name of Dumont.

Since you promise me a letter by the next conveyance, I may venture to give credit for it in advance, but it seems to me that my letters from German dominions diminish, very sensibly in number. From my brother, I have no letter for many months, and I strongly apprehend that those that he has sent, have miscarried.

You will have heard of the changes which took place in our Cabinet shortly before the adjournment of Congress, perhaps they

will surprise you as they did many others, who were nearer the scene than yourself. I shall avoid saying anything respecting the measure, further than it created many violent and open mouthed enemies against the *chief*, and none more violent than little Alexander⁴¹ the late Major Genl. He felt the blow, which was perhaps not accidentally aimed, and there are some folks who will know that he had long provoked it. He has done more harm, within two years, to the federal cause in New York than ever did good in his life. This I know & any one who has eyes can see it. All his influence is now using to bring Genl Pinckney into the chair, to divide the federal interest at least, so that the present occupant, *at all events*, shall be ousted. Such is the patriotism of the little moral West Indian. God reward him, I say, for the *harm* he is endeavoring to do. He played precisely the same game at the last election. Look at what has been the consequence of his conduct at New York. But you can hardly share my feelings, on this subject, I do not believe, that I have more personal sensibility of this occasion, than many others, but I am, nevertheless, not unaware of the difficulty of discriminating rightly, between a mental & a corporal bias, on these occasions.

We are looking with some impatience to have a confirmation of what has been so often reported—the fall of Geneva. Some accounts say it has been relieved by Buonaparte. The passage of the Alps with heavy Artillery by the route he took, is thought another of the seven labors of this Hercules in Arms. Austria fights hard, but I think this is a *last effort*. However, I am but a shallow Diplomat now, so all my surmises go for naught.

Our vessels are molested now & then, by both parties. Legal adjudication has again come in vogue in Halifax &c. about which much newspaper bluster is made, but chiefly for electioneering purposes. The ferment against Old England is labored with great violence & with considerable success whenever a pretext is given. The treaty with the french Rep[ublic] is rumored of as made, & on its passage over, but we know nothing about it for all that.

Our friend, W. Rogers, has, I believe reached N. York, within a short time, bringing, as it is said, dispatches from our Commissioners.

I am, with much esteem,

Dear Sir, as usual

Your friend

Endd "Thomas Adams"

⁴¹ Alexander Hamilton.

Philadelphia 5th September 1800

Dear Sir

On the 12th of last month I received your favor of the 30th May which is the most recent of my European advices. I have not a line from Berlin for a period of more than six months, although I cannot accuse myself of any remissness in writing. These things were not wont, so to be, but I doubt not the Minister has a reasonable excuse. I must scold a little more directly than I have done or I may not get satisfaction.

In one of my last letters I told you it was time for you and all other advocates of the present order of things in this Country, so to fashion your conduct as not to become obnoxious to any new Administration which great exertions are making to secure. A schism between the Federalists has really taken place, as to the Man who shall be chosen to rule over us, and it behooves every one who has a preference to make his election as to the Candidate, in season. But the doctrine of the times is, that if the man who is in, *may* not be contined, because of the *unpopularity* of some of his measures, he ought to be given up, even by his friends for the sake of bringing in another of the same side. The head⁴² & chief of the schismatics lives in New York & has made "a fine kettle of fish", of the federal cause in that State. I believe that his conduct has destroyed public confidence more than that of any other man in this Country. What effect this threatened division may produce, I know not.

It is a pretty gloomy time for men of real concern for the welfare of their Country. Popular elections are so constantly recurring, that the minds of the people are kept in a continual ferment, and public offices are so much sought after & so eagerly pursued, that elections begin to grow more tumultuous, more numerous attended, and the animosity of parties proportionately increased. The people are naturally fond of the importance, which a controul over elections, confers, and they are tenacious, extremely so, of this prerogative. Little evil would result from it, if it were confined to proper limits and the only difficulty on this subject seems to be to ascertain, what those limits ought to be. It is very doubtful whether any amelioration of the right of suffrage can ever be operated, but by the sad experience of the evils which are engrafted upon the present system. All our public Legislative bodies

⁴² Hamilton.

& many of the Executive State departments are verging towards democracy. The removal of the seat of government has in fact operated disadvantageously. It has occasioned the resignation of twenty or thirty federal members of Congress, whose places will be generally supplied with men of inferior talents or opposite sentiments. These things all augur ill to the cause of government, and yet, even supposing the democrats to gain complete ascendancy, they must govern us somehow or other; though I am confident the present Constitution will be a miserable pageant under their management.

The news from Europe is all in favor of the french, and creates some wonder among us, but miracles, though told are not always performed. Fortune has not yet abandoned her favorite & high priest.

The negociations at Paris on our behalf, excites much interest here; sometimes we are told it is entirely broken off & the Commissioners are returning home, at other times, the negociation is in a fair & prosperous train & a treaty may be expected to result from it &c. Our Minister⁴⁸ at Berlin is accused of having sacrificed in the late treaty, the rights of neutral powers, and it is said in the Jacobin papers that he had much difficulty to persuade the Prussian Minister to consent to such an article. You will observe that neither the treaty or any correspondence relative to it have ever been published.

Our Cities of New York & Philadelphia have hitherto escaped the yellow fiend, but several of the lesser of the sea ports have been visited by it. The quarantine laws have been vigorously enforced at both the former places, whereas none have existed in the infected towns, a very strong proof, that the fever is an imported disease. Business flourishes almost beyond example, for the season, though I now & then hear a Merchant say, that shipping business is dull & discouraging. A proof of it is, that not a week scarcely goes by, without our hearing of the departure or arrival of more than an hundred sail, under convoy for or from the West Indies.

When you write to Berlin please inform that *we* are all well.

With much esteem, I am Dear Sir,

Your mo: ob: hble Servt

T. B. A.

⁴⁸ See Note 24.

Philadelphia 30th Sept^r 1800

Dear Sir,

Since my last to you, I have none of your favors, although I have within a week past received three letters from my Brother, with your marks upon them. The last of these came to hand this day & was written while my brother was upon his journey to Silesia. The details of his travels are very interesting.

The most remarkable domestic occurrence, since the date of my last, is the discovery of a pretty extensive combination⁴⁴ among the slaves in the Southern States, for the purpose of a practical illustration of those seducing theories—the *equal rights of all men*, which they have been accustomed to hear discussed, with great zeal, for several years past, at the tables of their owners. The perpetration of the plot was alone prevented by an intervention, almost supernatural. A black cloud arose in the afternoon, preceding the night, when the general Massacre of the white inhabitants of Richmond & its vicinity, was to have taken place, & a flood of rain, which soon burst from it, so deluged the Country, as to render the execution for that night, impracticable; the sudden overflow of a small stream, cut off the communication of some of the principal conspirators, from the place of rendezvous; in the meantime, the plot was revealed or detected, and many of the principal actors were seized & sent to prison. They have been tried in a summary manner & publicly executed; the particulars, which transpired at their trials, were of a nature to shock insensibility itself. The enterprise was boldly conceived, arms were provided & the whole Country might have been, a scene of carnage & desolation, but for the providential discovery. An insurrection of a similar nature has broken out in the neighborhood of Charleston, S. C. and though less formidable than at first represented, it forebodes much danger. Even in North Carolina & Maryland, apprehensions are entertained. It is said, upon what authority I have been unable to discover, that frenchmen were the secret instigators of the Virginia revolt, and in the examinations of some of the detected blacks, it appeared in evidence, that the white *french* inhabitants were to have been spared in the general massacre. The leader of the whole band has hitherto escaped al-

⁴⁴ Conspiracy matured by the negro Gabriel; 1000 blacks were to march upon Richmond. See account in "South in the Building of the Nation," IV, pp. 234-5.

though a considerable reward has been offered by proclamation for his head. It is hoped that this warning to the southern proprietors will produce a favorable effect upon their conduct & alter the style of their inflammatory language on subjects of government. But if they should prefer paying their debts by having their throats cut, they will yet persevere in despite of all this.

The City of Philadelphia yet continues more healthy than any of the neighboring Cities, although New York has been in a great degree exempt from infectious disorders this season. All our friends are in health.

I can offer nothing but conjecture upon the subject of our Elections. The Democrats are very strong, both in skill, intrigue & numbers. The failure (as we hear) of the negotiation with France will apprehend do some harm to the federal cause.

I am with esteem, your friend

A.

Philadelphia 17th October 1800

Dear Sir,

After I had closed my letter of yesterday and delivered it at the Coffee house, I received your favor of the 31st August, accompanied by one from my Brother of the 1st, both of which came by the Voltaire. I have already acknowledged the receipt of several letters from my brother, which have been forwarded by you; among which were doubtless those, which he was so anxious should reach me; after an interval of several months, I find by the frequency of his communications, that the art of writing has not quite deserted him.

I have very little to *add in addition* to what I wrote yesterday, except to thank you for your valuable letter; the contents of which were very interesting. If you thought my prognostications respecting the probable turn of affairs in this Country, rather higher coloured than the reality, what will you think of the complication of things as detailed in my last letter? I am rather apt to see the dark shades in the prospect before us than the light, cheerful & animating, but then I know not how it can be otherwise, when I am told by my senses & understanding that wicked, ignorant & base-born men; foreigners too to our Country, are superceeding in the public confidence, all the talents, worth & wealth of our

oldest and hitherto most honored Citizens. Such facts as these are stubborn things, I must be blind not to see their evil tendency.

New Jersey will turn out federal in their State Legislature, but Maryland strongly otherwise. The electors in this latter State will be chosen by the people which will give a decided majority of votes for the Anti-federal Candidate, there.

We hear that our Commissioners to France have renewed the conferences which were postponed or broken off for a time. What will they make of this business?

I am dear Sir with much esteem,

Your friend & hble Servt

T. B. Adams.

Philadelphia 27th March 1801

Dear Sir,

A ship called the Cleopatra sailed from this post a few weeks since without bearing any thing for you from me, which I desire may be attributed to my want of notice that she was about to depart. I now enclose you the sequel of the Port Folio, and at the same time have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 8th December, which came to hand on the 5th instant.

In return for your European intelligence, I can only announce to you the commencement of a new era in our political history; one which my letters to you, more than a twelvemonth ago, anticipated, and to which my mind has been familiarized by the frequency of my contemplations respecting it. A change of men has yet produced no visible change of measures, nor would it be fair or reasonable to predict as to the future conduct of administration, evil consequences, as the result of error or design. The depravity of heart, which exists among what is called the Democratic Republicans, is indicative of little respect for moral obligations, nor have we good reason to expect, that their craving appetites for place, power & profit, will be satisfied with occasional vacancies being supplied, or a few obnoxious officers removed for the sake of filling them from their number.

One real benefit is already felt as a consequence of the new order of men. The clamors of the vulgar herd, which without ceasing have disturbed the peace & quiet of the Country for a series of years, are now no more heard. They have been so swal-

lowed up in the enjoyment of the fancied triumph of Democracy or Republicanism over their opposites, that it has to them operated like a reality. The streams, whence the vilest slanders used to flow in such abundance, threatening to inundate & overwhelm the brightest fame of our most estimable people, are become fountains of fulsome flattery to the rulers of the day. The gall of Jacobinism is become sweet as honey, and an aspiring, giddy & depraved faction, to whom might rightly have been applied two lines of a great poet—

“Ne’er didst thou hear, more sweet than sweetest song,
“Charming the soul, thou ne’er didst hear *thy praise*,” is now rioting & reveling in the luxury of “soft music, warbling voices & melting lays.”

You will not learn *first* from me, the distribution which has been made of public honors & offices, since the new man came in. Chancellor Livingston⁴⁶ of New York, is commissioned as Minister to the french Nation, and he will probably sail in May or June—meantime Beau Dawson has just embarked *as messenger*. with the Convention.

Mr. Madison⁴⁶ is Secretary of State; Genl Dearborne⁴⁷ of War, the other Departments are yet vacant. Sundry inferior officers have been removed & creatures put in their places. This I expected, it could not be otherwise and the federalists who expect, that the President will be able, if disposed to persevere in a system of moderation & forbearance with respect to appointments, will be disapointed. It begins to be well understood by both or *all* parties and us, that success in obtaining a Candidate of their own, at the head of government, is sufficient to authorize a system of proscription with regard to the opponents. This is Republicanism.

Dear Sir, I am very sincerely your’s

T. B. Adams.

Dear Sir, Philadelphia 17th June 1801.

Your favors of the 7th & 31st of March & 3d of April, are yet unacknowledged, though they have been sometime received. No vessel has sailed directly for your port since I last wrote, until

⁴⁶ Robert R. Livingston, app. Min. Res. to France, 1801.

⁴⁶ James Madison of Va. app. Sec. of State, 1801.

⁴⁷ Henry Dearborn app. Sec. of War, 1801.

the ship Benjamin, on board of which I sent you a packet of the Port folio.⁴⁸ I also sent a packet for my Brother, but I apprehend he will have left Berlin before it can arrive, though possibly he may not have embarked for home.

The Spectator and another pamphlet have likewise been received from you; but this pamphlet addressed by my brother to my father, & enclosed by you to me, was unfortunately put on board of a ship, bound to New York, though said on the cover, to be sent by the Pennsylvania for this place; coming by post to me, it inflamed my postage bill, rather more than a poor attorney can bear without grumbling, so I charge you to be more careful, in future, how you enclose pamphlets to me, which are addressed to another person. Congress conferred the privilege of franking upon John Adams, but they were not so generous to his son.

I thank you for all your political intelligence. Poor, free, imperial Hamburg! How art thou bandied about, like a football, kicked, cuffed & squeezed, until thou hast scarce breath enough left to sigh a complaint, at thy indignities! Thou has been convicted at sundry times & in divers manners of being rich, and because thou wouldst not fight, thou fain must pay. I hate to see the weak trodden under foot, but *since the abrogation of the law of Nations*, this has been a trick of the times. I think however that these little, paltry, insignificant, trading towns, which are mock-dignified by the epithet of free & imperial Cities, are such a *burlesque* on sovereignty, that I care little who takes them under protection, provided it be a power competent to the service.

I presume you get newspapers from this place, and therefore I need not tell you any thing about the heinous sins of our political rulers. They are chronicled every day in the vehicles of scandal, otherwise called free papers. There is sore complaint at removals from office, and there is unceasing clamor that so few removals are made. The sovereign, begins to bellow, about the loaves & fishes, which are the very quintessence of Republicanism. The Alpha and Omega of democracy. "We have yet gained little" say the Republicans, if any federal officer be continued in employ, and it is beginning to transpire, that the triumph of *principle* in the late struggle of parties, is nothing more than the triumph of the unprincipled office-seekers of the Country.

⁴⁸ Port folio pub. under name "Oliver Oldschool"; periodical begun Jan. 3, 1801. Ed. Joseph Dennie, until 1811-12. See *Hist. of Phil.* by Scharf & Westcott.

We hear, and read every day, that our fathers fought & bled for the sake of establishing a free & independent republic. Well, we flattered ourselves (till lately when we have been better informed) that we had been living under a republican form of government, & some have been foolish enough to think that the Country has prospered under the administration of two first Presidents; but we are now assured by all the democratic prints, that the Independence which was declared in 1776, was never established until the 4th March 1801.

My dear Sir, you seem to retain a respect for the good sense of my Countrymen & are willing to believe that fair argument & free discussion, will yet avail, in preserving our political institutions. I advise you to banish this impression, as too destitute of foundation, for if a people were ever befooled & besotted with intemperate zeal for any thing, my Countrymen certainly are for the name of Republicanism. But enough. I ought like Noah & sons to step back & cover the nakedness of a parent.

I believe "a political intolerance, as despotic as wicked," is about to commence. Hitherto we have seen but little of it, though I have looked for it, more than others, who have more faith than I had in smooth words. You I think may calculate upon being removed, provided any body should want to be Consul at Hamburg.

Your old friend, Clinton,⁴⁹ has again got into the saddle upon the back of New York. The good beast called the sovereign, had always a propensity to be ridden by this jockey, and only threw him out of his seat, by stumbling over Jay.

Our New York & Boston friends are well. The enclosed half Centinel will afford you some reading.

With great esteem I am, dear sir, your friend & hble Servt.

Thomas B. Adams.

Philadelphia 11th July 1801

Dear Sir,

Your kind favor of May 11th is this day two months old. I received it with great pleasure about an hour ago, and as I expect to be off, on Tuesday next, the 14th currt. for New York

⁴⁹ De Witt Clinton, elected to N. Y. Sen. 1799.

and Boston, I shall have no time but the present to thank you for it, and also for the letters from my Brother, which accompanied it. I must do justice to your fidelity & attention in forwarding, with punctuality, so many letters & packages as you have had in charge from my brother. Within the space of twelve months, I have received upwards of fifty letters I know not that more than one of the series, as yet went wrong. I have endeavored to acknowledge the receipt of all, but I fear that my letter of the beginning of June will arrive too late to meet my brother and acquaint him in detail of all he could wish to know on this subject.

I am pleased to hear you are gratified by the Port folio, I doubt not you will continue to be so, for it improves as it advances, and I have already sent you a complete sett, to No. 23 inclusive, by the present conveyance you shall receive the rest as far as they go. The encouragement for this Gazette has been liberal, and as the subscription was required in advance, the Editor makes no bad debts by his customers; of course he has the advantage over all other newspaper Editors in the place. Some of his readers have been disgusted with the freedom taken in discussing the merits of our famous State-paper called the Declaration of Independence. It had become very fashionable with the Jacobins to puff this paper, as a wonderful production of genius; as a model of elegant & correct style; as the political creed of all true Republicans, and it delighted them the more, for containing a string of anathemas & denunciations against George 3d. This conduct provoked some among us to scrutinize pretty closely the merits of this performance, and if you should think, that the truth lies exactly in the middle, between these two *critiques*, perhaps you would not ere much in the estimate. The ladies contribute toward the success of this Gazette also, but at times the Editor is so saucy, that they threaten to box his ears. Hitherto it has been conducted with taste & ability, and I hope will continue to do so.

It gives me pleasure that my Brother⁵⁰ is so shortly to return home, though I believe with you, that his talent might have been usefully employed in Europe. Our domestic politics are so crooked, that no man of his *trempe* can look for employment, nor, considering the company he must serve with, could any man of honest views & proper feelings agree to officiate under this *novus ordo*; I mean with a new Commission.

⁵⁰ John Quincy Adams.

I must ask your excuse for so short a letter but my time is not abundant. On my return you may hear again from

Your friend & hble servt.

Thomas B. Adams.

P. S. I hear that our friend W. Rogers is on the brink of the grave of batchelors. He is expected shortly to bury himself by the side of a rich widow by the name of Cruger.

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View [of] the President's Conduct
Concerning the Conspiracy of 1806

BY
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A REPRINT
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INTRODUCTION.

Joseph Hamilton Daveiss was born in Bedford County, Virginia, March 4, 1774. Of mixed Scotch and Irish descent he blended the peculiarities of both stocks as modified by the existing pioneer conditions in the Blue Ridge section. When he was five years old the great tide of immigration caused by Virginia's favourable land laws of 1779 swept the Daveiss family over the mountains into the wilderness of Kentucky, near the present site of Danville.

"Field schools" were a post-Revolutionary achievement, so young Daveiss was taught by his pious, intelligent mother until the age of twelve." In the succeeding years under the tutelage of Drs. Brooks, Worley, Priestly and Culbertson, he made great progress in English, Latin, and Greek. In 1792, Daveiss joined Major John Adair's volunteer force which was occupied in protecting supplies destined for forts north of the Ohio. At the end of this service he entered the law office of George Nicholas. In 1795 he was admitted to practice in the District of Kentucky with an office, for a time, in Danville.

Here his rapid rise, for he speedily became a noted lawyer, was no fortuitous circumstance. He was an earnest, if not a deep student, very ambitious, assured of future greatness, and determined always to appear well in public. As evidence of these traits we may quote from one of the letters of Daveiss that are preserved in the Durrett Collection. This is dated September 10, 1798, and is addressed to a former schoolmate: "I will only tell you concerning myself; that I am more studious than ever heretofore. And in addition to History and Law, I have made a tour through Chemistry and Anatomy, and mean to go on to others; an Orator should have a smattering of all sciences in our nation; that he may use them occasionally and not be discomposed by pedants, who like great travelers, are proud of telling and shewing how many books and readings they have gone through: But my readings on Chemistry and Anatomy have been

of real utility; they extend and concentrate the uses of language as occasion may require the one or the other. I am not afraid of reading too far, but of accurately learning too far. I'll have a care. Division and distribution to a certain degree contribute to strengthen activity and capacity for action, but division beyond this dissipates strength and loses the proper affinity and cohesion. Exemplify a human body and an oration."

During the winter of 1801-02 he went to Washington to argue before the Supreme Court the celebrated case of *Mason vs. Wilson*, having been promised one half of the "Green River Country" if he could establish a claim to it. On this occasion his eloquent presentation of his case won the admiration of Chief Justice Marshall, who presided, and gave him a standing among the foremost lawyers of his profession. In 1803, Daveiss married Ann, sister of the Chief Justice. Both men were staunch Federalists at a time when Kentucky was strongly Republican and it is possible that Marshall saw in young Daveiss a saviour of the cause of Federalism in the western country. Certainly the political bias of Daveiss will explain much of the bitterness against Jefferson that he shows in the following pages.

During the years 1805 and 1806 the Burr Conspiracy engrossed his attention. His own treatment at the hands of the chief executive led him to publish the bitter pamphlet that is herewith reprinted. In connection with the "Western World," a sheet that devoted itself to reviving and intensifying the rancorous partisanship of the earlier "Spanish Conspiracy," we may regard the "View" as an attempt to build up a Federalist following in the West. If so, the attempt was a complete failure. Perhaps Daveiss may have been inspired by the attempt of John Randolph and the "Quids," to disrupt the Jeffersonian following, but he apparently had no more success in Kentucky than that leader met with in Virginia. It does not appear from evidence at hand that Daveiss had any close connection with Randolph.

During the years 1803-1806 Daveiss made Yellow Banks his home, but in 1807 he removed to Lexington. During the next four years he was engaged in every important case before the courts, but he gained little political influence for his activity in connection with the Burr Conspiracy had turned the great weight of public opinion against him.

Always athirst for military fame, in the fall of 1811, he volunteered to serve in the Kentucky militia under Governor Harrison. Here too he met with even greater misfortune than marked the Burr expose, for in the Battle of Tippecanoe the brave Kentuckian, the audacious backwoodsman, who had been undaunted by the polished armor of a Burr and a Clay and even the official dignity of a Jefferson, was cut off by an Indian's bullet. The sword which Daveiss wore on that occasion is preserved in a vault in the Masonic Widows and Orphans Home in Louisville. Judge Levi Todd, a friend and pupil of the great lawyer, presented it to the Grand Lodge of Masons, of which Daveiss was Grand Master at his death.

Judge Lucius P. Little, of Owensboro, (formerly Yellow Banks), Kentucky, is personally acquainted with many of the Daveiss family now scattered throughout the state. In a recent letter to the editors, he wrote: "Daveiss was a great lawyer, and a brave soldier, a thorough patriot, and would have written his name on the brightest pages of his country's history, had he not been stricken down by an unrelenting fate." It is only fair to add that many of the contemporaries of Daveiss do not share this admiration. For instance, James Morrison speaks of the 'View' as inspired by 'malice and deep-rooted hatred of the President,' as well as of Wilkinson. Morrison was an intimate friend of Wilkinson, so this characterization is not surprising. General James Taylor, whose manuscript 'Autobiography' is in the Durrett Collection, represents Daveiss as a bullying swash-buckler who was bound to fight him (Taylor) or General Thomas Sandford because Jefferson had removed him from office. In both cases the challenge of Daveiss met with a farcical response. On the other hand Henry Clay, according to the personal testimony of Mrs. Maria Thompson Daveiss, (History of Mercer and Boyle Counties, Durrett Collection), held Daveiss in high regard, although at the Burr hearing in Frankfort they were bitter apponents.

The pamphlet of which this is a reprint was owned by J. M. Stevenson, and the bracketings and marginal notes are probably his. Daveiss omitted from his pamphlet the names of those whom he suspected of disloyalty, but they have been supplied from his original letters, found in the Jefferson Papers in the Library of Congress. The photostat copies were procured through the kind-

ness of Dr. J. F. Jamieson, of the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution.

The punctuation, as well as the order of words, in the original letters varies in many instances from that in the pamphlet, but the meaning is not altered. The capitalization of nouns such as "Silence" and "Treason" and the abbreviation of titles is common throughout the original letters, but we have followed the text of the pamphlet.

The editors desire to thank Miss L. Belle Hamlin and Captain Alfred Pirtle for the assistance they rendered in the preparation of this work.

• I. J. C.

H. A. S.

A
V I E W
of the
PRESIDENT'S CONDUCT,
CONCERNING THE CONSPIRACY OF
1806.

BY J. H. DAVEISS,
LATE ATTORNEY OF THE UNITED STATES, FOR KENTUCKY

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY:
From the Press of Joseph M. Street.

—:—

1807.

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A
VIEW, & c.

TO THE PEOPLE.

THE active, though unsuccessful part, I have lately taken, in arresting Mr. Burr's enterprise, and the public disapprobation excited against me, on account of it, renders the President's removal of me from the office of Attorney for Kentucky,¹ somewhat remarkable; an office very trivial, you know, as to its emoluments—and one, which I should not have held at any time since I left Frankfort, but with the view of terminating the suits commenced by me against delinquent collectors, through whom the government is likely to loose a vast sum of money. But my removal from it, after the recent course of events, presents a suspicion injurious to my honor, which in these pages I shall refute; and unless I deceive myself, will show you, that the president of the United States, needs a vindication more than I, having acted with as much negligence and insincerity towards this nation, as he has towards me. You have seen his late communication to congress, on the subject of the conspiracy; a communication on which it is very difficult for me to speak, without forgetting the decorum proper to be observed toward the president of the United States. I have no allusion to the obliquity thrown out respecting the proceedings, in Kentucky, against Burr. I point at the *verity* of the report, and the vigilant and faithful conduct, which is stated to have been pursued by the government.

Before, however, I proceed to lay before you the papers elucidating these transactions, indulge me while I give a brief sketch of the political situation of the Western Country, prior to the year 1806, as far as it may come within the scope of the present subject.

SKETCH OF OUR POLITICAL HISTORY.

SPAIN became our ally in the war with Great Britain, in the summer 1779; but without acknowledging our independence.

¹ Daveiss had been appointed by Adams, at the suggestion of Chief Justice Marshall. He was removed from office early in the spring of 1807 by Jefferson. —*Autobiography of James Taylor, Durrett Papers, University of Chicago.*

We were grateful; for whether she directly strengthened us or not, she assisted in weakening and annoying our adversary.

Events, however, soon evinced that Spain played the game for herself, without regarding her partner, farther than her own interest made it necessary to do so.

Before the close of the year 1799 [1779], she took the country of Florida, having already the other possessions on the Mississippi, which she held till [4] lately. As I write altogether from memory, without the aid of books or documents, I beg to be excused for any mistake in immaterial particulars.

The extent of the territories annexed to all these several settlements and posts, like those we have obtained from France, was not ascertained: so Spain formed the project of making as much of her good fortune as possible.

At the treaty of Paris, the ministers of Spain and France insisted very strenuously, that our independence should be dated from that treaty, and not from the date of our own declaration. This was opposed with great energy and ability by one² of the American ministers, there being only two there at that time. The ministers of Spain and France then changed their ground, to sound those of the United States upon the subject of boundary; and urged that our western boundary should be a line from the mouth of Kanhawa along the Appalachian, and thence to the sea at the mouth of (I think) St. Mary's river.³ This was opposed in like manner as the former. When Mr. Adams arrived, he joined Mr. Jay; and Dr. Franklin's opinion was overruled.

I have been assured that our government never could understand, why this very earnest effort was made about the date of our independence; but, in my opinion, a knowledge of our *Secret History* furnishes a very satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

Spain wished to claim the Ohio country or part of it. Had the question concerning independence been settled as she wished, she could then have had colour to urge the point about boundary. Had she carried the question about boundary, her object would have been attained. Indeed her true motive in this dispute about independence, seems indicated by her proposition about boundary.

¹ John Jay.

² See McLoughlin, *Confederation and Constitution (Am. Nat.) X, Chap. II*, for boundaries as decided.

Boundary was the *only* object: the date of independence was only a mean used to arrive at that subject. Whether France had any view of her own, or only joined in urging the matter to befriend Spain, I cannot say. She had acknowledged our independence when she joined us. I note this transaction to shew you, that so early as the date of our national existence, Spain had her eye on this country; and though she failed in both her points at Paris, yet she did not abandon the project, but has continually since been devising means of effectuating it.

Between 1783 and 1786, we do not know what intrigues were carried on by the Spanish government, in relation to this subject. But about the year 1786, General Wilkinson made a trip to New Orleans.⁴ Being a man of address, he soon made the governor believe that a little prudence and good management, would insure the country. The appearance of so elegant a gentleman and a general, was very promising; and it was confidently expected that he would bring with him the whole community—an idea easily caught by the subjects of an absolute monarchy, where the power and influence of a man of note are so great. Wilkinson had a pension settled upon him; and from this time a correspondence was regularly kept up between this country and the Spaniards.

An incident, the like of which often happens and passes unobserved, turned out very unfortunate for the fraternal relations between us and our Eastern brethren; and gave Spain and her adherents among us great hopes. I allude to Mr. Jay's proposition, to cede the Mississippi for a period between fifteen and twenty-five years.⁵ (The story with us was twenty-five years absolutely; and I am told it was so stated by Mr. James [5] Innis: but the fact is not so. I have seen an original duplicate of the papers laid before congress.)

This was cried about as the workings of Eastern jealousy, and an attempt to smother us. It was handled in so masterly a manner, that the whole body of the people held the point so clear, as neither to require nor admit any explanation. It was of no avail that the minister had only stated this in private to our own councils, and

⁴ See W. R. Shepherd—"Wilkinson and the Beginning of Spanish Conspiracy."—*Amer. Hist., Rev. Vol. IX, 490 et seq., and 748-766.*

⁵ *Secret Journals of Congress, Aug. 28, 1786, IV, 81ff.*

had stated our national condition to be such as in his judgment compelled us to temporise, or submit to be bullied. It was in vain that the councils of the nation had overruled the minister's judgment: It was in vain that this very minister, three years before, had declared at the treaty of Paris, that war should unpeople the land, ere we should accept a boundary short of this river. The *proposal* of the minister, not the doings of the government, was the subject for us; nor did our knowing men ever let us farther into the matter, or know anything more of it. No subject was ever so much bandied, and so little understood, (not even excepting the *common law* during the reign of terror.) So rare are those patriots who tell the people the truth.

I note this the more carefully, that by retrospect, you may see how carefully public error and public folly have been nursed.

I wholly disapprove that minister's proposal: but nothing appears to me so utterly stupid, as suspecting him of local influence or unworthy motives. What *rivalship* did Kentucky present, in 1786, to the Atlantic states? What rivalship does she and all the Ohio country *now present*, when the twenty-five years, (the utmost limit) are almost expired? Just as much as Lexington does to New York: And here I leave unobserved altogether, our *unexpected and wonderful* growth. I would as soon suspect Dr. Franklin of treachery, for assenting that this river and all its country should be given up at the treaty of Paris.

If there were ten Mississippis, the Atlantic people would pray that there might be an eleventh one added. A vast portion of their citizens do, and must live by the carrying trade.

A great deal of our heat and violence all over America, proceeds from our ignorance of each other's situations.

In this last paragraph, I digress to submit a correction of what I deem a public error, as to a measure, and as to a citizen. I now return to my sketch.

We cried out vehemently for the navigation of the river: Our congress did their utmost to obtain it; but failed, altho' abundantly stimulated by abuse. In process of time, having applied for and obtained the assent of Virginia to a separation, we applied to congress. Then comes the scene that might have explained the whole

affair to our Eastern brethren, if they had inquired and attended to it. Congress said they would not admit us as a state into the expiring *confederation*, which would now cease and give place to the new constitution in a few months; but they were clearly and decidedly of opinion, that we ought to be admitted, whenever the new constitution took effect.

Our only representative in congress then, was one of our genuine republicans.⁶ This did not suit him at all. The period of admission was soon enough for any purpose. Its prospect was wholly certain; but the true reason of pressing the point home *then*, was a supreme one, but must by no means be given. I'll tell you what it was. *If we had been admitted as a state, we must have had a convention of our own to ratify, or reject the constitution. It was positively [6] certain that we would have rejected it.*

[sic]

(There were but two votes for ratifying it, from this country in Virginia convention.⁷) Then came the happy moment, so devoutly to be wished, and so earnestly sought for, by Spain, and our own leading men. We were a separate sovereign power, having a right to contract our own alliances, and could be married to Spain without asking leave of any one.

I aver that this man proceeded to settle with Gardoque [i],⁸ the minister, the *terms* between Spain and us, in the event of our declaring ourselves independent; and then used every effort in his power, by writing letters, conversing, and in the convention here, to carry this object. But our *evil* genius stood near and dashed the plan. I have no doubt that a more corrupt transaction than this, never took place in any country.

Now mark what follows: One of this man's letters was published. The people got a general idea of his conduct, though its detail was concealed. A new election came on. This man had

⁶Honorable John Brown, of Danville. He was born near Stanton, Va., Sept. 12, 1757, and died at Frankfort, Aug. 28, 1837. Chosen as delegate to Congress Oct. 31, 1787. See Va. Calendar of State Papers, Vol. IV, 504. He conspired with Gardoqui for the separation of Kentucky. See Green—"Spanish Conspiracy," 159-161.

⁷Three members of Kentucky voted for it, Rice Bullock, Robert Breckenridge and Humphrey Marshall. See Green—"The Spanish Conspiracy," 143. Also "Debates and Other Proceedings of the Convention of Va., 1788," p. 215.

⁸Gardoqui, *encargado de negocios* of his Catholic Majesty, who arrived in Philadelphia 1785, to make a treaty with the United States.

greater efforts made for him throughout the country, and he carried his election by a greater majority, and with more triumph and eclat, than ever such a poll was carried in this country. And any man who denounced this flagitious behaviour, was pursued and hunted down with mortal hate and fury. You may guess how it was, when you see what flashes and explosions it produced, when a newspaper attempted this subject last year, though in a very irregular and disconnected manner.

Don't imagine that anything here said, is with personal view ;—far from it. That man has fallen long since to the point above which he ought never to have been elevated. I speak to show you what the state of public mind was, in relation to the Spanish politics.

Let us hear it no more asserted, that it was an affair, devised by a few men only. It is a gross and willful misrepresentation. I do not believe there was one man of note throughout the country, who did not know of it. Several abhorred it—but who dare rouse the Lion? The government had but little information. The scheme then failed ; but mark, countrymen—these patriots have composed the hierarchy of powers ; and the real effective functions of government have remained with them, or their favorites, ever since. Those who then opposed them, have been indebted to their prudent neutrality, ever since, for their peace and ferment, of which they have only been in possession by courtesy.

The present constitution was opposed most bitterly in Kentucky. It was a death blow to that scheme, which I have no doubt would long ere now have been consummated under the confederation. In the spring 1789, just when the new constitution took effect, a very elevated citizen sent a secret express by water to Governor Gayoso,⁹ to prevent the spirit of the Spaniard from languishing under the idea, that all was lost. The precise contents of these dispatches I do not know ;—they were sent with great haste and great secrecy. That hatred and enmity to the administration of the government which followed the new constitution, was easily accounted for, by such as understood our *secret history*. I do not pretend that all opposition flowed from this source. You know from how many different springs, a correspondence of sentiments may proceed. Some thought the government too strong ;

⁹ Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Spanish governor of Louisiana, and West Florida, 1797-1799. He was a bosom friend of Wilkinson.

some could not see or understand its necessity; others again, were very anxious to build their popularity on their success in fomenting public dislike, which had been produced first by the [7] efforts of these *Spanish patriots*. Thence the fury with which every measure of the general government was assailed.

Then came the democratic society at Lexington;¹⁰ some of whose *precious* labours and writings you have lately seen. It is my sincere belief that this was the most abominable Jacobin Club, that ever sat on this side the Atlantic; and of the most poisonous tendency.

One of its grand focal points, was to bring public mind to bear on this hypothesis: "that the Atlantic interest and ours were at "variance, and with a view to oppress us, and raise themselves, "they were insincere in their endeavors for the Mississippi."

This at length became so well ingrafted, that whoever dared to doubt of it, was considered as no real friend of ours; but a favourer of our adversaries. The federal government had nearly become a foreign government to us.

We became impatient of the delays, in getting the river: We thought the matter unsafe in the hands of our minister at Madrid, being an Atlantic gentleman;—so we sent a minister of our own privately to make a treaty, not for the nation but for us.¹¹ Whatever was the intention of this measure, it undoubtedly was, if it had taken, the deepest stroke at our union that ever was made since the effort to get us into the old confederation, while the new constitution was under consideration.

See how the thing would have worked. We make a treaty with Spain, that we shall trade freely to her Mississippi possessions without duty;—and as Spain gives this by the way of *whore's fee*, we are to expect it to be extended to us with the most alluring appendages. Well—we have got this treaty. It is in-

¹⁰ In Aug., 1793, the Democratic Society was organized in Lexington, for the purpose of wresting the Mississippi from Spain, thru intrigues with the French.—*Marshall, II, 91*. John Breckenridge was the president of the society.—*Green, "Spanish Conspiracy," 143*.

¹¹ In the spring of 1798, Judge Sebastian visited New Orleans and was requested by the Spanish governor, Gayoso, to have agents chosen by the people of Kentucky to adjust the matter of separation. See forthcoming publication of I. J. Cox, "*The West Florida Controversy*," 49, 56. Details of the mission are given in *sumamente reservado* of Gayoso to the Prince of Peace, June 5, 1798, Legajo, 43, Papeles de Cuba.

tended, as it said, to lay it before the President for approbation. Now does any sober man really imagine, that the President would receive otherwise than with the utmost indignation and contempt, a paper of this kind, coming to him from a private junto? Would he not command the law officers to prosecute those concerned in it, if the law would reach them?

He would condemn *it*, and order our minister at Madrid to proceed to make a treaty of this advantageous kind, in behalf of and by the authority of the nation.—What follows?—Even this—that Spain will absolutely refuse to extend to the *nation*, the particular grace and favour, which she intended toward one of the sisters, as the *premium pudoris*,—as the price of her prostitution. So the minister at Madrid wholly fails to get this treaty. Then how would these patriots speak? “Behold countrymen what a false and treacherous administration! We always told you they played us false concerning the Mississippi. Now it is proved beyond a doubt. See here we made a treaty obtaining all we wanted. The government would not agree to that. None would do but their own work; and the event is as we foretold:—nothing is done, and the blessings we had secured let go.”

I have no doubt in saying, that it would have been at great personal hazard, that any man would have dared to stand forth and condemn you and your treaty, and tell you the truth.

This project failed by the conclusion of a treaty at Madrid. But when the ministers come to know how they missed their mark by that treaty, they hoped the case was not yet desperate; and tried the \$100,000 project, of which you have lately heard.¹²

The sum and conclusion of the whole matter is this:—You countrymen [8] of Kentucky, you are the cause, and the sole cause, why you have suffered for the want of commerce as you have. You have rent Heaven with your cries of grievance and of execration of Atlantic influence; but the influence which withheld the river, came out of Kentucky only. If you had plucked out your right eye, you would have escaped the danger, which has

¹² Baron de Carondelet, commander-in-chief and governor of the provinces of West Florida and Louisiana, 1791-1797, was to pay Innis, Nicholas Murray and Sebastian for devoting their time and talents to a separation of the western States.—*Marshall, II, 220*. See also forthcoming publication of I. J. Cox, “*The West Florida Controversy*,” 46. Also letter from Morrison to Wilkinson, Sept. 9, 1807, given in the Wilkinson Papers III, Chicago Historical Society.

hung over you for five and twenty years, of being cast into Hell whole and unmaimed.

You have kept Spain on the tip-toe of expectation, that this country was upon the point of dropping into her bosom for all this time. Were it not that any quotation from Mr. Adams, would look like setting public opinion at defiance I would borrow his words and say that you have in your bosom a faction which ought to be humbled to dust and ashes. Had you behaved like true Americans from the first, Spain would have found the folly of imagining that she could keep the river from us. But what is more decisive, she would then have no longer had an object in doing it. She wanted our commerce as much as we did hers.

During this long period, much foreign money has been circulated among our citizens. As to some, there is proof; as to others, good cause to believe. But one consideration weighs much with me:—We can never suppose that a foreign power will pay pensions to our citizens at all, unless she has a sufficient number in the net, to present a prospect of final success, by means of their influence.

In 1804¹³ we acquired the island of Orleans and the river, by one of the greatest strokes of diplomacy, known in history. By virtue of a memorial drawn, it is said, by our immortal President, shewing the French that they would not know how to use this country, and would be more benefitted by our having it than keeping it themselves—which memorial, was presented just when France was in the pinch of a game—by which memorial backed by the bare sum of fifteen millions of money, we got some part of what we wanted and sought for, to wit, the island of Orleans, and *half a world* besides. By this measure a wider spread was afforded for the principles of liberty, which was certainly an immense blessing to a nation of six millions, pent up and cooped together upon a little bit of earth, not containing above a million of square miles!!!

But countrymen, it is some years too soon to say any thing on this point. Your infatuation must wear off a little first.

Having secured the ownership of this river, the first subject which occurred to re-unite the *old* politicians, was the late project to sever these states. It appears now as though Mr. Burr had

¹³ The treaty was signed May 2, 1803, ratified Oct. 21, 1803. Possession was taken Dec. 20, 1803.

very few adherents; but the fact was far otherwise. Thousands cry out against him now, who only affect that note, to escape suspicion of being actual accomplices, as they are. Wilkinson's desertion marred him. It was always my opinion he would succeed to a very considerable extent at least, until I heard of that event. But there are some few matters appertenant to this scheme, which you are not aware of. The canal beyond the Falls: this was the first operative branch of the plan. Those people cared nothing about the canal. Canal was only for colour and pretext;¹⁴—*it was a bank they wanted.*—And see what a law they prevailed on the assembly of Vincennes to pass—allowing people to subscribe in lands.¹⁵ Can any man of sense believe this was ever intended for any other purpose, than to swindle the American people out of a few hundred thousand dollars? The course and outcome of the matter, sufficiently explained all that went before. They had how[9]ever the address to get names of several men of note and patriotism, inserted in the law, to make it go down well.

In the same winter, a powerful effort was made to get General Wilkinson governor of Natchez, and Mr. Sebastian at St. Louis, so a member of congress told me. Wilkinson told me himself of the efforts made by Mr. Gallatin and others for him. But the President would not appoint him nor Sebastian. Then I am told, there was a very great and uncommon effort made for Wilkinson, as governor at St. Louis. The throne was surrounded—the president was besieged. This prevailed. A leading feature of the scheme was, to have as many of the territorial governments as possible in the hands of their confederates. I have no doubt if I was acquainted with the doings at Washington, that I could name to you a great many acts done, or moved, to bear on the same subject. The next summer Mr. Burr came out here, and galloped around this half of the world, to see and fix his partizans.¹⁶ You know the events since; but one remark is particularly to be noted—all the remaining *Spanish patriots*, have to a man, been favourers

¹⁴ Wilkinson, Dayton, of New Jersey; Adair and Brown, of Kentucky; Smith, the senator from Ohio; Hovey and Floyd interested in this project. See "*Liberty Hall and Cincinnati, Mercury*," Mar. 12, 1805. See *Palladium*, Mar. 23, 1805, for Hovey's letters to Wilkinson in favor of the scheme.

¹⁵ *Palladium*, Dec. 9, 1805, says: "The money is not in lands, but the \$200,000 subscribed is in Louisville."—*Marshall*, II, 372.

¹⁶ For the movements of Burr, see "*The Burr Conspiracy in the Ohio Valley*," *Henshaw, Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub.*, Vol. XXIV, No. II.

of this adventurer. Even when it was universally spoken of, that a separation of the union would take place, they rallied around him, to defeat and triumph over the law and its officers, more universally than ever. The old men of them were prudent: they did not like to talk about it; but could not conceal their fondness of the prospect. And our aliens, Frenchmen particularly, were in it almost universally. "Shall oppressed humanity find no assylum?" Yes, yes, Mr. President, let us open our arms, and receive the scum and adventurers of all the world. Those people that a monarchy is too weak to govern, will become excellent citizens in a country, where every man is a sovereign. Their assylum is like that, which Milton makes the monster at the gate of hell afford the dogs that guarded there. They crept into her bosom and *kennelled*, until a crisis came, when they could issue forth to deeds of destruction. This hasty sketch of our political history, shews you the theatre on which we stood, when toward the close of the year, 1805, Mr. Burr's project began to take air—A country *in* which or *for* which Spanish intrigues had never ceased since the era of our existence; and these intrigues, always combined with the navigation of the Mississippi, with our political discontents, and ever addressed to elevated citizens.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EXECUTIVE OF THE UNITED STATES.

NEAR the end of the year 1805, I had satisfactory information that several of our citizens were pensioners of Spain; and that a revolutionary scheme in the West had been projected, and its preparatory measures were progressing with great secrecy, under the superintendence of Mr. Burr and General Wilkinson—that many men of note in the Northern States were engaged in it, and many persons of high standing in Kentucky, among whom were the pensioners of Spain; and that this was Burr's business to Orleans¹⁷ and all this western country in the former part of that year. [10]

The gentlemen with whom I conversed confidentially, on this subject, seemed unwilling to inform the executive of the matter, though equally anxious with myself that it should be done. I considered that duty as altogether indispensable; but put it off for

¹⁷ See W. R. Shepherd: "*Wilkinson and the Beginning of Spanish Conspiracy.*"—*Amer. Hist., Rev.* Vol. IX.

some weeks, hoping to acquire information of the detail of the plot. But as the only intelligence I could gather, was as to new accomplices, and as to the doings of individuals engaged, I thought it better to warn the President of the United States, of the existence and general object of the plot, as I then received it, than to defer it until I should hear more particulars, or collect better testimony, should such chance fall in my way.

This I did by a letter dated the 10th day of January, 1806, of which the following is a faithful copy:—

SIR,

If I had as much confidence in the attachments of your¹⁸ friends towards you, as they make claim to, I should not address you this letter. But I have not; and the subject is too important to be pretermitted.

The dangers, I fear may be trivial or distant, but as on the other hand, they may be near and momentous, and in such case your being early apprised of them highly important, it is a duty I owe you, as the chief of my government, to give you timely hints, whereby you may forestal the dangers, and bring the traitors to punishment in due season.

Spanish intrigues have been carried on among our people. We have traitors among us. A separation of the union in favour of Spain, is the object *finally*. I know not what are the means.

I am told, that Mr. Ellicot, in his journal,¹⁹ communicated to the office of state, the names of the Americans concerned.

If this be true you are long since guarded; but I suspect either that it is not, or has escaped you; or you have considered the affair dead; [because you have appointed General Wilkinson, as governor of St. Louis,²⁰ who, I am convinced, has been for years, and now is, a pensioner of Spain. Should you ask me to prove it, I must resort to an extensive chain of circumstances, which, separately, seem small and inconclusive];²¹ and to informations

¹⁸ In the original letter found in Jefferson's private correspondence in the Congressional Library, there is a variant reading as follows: "in your friends and in their attachment towards you."

¹⁹ See letter from Ellicot, Nov. 14, 1797, in *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, II., 170.

²⁰ There was considerable opposition to his appointment to a civil office at the same time that he held a military office.

²¹ The part bracketed is underlined in the original pamphlet, probably by the owner, J. M. Stevenson, from whose copy this reprint has been made.

I have received from various persons and sources, which perhaps, I have not a right to refer to; nor is it necessary. An hint is all you want; and due enquiry will ascertain and develope the whole matter and partners.

A very exalted magistrate²² of this country, has lately drawn on Spain for his pension: of this I have the most unquestionable testimony. Before this was told me, I was laid under an injunction of secrecy; but I abhor such confidence and told my informant (who is a man of integrity,) that I would let you know of it, though I would not, unless it would become necessary, make known the name of the magistrate. If you find it necessary, and command me, it shall be instantly communicated, and my name given up. But you will scarce think it right to spring the mine, before you have laid your train.

This plot is laid wider than you imagine. Mention the subject to no man from the Western Country, however high in office he may be. Some of them are deeply tainted with this treason. I hate duplicity of expression; but on this subject I am not authorised to be explicit; nor is it necessary. You will dispatch some fit person into the Orleans Country, to inquire, having with him letters from the suspected gentlemen, and he can [11] fully and easily develope the whole business. It is enough that I put you on your guard.

If you desire it, I will enclose you a schedule of the names of the suspected persons.

Do not think this a slight advertisement. If you do, and launch into a Spanish war,²³ you may most heartily wish you had treated it more seriously. May be, the out come of this matter, may explain the pertinacity and forwardedness of the Spaniards in going to war with us.

In case of such a war, let neither the first nor second in command, be appointed out of the Western Country.

No one existing knows of this letter or its contents, and I design it to be strictly secret with you. If, however, you in your discretion, should wish it to be seen by Mr. Madison and Mr.

²² Benjamin Sebastian, judge in the Court of Appeals in Kentucky. From 1795 to 1806 he was known to receive an annual pension of \$2,000 from Spain.—Green, "*The Spanish Conspiracy*," 349, 353.

²³ The idea of appealing to the western States for a separation in case of war with Spain was prevalent among Spanish officials. See forthcoming publication of I. J. Cox: "*The West Florida Controversy*," 176.

Gallatin, I give you leave to show it, under unexceptionable injunctions of silence; and I confide that you will not use it otherwise than I direct, though you do not assent to my restrictions. Depend on it, you have traitors around you, to give the alarm in time to their friends. If I am alarmed at trivial dangers, I must make it up some time hence, by being unmoved when the danger is real.

It would be gratifying to me, to know that this letter was received, and how far the discretionary power of communication had been, or would be exercised.

I am Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your most ob't serv't,

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Cornland, (near the Yellow Banks,) 10th Jan. 1806.

His Excellency, TH. JEFFERSON, }
President of the United States. }

(I was really at Woodford, and put this letter into that office.)

Here, Countrymen, you see I had caught only one side of Mr. Burr's scheme;—it had four sides: a side for the Spanish minister—a side for enterprising adventurers, (and our government, if it should reach them,)—a side for the multitude—and a side for himself. To the Spanish minister,²⁴ he held out that he intended to seize New-Orleans and the Western States, and convert them into the grand fief of the Spanish dominion: To enterprising adventurers, (and to our government, should it reach them,) he held out the conquest of Mexico in favour of the United States: To the multitude a settlement on the Ouachita;—but for himself he had in view all the achievements mentioned, (except the last) for motives of personal aggrandisement. The object of his visit to New-Orleans—the persons with whom he held intercourse there—his connection with Wilkinson, who I knew to be in Spanish pay, and with other persons of the same description in Kentucky,—united to impose on me the idea, that the plot was through Spanish instrumentality, and of course, for Spanish purposes. So the Spaniards thought and perhaps still think; but their reasoning was as bad as mine. Those who prove false to their own country, will prove equally so to their seducer.

²⁴ See *McCaleb*, 55-59.

To this no answer being received, on the 10th of February, I addressed the president a second letter, on the same subject.

This I put into the post office of Versailles, (Woodford county). I kept no memorandum of the days, on which these several letters were put into the post office—so shall not venture to be positive; but my belief [12] is, that the first was put in one or two days after date; and the second, on the day of the date or the next day.

The following is a copy of it.

Sir,

SINCE my last to you, I have heard, that a gentleman of this country²⁵ informed General Washington, while he was president, of a conspiracy against this country, by the Spaniards with Wilkinson and others. If it is so, it was either received as a private letter by general Washington, and so disposed of; or it is in the office of state.

Certain it is, that the president did not duly appreciate this information, or the importance of the subject.

I have some faint and confused recollection of an appropriation of money, to enable the president to look into the matter, and of seeing a piece from Mr. Ross²⁶ in the *Aurora*, accounting for a sum of money which he received on that ground.

The act of congress is very obscurely worded and entitled.

The president went the wrong way to work; and by doing so, alarmed the conspirators and missed his object. A conspicuous man, who draws the public eye wherever he moves, ought never to be employed in this kind of business.²⁷

²⁵ "From Dr. David Stuart General Washington received his first information concerning Spanish movements in Kentucky."—*Lex. Gazette, Dec. 1, 1806*. It is probable, however, that Daviess refers to Thomas Marshall, who wrote to General Washington Feb. 12, 1789, giving an account of the memorial read by Wilkinson before the convention of 1788. He continued to write to Washington on this subject until Sept. 11, 1790 (*Littell, Polit. Transactions in Kentucky*).

²⁶ Ross was a senator from Pennsylvania. The *Aurora* was a Philadelphia paper. Wm. Duane was its editor.

²⁷ Probably Wayne is meant. "Wilkinson was aware that he was distrustful by Washington, and was closely watched by the able, gallant, and loyal Wayne."—Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy*, 291. From Ft. Washington, Sept. 22, 1796, Wilkinson writes to Gayoso: "The suspicion of Washington is wide awake."—Clark, *Proofs*, etc., 41.

You must have remarked Mr. Burr's journey out to this country last year. What was he after? To escape persecution? that cant be; because it never followed him out of his own state, and he spent the whole of last winter at the seat of government without danger.²⁸ Was it to see the country? No; he did not see it. He came to Lexington²⁹ in haste (not in a hurry,) went on to Orleans and that country by water; went with Wilkinson past my house on the Ohio;³⁰ at fort Massac stopped and was closeted five days with Wilkinson,³¹ "to help him arrange his new government," as was given out; went on down to Orleans,³² turned, and (I may say) galloped back to Nashville,³³ across that great wilderness; then up to Louisville in Kentucky; and then across the wilderness of Indiana to St. Louis,³⁴ to see Wilkinson again; then back to Lexington;³⁵ and then to see [Smith] the senator in Ohio.³⁶ This jaunting added to the opinion I hold of that man's turn of character; and added to the circumstances mentioned to you, of a late draft³⁷ on Spain by a high magistrate of this state³⁸—having given strong suspicions of Mr. Burr, and confirmed those I had of a plot now existing.

²⁸ See *Adams, III, p. 223*, for the attitude of the Capitol toward Burr during the winter of 1805-1806.

²⁹ Burr was in Lexington May 22, 1805, according to the *Kentucky Gazette* of May 28, 1805—"not interested in the canal nor election, but . . . traveling for amusement and information."

³⁰ Burr was not actually with Wilkinson, but overtook him at Fort Massac. See McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*, 26.

³¹ According to *Adams, III*, Burr descended the Cumberland June 6, 1805, and left Massac June 10, 1805. Ft. Massac was on the north bank of the Ohio below the mouth of the Cumberland.

³² June 25, 1805.—*Adams, III*.

³³ Aug. 6, 1805.—*Parton, Chap. XXI*.

³⁴ Sept. 11, 1805.—*Adams, III*.

³⁵ It is doubtful whether Burr went back to Lexington or not.

³⁶ John Smith, of Cincinnati, at whose home Burr stayed May 11, 1805, on his way westward. Smith resigned from Congress in 1807, lacking only one vote of expulsion, because of his connection with Burr. (See *Amer. State Papers, Misc., No. 238*.)

³⁷ "draught" in the original letter.

³⁸ Probably Sebastian.

The unexpected and unfortunate sickness of Mrs. Daveiss³⁹ has prevented my returning home; and I shall not do it before the last of March. If you have answered my first letter the answer is gone on to that post office. I have ordered such a paper if received to be remitted to Frankfort to⁴⁰ me.

I am so anxious to see the defeat of this damnable plot, and dread so much its failure in the hands of any common emissary, that, inconvenient as it is to me in the extreme to leave home, now when I am settling a new place, yet I am heartily willing to do it without reward of any kind, the government bearing my expences.

It is high time for whoever goes to be on foot, else put it off till autumn, when the sickly season down the river is over. If I go, I shall start across to St. Louis immediately to see Wilkinson, and then on as fast as possible. [13]

Let governor Claiborne⁴¹ have no knowledge, or hand concerning this thing.

Shew this letter to nobody. Mr. Burr's connections are more extensive than any man supposes.

Unless you are careful and suspicious in the extreme, this thing will leak out, and the conspirators countermine all my operations, and expose my person and life, if I go into the Spanish government.

If I am honored with an answer let it be to Frankfort.

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

February 10th, 1806.

His Excellency }
TH: JEFFERSON. }

³⁹ Philip Caldwell and Daveiss had both sought the hand of Ann Marshall, sister of the Chief Justice, and Daveiss had been successful. On the night of the ball given Burr, in Frankfort, Caldwell overheard a conversation between Daveiss and others, inimical to the administration, which he reported to Innis. Innis wrote to Congressman Sandford, who showed the letter to Jefferson, whereupon Daveiss was removed from office. See *Taylor's Autobiography, in the Durrett Papers, Library of the University of Chicago.*

⁴⁰ "for" in the original letter.

⁴¹ Claiborne was the American commissioner at the time of the transfer of Louisiana. His administration as governor closed in 1816. In 1817 he was elected to the Senate. He died Nov. 23, 1817. See Gayarré, *Hist. of Louisiana.*

With this letter I put into the post office under cover, sealed, and directed as the letter, a schedule of the names of suspected persons.⁴² These I shall by no means make known, except two, which are material in your view of the president's course on this subject; otherwise, I shall either leave blanks or put down letters instead of names. Many of these persons may be innocent. If guilty, it is not my purpose to accuse in this place.

I am sorry, countrymen, that circumstances should have occurred to draw from me this publication of these letters, which every candid reader will believe me sincere in saying, were never designed for publicity. They were written with all the anxiety and zeal of a young man, who addressed his father upon a point touching the family honor or interest. They contain matter of advice to the president, and many other inadvertencies which one writing less from the heart, would have avoided.

(I do not wish the reader here to suppose, that I suspected his excellency William C. C. Claibourne to be an espaniolized American—I did not—nor my caution to the president, did not proceed from such a supposition. It was merely owing to the unmerciful idea, I had formed of the gentleman's head. He is as far as I know, a well disposed person; and abundantly attached to the president, which is certainly a great matter; but my present purpose required a man of sense.

Good God! how mortifying to think, that the president of the United States, is a man, who should either be so pell'd by a flatterer, or so ignorant of human nature, as to appoint to the most important and elevated office in his gift, a man, so devoid of every pretension to talents, reading, experience, or any thing but admiration of Mr. Jefferson! How far that man has left his equals behind—how wonderfully he has overrun and passed by men, whose meanest speech or composition he could never equal.

He rose like a rocket, and he'll fall like a stick.)

On the fifth of March, having yet received no answer from the president, I addressed him the following:

⁴² This list was written on a separate sheet of paper, as follows: Breckenridge, Fowler, Wilkinson, Adair, senator; Smith, do.; Sebastian, the judge Ct. of Appeals; Innes, the judge District court; Clay, the lawyer; Burr; Harrison, Govr. *From the original in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.*

SIR,

THE post has arrived but brings no letter from you. Can it be possible, that my two letters of the 10th of January, and 10th of February, have miscarried? If either has failed, every further attempt of mine will be abortive. I pray you inform me only of this point, by a letter to me at the Yellow Banks post office, without delay; for I am now determined to raise money upon my own credit, and pursue my enquiries into this matter—confident that if my government will give me no aid, it will [14] throw no obstacles in my way. If you deem my information too trivial to be noticed by the chief of a great nation, you will surely, nevertheless, be just enough to me, to keep invi[o]lably secret, till I return from my present pursuit. Every day gives me new causes to confide in the justness of my impressions and opinions on this matter; and to make it more probable that to this source is to be traced the eagerness of the Spaniards for war.

[This day I have seen the very man,⁴³ through whom Wilkinson, for a long time, carried on his correspondence with the Spanish government, clandestinely. And he knows of Philip Nolan,⁴⁴ the great horse trader, bringing several kegs of dollars to fort Washington, for that gentleman.]⁴⁵

But this gentleman my informant will not suffer his name to be mentioned; so the information cannot assume the shape of legal evidence, although it may serve to satisfy your mind.

The man I knew for many years. His integrity is wholly unquestionable.

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Now at Frankfort, 5th of March, 1806.

His Excellency, }
TH: JEFFERSON. }

P. S. Let Mr. Madison or Mr. Gallatin direct and frank any letters of yours to me on this subject. D.

⁴³ Probably Joseph Ballinger.

⁴⁴ Philip Nolan took charge of Wilkinson's affairs in Louisiana during the years 1789-1791. He left Louisiana about May of 1800, and was killed the ensuing March by Spaniards in the province of Texas.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs*, II, 119. Wilkinson wrote to Gayoso, Sept. 22, 1796: "Nolan is a child of my own raising and is firm in his attachment to Spain."—Clark, *Proofs*, 42.

⁴⁵ [] is underscored in the pamphlet from which the reprint is made.

On the 27th of that month I received from the president the following letter which is altogether in his own hand writing:⁴⁶

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15, '06

Sir,

[YOUR letter of January 10 came safely to hand a week ago.]⁴⁷ According to your permission it has been communicated to Mr. Madison and Mr. Gallatin. I have also communicated it to general Dearborne,⁴⁸ because one of the persons named by you is particularly under his observation; so far it was necessary and not further. I will be responsible for its secrecy. The information is so important that it is my duty to request a full communication of every thing known or heard by you relating to it, and particularly of the names of all persons whether engaged in the combination, or witnesses to any part of it, at the same time I pledge myself to you that it shall be known no further than it now is, until it shall become necessary to place them in the hands of the law; and that even then no unnecessary communication shall be made of the channel through which we receive our information.

You will be sensible that the names are peculiarly important to prevent a misplacing of our confidence either in the investigation of this subject particularly, or in the general trust of public affairs. In hopes of hearing from you without delay, I pray you to accept my salutations and assurances of great respect.

Mr. DAVEISS.

TH: JEFFERSON.

On the next day I addressed the president the following.

Sir,

YOUR letter of Feb. 15 came to hand this morning, somewhat delay[15]ed by going to Hartford instead of Breckenridge court house, which stands on the post road leading by the Yellow Bank's post office, and somewhat by having to return here, where the court still detains me. I was much obliged by the communication of it, as I was very apprehensive about my letters. You

⁴⁶ This letter and the one preceding are bracketed in the original pamphlet and marked [Note] "93."

⁴⁷ [] underscored in original pamphlet.

⁴⁸ General Dearborn was appointed Secretary of War by Jefferson in 1801. He was not a strong man, and was supposed to be in the toils of Wilkinson.

have ere this two others from me, one of the 10th of February, put into the post office at Woodford (Versailles) and another of 5th March, put into the office here under cover to col. Sanford.⁴⁹ These anticipate in some degree your enquiries. With mine of 10 Feb. I have sent under blank cover a schedule of the names of suspected persons; but there I omitted one; [Dayton]⁵⁰ the speaker, [.] I am afraid, may be, I put in one who is innocent, [a lawyer]⁵¹ of Lexington, and left out [a doctor] of that place improperly. But I'll soon *know* all about it without *suspecting*. At date of my last I had learned much new matter on this subject: I now know more; and as you desire a full and free communication I shall proceed without the least apprehension of a disclosure, giving you full permission whenever you find it needful to give up my name, warning me at the same time thereof. [The man alluded to in my last, through whom Wilkinson carried on his correspondence with the Spanish government would not let me give up his name; he is a man of as high standing for integrity, as any other in the world. The correspondence was addressed to the Secretary, whose plain name stripped of all titles is Gilbert Leonard,⁵² the son of a shoe-maker, who by his great talents raised himself to so high a function.

The plot began between Wilkinson and Governor Me[i]ro.⁵³ Owings⁵⁴ who was killed coming up the river, had \$6000 of Wilkinson's money, and seven thousand dollars was shipped to the port of Philadelphia. Nolan the great horse trader brought several kegs of dollars to Fort Washington⁵⁵ for him; and in the

⁴⁹ Thomas Sandford was born in 1762, in Westmoreland County, Virginia. He came to Kentucky in 1792, settling back of Covington. In 1799 he was the only member from Campbell County to the Second Constitutional Convention of the State. He was several times elected to the Legislature and served as a member of Congress 1803-1807. He was drowned in the Ohio River Dec. 10, 1808.—See *Biog. Dictionary of Kentucky*. For his connection with Daveiss, see *Note 39*.

⁵⁰ All bracketed names were omitted in the pamphlet, and are supplied from the original letters.

⁵¹ Clay. See note 42.

⁵² See Deposition of Gilberto Leonard, *Wilkinson's Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 223.

⁵³ Miró was governor of Louisiana 1784-1791. For his connection with Wilkinson, cf. Gayarrè, "*Hist. of La.—The Spanish Domination*, 194ff."

⁵⁴ Owens. See *Depositions of Bouligny and Langlois*, in Clark, *Proofs*, appendix 22.

⁵⁵ Cincinnati.

hearing of one of my informants, who he was then very fond of, he used to say that Governor Me[i]ro and him had agreed to lay up a few thousand dollars for a time of need, and this was the first of that money, alluding to the kegs.—As to the two first sums he told another gentleman [Dr Ridgely] that he was thought by Wayne and his party to be very poor, but he was not, for he had \$13000. This was before the shipment of it from Orleans.

I find that in the convention of 1788 at Danville, he (Wilkinson) rose and proposed a separation and union with Spain to that body,⁵⁶ (this was the convention who proposed a separation) and [John Brown] the senator rose, and in a short speech, supported Wilkinson, saying, “that he had it from the highest “authority, that if we would join Spain, we might have anything “we pleased, and any kind of trade we wanted.” Wilkinson then read almost a quire of paper, which he called a letter, written by him to the Governor at Orleans;⁵⁷ and read the Governor’s answer, to corroborate what he and [Brown] had said; but it was so badly received, that it was dropped, and its being spoken of since, is much resented by its friends, as an imputation on them. [Col. Joe Crockett the Marshal] is my informant, and I am going to get the journals of that body, to copy off the names of the members, to be used when necessary.

[Brown] was the first mover of this business here, and wrote many letters to the influential men here, to draw them into the measure. When he offered for congress winter before last, I published this, and offered that my fortune should stand responsible, if it was slander, and offered to prove his treasonable correspondence with Gardoque [i] for this purpose. [15] One of the members opposed to [Brown], [Grundy]⁵⁸ came to me to know if he might give up my name—I gave him leave, and he went all over town and told it—but, dont be startled [Brown] did not loose one vote by it; nor was I ever called on.

This was very astonishing, and filled me with the utmost concern. How wonderfully numerous the friends or neutrals of this infernal scheme!!!

⁵⁶ [] underscored. See note 45.

⁵⁷ See W. R. Shepherd: “Wilkinson and the Spanish Conspiracy.”—*Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. IX, 490 et seq., for quotations from this memorial.

⁵⁸ Grundy had studied law in the office of George Nicholas at the same time as Daveiss.

You will see what a hurricane they will blow up around my ears when I come back.

Judge Sebastian, of our Court of Appeals, is the man who drew lately on Spain for his pension. Mr. [Wilkins] saw the draft, and knows his hand well. It was drawn in favor of John A. Seitz,⁵⁹ of Lexington, and payable to him. Seitz died there, and this paper was in his pocket book, and is still there, and [Wilkins] will by draft order its delivery to me when I get there. [Adair] and [Burr] are pensioned without doubt. I fully expect some are the friends of these traitors, who are not pensioned, and several such persons are named to you heretofore.

Alas! that men so highly raised by their country in trust and honor should thus betray her.⁶⁰

Whenever the court is over, (which I expect tomorrow,) I will go on my journey. I have not yet tried to raise money, but fully expect I can do it. Small difficulties are no obstacles with me.

Dont write to me while I am gone anywhere, but at Cornland, and let Mr. Gallatin direct and frank the letters—my brother John Daveiss⁶¹ will open these, and make known their contents to me in a language unintelligible by others. You may rely implicitly on this man's secrecy. Write directly in one event, that is, if you find I am suspected, write it instantly to Doctor [James] Speed, of Natchez, who is my old and very intimate friend.

If I am suspected, the chances of my getting back are very slender.

I observe that the marquis Cassacalvo⁶² and all the Spanish officers are prohibited from crossing the lines. It might be well, if reasons of state would permit, to relax this, so as to allow that gentleman to come to Natchez. I would much rather see him there, than go into the Spanish government to do it; and at Orleans [James Brown] would give him warning of me immediately.

⁵⁹ See deposition of Charles Wilkins, *Amer. State Papers, Miscell.*, p. 924.

⁶⁰ Marked "Note 95" in margin.

⁶¹ Some of his descendants live in Kentucky to-day.

⁶² The Marqués de Casa Calvo acted as military governor of Louisiana after the death of Gayoso (1799-1801), and as commissioner along with Salcedo to deliver the province of Louisiana to France.

I wish to see one [Powers,]⁶³ below Orleans. He commanded the boat which was searched by secretary Steele⁶⁴ at Natchez, some years ago. He says, had Steele looked into a bucket on the top of the boat, containing old tobacco, he would have found papers enough to hang Wilkinson and himself.

I feel greatly strengthened by having the support of government, and freely apologize for any expressions of despondency or doubt on that subject in my last letter.

I am Sir,

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH H. DAVEISS.

March 28, 1806.

Mr. JEFFERSON.

And on the succeeding day I addressed another in these words.

Sir,

I intended, when I wrote my letter yesterday, to write you no more until my return, unless something new, and requiring immediate communi[17]cation should occur, but my memory continues to recall circumstances which I deem it proper to make known to you.

It came to my knowledge a good while ago, that \$100,000 had been distributed at Orleans for the purpose of rewarding the friends to good government in this country. This was told me by a very exalted officer under you in this country. I asked him why he had kept this secret from government? He answered, I have no doubt candidly, that he deemed the business long since dead, and the scheme miscarried. He had no hand in the thing himself. He forbade my disclosure; but the utmost effect of such injunctions is to conceal the name of the informant.⁶⁵

⁶³ Thomas Power, an Englishman by birth, naturalized a Spanish subject. He was sent as emissary to Wilkinson by Carondelet (*Green-Span. Conspir.*, 343, 350). See deposition of Elisha Winters, *Amer. State Papers, Miscell.*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁶⁴ Possibly John Steele, of Pennsylvania, who, in 1796 became lieutenant in the Third Infantry. Cf. *Heitman*, I, 919.

⁶⁵ This informant was James Morrison. See note 12. See Morrison's letter to Wilkinson in the *Durrett Papers*.

Curse such secrets, they point to the destruction of the whole community.

Perhaps you are surprised at my speaking, in the other letter, so highly of the integrity of him, through whom general Wilkinson so long carried on his correspondence with Spain.⁶⁶ I asked him to explain it.—He said he thought the thing at that time a mere *fetch* of Wilkinson's to get money;⁶⁷ and had no idea of any serious result from it; and besides, he himself had no sort of participation in it, but only afforded conveyance for the letters.

It was a bad excuse; but might be deemed by many an honest man, a good one.

Some years ago, H. [John Hollingsworth] the son of [Hollingsworth,] (of Baltimore) came to an intimate friend [Charles W] and relation of his, and told him that he (H.) had been offered \$2000 for his trouble in circulating \$6000; and asked [W] if⁶⁸ he would take a part of it. [W] enquired what was the object in circulating the \$6,000, and was told it was to make friends to the king of Spain, who should mark public tone and report it. [Wilkins] told him to have nothing at all to do with it.

A day or two before [Wilkins] knew that judge Sebastian had been there. How I deplore this man's guilt! He was friendly to me.

I tremble for two men I have much esteemed. God grant I may not find their names among such vile conspirators.

A little circumstance happened, when Burr was here, which looks small, but it struck me as worthy of much regard. I had it from the hon. John Rowan,⁶⁹ the secretary of state, a man of incorruptible integrity; and with whom I have been intimate since ever we were boys; and to whom I told my whole views about the beginning of this month, when I had despaired a little of any letter from you. It is this:—When Burr was here last, he spent much of his time at F's [Adair's] who lived in town. F. [Adair] came over to Mr. Rowan's and mentioned to him,

⁶⁶ [] underscored and marked "Note 98" in original pamphlet.

⁶⁷ It is a well-known fact that Wilkinson was always in financial difficulties.

⁶⁸ "How" in the original letter.

⁶⁹ Born in Pennsylvania, 1773. Came to Louisville 1783. Studied law, and admitted to the bar at Lexington 1795. Member of Constitutional Convention 1799. Secretary of State 1804; in Congress 1806. Died in 1843 at Louisville.

that he would be glad if he [Mr. R.] would come over to his house, that he might introduce him to Burr.—Mr. Rowan gave some polite answer, but could not then go. “I should be glad [if] you could come to my house to see him,” said F. [Adair] “for he is a very diffident man in company.”

You know that young Mr. Burr has mixed but little with the world. “I wonder what he can be after,” said F. [Adair] I can’t tell, said Mr. Rowan. Mr. Rowan did not call, being prevented by his family sickness and other matters; but he never could understand the thing until I spoke with him.

F. [Adair] told [Dr Ridgely] of his first going down to Orleans, and his friends writing to him to be sure and bring no letters from Wilkinson;⁷⁰ and when there, to say nothing for him or against him. But a letter is too small to write [18] these things, so I’ll drop it until I return, when I can see you or write at leisure.

[I said, in May⁷¹ last, that many knew of these treasonable doings who had no pensions. It may turn out that [Innis] and [Breckenridge] are of these. I have no doubt the *first* knew of all Wilkinson’s doings, and I have heard but dare not enquire now, that [he] sent the murderers of Owings to Wilkinson, at Fort Washington.—The second, I am confident, knew well of the treason at first. I don’t know how it is lately.

He knew all about the \$100,000.]⁷²

Excuse me for suggesting one point to you and your minister—that is: never alter your countenance towards any of these men. If you do, and they return and find me gone, they’ll suspect in a moment what’s the matter.

Yours very respectfully,

March 29th, 1806. JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Mr. JEFFERSON.

These two letters [I] enclosed under, (I believe) *one* cover, addressed to Mr. Gallatin, and put them into the Frankfort post office. The president does not acknowledge them; but as there was no robbing or destruction of the mail about this time, and as

⁷⁰ However, Burr did have letters from Wilkinson.

⁷¹ “My” in the original letter.

⁷² [] underscored and marked “Note 96” in margin of pamphlet.

I have not for many years heard of a letter to one of the departments failing; I have no doubt they went safe.

Early in this month I had engaged captain William Woolfolk, of Woodford, a man on whom I could place perfect reliance in every respect, to share with me the fatigues and fate of this journey to Natchez, New Orleans, and Pensicola, from which place, we intended to steer our way through the woods to Tennessee. We had appointed to meet at New Madrid, by (I think) the 20th of May—(But I kept no notes or journals, never expecting I should need to refer to such documents.) It was agreed between us, that which ever arrived first at New Madrid, should wait one or two days for the other, after the time first appointed; and then leave a letter for the delinquent and proceed.

On my way home I engaged my passage in Mr. Gibson's boat, then descending the Rowling fork, and bound for St. Louis, which was to touch for me at my house.

I arrived home on the 20th of April, having been absent six months [weeks?] complete. I did not know in what hour the boat would arrive; and in this situation I had only one day to set my house in order, before I had to depart on the most long, and probably perilous journey I had ever undertaken. When I came to pack up my clothing, &c. I discovered that since I had left Frankfort, I had lost my bank notes to the amount of two hundred and odd dollars; and now had but \$72 left. This was very discouraging; but being personally known to a merchant of capital at St. Louis, one at Natchez, and several at New Orleans, I did not despair of finding sufficient means wherewith to pursue my enquiries.

All this time not a line from the president—I addressed him the following letter.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Daveiss wrote another letter to Jefferson April 5, 1806, which is omitted from the pamphlet, and reads as follows:

Sir,

In my last, I mentioned Dr. Speed of Natchez as a person to whom you might confide any letter for me.—He is gone to New Orleans.

Samuel Postlethwait, merchant of Natchez I would name in his place: but don't let your hand or name appear on, or in the cover. If you know the Govr very intimately, he might afford a more eligible conveyance.

One thing I omitted to suggest to you tho no doubt it has occurred to you 'ere this—that is, the propriety of Gen. Dearborne & the ministers suspending all enquiry relative to the subject of my letters until I return. A contrary course might defeat all my efforts and much expose my person."

Sir,

BEFORE the boat arrives which is to carry me to St. Louis, and [19] which I hourly expect, I think it better to advise you of a little circumstance, which has lately come to my knowledge, than attempt to retain it in my memory till my return.

I must previously observe, that since I first wrote you, I have continually noted those things to you which could make no figure as legal evidence as well as those which might be made to assume that shape:—because in the present state of this matter it seems to me very important to warn you of all the sources from which information might be expected: otherwise, many things might escape your remark which would receive your attention, had you known their connection with the main subject.

The thing first alluded to, is this: [Genl. Jackson] of Tennessee, lately wrote [Mr. Cuthbert Banks] of Lexington, a letter, full of compliments and polite nothings; and in it enclosed a paper without signature or date; and as [Mr. Banks] thought undoubtedly in the hand writing of Mr. Burr; which paper was so abstrucely worded and indicted that Mr. [Banks] could not comprehend distinctly its meaning; but it concluded with words in effect as follows: “that Mr. Burr would eventually prove to be the saviour of this Western country.” Mr. [Banks] understood the letter and [its] contents, as meant to draw him into a correspondence and further explanation; but he was so distressed at it, that he threw them into the fire. A gentleman to whom he mentioned the subject in Lexington, told me of it very privately. I went to [Banks] and mentioned the matter to him, telling him that I would know Mr. Burr’s hand writing; but he said he had burnt the paper, and would forever despise Burr, from his confidence that he wrote it, though he did not well know his hand writing. He requested me not to converse about it, which I had more reasons than one for avoiding.

Mr. [Banks] is wholly ignorant of my object. I wish I could have ventured to let him know it, and get the correspondence continued.

I should like to know something more about the doings of this saviour of ours.

[If you chance to hear anything about a captain Collins⁷⁴ (of

⁷⁴ See deposition of Daniel Clark: *Memoirs of Wilkinson, Appendix No. 5.*

Florida) attend to it. This man has been a very active agent for Wilkinson. He carried the \$7000 to Philadelphia for Wilkinson; and is the man he sent as a spy round by Canada; and a long story was told about his being captured by the Indians, and the many hardships he suffered. I think it likely you'll find some report of Wilkinson's on the subject in the war office, unless it was burned. But from the information I have received from a gentleman, who I know does not go on light conjectures, I fully believe this man was sent to col. *England*, of Detroit, on a very friendly mission; [Wilkinson] being at that time in the pay of Great Britain. If Newman⁷⁶ is living in the southward, as is said, I have no doubt it may be proved that Wilkinson is the man who sent him to the Indians, to warn them of the approach of Wayne's army.]⁷⁶

I have caused a note to be inserted in one of the *Louisville Gazettes*, that you have removed me from office. This will render quite unsuspecting the dissatisfaction which I may occasionally betray towards the government of my country. No one will think it worth while to ask the administration any thing about it; but lest they should, and I be rendered very suspicious by your answer, I have enclosed a letter of resignation to Mr. Madison,⁷⁷ which may form a pointed answer to the enquiry. I design [20] this letter to remain in your hands, and not be filed in the office of state, unless you deem it proper. For I did not intend to resign, till I had finished the revenue cases commenced by me.

In embarking in such a project, I feel very deeply the want of your sanction: it may be contrary to the reasons of state; it may be contrary to your judgment, and to your views. But still I feel a confident hope, that it must suit the government to be fully advised in this matter. I have but little expectation of getting possession of evidence, which can be used judicially; but it is

⁷⁶ In an article by Wood, copied from the *Western World*, in the *Palladium* of July 31, 1806, it is intimated that Newman deserted from the American army to the Indians at Wilkinson's instigation. Newman was also very intimate with Power and lived at Natchez with him.

⁷⁶ [] underscored and marked "Note 97" in margin of pamphlet.

⁷⁷ This letter is in the private correspondence of Jefferson in the Library of Congress.

a great point in my view, to shew you satisfactorily how this matter stands.

Very respectfully, your most ob't: servant,

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Cornland, near Yellow Banks,

April 21st, 1806.

His Excellency,

TH: JEFFERSON, *President*.

That evening the boat came and left word for me to come on board, at the Yellow Banks (two miles off) by day break next morning, which I did; leaving my farm without any overseer.

About a fortnight after my departure, captain Woolfolk called at my house, agreeable to my directions, and took the accoutrements for a pack horse, which I had prepared, and proceeded to New Madrid, where having waited and written agreeable to promise, he continued his voyage.

I arrived at St. Louis about the seventh day of May (I believe) and almost immediately after my arrival acquired the information I desired. It is not material for the public to know this,—nor the course I intended to pursue for the development of this conspiracy. You may be sure one part of it was to conceal the true object and design of my researches from others.

I acknowledge I felt a repugnance to this circumstance. My judgment wholly supported me—for my country was in question; but my feelings, at times, so objected to it, that I could not forbear suggesting it as a doubt to two gentlemen, with whom I conversed unreservedly. Their opinions supported my own.

The day after I arrived, I understood that Mr. Ellicott's journal was in town; and I lost no time in getting it, to see what he said of the Spanish intrigues in 1797-8. It would be very desirable to transcribe his words exactly here; but the only copy of the book which I know of is at Lexington, one hundred and seventy miles from this place; nor did I take any notes of pages and words when I saw it; but the substance of the matter is this.

Mr. Ellicott, while running our line, intercepted a correspondence, in which the treasonable and secret intelligence held by sundry of citizens with the Spanish government is exhibited.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ See pp. 151, 152 of this pamphlet.

This, he says, he communicated to the office of state; and the names of the Americans concerned. He afterwards sets forth some intercepted papers, showing Mr. Hutche[i]ns⁷⁹ (I think) to be in pay of Britain, & copies the documents—and afterwards adds, that these evidences were not more conclusive, as to Hutche[i]ns, than the intercepted correspondence was, as to the persons engaged in the Spanish intrigues. [21]

Upon reading this, I was smitten with the utmost chagrin and disgust, at the insincere, unmanly, and ignoble behaviour of the president towards me. Can there be a case in which expressions of intemperance and invective would be more excusable than this? Only reflect on our respective situations. A citizen leaving his own house with all the loss which can attend a farmer's absence from home in the spring season, at his own expence, and at all the personal risque and hazard which may await such a journey, in such a climate and season, *and on such a business*—all this upon the privity of the president, and for the sole purpose of averting a mortal blow aimed at our government and country—an undertaking through which no success could be expected, but through the use of information previously had;—the president all this time possessed of important and authentic intelligence, which might make the task of investigation perfectly safe, and almost insure its success:—Yet what is his course?—He sets snugly in the corner of his cabinet, wrapped up in his cloak of little cunning prudent reserve, and says to himself “I'm determined to stand aloof from this scrape,—let the young man go on—if any good comes of it—well: but if he gets his throat cut, or is sent to the mines by governor Folke,⁸⁰ why I'm sure he can't say its my fault,—I didn't encourage him,—he has nothing to show from me;—if there's a harvest, I'll reap it;—but if untimely storms destroy the crop, I'll risque no loss.”

Your policy, sir, is indeed very *fine*, very characteristic: but oh, how despicable—how unlike the mighty chief we would expect to find at the head of this great and rising nation!

Was I an improper person? Was it too soon? Was I adopting an improper course? Then why not in a candid and manly manner desire me not to proceed into this “premature attempt?”

⁷⁹ See *Ellicot's Journal*, p. 194.

⁸⁰ Vizenti Folch, commandant of West Florida.

Dont say I started too soon for your countermand or information. You wrote not one line, which, by staying longer, I could have received.

The court at St. Louis being in session, I was called upon to attend some important causes, which detained me there several days. I was very unhappy about captain Woolfolk:—I wrote him to New Madrid; but it was too late. After I got through my court business, I returned home. The season for planting was over; and untoward class of events, had prevented the putting in my crop—I made none last year. The public is not interested in knowing the train of private misfortunes I have suffered, by reason of this. My neighbors know them.

When at St. Louis, a little conversation took place with general Wilkinson, which I will detail to you exactly, as I will upon my oath, if I am ever called upon. I will promise to you, that I never observed a greater apparent admiration in one man *for another*, than the general manifested for Mr. Burr; and among other things mentioned several times Mr. Burr's impenetrable secrecy. One day I was (as I well recollect) enquiring about lieutenant Pike's tour up the Mississippi;⁸¹ and it appears to me that the general showed me a sketch of the map of that river, by Mr. Pike. After which he took out a map of the country of New Mexico, which I think was in manuscript; and after some conversation about it, tapping it with his finger, told me in a low and very significant tone and manner, "that had Burr been president, we would have had all this country before now." This I remarked particularly, and it has appeared to me a very explanatory circumstance relative to that man's participation in this plot.

Upon my return home, I found no letter for me in the post office. [22]

The want of all communication from the president, induced me to fear, that either my letters or his had been intercepted; for I could not believe it possible, that he had not written to me. This was much enforced by a circumstance that took place at St. Louis the day I left it. On that day, before I took leave of governor Wilkinson, he handed me an anonymous letter, received from Frankfort, by yesterday's mail, telling the governor to beware of me; for I intended to extract from him his secrets about

⁸¹ F. X. Martin, *Hist. of La., Vol. II, p. 225.*

his connection with the Spaniards. I read the letter partly, closed and handed it back to him, observing, that I was now in the hour of my departure, and he knew all the conversation that had taken place between us since we met, not a word of which was on such a subject. He laughed very much at the idea of his connection with the Spaniards; but I could clearly discern through the veil of his laughter, that he was thoroughly alarmed. The writer of the letter had wholly mistaken my purposes, though he had a general idea of what I was after.

The letter had been put into the Frankfort post office the 21st of April. The writer of it thinks I don't know who he is.

In July I went to the court at Frankfort, and I had the pleasure to meet captain Woolfolk, who had just returned, and had been as far as New Orleans to fall in with me. I desired to know his expences, that I might reimburse them; but he would not hear of it—so we both agreed to set down our disbursements to the account of *profit and loss*.

Mr. James Dardis, a respectable merchant of Knoxville, was here, attending a law suit of himself and others, for the Goose creek salt works. When he was going, I put into his hand a letter to the president under cover endorsed to Mr. Gallatin, which he assured me he would most carefully deposit in the post office at Knoxville, as soon as he should arrive. I have the most perfect confidence that he did so, and that it went safe, though it is not acknowledged. It was as follows:

Sir,

I returned the 3d June, since which time I have not ventured to write you by mail, suspecting that an interception had already taken place, and have waited till now, for a private conveyance across the mountains.

I declined all attempts at the execution of my first plan, being fully informed of the report to the department of state, made by Mr. Ellicott, of the whole matter as it then stood, previous to my reaching the point of my first destination.

I took it for granted, that whenever you thought it material to public interest, that an enquiry should be made into this matter, you would possess the agent employed therein, with every possible information in your power, as by that measure alone, could success be fairly expected. And I felt a violent repugnance

to the instrumentality of any suspected character, if the object could be otherwise attained.

The present unacknowledged state of all my letters, except the first, gives me confirmation in my views of this subject, and reason to approve my discontinuance of all further efforts on this matter, not sanctioned by the express commands of my government.

My duty, however, as a citizen, to you, is not fulfilled until I tell you, that I have it from an authority which I cannot disregard, that the present project is not the original one, but a new scheme engrafted on it. Its outlines are: To cause a revolt of the Spanish provinces, [23] and a severance of all the western states and territories from the Union—to coalesce and form one government—to purchase great quantities of land in the Spanish settlements, to ensure the desired influence when the crisis comes. That in the scheme are connected all those named to you (except [Breckenridge]) and [Govr. Bloomfield]. The [Van Ness's] Burr's relations in New Orleans and St. Lewis, the [Browns] and [Edw. Livingston, Gen. Massy of Ohio] and many others among whom was named [Genl. Smith] of Baltimore, whose present elevation, wealth, and character, forbids belief of such a connection on his part.

I have undoubted evidence of [Innis'] connection in the original scheme.

The [lawyer] of Lexington, who I named to you, is, I believe wholly innocent. [Breckenridge] was not here at the original scheme, so had no hand in it. Its progress after he came here was all known to him.

This closes the communication I am bound to make to you; and in doing which, justice to myself commands me to say, that I have named no man to you with whom I am personally on bad terms, except [John Brown], and that [I must further observe] I have often doubted whether the whole of this matter might not be a mere swindling trick, played off on the Spaniards by our countrymen.

Every further enquiry I make will be to fortify myself against the malice of these men, if it reaches their ears that I have taken concern in the matter. It is a very consequential thing to incur the inveterate malice of the [judges in all the highest courts of the land and the power of the bar.]⁸² And the prospect of this

⁸² Bracketed portion is omitted in the pamphlet.

danger is no how lessened by the recollection, that some individuals have been already ruined in this way and on account of this very business. I am, Sir,

Very respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Now at Frankfort, 14th July, 1806.

I suspect this letter offended the president. He saw that I now understood him; and I most faithfully believe that he hates every man on earth, who he thinks fully understands him.

Being determined to write the president no more, after such disrespect as had been shown me, on the 14th of August I wrote the secretary of state the following letter.

Sir,

THIS is a private letter. I have addressed seven*⁸³ letters to the president; the last five under covers directed to Mr. Gallatin, with whom I stand so connected by official duty, that letters directed to him by me, would excite no particular remark.

The first letter has been answered by the president;—all the rest remain unacknowledged. This circumstance, for which I am unable to account, seems to render indelicate a further continuance of that correspondence. Indeed it might equally seem to make it improper to address you even by private letter; but when the welfare of the community is in question, I will not be ruled by any punctilio or etiquette. [24]

I take it for granted you have seen all my former letters to the president.

The subject of the present conspiracy is spoken of in secrecy by many persons.⁸⁴ is active, taking care, however, to clothe his doings in great secrecy. He made an attempt lately on a young gentleman which failed; he took care to throw out only shreds of the subject; but such, as with the matter I now possess, would satisfy any enquirer of his participation in the plot.

A war with Spain is the first step. That is said by him and

* *It ought to have been eight; I stated the number from memory.*—Author.

⁸³ Note in original pamphlet by Daveiss.

⁸⁴ Possibly Davis Floyd.

others concerned, to be now inevitable. I think it very important to warn you of this, as it shows you the different influences which will combat your pacific views. The Mexican provinces, and the American possessions on the Mississippi, and the Floridas, are in view. I am unable to collect the particulars definitely. I can only come at an outline; and even so much it will be useful for you to know. These countries are to be a kingdom.⁸⁵ has said that he knows who is to be the monarch. It is neither Wilkinson nor Burr. When I heard this, Moreau instantly occurred to my mind: and I have heard this day, that he is to be here this fall, and go down by way of Orleans, and round to Philadelphia.

I have the most perfect persuasion, that his business is within this scheme.

A war with Spain is inevitable—then our western country is called on for volunteers or drafted militia. These can be influenced into the proper course by their officers, Wilkinson, Burr, Moreau,⁸⁶ and doubtless⁸⁷ himself. So when they get their army right they can proceed to their ulterior purposes.

No doubt all the western waters are calculated on, as falling in with the power possessing the mouths of those waters. This is the best sketch of the affair I can collect, no doubt defective, and very probably in some degree incorrect.

I am sorry that in my last letter to the president, that I exculpated certain characters. One of them is no doubt in this business. I am continually shocked and astonished to find almost daily, new and additional information of the extensiveness of this poison among our young men. The main attempt has been made at our young men of parts. I am convinced⁸⁸ expects the crisis is near at hand. It is taken for granted that the president will make him a general in case of a war—an office for which he is well qualified, where his head and heart are right.

From the information I have received, I am convinced you will upon an emergency find the settlement at Orleans perfectly rotten. There is no true American blood there.

⁸⁵ Wilkins?

⁸⁶ The well known French general, who was regarded with suspicion while in this country.

⁸⁷ Probably Jackson.

⁸⁸ Probably Jackson.

I have obtained very conclusive information as to⁸⁹ but as I suppose he is to be inactive, except with his head, it may do to let you know of his doings at another time. I don't know how far he is into the present scheme.

A new press⁹⁰ is opened at Frankfort, some of the papers you have probably seen. I know not what may be the information of these men. I have been suspected to be a mover of this paper; but I give you my word of honor, I have no hand whatever in it, nor is any of their information drawn from me. They are incorrect in some circumstances; and I observe they say that they know the present state of the conspiracy—but I doubt it. [25]

This paper, however, has fully sounded public mind on the main subject; and I am happy to state, that it is unequivocally on the patriotic side.

I should have gone to the city of Washington, to see the executive upon this subject, and make known all that I have heard, concerning which I have not already written; but from the course my correspondence took, I could not put myself voluntarily in a situation so unpleasant as that in which I should have been at Washington, independent of the appearance it would have carried of seeming desirous of prying into the secrets of state. It is possible that the president might have known that my politics were of the federal kind, on main questions, and have suffered himself to be influenced by it: Yet I cannot suppose, while congress was sitting, that there could have been any difficulty of acquiring such information of my character, as to satisfy him, that no diminution of confidence, at least on a subject of this nature, should be attached to the circumstance of my politics.

A certain very wealthy Frenchman at New Orleans⁹¹ is, I am informed, a prime mover of this business.

I have no wish to draw you into any correspondence. It is my duty, as a citizen, to support my government in a matter of this nature, and to communicate all I may hear or know about it:

⁸⁹ Innis?

⁹⁰ *The "Western World," Vol. I, No. 1*, appeared in Frankfort, Monday, July 7, 1806. The editors were Wood and Street, and it was printed by Hunter.

⁹¹ Probably Belle Chasse.

of this I am determined to acquit myself, no matter what regard the government may give it.

I have the honor to be,

Your's respectfully

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Cornland, near Breckinridge court house, 14th August, 1806.

The Hon. JAMES MADISON.

Reader, I take great pleasure in saying, that my opinion as to the patriotism at Orleans, was wholly erroneous. The event shews my information to have been altogether incorrect.

This letter was answered by Mr. Madison as follows.

VIRGINIA, September 18th, 1806.

Sir,

YOUR letter of the 14th ultimo has come duly to hand, and will receive the confidential attention which is due to the nature of its contents and motives which dictated them. The president to whom it has been communicated charges me with the enclosed letter, in which the delay in answering your late letters is explained.

I remain sir, very respectfully

Your most ob't. servant

JAMES MADISON.

The president's letter enclosed is as follows.⁹²

MONTICELLO, Sep. 12, '06.

Sir,

YOUR letter of Aug. 14, has been received. The first of Jan. 10, was acknowledged in mine of Feb. 15. After that, those of Feb. 10, March 5, April 5, and 21, came in due time. As their matter did not require answer, their acknowledgment was postponed to avoid the [26] suspicions of which you seemed to be aware, as well as to wait your return from the journey you had undertaken. The acknowledgments of their receipts is now therefore made to relieve you from any anxiety respecting their safety; and you may rely upon the most inviolable secrecy as to

⁹² This letter is bracketed and marked "Note 95" in margin of pamphlet.

the past any future communications you may think proper to make. Your letters are not filed in the offices; but will be kept among my private papers.

Accept my salutations and assurances of respect,
J. H. DAVEISS, Esq. TH. JEFFERSON.

Good God! was ever anything so astonishing! so unaccountable! That in reply to a letter so distinct, the government should still keep me profoundly in the dark, never order me to do or forbear anything, or give me one hint of their views!

If I had possessed sufficient power, I should have taken the start of Mr. Jefferson by removing him from office.

Thus, countrymen, I groped along in the dark, trying to awake this *snoring* administration; but to no purpose. I continually heard it whispered, that the thing was going on by the privity of the executive; and I was at moments exceedingly staggered relative to that point by the silence of the administration to me.

Moreau was now expected, and I had adopted the resolution of following him to New Orleans, with a view of finding out the precise objects, and the crisis. This resolution I had made known to my intimate friends: but whatever success I should have, I determined to advertise it in some newspaper, perfectly confident that the administration would never take any measure unless pushed head foremost into it by the people, or propelled to it by the immediate pressure of terror. But the general did not come; and I take great pleasure in saying, that the development of this plot we now possess, gives me full reason to believe the general wholly innocent.⁹³

I determined to make an effort to arrest Mr. Burr's preparations, which were now publicly talked of, as soon as the court came on in November. On the third day of that court, I made an affidavit,⁹⁴ of my information and belief, as to his expedition against Mexico; and stated to the court, that the law only reached that part of the plot—but my information was equally conclusive, that the scheme embraced New Orleans, Louisiana, and all the western states.

I desire you to remark this particularly. All the papers of the day will give you a precise detail.

⁹³ Moreau did come. Cf. Cox, "*West Florida Controversy*," 211.

⁹⁴ See p. 152.

I am told that within three hours after this motion, the news reached Mr. Burr at Lexington, three and twenty miles off.

So watchful and alert were his friends.

The judge overruled the motion. Before he did so, he in private informed me of his opinion; and told me a grand jury would come at the point as well. I suggested the difficulty of getting the witnesses together, and the examination being in private. He said I had a right to examine the witnesses before a jury.

If I had been right prudent I should have stopped here, having done sufficient to have answered all purposes at an election, more especially as I had stopped at such a point as to make Mr. Burr and his friends applaud my for[27]bearance, and feel friendly towards me for pulling the trigger so easy. But my object was to stop Mr. Burr. So I called for a grand jury. They came; but my most material witness failed, and I could not go on; nor could I keep the grand jury there to wait for his return from Vincennes legislature, without vast expense; so they were discharged.

Mr. Burr was careful to enquire of my friends, whether they supposed it was from a sense of official duty, or personal ill will, that I thus pursued him. The gentlemen all answered it was without doubt from a sense of duty. Mr. Burr expressed his conviction; and supposed if that was my motive, my pursuit of him would now cease.

All this was told me, and attempts were made to produce a meeting between Mr. Burr and me. To all which I gave an answer, which put an end to a like conversation in the future. One gentleman, who I know to be a man of the first integrity, and a federalist, informed me that a letter had been addressed by an eminent gentleman in the Pittsburgh country to him, (or one of his neighbors) stating that Mr. Burr was out here to form a personal acquaintance, and it was the intention of the federalists to take him up and run him for president at the next election; but as I had not capacity enough to fathom the depth of this policy, and as I did not wish that federalism should come in by climbing over the wall, however, welcome it might be if it came in by the door, I disregarded the information. However, I had no power apparently to do anything, for on the discharge of the grand jury, the public voice seemed to break forth against me, as one who

had given a false alarm. The crowd had gathered there to see some great spectacle; and the disappointment was insupportable.

The pleasure of some spectacle was the object with them; they reasoned nothing about the main point.

I addressed my last letter to Mr. Madison on the 16th of November, as follows:

Sir,

BEFORE I left home, which was late in October, I had heard such accounts about Mr. Burr's preparations for an expedition about Louisville, that I was induced to pass near Louisville coming up, to satisfy myself on this subject.

I there received abundant information of his preparations. Boats were building, beef-cattle bought up, more demanded in the market, a large quantity of pork and flour in demand, and an attempt to engage men for six months. This last did not come so well verified as the other particulars, though I believe the terms were certainly held out, but the engagement for a short time suspended, probably for fear of drawing the eye of government too soon toward the project. Mr. Burr's accomplices, very busy in disseminating the idea of disunion, as well as sentiments of Mr. Burr's greatness, virtue, martyrdom, &c. I had several private informations from men, who I could implicitly confide in, of what they had been told in secrecy by two men who I knew were Mr. Burr's chief confidants and counsellors in this country, which perfectly confirmed my previous information, that Mexico was the first object, the Mississippi the second, and the Ohio the completion of the scheme.

When I got here, where the assembly had met, I found a great abundance of mysterious whispers, that government were in the secret, and the affair going on by their instigation. [28]

I determined at once on an attempt to arrest this proceeding, which I could not suppose to be with the privity or knowledge of government; or at least to draw the public eye on the affair, and put the people on their guard in respect to it. But as the only sure way was that of bringing Mr. Burr up for examination on affidavit, in which case, witnesses could be sent for and examined at several times as they could be procured, I adopted the mode, and made such a motion upon an affidavit, which ere this I suppose you have seen in some newspaper. The judge over-

ruled it. I then thought it incumbent on me, to make an effort to collect the witnesses before a grand jury, though much doubting my success. A grand jury was ordered; but my principal witness as to stores and supplies, engaged and engaging, had gone to Vincennes legislature, and could not be had, I thought it not discreet to go into an examination, unless the necessary witnesses were present, as the scheme would gather strength by a failure. So the jury was discharged.

Davis Floyd, the witness who was absent, is the man with whom Mr. Burr last year formed connections, when he first came here; and who has been his quarter master general in all these preparations. The design and intent would have been satisfactorily proved; but the preparation of the means was an indispensable part of the charge to be substantiated.

Unless the law is altered and much amended, there is little reason to believe, under, the opinions of this judge, that anything can be done of a preventive nature by a grand jury; such is the difficulty of getting together at one time the necessary witnesses.

I consider him clearly possessed of power to make the examination in or out of court—to bind to good behaviour, and recognize the witnesses to appear at court; but as he does not think so without some legislative declaration, he will not do it.

I never knew, till I made particular examination, that no law forbids an attempt to disunite the states.

I observe the act on which I have been proceeding, authorizes the president to call on the militia to prevent such unlawful expeditions. But no authority is appointed in such cases to examine witnesses—to judge whether the scheme be of that nature—nor to seize the stores prepared—nor to bind the offenders to good behaviour.

I note these things, contemplating the possibility of some legislative interference on the subject, to amend and declare the law. I shall continue to watch the motions of Mr. Burr, though I know not in what way I can with certainty obstruct his course. The crisis is near; the preparation of so many perishable stores assures me of this, independent of the information I have received. I have no doubt you will discover in the end, that a great number of very wealthy men in the Eastern states, are in this project.

It is somewhat like Cataline's conspiracy, as it respects its leader and his adherents. The same means and address are used;

and the same kind of desperate characters engaged in the scheme. Men without fortune or expectation, save from some revolution. Great and indefatigable attempts are making here, to render Mr. Burr popular; and they are not without some effect.

He seems principally to address our young men; and with a success at once astonishing and mortifying to a true American.

No doubt is left with any one who hears what is said by his intimates, [29] but a separation of the union is the ultimate purpose. They speak of it as a very advantageous event;⁹⁵ and one without which this country can never prosper. Mr. Burr is more circumspect on the subject. He says it must as necessarily happen, as that the ripe fruit falls from the tree; but it would be folly to think of it, in less than 8 or 10 years: From which I take his statement to be, that it ought to happen as soon as possible. said, that the attempt for that purpose would be made in less than two years; and would succeed. A man of undoubted credit, who heard him say so, accused him with it, face to face, in Frankfort, a few days ago.

In my list of names to the president, last February, I mentioned two men, who, in a subsequent letter, I stated to be erroneously mentioned as concerned in the present plot.

I have no reason to believe them connected in it now; and for that cause deem them wholly innocent.

I also stated that \$100,000 had been disbursed by Spanish agents: of this I asked the very man who it should have come from; for he was said to have seen the boxes packed up, and freighted for this country: But as he declined giving me any positive assurance of the fact, I have supposed it untrue, and that it arose from the fact, of which no doubt can be entertained on the information I have received, that this sum was offered by Dr. Powers to certain leading men here. But I believe it was refused; and instead of his view being responded, a minister plenipotentiary was dispatched secretly by the Spanish government to make a treaty, which finally fell through, because they asked three per cent. on merchandise, exported by us to their ports.

These corrections I deemed necessary, lest you should be misled by my previous letters.

Upon a subject of this nature, it may be proper for me to

⁹⁵ Cf. Taylor's *Autobiography*.

let you know what reaches me by report, although in the end it may be erroneous.

It is said that,⁹⁶ of Tennessee, has been organizing volunteers, and has two companies complete; and that preparations as extensive are making for Mr. Burr's enterprise in Tennessee, as here.

I do not vouch for the truth of these stories; but they are so probable, that I deem them worth communicating.

If any act of mine is not in harmony with your views, I assure myself you will excuse me. You know that I have been all along in the dark, as to the sentiments of government, on this subject.

I give this as a reason of any possible infringement of your plan. My want of information as to your views, has been very distressing to me, although I have not much cause to complain, as your experience shews, that almost every line you write finds its way into the newspapers, and becomes matter of public animadversion. Indeed it is very probable, that the president did not imagine the crisis to be so near.

It is said, you have failed in your attempt to buy the Floridas.⁹⁷ My knowledge of this scheme, gave me a full expectation of such an event. A war is now looked for most anxiously by these adventurers; and they count upon it as certain and inevitable. It will be with extreme exertion that you will be able to avoid it. Had it come a year sooner, they would not have been ready for it; were it delayed a year longer, their preparations would go to pot before the crisis: if it happens now, it will come in the lucky moment for them. [30]

What maritime force can Mr. Burr have engaged to co-operate with him?⁹⁸

I received the day before I left home your letter; and one from the president. He does not acknowledge the receipt of my letters of the 28th and 29th of March.

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

16th November, 1806.

THE HON. JAMES MADISON.

⁹⁶ Jackson.

⁹⁷ See I. J. COX, *West Florida Controversy, Chapter VII.*

⁹⁸ Martin, *Hist. of La., Vol. II, p. 271.*

This was written in a moment of uncommon illumination; for the president recommends laws upon all these subjects.

Now Mr. Burr's tide was making very rapidly; and threatened to swallow me up. The current came up so strong, that I was broken loose from my friends, and there was a period, at which, for several days, there was only two or three men in Frankfort, even in that public time, to whom I could speak without reserve or restraint; and only two houses into which I could enter, without the risque of an unwelcome countenance. I was fair game for every one. The *genuine republicans* left no efforts unemploy'd to injure me; and every one of these Espaniolized Kentuckians, not one excepted, were Burr's friends, and my persecutors. The people seemed to vie with each other in folly, and a zeal to distinguish and caress this *persecuted patriot*. Balls and parties were held for him.

The secretary told me, that the governor⁹⁹ laughed at the idea of Mr. Burr's expedition—so assiduous had those people been in plying him with falsehoods on this subject, for no one doubts his being a patriot.

You remark in history, that there are times in which whole nations are blind: this seemed to me to be one. It appeared as if Mr. Burr had wrought a spell or enchantment on the whole people and their magistracy.

I received information about this time, that Floyd had returned; and I called for another grand jury, and gave them indictments against him and Mr. Adair.¹⁰⁰ When addressing the grand jury, I was informing them that as this was a matter of a secret nature, and in which witnesses would not depose unless drawn to the point of enquiry, it would be well for them to demand my aid, in which case I would examine witnesses before them. This, of all things, Mr. Burr determined to avoid. Much argument took place; and the judge decided, that if the grand jury called on me, I should not go to them to examine witnesses. Had the judge told me that at first, I should not have put the government to the expence of a grand jury at all; for I knew the

⁹⁹ Christopher Greenup.

¹⁰⁰ He averred knowledge of Burr's project, but denied his participation in it. Cf. *Marshall, II, 409*. He followed Burr to Nashville after the trial at Frankfort.—*Barry Papers, Amer. Hist. Rev., Vol. XVI, 330*. For arrest later, cf. *Adams, III, 324*.

witnesses could never be brought to tell what they knew without close examination.

They all swore ignorance; and the grand jury prepared an address to the court, over and above their finding. This you have seen. It gave the lie to every suspicion. A great majority of that jury, were honest simple men, who had no idea what they were doing; but the active instruments of that address, made it, no doubt, wholly with a personal view, to bury alive a man, who should stir a question that brought to the peoples mind the old Spanish business; and thwarted our good saviour, mr. Burr, in his patriotic endeavors to give a wider spread to republicanism. It was received with great pleasure indeed—ordered to be recorded—a copy allowed—and hand bills printed before night.

Now the flood seemed to assuage a little; and the clouds began to break away, though very slowly. The people were not satisfied at my be[31]ing prevented from examining the witnesses; and the address was too good, and made the point too clear. Having been once disappointed they did not look for a spectacle: they began to think and add up, and found the result of the addition unsatisfactory.

Mr. Burr stayed in town, I think one or two days; and then started for Nashville.

On the 14th of December I left Frankfort, abandoning every further pursuit of the subject, expecting Mr. Burr would succeed in the first instance, and it would only cost the lives of a few thousand men, divided between the sword and climate to re-instate us.

I arrived at Louisville, fifty miles from Frankfort, the 16th of December; from which I wrote the governor the following letter.

AT LOUISVILLE, 16 December, 1806.

SIR,

Today certain vessels of Mr. Burr's flotilla, departed from this place. First two keel boats built here, one above and the other below the falls. The latter constructed for 16 oars; the size of the former not known; then six large flat boats; then four keels from Marietta; and lastly, two other flats—making in the whole eight flats and six keels. I arrived about two o'clock: just previous to which, the men for the flats had rendezvous'd at

Jeffersonville, and fired many vollies of small arms; and the men at the boat yard say, from the sound, that they fired also a field piece; but this I can't yet ascertain.

Soon after I arrived, the four keels from Marietta crossed the falls in my view; and soon after, two flats from Jeffersonville—not having, as we hear, stopped any where since they weighed at Marietta. We soon went down to Shipping Port, to see the boats; but they made no stop only for a minute at Clarkesville, to let Mr. Blannerhasset get out, who will go in the boats that cast off tonight. Several of our company went over. Mr. Norborne Beall, of that party, this moment has returned; and tells me that mr. Blannerhasset informed him, that the government had stopped the sailing of nine other boats from Marietta, one of which was for the use of his family, and had ordered himself to be apprehended, and that no bail should be taken for his forthcoming, in less than \$50,000,—that to avoid so arbitrary a proceeding, he had slipt off with three boats, and they could do without the others. Mr. Beall saw six men lifting a box on board, which, from its length, he supposed to contain musquets. Mr. Beall observed, that he saw no women or children on board. Blannerhasset said, that might be accounted for by the inclemency of the season.

Is it not astonishing that our people should, for a moment, be gulled with this despicable foolish Ouachita¹⁰¹ story?

There is something remarkable in the concert which seems to be observed between the several parties. Blannerhasset shipped off from Marietta, he says; yet this day was the rendezvous of the people here; and it appears that the arrival of these boats was their signal for sailing. Perhaps a courier by land, might produce this concert. This morning mr. Fitzhugh saw two very heavy boxes, which he took to be musquets, put into a drayman's carriage, from the house of mr. Berthoud, to go down to Shipping Port. The drayman said they were arms.

Gen. George R. Clarke, saw there a few days ago, a number of boxes, [32] which he was satisfied were for cartridges ready made up; being of the very same appearance with such boxes sent formerly to him.

The idea of a settlement at Ouachita, is now wholly exploded I am told by those concerned.

¹⁰¹ McCaleb, "*The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*," p. 83.

I cannot look on and see the sovereignty of my country set at naught, in this manner, without unspeakable distress; a distress much increased by a knowledge of the exemplary assiduity which has been employed by printers, accomplices, and insinuating friends to treason, under the garb of patriotism and candour, to lull my government and country into supineness, upon a subject so interesting to the American family.

What is to become of our merchants, in all ports subject or appendant to France or Spain, when the explosion takes place? What would become of one of our seaport cities, should one of their fleets find its way there? The country ought at least to be apprised, that as much as possible may be rescued from the just vengeance of our neighbours.

Mr. New, the collector of the port ¹⁰² is on board. So you are not to expect that these people, will make an entry in this custom house and clear out? In making this communication, I discharge my duty as a citizen. I leave the duty of government to its high magistracy, only observing, that if any thing is done, it must be with expedition, for at the mouth of Cumberland they will again rendezvous, as I am told.

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

The GOVERNOR.

This I understand, he had before the assembly; and while they were on the subject, mr. Jefferson's agent¹⁰³ had arrived there, and was examined with closed doors.

This was my last effort. I came home to my farm; on the Ohio, where I have since remained.

About the middle of April, I understood that I was removed from office.

On the last day of that month, I fell in with a young man, named Jackson, of Virginia, on this way to the mouth of Cumberland, to summon witnesses against Burr, having been at Frankfort, Louisville, &c. for the same purpose. He had not summoned a single witness.

He had with him from three to four pages of printed interro-

¹⁰² Louisville, at that time, was a port of entry.

¹⁰³ John Graham, Secretary of Orleans Territory.

gatories, drawn up by mr. Attorney General Rodney,¹⁰⁴ to shew to persons he should enquire of for testimony.

One of them was, whether any force was embodied on the Ohio? And another, of whom Burr got the Ouachita land?¹⁰⁵ I told him to summon on both points; and I see in the papers he has returned without summoning a witness to either.

He told me, that a mr. Drew had been appointed to summon all over the westward, under whom he acted—that Drew told him, that after Burr's being bailed at Richmond,¹⁰⁶ Rodney went to Washington to see the president; and that he (Drew) had to wait three days, before Rodney had done conferring with the president, and preparing to dispatch him. This young man was the sole judge who to summon, having blanks with him; and he was certainly young, illiterate, and seemed wholly ignorant of the world and of business. *He had no intelligence of any person in Kentucky, who could inform him where testimony might be had.*

The judge, at Richmond, has said, that collecting a force is requisite to [33] constitute treason—as this was unquestionably done on the 16th Dec. at the Falls, and on the 22d at the mouth of Cumberland, and as the present attempt is fully *mature*, and managed by the highest council and wisdom of the land, we must expect mr. Burr to be convicted of treason.

I shall not be surprized, however, if it turns out another Miranda affair.¹⁰⁷

Stricture On The President's Communication Of The 22d January.

MR. PRESIDENT,

I HAVE arraigned you before this people, for neglecting your guardian duties over them—for violating their constitution and laws—and for rendering an unfaithful account of your agency to them and their councils. Part of the evidence

¹⁰⁴ Cæsar A. Rodney succeeded John Breckenridge.

¹⁰⁵ See Evidence of Colonel Lynch, *Annals of Congress, 1807-08, p. 657.*

¹⁰⁶ For Burr's sureties, see *Annals of Tenth Congress, Session I, p. 389.*

¹⁰⁷ The collector at the port of New York allowed Miranda to escape. This gave the impression that the government was willing.

I have laid before them. I now proceed to extract from your own report, the residue of what I intend to offer. If I transgress the limits of fair and legitimate observation, let it be set down to malice.

When you were required to state your doings on the subject of the conspiracy, you felt how indispensable it was to your popularity, to make such a report as would exhibit that *vigilance* and *energy* on your part, for the want of which, this people, when duly informed, will receive no possible excuse or apology. It was therefore necessary to state the date of the *warning*, given to you, in such a manner, as to tally with the measures of prevention you adopted.

You say, "sometime in the *latter part of September*, I received *intimation* that designs were in agitation in the western country, *unlawful and unfriendly to the peace of the union, &c.*"¹⁰⁸

"*The grounds of these intimations being inconclusive, the objects uncertain, &c.*" If you had not said *September*, I should have been positive you pointed at my letter of 10th of January, which tells you that "a separation of the Union in favor of Spain, is the object of Spanish intrigues and traitors in our country." Yet this is twelve months prior to the time of your communication, and nine previous to a single step taken by you.

Was this no such *intimation* as you would regard—was there none in my subsequent letters—was the conduct of Mr. Burr in his journeys, unworthy of notice—was the receipt of the pension from Spain, by the judge, wholly trivial—were Wilkinson's intrigues immaterial—was the offer of \$200, to the citizens of Woodford, to stand centinel for the king of Spain, no ground for suspicion—was the memorandum sent from Tennessee to the gentleman in Lexington, a matter unworthy observation, when connected with Mr. Burr's other movements? Then we will pass by all these things, till the fourteenth of July. Here I tell you the project is "to cause a revolt of the Spanish provinces, and a severance of all these western states from the union, to coalesce and form one government." What better do you know about it to-day, than this? Seizing the bank, and corrupting individuals, were only subordinate measures—[34] were only pointers to the pole. Let it not be said that a revolt of the Spanish

¹⁰⁸ Eaton's interview, Sept., 1806, first alarmed Jefferson. See Testimony of Gideon Granger in *Quar. Pub. Hist. and Phil. Soc. of Ohio, Vol. IX, 1 and 2.*

provinces is problematical. It might be so in fact, but it certainly was a part of the scheme. Burr's ciphered letter,¹⁰⁹ shews that emissaries were with him, to let him know the people were ready for, and desired his arrival. His accomplices (one of them at least) stated privately to more than one person of this state, the readiness of the Mexican country to revolt—and that their chief ecclesiastical characters were for it.

What do you now think of those troops on the Sabine, sir? I have no doubt they were there for this very purpose.¹¹⁰ They as fully understood Wilkinson, and Wilkinson them, as two of your departments understand each other. The information I had given you, would have made any magistrate ready to suspect this, save one who had learned human nature in his closet, by studying natural philosophy.

You proceed, "it was not till the *latter end of October* that the *objects* of the conspiracy began to be *perceived*." Just Heavens! Mr. President, what are you saying?—Have you forgot this same letter of July?—Have you forgot that of August the fourteenth, which states distinctly what came from a leading chief in this conspiracy—and both of which state the thing exactly as it came to pass?

Pity—pity, for my chief, arrests my pen from pursuing a point, so mortifying to the pride of the American nation.

I'll relieve you for a moment from the wheel. You say the objects then began to be perceived, "but still so blended and involved in mystery, that nothing distinct could be singled out for pursuit." Downright Irish—They were then perceived, but not perceivable. "Nothing could be singled out for pursuit." And what did you want to single out? What did you ultimately single out? Why nothing at all. You issued a proclamation; and why could not and ought not that to have been done, when you *began to perceive* those unperceivable machinations? When Genet, our dear brother, began to excite our citizens to rise and form an army to descend the river against the Spaniards, president Washington did not wait for singling out anything: he issued a proclamation;¹¹¹—this roused the country,—it undeceived the multitude.

¹⁰⁹ *Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II, p. 316, 317.*

¹¹⁰ See *Annals of Ninth Congress, p. 925.* Wilkinson wrote to Cordero that he was moving toward the Sabine with no intentions hostile to Spain.

¹¹¹ See *Gayarré, III, 341, 342.*

who had been told the government connived at the thing—this checked it. Had any further attempt been made to proceed, it was then, and not till then, he should single out and pursue.

“In this state of *uncertainty* as to the *crime contemplated*.” Most atrocious Irish. Why in the name of God, what was it you did perceive Mr. President? You perceived the *objects* of the conspiracy, but still *uncertain* as to “the *crime contemplated*.”

“The *acts done*, and the *legal course to be pursued*.” Most gracious chief, will you vouchsafe to inform me, *twilight plebean*, what you really do mean here by “the legal course to be pursued:” for I declare solemnly, it is wholly incomprehensible. The expression is so blended and involved in mystery, that I can’t single out a single idea, of any kind, to pursue. “The legal course.” There is but one act of congress that forbids such enterprizes; and says the militia may be called out to prevent them. The punishment is another department. But what remedy did you adopt? (Countrymen listen!) You sent an *agent* with power and instruction to *investigate the plots*—to confer with the military & civil officers; and with their aid to *do on the spot, whatever should be necessary to discover the designs of the conspirators—arrest their means—bring their persons* [35] *to punishment—and to call out the force of the country*. What kind of an agent was this? You made him a president. What sort of authority did you delegate? Whence came your power to constitute a deputation of this sort? How were the designs of the conspirators to be discovered, by the help of the civil and military officers?

You depute one to do those things, which you alone are equal to in proper person; and to do things which you cannot do. What do you mean by arresting their means? Is it seizing the boats and stores? There is no such law. And this is what you do intend by these words; because another member of the sentence [sic] is to suppress the enterprise.

The history of our young government cannot furnish a like outrage on the constitution. What was your cry, and that of your partizans, when judge Bee departed from an order, perfectly lawful, by president Adams, in giving up Jonathan Robbins,¹¹² without requiring sufficient proof. You condemned the president, even for the act of the judge. Yes, sir, and had he given this

¹¹² *Adams, II, p. 333.*

deputation of power, and you been longing for his seat, we would hear of nothing else for months: And had his agent exercised these powers, my mind can scarce reach the extent of your sentence.

Let us go on: "By this time it was known that many boats were under preparation, stores of provisions collecting, and an unusual number of suspicious characters in motion on the Ohio, and its waters." By what time? the last of October—and what else did you want to perceive, to make a proclamation requisite, unless you wished your agent to go to the spot, to find out the *legal course*, concerning which, you were still uncertain.

Then we come to the communication from Wilkinson.¹¹⁸ Are you, sir, really so weak, as not to perceive, in that letter itself, irrefragible evidence of Wilkinson's guilt? The whole paper is written to a man who fully understands already, all the circumstances of the subject. Nothing explained; I have commenced *the enterprise*; *the project is brought to the point so long wished for*; provisions are forwarded to points Wilkinson may name, &c. To go on with proper quotations, would be to transcribe the whole letter. Yet with your papers sent by Mr. Ellicot, (speaking of them by guess) the effort made about the territorial governments, my letters, the Spanish pension, Burr's movements, the troops on the Sabine, and this letter, you stand up and panegirize this man.

—O TEMPORA! O MORES!—

Mr. President, you must have known better; there is something in this, infamously misterious. I take the true and real state of the fact, to be this: You slept amidst all my attempts to awake you, and probably similar endeavors by others— You sent an agent, who was about returning to Orleans on his own business, merely to see if any thing was the matter, but possessed of a full set of presidential powers. He was scarce gone when Wilkinson's letter waked you with a clap of thunder. His defection from Burr, saved you from a dreadful catastrophe; saved you from disgrace—and probably, the deprivation of your office. You were so filled with fright and joy, that you caressed Wilkinson, as a deliverer; and tell the thing with all the puerile trembling gladness of a boy, who tells his daddy how near he escaped being bit by a rattlesnake.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Natchitoches, Oct. 21, 1806.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. II.*

Now proceed: "Wilkinson's letter and other information," developed Burr's general designs! What not till then? How far did these differ from my information? "At which time, therefore, it was first possible, [36] to take specific measures." And what did you take? A proclamation.¹¹⁴ Now what would you call a general measure? You issued orders of a general nature, to the posts. And why could not this proclamation and these orders have been issued upon general information, without knowing the crime contemplated, the acts done, or legal course to be pursued? "A little before this the agent had opened himself to the governor of Ohio." Now, Mr. President, my utter want of documents, (even my newspapers which have been torn up) disables me from stating any thing about this matter very precise; but I have the fullest belief, that this is not the fact. That legislature, if I am not mistaken, were proceeding with closed doors, on this matter, several days before your agent crossed the Ohio at all.¹¹⁵ On the 6th of December, the seizure was made; and, if I am not deceived, it was early in the previous month, they were aiming to possess themselves of the case, and to act upon it.

I do *aver* that *that* state was in commotion about this business long previous—and yet you state this thing, as if they had been as supine as yourself, until the arrival of your confidential budget on the spot, at which spot he got his information. Your story is not the fact; but it has the advantage of which Voltaire boasted, when corrected about a point in his history: *It is prettier than the fact!*

Now I come round to the place where an honorable niche is cut in the wall for me.

"In Kentucky a premature attempt to bring Burr to Justice." How was it premature? Is it because I had not sufficient evidence for his conviction? Look over the names of the witnesses, and you will there see the most notorious accomplices of Burr—*men who to divers persons, had before that time, stated their knowledge of the matter* in such a way, as to make their participation unquestionable. One of these was the person alluded to, in the letter of the 14th of August, who stated to the young man, the views and objects of the project: and, although that young man backed out in the most infamous manner, upon his oath before

¹¹⁴ Issued Nov. 27, 1806.—*Annals of Ninth Congress, 686.*

¹¹⁵ See *Taylor Autobiography.*

the grand jury, yet it is manifest, *from the tale itself*, that he told the truth at *first*; for the story then told, turns out to be *the real plot*: but add to this, he reported the same thing to three other gentlemen, with whom I have conversed.

Now was not this man alone, sufficient evidence whereon to proceed? Could I foresee that he would swear ignorance of what I could prove he knew, if such proof were admissible?

Then comes the man of whom Burr bought Bastrop's land,¹¹⁶ to settle gulls on, and whose house had been a home to Burr. The speculating turn of this man—his conversation—his expressive declarations, one of which foretold the separation of the union—his intimacy with Burr, and all his known accomplices, left no doubt in any man's mind of his ability to testify. Then comes the gentleman of Jeffersonville, Burr's quartermaster-general.¹¹⁷ He has lately made a confession in writing to governor Harrison. Were the proceedings to be had against Burr this day, it would be absolutely impossible to select better witnesses in Kentucky than I had: his noted agents and accomplices. I am not to be responsible for the refusal of the witnesses to testify.

But come back to your word "premature"—it seems to mean that I began too soon, in point of time; I ought to have waited, till I could have matured the matter, and made a safe shot. O fie Mr. President! [37] O fie! it's horrid to hear you informing congress without your knowing any thing about what you speak of, and shaking your statements so as to suit your fraudulent claim to public confidence & applause. All Kentucky knows I had not one day to loose; *now or never*. After the jury were dismissed, Burr staid a day, perhaps two, to save appearances and get a ball,¹¹⁸ then started, and I have heard it reported an hundred times, that the third night after, he slept in the neighborhood of Nashville, two hundred and fifty miles off—Did this look like a man who had over staid his time already, or one who had so much time to spare, that I might have taken a few more days to enquire and prepare. The first mentioned witness started from Frankfort in equal haste, not allowing the taylor time to finish his servants coat, as I often heard. He tired his horse

¹¹⁶ See Note 88.

¹¹⁷ Davis Floyd.

¹¹⁸ Daveiss refused to go to this ball. See *Taylor Autobiography*.

before he reached Hartford in my county, crossed at the ferry at Caney late at night, which is miles from Hartford, and rode to Craven's one mile from Hartford, before he slept. Does this look like prematureness; or does it seem as if I had run time to the lees.

Since I have been writing, I have seen a member of congress, who at Washington city, heard you speak of this thing.—You said I had been officious and did not understand the thing; you seemed vexed about it; I confess sir, I was officious; I have been very officious about this business from the first; but look at my letters, sir, and be vexed for your own *unofficiousness* of behavior. Whose fault is it that I had not instructions from government?

If I had suffered Burr to slip off, and said nothing, how universally I ought to have been, and would have been cursed! How could I have answered for falling asleep on my post? But “the arrival of your deputy president awaked us to the truth.” Would to God this inspired youth had returned back to Washington, and *awaked his master to the truth.*

Do you dare to say, sir, we did not understand the true state of this matter here before your prophet came? Look at my affidavit and observations on the 3d day of November—I have no copy of them but I do positively assert, that I there state, (and pray the judge to cause enquiry) that Mexico was the first object, the Mississippi the second, and the states of the Ohio the *fini* of the project. Your agent came here about the 20th of December or later; and fifty days *before*, I had made this statement: to wit, about the time he left you, to travel out here to resolve you, certainly, as to the *legal course to be pursued.*

If the judge had not baulk'd *this officious attorney, without understanding the matter,* would have saved you from making a report wholly derogatory to your station.

Look at my letter to Mr. Madison of 16th of November, more than a month before your agent came.

Reader examine my affidavit and statement, and the president's report, and then say who had devoted himself most assiduously and successfully to the investigation of this treason, the president or myself. By the 3d of November I had stated this thing *fully* as to its material parts, and *truly*, and singled out my main measure and means for pursuit. At that time the president began to perceive it, but it was still unperceivable to

him—It danced before his eyes in a kind of a Jack-in-a-lantern manner; so he sent off to see what it was.

No, Mr. President, *your agent was believed*, when he told the things which for near two months I had been crying out in the streets, without being regarded; *that's the fact*. Your agent had touched the hem of Jefferson's [38] garment; he had your *name*; Omnipotent talisman! O, sir, had you sent me one of your boots in October, I could, with the knowledge I had, have fixed the whole affair.

But let us pursue this agent; he got a law passed in Kentucky, ordering the militia instantly to different points, &c. ("In the mean time the boats crossed the falls,") what "mean time?" Why, sir, while the law was passing. "Not apprised till very lately that boats were building on Cumberland." You were apprised, sir, that there were preparations generally there; boats were not named, nor were flour barrels; but both must be supposed when you hear of preparations. "I trusted to the effect of the proclamation, &c. &c. &c." Now, reader, the true state of the matter is this:

On the 27th of November the proclamation issued.

On the 16th December I saw the flotilla cross the falls in a fine flood; 14 boats. I wrote the governor. After that letter and about the 20th the agent came to Frankfort (I was not there, so don't know precisely.) On the 23d the law passed, *and the agent went on* toward Nashville.

On the 19th an express was sent by the president from Washington to Nashville.

On the 22d Burr went from the mouth of Cumberland by water; the boats from the falls were with Burr that day. They crossed the falls the 16th about 11 or 12 o'clock; in thirty six hours they arrived at my house half way to the mouth of Cumberland, so that the 20th or 21st *they must have been there*; and *they actually were there*. That point is sixty miles by water from the Mississippi. Now see what follows, and blush for our president. "Whether after the arrival of the proclamation, of the orders, or of our agent, any exertion which could be made by that state, or the orders of the governor of Kentucky for calling out the militia at the mouth of Cumberland, would be in time to arrest these boats, and those from the falls of Ohio, is still doubtful.

Is it possible that our great man did compose and that congress did really swallow such a piece as this! An event stated to be doubtful which it is absolutely impossible (from dates and geography) could have happened. "By the same express orders were sent," &c. This is three sets of orders. But I consider every thing of this sort after Wilkinson's letter as mere affectation and display, or the workings of your trembling nerves; for when Wilkinson deserted, the heart of Burr's whole project was broke, and every man of the least discernment must have seen it. New Orleans was then safe.

Then comes some more praise of the general.

Notice is particularly due to the ensuing paragraph.

You state that surmises of foreign instrumentality in this enterprise are inadmissible, because we are in the paths of peace and negociation with our neighbors.

I have remarked for many years sir, in your addresses, the most wonderful ignorance of history and human nature. I have sometimes doubted whether it was not mere affectation, to catch the star-gazing multitude, by making out that government was a very simple easy thing, that would go on by itself without the guardianship of talents or exertion. But I perceive you are really in earnest. In your communication of 1805, (which I am sorry I cannot lay my hand on) relative to our relations with Spain, in two different places you calculate the event, from a sense of national jus[39]tice and honor in the Spaniards, and a *due estimate of interest as well as character*. Why, whoever heard such a speech from a politician? All history is little more than a catalogue of crimes and wrongs of nations to each other. What would have been our fate, had we confided thus in England in 1776? What the fate of the Dutch under Philip 2d, or the Portuguese under Philip 4th? The Swedes under their oppressors when Gustavus Vara relieved them? But why attempt an enumeration which must fill a volume? What was the late fate of Poland, when she had her safety in the justice of her neighbors? The *later* fate of Holland; Helvetia; Belgium; Italy; Portugal? To what point has this wise confidence brought the skeleton empire of Spain? that of Austria, and the oppressed king of Prussia; where would England have been now if led by such a politician as your excellency?

In your address of this year (which I have not) you state,

doubtingly, whether a law is wanting to repress and punish attempts against the integrity of a country so free, and where the citizens are so powerful as ours; as if this was not the very country where ambition has the fullest scope, fairest prospects, and least control. What country or government on earth has escaped these troubles? Or do you really think that human nature will turn out otherwise in this hemisphere, than it has done in the old world?

In your last you can't believe foreign influence to be exercised because of our pacific dispositions. Why is there a more stale and hackeneyed trick among nations than to make an attempt after unguarding the adversary by negotiation?

The Carthagenians treated until their strongholds, their arms, and the city gates were in the hands of their enemies. The same snare was laid for Louis 14 by Mar[1]borough; but it did not take. The Greek empire at Constantinople was overturned, by the turk, fighting and treating, and treating and fighting, till he found an opening to make a lunge in *quart* at his adversary and lay him dead at his feet. The Dutch when treating of peace with England, entered the Thames and burnt the English fleet.

But instead of quotations, a general reference should be made to all history.

How many lessons has France taught us all, within the last seventeen years on this subject? But come to the last year: For what were those troops on the sabine? and how reconcile this with your Godwin theories.

I am sorry sir, that my limits are so small; I must proceed to your last paragraph.

This states that citizens had been seized and shipped, and accounts for it by the disturbed condition of Orleans.

Pardon the plainness of my language, Mr. President, but when I read this paragraph: when I reflect how much, and how long my country has been abused by this rotten and corrupt member, and what reasons and evidences you have to shew you his falsehood and treachery; and when I see the poor pitiful attempts of your *terror-born* gratitude, to extenuate & plaster over this man, to whose abomination you are solely indebted for your disgraceful deliverance, my soul is filled with the most unspeakable contempt for Thomas Jefferson, and the deepest grief, that the chair of state is not filled by a man whose honesty, dignity and energy are

equal to that mighty station. The people have been seized and shipped,¹¹⁹ "probably on the consideration that an impartial trial could not be expected, [40] during the agitations of New Orleans, and that city was not as yet a safe place of confinement."

O potent constitution! O government of laws! thus sported with and trampled on!!! Had this been done by president Adams; the very parrots would have been taught to say *habeas corpus*. Your *genuine republicans*, have been laboring to whine tears out of our eyes about a lying caitiff of a printer in New England, sent to jail for a libel, after regular trial in court;¹²⁰ but here our first magistrate stands forth and mildly seems to dispense with our whole constitution, bill of rights and laws, which secure personal liberty.

The Pope is God, and God is the Pope.

Come back a little to your sentence; the men have been shipped to you, probably on the consideration, that New Orleans *will not admit of an impartial trial, nor is a safe place of confinement*. Most infamous! And with this you send congress documents to shew that your general has the city under his feet. Your viceroy Claiborne, is hardly a shadow, and your judges (attend countrymen) your judges have laid off their robes, abandoned the sacred judgment seat, and became the general's privy council. He *consults with them* who to arrest, and how to proceed. If impartiality of trial cannot be had, the error is *against* the accused, on which account we all know they never would have been sent away. As to the safety of confinement, that's mere sham. We can all judge on that point, when the general reigns absolutely both on land and water.

"Both as to place and *process* as its functionaries may direct. The presence of the highest judicial authorities, to be assembled at this place within a few days, the means of pursuing a sounder course of proceedings here than elsewhere, and the aid of executive means, should the judges have occasion to use them, render it equally desirable, for the criminal as for the public, that, being already removed from the place where they were apprehended, the first regular arrest should take place here, and the course of proceedings receive here its proper direction."

¹¹⁹ Erick Bollman, Peter V. Ogden, Samuel Swartwout, James Alexander. —*Amer. State Papers, Miscell.*, p. 470.

¹²⁰ Matthew Lyon.

Most mighty chief, don't let your wrath burn against me, and vouchsafe only for once more to explain in the vernacular tongue what you do mean here; for as God is my judge, it is so blended and involved in mystery that I can't single out a single atom of meaning for pursuit. "As to place" What? Bring the man one thousand miles in a prison ship, to ask the hierarchy of powers in what *place* they should be tried? Every county court lawyer knows.

The presence of the supreme court; why how were they to act; nobody on your side of the house imagined they would dare a habeas corpus; nor was it clear, or is now, that they had power. They had never done such a thing before.

The means of pursuing a *sounder* course *here* than *elsewhere*; how in the name of God—Give me just a little hint of what you aim at?— "The aid of executive means should the judges have occasion to use them"— Just Heaven! is the man talking in his sleep? "*The first regular arrest* should take place *here*." Good republicans; ye who understand the words of light and wisdom, help me I pray you out of this dismal cave of perplexity, where not a ray of light shoots down "athwart the gloom profound."

"And *the course of proceedings* receive *here* its *proper direction*." Why [41] what's the meaning of this? Is the president imitating the prophet Ezekiel or the Revelations?

"*The course of proceedings* receive *HERE* its *proper direction*."

Spirit of immortal MIRANDOLA! descend in thy light and strength;— bring with thee thy famous THESIS, consisting of nine hundred propositions of cabalistic learning; for behold I have a paragraph of presidential cabalistical scripture to lay before thee, at which I will give thee nine hundred fair trials, and if thou can single out one distinct and sensible idea in the whole paragraph, I will fall down and worship thee!!

Mr. President, there neither is a meaning, nor ever was intended that there should be one in this composition. Your excellency has resorted to your characteristic quadruplicity of style. Your fine artificial tissue of words, to an ambiguous, abstruce, unintelligible set of pretty sentences to *lullaby* the ear of congress and indispose them to examine the conduct of your saviour general.

So I take my leave of you, Mr. President.

COUNTRYMEN,

I have gone through the narrative I desired to lay before you, and the observations I thought proper to submit relative to it. You can now judge how I have acquitted myself toward you, and toward the government, and can decide how the president has acted toward you and me.

When you see the president's communication analysed and examined you find he has done little or nothing at all towards defeating this conspiracy. After it has been completely crippled by Wilkinson's defection, then great display of zeal and orders were exhibited. When the feathers are picked off his report you can see no carcase left. To the eye it was all plumage, to the ear *vox et nihil preterea*.

Countrymen, if that unforeseen event had not happened to Mr. Burr, we would not have regained our peace without much effusion of blood. If Wilkinson had adhered to him, the boats seized at Marietta would have been no obstacle to his success. No men were seized, and the commerce of the river would abundantly furnish food for a party unprincipled enough to seize the bank for their support.

It is possible that the president supposed that my fear of publishing the *names* communicated to him, would check my publication of his imposition on you, as to his vigilance.— He was mistaken—I sincerely wish those names not to be published—I have enemies enough by this matter already—but if they are, I am ready to meet the consequences.

My publication may be supposed to proceed from vindictiveness—those who will think so will not alter their opinion from any assertion to the contrary.—I do not deny that I utterly despise and scorn the president for his treatment to me; but I assert that from the first moment his communication appeared, I resented the imposition on the nation, and can name the persons present.—Yet I don't know that I should have made any publication, in print, if the finger of public disrespect and suspicion had not been pointed at me as it has been.

But countrymen, the wrong done me, is less than nothing, even in my own estimation, to that done the nation. To neglect forestalling such a conspiracy, when informed of it as the president has been, is a great and gross violation of the executive duties. [42]

To give such an authority as he did to his agent, is to set

at naught our great charter, and the limitations of powers where-with we have deemed it material to our liberties and the perpetuity of our rights to environ and entrench our executive.

To order, or to sanction or ratify such outrages as Wilkinson has committed, is a prostration of that part of the constitution most intimately connected with the citizen's liberty.

But that the great chief of the nation should utter even a *scintilla* of falsehood when standing up to inform the American body, has in it something so stupendously monstrous, as to eclipse the whole catalogue of crimes in individuals; even treason itself. Whether therefore it be set down to malice, federalism, or candor, I care not, but I solemnly assure you, that were I in congress, I would move an impeachment against Thomas Jefferson, for his negligent and flagitious conduct relative to this conspiracy.

COUNTRYMEN,

Nothing has given me greater astonishment and concern than the alarming behaviour of the senate. It seems as if the influence of that brigadier-general had poisoned the whole great fountain of executive power. Look at the law passed *all in a jerk* by the senate to suspend the habeas corpus¹²¹—At the very time, when throughout America, it was known that the cloud had discharged all its lightning and the danger was over—At a time when the documents before the executive shewed that the conspiracy was thoroughly crushed:—all this—for what, countrymen? to hood-wink you—to dupe and deceive the people; to cheat the people into a forged, fictitious, counterfeit acknowledgment, that the citizens had been abused, as they have from good cause apparently. Thus to bring off their general.

COUNTRYMEN, I endeavored to arrest those doings, and with my whole heart bent on doing it; but whoever imagines that I will justify an abuse of the law, and bill of rights against a citizen, *unless the country's safety absolutely depends on it*, is much mistaken. I declare to you that not the slightest shade of personal motive was mingled with my proceedings. I now regret exceedingly, that I should bring Mr. Burr's name before you, because he is fallen and unfortunate. In a different course of fortune he would probably have been a shining character—especially in military life.

¹²¹ *Annals of Congress, Jan. 26, 1807.*

In the above pages do not imagine that I intend to disparage the democratic class of our citizens; but I do mean to point out to you the folly of considering this name, or that, as indicating friendship to the community and a claim to your confidence.

I have omitted a point of respect equally due to myself and my successor (Mr. Bibb.)¹²²—Let no stranger imagine me dissatisfied with the man by whom I am supplanted; indeed I am not; he is a man of talents; a sterling fellow; and a true American.—When public clamor was loudest, after Burr's acquittal, he came to Frankfort, and condemned the people's error in the most public and independent manner. Should a similar crisis occur, I have no doubt he will act much as I did; with more judgment and ability, I will not deny, but his object will be the same with mine.

GENERAL WILKINSON,

You feel deeply aggrieved, I have no doubt, by this pamphlet. Sir, the courts are open to you; and that you may have no difficulty in select[43]ing the actionable words I now distinctly state, "That you have been, for years, a pensioner of Spain, and have held secret intelligence with that power; and you were engaged in Burr's conspiracy and deserted him."

JOSEPH HAMILTON DAVEISS.

Cornland, 22d May, 1807.

The first rough sketch of the president's communication to congress, on the subject of the conspiracy, translated into prose, and embellished with sundry matters of fact, never heretofore in print.

JANUARY 18th, 1807.

Gentlemen of the senate and house of representatives,

ABOUT twelve months ago, I was informed by letter from Kentucky, that intrigues were there secretly carried on by traitors, whose designs were a separation of the western states from the nation in favor of Spain, and that a gentleman of high rank in

¹²² George Bibb had succeeded Thurston as circuit judge in Nov., 1804, and filled Clay's place in State Legislature.—*Palladium*, Nov. 17, 1804.

our army, had for many years, been clandestinely a correspondent of the Spanish government, and a pensioner of that power.

My informant was a man of undoubted integrity, but one who thought in politics after the manner in which we call heresy, so I paid little regard to it, not even thinking worth while to desire any one of the true faith to look into the matter. I determined to reserve myself for events. Sundry other communications, from the same hand, reached me soon after, and the communicator of his own motion, undertook a journey to collect information and documents for the development of the plot, but not being supported by the executive as he thought he ought, he declined the pursuit.

However, on the 14th of July he gave other and further views on the subject, stating to me that the object was to revolutionize the Spanish provinces and the western states, and to form them into one government. By another letter dated 14th August, he stated distinctly what had been delivered by one of the leading conspirators, in confidence to a citizen whom he endeavored to seduce into the scheme, and was in full and complete corroboration of his letters of the previous month, and a specification of the particulars of the plot, whose general bearing he at first announced. But inasmuch as the latter communications varied from the first, with respect to the interest which Spain was to have in the event, and some other features, I concluded it might be a mere federal trick of our anti-revolutionary enemies.

However, about the latter end of September, some other *intimations* reached me to the same effect. I began now to think there was something going on, but not having any idea that Mr. Burr would attempt to surprise us, or hurry the nation out of the paths of peace, I waited one whole month, to wit, till the latter end of October; and the secretary of Orleans being here, and about to return back, I thought it well enough to desire him to go through Ohio and the western states; and gave him full powers to do or to undo as I myself could in every event.

Indeed, when I gave this power I did not reflect, or examine on the legality of it; for I had little idea it would be necessary to use it in a country so highly prosperous, and where every man, in one sort or other, exercises the sovereign power. Previous to this, but about the same time the objects of the conspiracy began to be perceived, and we had advice of suspicious persons and preparations of boats and stores on the Ohio and its waters.—

But although they began to be perceived, yet they were not perceivable—so as to be interdicted by a *proclamation*, which I call a *specific* measure. In short, gentlemen, although I sent my agent forward, yet when I cast my eye over the state of the country, I thought it was all smoke, and still slept quietly.

What ground could there be for any insurrection, where every man was not only as free as he wished, but a sovereign to boot?

However my agent arrived at Ohio state, just *after* that state was thrown into commotion by the proceedings of Blannerhasset and others; and the preparation of such a fleet at Marietta and other places; but before the thing came to the crisis which it visibly and rapidly approached, my agent spoke secretly to the governor, so as to get the credit of the whole, should events make it desirable; and my agent actually witnessed, *with his own eyes*, the efforts of the commonwealth to arrest the progress of the conspirators.

He then proceeded to Kentucky, to put the energies of the state into action. Previous, however, to his arrival, the attorney of that district, from whom I had received the communication first stated, not knowing what the government intended, nor imagining that they cared or intended doing anything about it, threw the barriers of the law in the way of the conspiracy, and did everything in his power to arrest the project by calling upon the most notorious and leading adherents of the faction to testify against their chief. But what by one means and what by another, the conspirators and a numerous class of patriotic friends of the *old school* in Kentucky, burst through the gate and trod him and the barrier both in the mud. This gave Burr such an unfortunate opportunity of hastening his equipments that the flotilla crossed the falls on the 16th December to the amount of fourteen boats in a fine flood, under command of rear-admiral Blannerhasset.

Soon after this, to wit, about the 21st or 2d of December my agent arrived at Frankfort to rouse the energies of that state, and did it so effectually that by a law of the 23d of December a brigadier-general with his power was ordered to be stationed above the falls,¹²³ (over which the flotilla had passed seven days before the act passed) so that should any attempt be made to row back the flotilla *up over the falls*, it would fall into the clutches of the general as in a fish trap, and be secured. And in consequence

¹²³ See *Barry Papers, Amer. Hist. Rev., Vol. XVI, 330.*

of the same law, orders were sent to the mouth of Cumberland (three hundred miles from Frankfort) to station a regiment there for the same purpose.

But here I run before the due order of events; (for all these things were unknown to me when they happened.)

On the 25th of November I received a letter from general Wilkinson, by which, to my unspeakable astonishment and terror, I found that the plot described in all the previous communications I had received did exist sure enough, and a terrible one it was too; and on the point of explosion. (Good God, says I! can it be possible! What can infuriate Burr to this anglo-monarchico conduct! What will become of me should Wilkinson have been shaved and tied by the whore of England? [])

But upon reading a little farther I found that that high officer had got [45] *scared* at the looks of the storm he and Burr had blown up, found that it might blow down his own marque, and hastened to risque himself, by alarming me to the utmost of his power. I now saw the cloud darkening down over my head, while I thought the weather was clear, and never was president so terrified by vice-president, as I by this little sir Aaron. Only think what a hurry of spirits, what a hysterical whirlwind of fidges I was in, to be waked from my slumbers in the dead of night, with the sound of a storm just at hand, and a universal cry that the ship was on Cape Hatteras.

Now had I all the parts of a president on my hands at once, and such a *potheration* as it threw me into you can't imagine. I sent expresses, couriers, heralds and agents in all directions. I sent a herald at arms to Wilkinson, begging him to *stop at nothing* now, that the government was at a dead lift. I told the herald neither to eat nor sleep by the way—stop for nothing—and should he find one of Phoebus's coach horses at grass by the road, just saddle, mount, and stick the spur into him, without saying a word to anybody. And should he fall in with Mercury, and find him disengaged from Mr. Burr's employ, just hand the paper to him, and beg him to push his best, for God's sake, and he would eternally oblige me; for I should be ruined forever if this thing went wrong.

Everywhere had I dispatches to send, for ordering, planning, prevention and punishment.

It was a time that tried horses souls.

While these efforts were making at the capital, my agent in the west was most assiduously employed in his useful labors.

Having secured the exertions of Kentucky in the important matter above stated; on the 23d of December he left Frankfort for Nashville, to put into activity the means of that state also. Although by the communications first mentioned I had *intimations* that this enterprize was working in Tennessee also, which was strongly fortified by the known fact of Mr. Burr's having spent so much of his time there, and the people's fondness for him, yet as the word *boats* was not mentioned to me, I trusted to the virtue of the proclamation in that quarter, which would fully check anything but boats; but having lately learned that boats were building there, I on the 19th of December dispatched communications and orders there; but as I am now fully informed that on the 22d of December the boats cut loose from the mouth of Cumberland in a fine flood (about or a little after the Ohio boats which passed the falls on the 16th), and as my agent left Frankfort *the day after the event took place and the law passed there*, and as he and the law had three hundred miles to go to the scene of action; and as the scene of action had started one day before them, three hundred miles ahead, with a good flood, mounted on boats which would neither tire or get out of wind; and again: as my messenger aforesaid had six hundred miles to go and only three days the start of the scene of action; *I have some doubts whether either my agent, my messenger, the proclamation, or the law of Kentucky, can do anything to arrest these boats, or those from the falls.*¹²⁴ More especially, as in twelve hour's sail they would be out of Kentucky, and in about sixty more out of Tennessee state also. Matters however, are so arranged by my agent, and the law he got passed in Kentucky, that should head winds meet and blow [46] this fleet back, they would soon be reinstated in their former views of their own danger. To be honest with you gentlemen, my agent kicked up a dust wherever he went, but did nothing at all.

On the whole, this armament can threaten no serious danger to New Orleans, inasmuch as my general is there, and with the honor¹²⁵ of a soldier, and the fidelity of a good citizen, is zealous

¹²⁴ This note in original.—“Read this paragraph in the communication.”

¹²⁵ An expression used by Wilkinson at times when his actions might be regarded with suspicion.

to overact his part, so as to wipe off or redress every suspicion of his treachery towards Burr.

Having mentioned to you my haste and anxiety to communicate orders and wishes to the general, I have the pleasure to say that I find by late advices from him, he needed no spur. For on the moment of his apostacy to Burr, and his being reinstated in his former views of his own duty, he burst the Lillipution ties with which the whore of England had bound him, and also the Lillipution ties of the *constitution* with which that same harlot bound us all in our first slumbers, and he blazed out a comet of patriotism, consuming every thing in his way, terrifying the city, frightening the women and children, and seizing and hiding everybody he hated or suspected where nobody could find them.

Indeed I must own gentlemen *that the failure of the enterprize has been wholly owing to this man's betraying Burr, and to no act of mine whatever.* For in the first place I got no information that awoke me until his arrival, so I should have issued no proclamation until my agent had written me, which would have delayed that matter until the blow was struck, unless my agent or my governor Claiborne had paralised them all by their presence.

I rejoiced when I heard that Wilkinson had shipped the traitors, like live stock, and they were coming round to the Chesapeake.

But one thing lies a little heavy on my mind—it is this: at my first inauguration, I particularly noted in my creed, the subordination of the military to the civil power.—But now the thing is sadly reversed—my general has trodden the law in the dust; set at naught my courts to their faces; and swaddled my governor in his sash, and laid him to bed, like a great baby. But gentlemen beware instinct—instinct is a great matter. This general felt himself in a most uncommon predicament, from which nothing could extricate him but uncommon measures. I would blame the general, but that I am so glad to think what a scrape I've got out of by his means.

In my same speech I mentioned the sanctity of habeas corpus.—So I do still. But that city of Orleans is now so stormy, that there was no expectation of the poor men accused getting justice there, so I think the general has done for the best to ship them here, duty free, just to see them have right done them. While therefore I do not deflect in the slightest degree from my first creed, I must approve of those men being sent one thousand

miles of stormy sea under an *irregular arrest*, to be brought to this place where there can be a good *sound* regular arrest, and they be given up to the functionaries of law, who shall direct both the *place* and process of trial. The *executive means*, is a great advantage in favor of this course: For although our constitution and nation are expressly jealous of any intermixture of departments, yet at New Orleans the advantage of that court using executive and even military means, are so apparent, that no doubt but the judges here will feel the importance of such aid.

Surmises have been hazarded, gentlemen, that this enterprize has received foreign aid, but this idea is without foundation or *probability*. Is [47] there any instance of a nation while spinning out negotiations (as Spain has with us) endeavoring to strike a blow at her adversary? Let history answer the question.

Indeed the unaccountable length of those negotiations and the troops on the Sabine look a little mysterious, but we may safely confide, that a due estimate of interest as well as character will induce the Spaniards to do us the justice we are bound to expect.

Accept 1000 salutations.

T. J.

Some notes left out in the communication, finally dressed up and sent to congress.

YOU will observe, gentlemen, in one of the papers sent herewith, a plan for defending Orleans. In this a river fleet, gun-boats, bomb-ketches, and floating batteries are recommended; these things would so greatly increase the public expenditure, that I would submit to the national legislature the wisdom and expediency of continuing to defend that important pass as we now do, by the simple contrivance of a *floating general*—one who will intrigue with our enemies but still fly off in time. Indeed were such an expedient used with a few gun-boats at the harbor and city of New York it might effectually quiet that city, and put an end to the pesterment they gave us about fortifying their port—and if made for each port of the country, the divisions between states would soon disappear, and we would all amalgamate into one homogeneous mass.

Finally gentlemen, the said attorney for Kentucky, having

drawn on himself the enmity of many good republicans of that country, by his efforts to save the country from the mania of Burrism and this enterprise, I have thought it best for the infant establishment to turn him out. For like all other politicians of the world, I execrate Macheavelli, but like all of them, faithfully pursue his lessons; and in this, I adopt the idea of Caesar Borgia, who sent a just and strict governor to Romagna, to put a licentious and refractory people in order; which being effected in the course of a year, to the displeasure of the malfactors and their friends—Borgia went down thither, and finding the object fully answered, he hanged the governor in the market place to please the malcontents. Thus bringing the state into order by means of the governor, and their killing him to become popular with the insurgents.

Besides, gentlemen, the idea I expressed to the merchants of New Haven some years ago, I find still to gather strength from experience—that the federalists never die nor resign—and in whatsoever state they remain in office, the doors of honor and confidence were burst open in vain.¹²⁶

POSTSCRIPT.

FROM certain expressions in the foregoing pages, it might be inferred that I approve the administration of Mr. Adams; but I do not. I approve the system he intended to pursue, but I condemn his manner of pursuing it. He intended to pursue Washington's *principia*, but he so marred or missed it, that he brought great scandal and obloquy on that system of politics, which in my opinion went as far towards democracy and republicanism, as it is possible for any system to go and yet live even for one century in times of peace.

To the majority it may seem unintelligible, that I should neither approve the past or present administration, for in common view those seem to fill both sides of the question—so to render myself intelligible, I shall give a cursory view of our whole course of government, which I acknowledge I rather seek occasion to do—though I regret that the very contracted limits of this tract, will reduce what I shall offer to a hasty glance.

¹²⁶ See *Jefferson's Writings* (Ford's Ed.), VIII, 70.

Sketch Of The Political Profile Of Our Three Presidents.

IT is very difficult to speak justly of men we admire or dislike. He who attempts it in times of faction must look for his reward in his own consciousness; for few will agree that he is impartial, and still fewer that he is just in his decisions. By looking back at party questions some years after the crisis are past, we are sensible how false our reasonings and views were, when influenced by the heat of the moment; so it is not to be wondered at if one is found incorrect in speaking of recent party transactions.

The question on which America was divided, when the present constitution was under consideration, is the same on which the factions were formed in President Washington's time, and on which they now are divided, and I have no doubt will be, while the present constitution exists; for both branches of the controversy flow out of that instrument, to wit:—How far the government shall be national, or how far a government of states. The anti-federalists of 1788 opposed the constitution, because it would make the government too national, and diminish the powers of the states; the present anti-federalists pursue the same principle—their judgment is, *that ours should be as little a national government, and as much a government of states as it can be under the constitution.* The federalists intend *that it shall be as much a national government, and as little a government of states as it can be under the constitution.* This I understand to be the true point of difference between the parties. The consequences may be easily imagined. One party reposes the American prosperity in the strength of government, the other in its weakness. One longs to be rid of federal courts, mint, revenue laws, bankrupt laws, navy, and everything which can bring federal government to the eye or mind of the people. These hold [49] out congress to be a kind of diet, where the ambassadors of the states under the name senators, meet and represent the 17 sovereign powers to treat together about the common defence and welfare. So far has this idea gone, that you see the states that have returned to right sentiments—in their public councils, say that they will *instruct* their senators, and *request* their representatives to take certain measures. The other party says that as far as comes within the sphere of congress, we are to be viewed as a national,

consolidated government, (though out of that sphere we are a government of states) and that the congress are our true and proper legislators, without any one characteristic of a peculiar or extraordinary nature; they say that the national government is full weak to answer either its external, or internal purposes, when all its powers are brought into action. The national welfare therefore requires that it be displayed in its fullest plenitude, and be made as much our domestic government, as the state of society will find uses for it.

President Washington at once lent his whole power to nationalise the government and invigorate it—he had soon and deeply felt the folly of calculating any thing on the simultaneous unanimity of thirteen sovereign states—many a sleepless night had it cost him to save the people from falling victims to this dearly beloved curse.—But he had to begin at a very gentle pace—public stomach was yet puny, it could not digest much federalism at once—the government had just been born, and it was without treasury, without revenue, without resources, without laws, arsenals, navy. Had nothing but a young, brave, enthusiastic nation, a vast galaxy of heroes, sages, and talents, and a chief who stood above all rivalship, and was able to combine all its powers, and lead them towards greatness. Every administration is characterised by the individual and personal character of the man who leads it. None more so than this. His power lay in the soundness of his judgment, in practical matters, and his great secret was a predominant wish to judge right. It will be said that many have this wish; so they have, but it is not the predominant influence, it is combined with some other wish or feeling which is stronger than it. Personal feelings whether of friendship or dislike, or party purposes, never found their way into this man's bosom; he had that firmness, and that loftiness of soul which could never be reached by these vulgar motives. The former part of his life proves this; never did any man give so exalted a proof of his greatness of mind as he did, in adhering to his own course of warfare, notwithstanding the cries and contumely and reproaches of the people, and notwithstanding the increasing danger of being supplanted in his command by consequence of it. This could only be equalled by the just and noble noble conduct he adopted toward a man fixed on by a faction as his rival, and by whom the fairest hopes of glory and success were cruelly cut up in one hour at Monmouth. All the world must agree that such a man

was born to lead, and that his administration is wholly untinged by party. Yet this great man's course in the government, though worthy absolute approbation, was not free from its intervening faults—these in my judgment, were the following.

1st. He appointed the Chief Justice of the United States an ambassador.¹²⁷

This was breaking in upon what I would have a fundamental principle, that is, that you ought to insulate and cut off a judge from all extraneous inducements and expectations; never present him the jora of promotion; for no influence is more powerful in the human mind than hope—it will in time cause some judges to lay themselves out for presidential favor, and [50] when questions of state occur, this will greatly affect the public confidence in them, and sometimes deservedly. No district judge should be made a circuit judge, no judge whatever should be made Chief Justice; every vacancy in the bench should be filled out of the barr direct; thus you cut off from every member of the bench, all possible idea of an ulterior object, and so fix his impartiality as far as human means can do it. The moment a man is placed on the bench, whether it be District Circuit or Supreme Court, he ought to say to himself, “now I am at the highest point I can ever reach in this course; this is the last appointment I shall ever receive from government.”

2d. He kept a minister at the court of France,¹²⁸ whose sentiments and conduct were utterly repugnant to his own, and only congenial to those of a certain faction here, who were smitten with all the French *mania*, because it was so corroborative of their anti-federal sentiments. This has been a source of an immense train of evils to America, and entailed on president Adams the principal difficulties of his administration. This minister mingled souls with the wild jacobins—gave them vast ideas of the number and cordiality of their Gallic friends here, and made them see and feel that the government and people of America were on different sides—the people longed for the fraternal hug, the government only was against France; what a dreadful curse! Look at his book¹²⁹—look at the president Barras' speech¹³⁰—I have it

¹²⁷ John Jay, first Chief Justice after the establishment of the government of the United States.

¹²⁸ Monroe.

¹²⁹ *A view of the conduct of the administration in the management of our foreign affairs for the years 1794, 5 and 6*, by James Monroe, published by Bache in the fall of 1797, after Monroe's return from Paris.

¹³⁰ *McMaster, Vol. II, p. 370.*

not here, but the English of it is this, "farewell dear brother, we deplore that the Americans are saddled by a cursed government, which is going contrary to their views and wishes, which are ours also—we send no greeting or word to your government, but *tell the good people we love them*, that in you we see *their representative*." The mournful fact is, *that man was a French minister, appointed and kept in pay by America*. Though very honest, he could not judge right, because his wish to do so was weaker than several others wishes. See what a rage France fell into on his recal; this proves it conclusively. As soon as Pinckney came within hail, he was ordered off.

I am astonished that president Washington should have kept him there one day after his conduct about the treaty of London came to light. Whoever reads the documents, will see clearly by attending to them with their dates and circumstances, that *the treaty of London went down well enough at Paris, until such time as they got information from America*.¹⁸¹ Do you think they would let their fine growing party here fall out of countenance? Would they not act up to the limits that party predicted? Yes, they did too.

3d. His idea of the power of congress concerning that treaty, tho' partly right, was in my opinion partly wrong. A resolution was carried to call on him for the diplomatic correspondence, instructions and papers relative to that treaty; he refused, and considered it as an encroachment. As far as it called for the correspondence and papers it was so, but as far as it called for the instructions, and as far as it presumed the power of congress to judge of the treaty and refuse to carry it into effect if bad, I do not approve the president's opinion, though I am not clear on the point. It brings to my mind the question about the constitutionality of a law, of which each department has a right to judge for itself as far as its intervention is necessary to the effectuation of the law.—So here, every department or branch of a department whose intervention is necessary to the effectuation of a treaty, has a right to look into it and judge of it. [51]

I observe that the English house of commons asserted, and finally carried this point about the treaty of Utrecht in the year 1713. That treaty contained commercial regulations highly un-

¹⁸¹ See *Writings of Monroe* (Hamilton's Ed.), Vol. II, where his letters to Madison and the Secretary of State show the feeling that prevailed in France.

favorable to England; the house of commons would not effectuate that part of it, and it fell.

4th. I do not approve of the law for the bank, though I have no doubt it is highly convenient to government and to commerce, yet I do not discover a power in the constitution to pass it, unless in the district of Columbia.

With respect to the treaty of London, it seems to me proper that reparation ought to have been made for the slaves and property carried away contrary to the treaty of 1783; and that government ought in no event to have assumed the debts to subjects without some adequate reparation being made for the detention of the northern garrisons. But it is very probable that the best treaty was made that could be obtained, and I would rather have taken this than went to war. The *opposition* were vociferous for hostility—they thought we could make such treaty with England as we pleased. It will be shortly seen what vast improvements they will make on the commercial treaty of 1794. That they have sent home is a precious one indeed—it engages us to league against France. At Washington that is stated to be no part of the treaty but a diplomatic note; but I observe Lord Howick states in parliament that it is *a part of the treaty*.

So much for the administration of this man whose general course I exceedingly admire, whose faults I look on without severity, because I am convinced he labored to avoid all fault; and whose leading trait was so highly exemplary—a sense of justice and right above the reach of all passion and feeling. He is the only man I know of since Aristides to whom the verse of Euripides applies:

“To be and not to seem is this man’s maxim;

“His mind reposes on its proper wisdom,

“And wants no other praise.”

President Adams.

THIS was as honest a man as ever lived, but he was so subject to defluxions of feeling and passion on his mind; that the correctness of his judgment rarely corresponded to his general wish. Besides there was a natural unsteadiness, a want of harmony and system in his views—the current of his mind came like an uneven wind—in flaws. I have sometimes doubted whether this

appearance did not flow from two other circumstances: one of which was, that his own judgment being in favor of monarchy, yet he being too honest to attempt insinuating it clandestinely into the American police—he was forced to act continually a studied character foreign from his own opinion, and of course unsteady; the other is, that he was surrounded by a body of aids, who had been heated in the furnace of party hotter than himself, and who always rode with spurs, and sometimes without bridles—these often gave him his motion, and at times breaking from them he assumed his own, and thus presented a fluctuation in his decisions. I have no doubt that his suddenly reining in when his party would have had him declare war against France was the cause of his being thrown to the ground much sooner than he would have been. [52]

I have two leading objections to this man's administration.

1st. Money seemed to be valued at too low a rate, and handled too freely; and 2d. Every thing was done too much in the spirit of party. By the first let it not be imagined that I allude to any dillapidations of him or his officers: such imputations had a vast effect on public mind, but they have been since proved infamous calumnies. I mean that the drains of expenditure were too numerous, the desire to increase the catalogue of officers was too great. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the channels of commerce to judge of the legations to Lisbon, Berlin, and the Hague, or of mr. Jefferson's vacation of them, and they are but trifles in themselves. I disapprove of his appointing his son a minister at the Hague and afterwards Berlin,¹³² but a more intimate acquaintance with the New-England customs excites mere charity for this; providing for ones own connections is a very common use of power there. If a gentleman from Virginia should behave as general Dearborne has done, sticking his own family into all the offices of his department, nothing save the utmost party heat, could check the whole patrician corps of Virginia from cursing him in the open streets. Yet I suspect it is not the subject of particular remark in New-England.

His war measures were a leading objection to him, but I cordially support him in these. He appreciated truly the importance of supporting the dignity of the nation, and the still greater impor-

¹³² J. Q. Adams was appointed minister resident at the Hague, May, 1794. For his appointment to Berlin, see *Monroe's Writing (Hamilton's Ed.)*, Vol. III, p. 106.

tance of keeping alive the military spirit of which no nation ever gave more hopeful presages than ours. Our respectability was much enhanced in Europe by exhibiting a resentment so highly American, tho' our means were yet small. As to the army, nothing ever so much surprised me as to find in 1801 that the whole republican party were in the dark as to its objects—they suspected it was to make war on our people, and many other things equally probable and practicable. The inestimable Hamilton who understood this thing fully as well or better than mr. Adams did, told me, it was intended to declare war against Spain, (from whom we had received many abuses in the West Indies) at the same time with France, and to march and seize the Floridas and New Orleans, after which the war would shape itself. I am sorry war was not declared when it ought to have been.

For a doceur of \$50,000 he could have avoided this great expenditure, or at most the purchase of a few Dutch rescriptions with it; but he could not submit. Our present glorious chief will never be brought into scrapes in this way; he will not buy peace neither—no: nor make any loan committing our neutrality, but he will buy a sand-bar in the Gulph of Darien,¹³³ or some such thing, and give France and Spain as much money as they want, *provided they will make peace into the bargain*. Look at T. M. Randolph's letter to the people session before last; every man of sense who sees it will swear it was composed at Head-quarters. Their s[c]heme is to pay France and Spain two millions for East Florida, provided they will *into the bargain* give up West Florida, which honestly is ours already, and settle the western boundaries of Louisiana, and adjust our claims for spoliations. I like the idea—it puts me in mind of the hucster women at public places, who to avoid the laws against retailing spirits, *sell* you an ounce of bread for nine-pence, and then *GIVE* you a half pint of whiskey gratis.

3d. This administration seems remarkable for a course of true and proper motives pursued in a wrong way. For instance: was ever any thing more indiscreet than the sedition law at the moment when public mind was decidedly in favor of the administration, and the minority were redoubling [53] their efforts to avoid being swallowed up. It certainly was a law perfectly just and necessary, but it happened at a very unfortunate season. Noth-

¹³³ West Florida.

ing could have been more opportune for the minority—still they could not have succeeded had not the violent spirit of the administration assisted them in alarming the people. We could never expect great unanimity among men against a law to punish lying; but the people in many parts of America were fully possessed of the idea that the law was made to suppress *opinion* and truth. As to its constitutionality, tho' out of my course, I cannot resist the desire I feel to bestow a paragraph upon it. It may be said that the matter is past, and is now an old thing not worth speaking of—I say no countrymen—this is a very proper season to treat these controversial subjects. The heat of the day is past—you can now look back and reflect, without the interference of your passions, which infallibly mislead us all, and by forming a satisfactory judgment of the past, you are much assisted in forming one of the present and future.

As to its constitutionality, no lawyer will deny that in a constitution as in a statute, introducing a new law, affirmative words imply a negative, and *e converso*. For example, when the constitution says that the legislature of each state shall elect two senators to congress, a negative is implied that they shall *not elect more than two*; nor shall these two be elected otherwise than by the legislature. On the other hand when it says that no state shall *without the consent of congress* lay an import, an affirmative is implied, *that it may do so with the consent of congress*; and so on throughout the instrument. When it says the people have a right peaceably to assemble and petition for redress of grievances, a negative is implied that they shall not assemble with force and arms for that purpose, or that under color of this right they shall not assemble in such a manner as to excite to insurrection against the government. Now come to the article in question. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, *nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof*." Here the negative expressions imply a plain affirmative, that Congress may make laws *securing* and *protecting the free exercise of religion*. If the persecutions of the old world should be attempted here between catholics and protestants or the like, Congress ought to interpose and secure the free exercise of religion. "Nor abridging the *freedom of speech*"—Now when the word freedom is used, I understand it to mean a rational liberty comporting with the social condition of mankind in a community.

It never can mean especially in a social compact, that exemption from all restraint and control, which implies the state of nature and tends to reproduce it. Let us be more explanatory—Is a speech calling upon the people to take arms and oppose the government out of the reach of congress? Cannot this be punished, or is a law for that purpose an abridgement of the freedom of speech? Again, “The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.” This is a freedom of the very some holy nature with the other; but will any man venture to say that congress *abridges* or *infringes* the sacred freedom by declaring that none shall come armed to an election, or into a court of justice, or place of divine worship; the freedom of using arms as in speech is a rational liberty, and to be used, but it has its bounds. This shews you I hope, that my view is correct in saying that the negative words which say *Congress shall not abridge the freedom of speech or of the press give them a positive right to pass any law comport[54]ing with the national nature of their duty, upon either of these points, correcting any abuses, and which leave their true political freedom uninfringed.*

It will here be asked, can congress make laws to forbid profane swearing, as not comprised within the freedom of speech—Can they say how arms shall be worn, and what and when—Can they say what solemnities shall be observed to render lawful a meeting of the people?

I answer—No. The duties or powers of congress cannot be extended to local police: those of a national nature only are within their sphere: to enquire what are these, the nature of a national constitution must be observed and is particularised in this instrument itself to be the *general welfare*; for although I am not one of those who consider the general words of that instrument as superceding the special, yet neither do I consider the special as superceding the general; but that the true construction of this, as of all other papers in law, is that which will make all the words stand together, and give each a full and rational import; and if any conflict should then appear, the general words ought to yield to the special: but along with this rule I lay down another, which would again become a party question—that is: in every fair and candid doubt, the bias of the mind should fall in favor of the nationality of the government. Congress shall not point out *how* arms are to be worn; but they may say there are certain times

and places in *which the citizens shall not wear arms*; and there is a certain kind of popular assemblage which shall *not* be lawful.

Much stress is laid upon the 12th amendatory article, that all powers not delegated remain; but I never could see any thing there, but a superfluous precaution; the case was so without such article. It is said that no power can be taken to provide for general welfare on account of this article. Why—how so? The first power and duty of congress is “to provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States:” all powers not given are reserved; *but this general power is given*, therefore not reserved. So the constitution is not one jot or tittle otherwise than if this article had not been there.

One of the first national ideas must be the preservation of the government itself. It was often asked, why extend this privilege to the president? it is not the privilege of the man I contend for—*it is the people's privilege*; it is the privilege of the community, that their tranquility shall not be disturbed by slanders on their public magistrates. Justice is done incidentally to the individual citizen, but the object is the people. I demand, was it a public or a personal matter, that in 1800 we should be so infamously imposed on by detailed and circumstantial accounts of Pickering having plundered the public chest, and Dexter having burnt the war office to screen himself from examination?¹⁸⁴ Ninety-nine men of one hundred believed these accounts (in the Westward): for my part I had no doubt of Pickering's peculation, seeing a copy from the books of his office; and when I came to see how we had been abused, and brought to cry out against and denounce as villains, just an honest officers, and change our administration, sufficient to put to death the imposter who had disturbed the land, by bearing false witness in so important a point.

Again it was said, let the president bring his action of slander. When we look at the past 18 years, and see how the president has been abused, and find that no president has chosen thus to right himself, it appears to me, we should set down as wholly fanciful such an idea. If Mr. Adams has sued for the slanders on him, he must have had at least one dozen of agents [55] in constant pay, to attend his suits. And besides, what an unpardonable prostration of the dignity of the nation? Add to this, it is positively

¹⁸⁴ *McMaster, Vol. II, 517-519.*

improper that he should sue—for he appoints and removes at pleasure the marshall who selects the jury.

Give me leave to add one more observation. It is repeated that a personal act of slander ought to be brought: this, to my understanding, is giving up the point of controversy to all intents and purposes; it is admitting *that the act of the printer is unlawful in itself*, because it would subject to an action, then how in the name of sense, can it come within the legitimate meaning of the word *freedom*. If I have a right to maintain an action of slander against you, the proceeding is predicated on the single idea, *that you have transgressed the lawful freedom of speech*. Your liberty of speech extends to the limits of truth—there it stops. And when it is asked, how far congress may go with their laws against libels, I answer there is one fixed and infallible touchstone—the truth. They cannot punish by prosecution and abuse, save such as would support a civil action. Many of our state constitutions express this idea definitely, declaring the liberty of the press, but that the citizens shall be responsible for its abuse.

So much for this excellent but ill-timed sedition law.

4. As to the Alien law, I blame the president as the head of the ruling party. The evil aimed at was most wisely conceived, but the remedy was wrong in principle, and must operate so in practice. I consider the influx of aliens into America, as a great and serious evil.¹⁸⁵ The emigration of mechanics hither, is highly desirable; but the emigration of your European politician—your men of talents—your French Democrats—United Irishmen, &c. &c. is an evil never sufficientl deprecated. The emigration of foreign printers I consider one of the greatest curses that has ever befallen America, under the present government. It was highly expedient, when about to enter into a war, that these men should be silent and neuter, or take part with the government. I recollect that it was said at the time that this was a federal scheme, to silence the opposition of aliens; or if they spoke to make them speak for the government. To be sure these were among the reasons; and were ever motives more wise and laudable? In times of peace it is excessively impertinent and indecorous for foreigners to be meddling in our affairs; and it often may effect our foreign relations; but in times of war it is wholly intollerable, and not to be endured but with the most immediate danger.

¹⁸⁵ For the attitude of Kentuckians toward the Alien and Sedition Laws, see *Marshall, Vol. II, Chap. VI.*

The evil therefore was well conceived—but why put the remedy in the hands of the president? This I reprehend, because it is certain that he must always go upon report and information, restrained to no rules of enquiry; and the alien very often might fall the victim of private malice. An inquest ought to have been held upon the warrant of a judge or some civil officer, to inquire whether the alien held forth speeches or practices against the government; and the finding of the inquest ought to have been forwarded to the officer of state: then let the president at his discretion have him bound to good behaviour or remove him off. I never was able to comprehend the arguments about constitutionality, which were resolved to the power of the states to admit migration or importation until 1808. I do not discover any repugnancy in inviting a stranger under my roof; but adding that he must not meddle in my family affairs; and if he does, must take part with me, or leave my house altogether. It is said by a committee in congress, that this clause alluded to slaves; but the word migration [56] seems to have a different bearing. I am however inclined to believe that the use of two expressions, *migration* or *importation*, instead of one, was only precautionary, and that the importation of slaves was its only object; because the latter part of the sentence provides for a tax on such persons so imported, and because I do not observe that any state ever passed a law or resolution on the subject of foreigners emigrating here; and this always seemed to me a very strong point in the subject, that to render the alien law unconstitutional, it should appear that it infringed the actual doings of the states upon that subject in which the federal constitution gave them a right to act.

5. I have always heard it asserted, that persons who desired copies of his answers to addresses to be given in evidence when prosecuted under the sedition law, were denied. This, if so, was as unjustifiable as the late refusal of the republican senate, to give Marbury and others copies of their records to be used in a court of law in their favour.¹³⁶

His tax on paper I do not think myself able to speak properly, I am not sufficientl acquainted with the state of the American nation. In the western country and other thin settlements, it was very inconvenient. I am clear that in every free government, there ought to be an internal tax, equal to the civil list expenditure.

¹³⁶ Channing, *Jeffersonian System*, 117-119.

The multitude only thinks as it feels; keeping it from feeling & you keep it very much from thinking too. The present administration is a strong example of this: they have kept the people from knowing that they paid any thing; and by virtue of this infatuating circumstance, have been able to adopt a course of enervation and debility, highly pernicious to the body politic. All the governors and public speakers are crying out "all's well," while the fact is, that we but barely hang together under the shadow of a national government. The exoneration from taxes charms the mass; but it is like the Angel's Book—sweet to the taste, but bitter in its consequences. Taxation is the *placentum* which connects the people to the government. See the deplorable consequence of Mr. Jefferson's blessing.

To supply the deficiency of money a sale of land has been resorted to; so that we, a little nation, are scattered over a whole world. All the administration of Mr. Adams put together, don't weigh against this more than a grain of sand in the scale of worlds. His evils, if such they were, could be remedied by a new set of governors; his public debts could be paid off in a few years; but Mr. Jefferson's tree of evil is an immortal evergreen, planted in the rock of ages. How is it possible to depopulate a country once settled? And who can be so fanciful as to imagine that such a vast territory, set with sovereign states, can remain long together? Who does not remark the insubordinate and democratic diathesis of new countries[?] The national government must either become too powerful and arbitrary, or we must have divisions, which, from the position of land and water, nature says ought never to be.

Mr. Adams' Judiciary bill, was certainly very excellent in my judgment; but it had the misfortune which hung over all that president's doings—it was passed too much in the spirit of party; not that there was any thing in or about it, but was perfectly politic and necessary, but it was passed in an expiring hour, and I have no doubt it was contemplated to provide births [sic] for federal lawyers. This I believe had an influence in the mode of carrying it through; but I am well satisfied it had none in giving the law [57] its features. For were it not for party, I believe all the lawyers of America would agree, that it was a great improvement of the former system.

I view the fate of this bill as a deep and ever to be lamented event: it broke into the sanctity of a character, which our Lycurguses and Solons intended should forever remain in the sacred arcana of the temple, untangible by legislative hands. Mr. Adams pressed this bill a year before very urgently; and one was brought in but failed: this completely acquits the federalists of this being a party scheme; for the tide was then high and still making.

The people were brought out to cry against this law, which certainly not one in a thousand of them could understand any thing about. Of course you must expect to see them positive and intollerant in proportion as they are ignorant. This was very unfortunate. The independence and elevation of judges, is, of all points of government, the most important to the people. The judges are the *only true and natural guardians of their rights*: all the rest of government is little more than moonshine to them.

His adherence to Mr. Gerry,¹³⁷ was perhaps the most consequential act of his time. It disunited and disgusted his friends. The noble virtue of friendship may become a great evil in a chief ruler. It was almost an unpardonable weakness to adhere to him, after a man of his mediocrity of talents suffering himself to be separated from his colleagues even for a day, but to stay behind them *at the request of Talleyrand*—it was an independence never to be forgiven.

The sequel cannot be thought of without feeling the utmost severity toward Mr. Gerry. What an inimitable crisis to display the great man! to make a treaty delightful to all America, save a little junto who were anxious for war at all events! Talleyrand biting his nails to see how he missed the mark—*anxious to make a treaty on yielding terms*—How does Mr. Gerry face up to this noble conjuncture? Why, he doesn't face up at all; he looks round and finds himself standing alone on the ice, away ever so far from shore, falls into a tremor, disavows to Talleyrand all he had written about his *go-between's* X. Y. & W. [Z.] vows and protests most positively he has had no doings with any woman at Paris; and calls to Mr. Adams for God's sake help me out of the lurch—I got into it on your account—and my compliments to your lady—O Lord, how snivelling! Instead of supporting him, he ought to have borrowed Hotspur's tongue, and cursed himself for moving such a dish of skim'd milk to so noble an action.

¹³⁷ Gibbs, "Administrations of Washington and Adams," Vol. I, 464-468.

Lastly. His crowding into the last hours of his office so many appointments, was very exceptionable; and only to be accounted for by the soreness and resentment he felt at the calumnies by which he had lost his office. He ought to have proceeded in his appointments exactly as though he was to remain in office for years. Mr. Jefferson told me he considered all Mr. Adam's doings after the 14th of February, when he knew he was to leave the office, as nought. I thought the idea a very bad one, and the result of party feeling; but I did not say any thing, because a little before he had been shewing me his horse, and said he was the best in America. I looked a thousand no's—one I guardedly expressed; but he glanced toward me such a look of *astonishment*, that I did not wish to put an end to all further conversation by disapproving his idea as to appointments; for it was my object to see the man's mind in action.

There are many offices which cannot be vacant one day without public inconvenience; collectors and inspectors of ports are of these. [58]

So much for the administration of this upright man, which happened at a troubled season, and was supported with good intentions and great exertions, but without a sufficient portion of temperance, discretion or judgment.

President Jefferson.

WHOEVER attempts to speak with exact justice about this man, will be accused of most inveterate malice and bitterness.

This man is a friend to this country, and before the constitution was adopted he thought rightly in many respects of her interest, and if he outlives his official engagement seven years, will think rightly of her interests again. But he has long since made his judgment play the whore to his ambition; for I have no doubt he has been intriguing through the instrumentality of the vilest printers and tools for the place he now fills almost ever since the constitution was adopted; and that the character given me of him by the ever to be lamented Hamilton, is that which the historian of the next age will give him—"that he was a man as fond of place and power, and as great a hypocrite as ever lived."

I don't allude to his machinations against president Washington, and keeping certain printers practising against him—I

would rather note things within my own time and memory—letter to Mazzei¹³⁸ for instance, at the time he was making that remarkable address to Mr. Adams, and praying God that no event might call him to the presidency—at a time when he was caressing general Washington as a father. At the time when he was in closest intimacy with Mr. Adams, he was paying that cut-throat Calender¹³⁹ to write *the Prospect*. Monstrous!

For my own part I do not consider his hypocrisy as flowing from any positive wickedness of heart, I am confident, that it is a native, constitutional, inherent duplicity, which he could no more avoid than Washington could conquer the unity of his mind. His writings convince me of this. A duplicity of style is seen in every line of that man's pen on politics. He is unlike any other man of that cast I have remarked; for it is generally the case that a man with two tongues, only speaks with one at a time, and to one party at a time. But Mr. Jefferson never speaks in public with less than two tongues at once, and occasionally employs to the amount of four. Look at the inauguration speech—the prettiest composition in the world, only that it contains nothing at all, and yet like a piece of holy writ, it fitted all parties—Look at his communications ever since, particularly of 1805, and that about Burr last winter.

He came to the helm at a moment as fortunate for his fame as Adam's leaving it was unfortunate for his. Peace was just made with France—the navy was to be sold off—the army just disbanded.¹⁴⁰ It seemed as if he stepped on the theatre and all the disagreeable objects disappeared in a moment; never was a crisis more fortunate for a man who built his face upon economising. He set himself to pay off the public debt, an undertaking most laudable certainly if ever one was attempted in this country. May he enjoy all the fame he wished in this—far be it for me to withhold my mite of it—I never gave one more freely. No engine ever yet discovered works so variously or so formidably as a national debt. I wish to see no [59] artificial influence in government.—Here my applause stops, for I can safely say I don't approve one other measure of his administration.

¹³⁸ *Jefferson's Writings (Ford's Ed.)*, VII, 165.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* VIII.

¹⁴⁰ The army was ordered dismissed March, 1800, by Congress. It was a blow to the extreme Federalists.

1st. He abolished all the internal taxes¹⁴¹—here his passion for fame led him beyond the measure of his candor and judgment; the people thought it was wonderful. It was never recollected that he was able to do much with the funds left by mr. Adams, and able to cut up and turn many of his old cloaths so as to make them look as good as new, to wit: his arrearages of old internal taxes—the sales of his ships of war—sale of all our shares in the bank; these added together made a vast sum—then the sale of lands which was spoken of above; public expenditure had formerly been rather prodigal, now it was niggardly. Every thing that would call for money failed; even the laws could not be printed and distributed.

2d. One measure I never think on without indignation: a part of congress felt anxious to see some statue or monument of our father Washington at the capitol; as soon as it was mentioned, instead of saying in a manly manner, we don't approve of it, or cant afford it, or let it be put off for some years, they insiduously crowded in a great number of similar motions so as to annex weight enough to the subject to sink it—and so it did.

3d. All however would not do; a despicable imposture was to be resorted to, to help out the government—now would any man ever guess what it was? When mr. Jefferson came in and abolished these taxes, a war was depending in the Mediteranean—NOW WONDERFUL TO BE TOLD! One frigate was lost in the Mediteranean—what was the consequence?—A NEW TAX was to be had—none of your abominable whiskey tax, or stamps, whereby the people are strained and pressed to the dust to raise \$700,000. O no—it was only a little temporary contribution christened Mediteranean fund of \$1,100,000.¹⁴² O masterly financier! how the fame of Colbert and Pitt falls before thee! Their names die away on the page of history. The loss of one frigate was an event so wholly beyond your calculations that all your system of finance was deranged by it. In what a superior style your excellency would have led France through the calamities of the Nile and Trafalgar. No, countrymen, here you see this man's characteristic devotion to appearances; had this event not have happened he would have got the same fund by affecting that we were threatened with a quarrel by the emperor of Morocco, or the pacha

¹⁴¹ An income of \$900,000 was cut off by this act. *McMaster, II, 615.*

¹⁴² *Adams, Hist. of U. S., Vol. II, 141.*

of Acre, or that the war in the Mediteranean had been prolonged unexpectedly.

4. Now after all this I will name to you two acts of the public oeconomy, which have come to my own knowledge, and from these you can guess the general course of affairs.

The governor of Indiana had represented to the former administration, that two men of the name of Williams, and one Crutchelton of Breckinridge county (a frontier settlement) had been guilty of murdering some Indians on Oil-creek in an atrocious manner. Process to apprehend them had been ordered, one of them was taken, but in consequence of an outrageous meeting which took place on behalf of the culprit at Breckinridge Courthouse, the man got away. When mr. Jefferson came in, the secretary at war ordered me to pursue this matter.*¹⁴³ Process was issued and the mar[60]shal summoned a guard of nine men to go with him, but in consequence of the vigilance of the people in the neighborhood the man got away just as the marshal came in sight of him. The secretary *refused to pay the guard*, tho' allowed by the judge to be reasonable, and tho' I wrote also the state of the country there, and the sensibility of the people in favor of a man who had *only killed an Indian*. The marshal was likely to suffer the whole weight of the cost himself, till after many turns and applications it was paid off, except about \$50, as he tells me. But he was so jeopardised that he has often assured me he would never dare summon a guard of any kind again unless ordered by the secretary. This is oeconomy.

5th. The next is this:—Colonel Lewis of Albemarle, mr. Munroe's agent for his private affairs, told me that mr. Munroe had to set off on his ministry to Europe, *without one dollar of outfit*.¹⁴⁴

Now does any candid man really think that this sort of oecon-

* *General Dearborne enclosed me Mr. Lincoln's opinion in writing, with orders to prosecute the leader of the riot under the common law. I wrote back to the secretary, reminding him of the public heat his party had raised about the common law, and desiring to be instructed before court whether I should go on. No orders came, and I indicted the man, but stated to the court my own opinion of the want of jurisdiction. The court dismissed it. Before the court was over, the post brought Gen. Dearborne's letter forbidding me to proceed.*

¹⁴³ Note in the original pamphlet.

¹⁴⁴ *Writings of Monroe (Hamilton's Ed.), Vol. IV, letter of March 15, 1804*

omy is to characterise the courts of a national government, or is it not manifestly intended for a few years, for a temporary eclat? A president comes in by and by who thinks as the leader of a nation ought; he cant go on this way, and if he takes any other, it is at once cried out, "ah! had we but Jefferson again, he did without all internal taxes, why can't it be so now?" Although every intelligent man must see that such oeconomy would in a few years produce the most deplorable national poverty and debility.

6. Another event about this time is particularly worthy of remark. When mr. Adams was on the point of a war with France, it was understood that an alliance with England was intended, to get the benefit of her *fleet*. Is there a man living here who does not recollect how the alarm bells were rung night and day from Savannah to Portland to rouse the people to repel this project. (?) I cant venture to state the number of resolutions I have seen deprecating "*any connection* with the corrupt and tottering monarchy of Great Britain." Well now a war with Spain, perhaps France too, seemed to become probable. Which of you dont know that from the president himself down to the faintest democratic *echo*, an alliance with England was openly avowed as the true policy of government. Surely this ought to have opened the people's eyes. From the time the ruling powers came in, they had adopted all the politics and deportment toward England which they had been teasing the people to curse at for twelve years before, but now they had reached the *maximum* of contradiction and absurdity.

7. Next came the admirable bargain for the other half of the world at \$15,000,000, I should gladly give as much more to have it (except the island of Orleans) converted into an uninhabited desert. Our country should never stretch beyond the Mississippi, except to work the lead mines of Upper Louisiana. To have a desert for a frontier there would be very desirable but we all know this will not be the case. The American is like the wild-bee, nothing but the limits of the empire can stay his wondering.

8. His policy as to aliens, seems to me pregnant with great evils. America could very well fill up now with her own natural increase; & the migration of foreigners, especially when naturalized, keeps the community in a very perturbed fermenting condition. See what a stock of Jacobin leaven Pennsylvania has re-

ceived into her mass; New York [is] coming on very fast in the [61] same way. I disapprove the whole policy of our government, on this subject at all times. Naturalization should never come by statute, nor otherwise than a man's being born here. If you will receive foreigners, let them have full right to buy and dispose of, inherit or transmit property, with all the benefits of our laws and courts; but let them have no hand in our government—let none but a natural born citizen hold an office, or have any hand in editing, printing or conducting a news-paper. If the constitution compels us to have a law of naturalization, I approve the longest and most difficult course.

Then I come to a collection of acts of the same cast.

9. The abolition of the bankrupt law.
10. Attempt at the mint.
11. Judiciary Bill.
12. Attempt to recede Columbia.
13. Enmity and declaration of all Federal Courts.

This points clearly, Countrymen, what these people aim at: to immolate the national government, to leave nothing but a name and a confederacy, such perhaps as has been seen at times among the Italian states, or in Switzerland, or in Holland, each of which has in turn fully proved that the weakness of government is the utmost curse that can befall a people.

My opinion is that instead of taking away those laws, which tend to nationalize us, many others are pressingly necessary to be made national; particularly—

The Law of Inheritance.

The Law of Dower.

The Law directing the mode of conveying lands.

The Law as to Powers of Attorney.

The Law of Crimes.

The Law pointing out the mode of proceeding in Civil Cases.

The Law limiting the times of bringing suits.

If such laws as these should be adopted for the Federal Courts, which in some degree they might, the people would in time see the great advantage of having the whole Civil and Criminal Code national and universal; and perhaps be brought to consent that there should be but one constitution for America, which should

provide for a national government and state governments—the states to flow out of the nation [,] to be no longer sovereign, and only to rule their local police.

14. One of the most remarkable points of Mr. Jefferson's statesmanship still remains to be mentioned. He draws all his revenue from commerce, yet determines that no protection is to be afforded that great source of national prosperity. I don't know what the fashionable course of speech is now; but when I mingled last with these new lights, it was in every one's mouth, "Let commerce defend itself—let it be defended by insurance." This sounds very well at first hearing, but when you come to examine it, nothing can be more absurd. What is it to the nation, whether the merchant or the insurance company, loose the value of the ship and cargo? So much is lost to the nation. If I insure my ship and she is taken, I get paid by the insurers; but who indemnifies them? So much is gone forever from the aggregate of American wealth. Now if we all insured in some foreign country, then indeed no loss to America would accrue, supposing that the sufferer always got *certain* and *speedy* indemnification; but as much delay and difficulty attends a claim of this kind ever at home, few will choose from motives of general national policy to insure beyond the Atlantic. As [62] a part of this same system it is determined to let our ports and harbours defend themselves, while it is desired to get the constitution altered, that a new disposition of treasure may be made on schools, which of all public objects, require least the fostering hand of government in America, where the pride of and passion for learning and the means of gratification are so universal. The proportion of learned men may be too great for the labourers in the community. Few of us have any well founded fears, that it will fall short in a country where the cultivation of letters is so universal as ours. You will say that we do not cultivate the high and elevated branches. I answer, we cultivate that which suits us, and which corresponds to our age and national condition; when a better sort is in requisition we will have it.

Countrymen, when will be the probable termination of this policy as to our sea ports? To me it seems that the least result is, that we must truckle to any and every European power that chooses to insult us, and humbly beseech them, to refrain from abusing us, and to make us amends for past losses—this is the

least: the worst is, that one of their fleets enters our ports and lays our cities in ashes. One ship of war could sweep 1000 miles of our coast. We have been very vociferous for restraining the usurpations of England at sea—so have other weak powers been. Do you recollect the result of an attempt of this kind in 1801, when lord Nelson entered the Baltic? Do you recollect the visit he made Copenhagen? How would New-York and Norfolk receive such a visitant? New York is hastening to be the focal point of American commerce—it is very much so now—the most important, the most flourishing, and the most exposed city on the continent. The burning of that city would bankrupt half the merchants of America. Yet these people who have been threatened and insulted—who can't sleep in quiet for their apprehensions, are suffered to remain thus exposed, while the president is hatching up phantoms to engage the attention and energies of the nation. One of their people has been shot down before their eyes. What was done? A hue and cry ordered after the man who had gone to the British territories. Despicable mockery! You say he could do nothing. Then, I pray you, order matters so, that something can be done the next time.

In short, Countrymen, this statesman's course is pointed to quench the military spirit, and to make us a nation of wise men and tributaries.

Small matters at times, give us intelligence of the views of a public man. Among such the abolition of the levee has been to me remarkable. Is there a man who knows any thing about it, and imagines that Mr. Jefferson thinks the levee only for parade and show, or otherwise than an institution of pressing necessity. Throughout the year he is exposed to continual interruptions; but during the session of Congress he has scarce a moment of day light to call his own. Nothing but extreme exertions and privations of rest could enable him to do his business. And why does he suffer this? Because in the former times the levee was called a parade of state—like monarchy—an affectation of grandeur—this man and his party abused it, and from a wish to impress you with the idea, that “old things are passed away, and all things are become new,” he submits to bear up under such a load of interruption and ceremony, as scarce a tavern keeper could endure; and which with four men of five would end in a sacrifice of public business.

To sum up:—This man's whole merit as a chief, consists in one chapter of finance—that of oeconomy;—even there he requires some check to keep him within bounds: in every other branch of politics he is a boy. His [63] ambition to drive the car of the sun is very great—it is unsurpassed; but he has neither judgment to steer his way, nor nerves to hold the reins, when the carriage approaches the high plains of the zenith.

If money can buy out his difficulties, he'll go on very well as long as he leads congress by the nose; but the moment the people stop and call to him to lead, instead of following them, *he's all in the suds*. He is an excellent secretary of state—his fine talent for composing, uncommon pretty—for putting a good face on things is unmatched. He can dress up *nothing at all* so as to strike and astonish the multitude with its magnitude and momentousness.

To seem and not to be, is the foundation of the man's character. He has thought to creep up to his present elevation so craftily as to cheat the historian, to hoodwink fame; but how can this be done by a man so unequal to times of trial, by a chief during whose day the mass of American talents have been kept in exile.

Extracts From Ellicott's Journal.

First extract, page 97.—“In case of a rupture with the United States, the officers of his Catholic Majesty calculated largely upon the effects of their intrigues, and the money they had expended in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and other districts west of the Allegany Mountain[,] for the purpose of detaching the inhabitants from the union. These intrigues as far as I was able to discover, appeared to have originated with mr. Gardouque [Mr. Gardauqui], at the time he was his Catholic Majesty's minister to the United States.”

Second ex. page 132.—“While at that place (Darling's-creek)[,] by a very extraordinary accident, a letter from the Governor General, on its way to a confidential officer in the Spanish service[,], fell into my hands for a few hours.

This letter contained the most unequivocal proof, of the late existence of a plan[,] calculated to injure the United States, [;] but which appeared then to be abandoned, and in which a number of our citizens had been actually engaged. From this letter it was rendered evident, that the suspicions of the late General Wayne respecting an improper correspondence being carried on between the officers of his Catholic Majesty, and some gentlemen residing in the western part of the United States, were well founded; but it was equally certain[,] that he was mistaken in several cases[,] as to the individual objects of his suspicion. It is likewise a fact[,] that the dispatches, and nearly twenty thousand dollars in silver[,] to be paid to certain characters were on board of the boat from New-Orleans, which was taken by his order, and examined by lieutenant [Lieut.] Steele, [Steel;] but the articles were overlooked.[!] The interesting parts of the above mentioned letter[,] were reduced to cypher, and accompanied my dispatches of November the 8th, 1798 to the department of state."

Third ex. page 197.—"Although those documents concerning mr. Hutchens, [mr. Hutchins] must be conclusive with every person who reads them, they are not more so[,] than those I saw relative to the plan already mentioned, for the effecting of which a number of our citizens received considerable sums of money from the Spanish government; the difference is, I am not yet at liberty to make the same use of them." [64]

Affidavit Alluded To In The Preceding Part Of The Pamphlet.

ON Wednesday, about noon, on the fifth inst. J. H. Daveiss, Esq. attorney of the U. S. for the above district, rose, and addressing the court, said that he had a motion to make of the utmost magnitude and extraordinary nature, and which regarded to welfare of the union at large—that the unhappy state of his health alone, had prevented him from making it on the first day of the term—that he should ground his motion on an affidavit which he would present to the court. He then made oath to the following affidavit:—

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

KENTUCKY DISTRICT Ct.

J. H. Daveiss, attorney for the said United States, in and for said district, upon his corporal oath, doth depose and say, That the deponent is informed, and doth verily believe, that a certain Aaron Burr, Esq. late vice-president of the said United States, for several months past, hath been, and is now engaged in preparing, and setting on foot, and in providing and preparing the means, for a military expedition and enterprise within this district, for the purpose of descending the Ohio & Mississippi therewith, & making war upon the subjects of the king of Spain, who are in a state of peace with the people of these U. States—To wit: on the provinces of Mexico, on the westwardly side of Louisiana, which appertain and belong to the king of Spain, an European prince with whom these United States are at peace.

And said deponent further saith, that he is informed, and verily believes, that the above charge can be, and will be fully substantiated by evidence, provided this honorable court will grant compulsory process to bring in witnesses to testify thereto.

And the deponent further saith, that he is informed, and verily believes, that the agents and emissaries of the said Burr, have purchased up, and are continuing to purchase, large stores of provisions, as if for an army; while the said Burr, seems to conceal in great mystery from the people at large, his purposes and projects, and while the minds of the good people of this district, seem agitated with the current rumour that a military expedition against some neighbouring power, is preparing by said Burr.

Wherefore, said attorney, on behalf of the said U. S. pray, that due process issue to compell the personal appearance of the said Aaron Burr, in this court; and also of such witnesses as may be necessary on behalf of the said U. States; and that this honourable court, will duly recognise the said Aaron Burr, to answer such charges as may be preferred against him in the premises; and in the meantime, that he desist and refrain from all further preparation and proceeding in the said armament within the said U. States, or the territories or dependencies thereof.

J. H. DAVEISS, A. U. S.

Having read this affidavit the attorney proceeded in the following words:—

The present subject has much engaged my mind. The case made out is *only* as to the expedition against Mexico; *but I have information on which I can rely, that all the western territories are the next object of the scheme—and finally, all the region of the Ohio is calculated as falling into the vortex of the new proposed revolution.*

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COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF PUBLICATION

CHARLES T. GREVE FREDERICK W. HINKLE
MISS L. BELLE HAMLIN

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MERRICK WHITCOMB, -	
ELLIOTT H. PENDLETON, -	
JAMES W. BULLOCK, -	

The meetings of the Society are held in its rooms in the Van Wormer Library Building, Burnet Woods, at three in the afternoon of the first Saturday of each month from October to May.

The Library is a free public Library, open to visitors daily, except Sunday, from nine A. M. to five P. M.

ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
Historical and Philosophical Society
of Ohio for 1917

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

DECEMBER 3D, 1917.

To the President and Members of the Society:

I have the honor to submit this report for the corporate year ending to-day.

The donations to the library have been 115 volumes; 1650 pamphlets; several bound volumes of Cincinnati newspapers of comparatively early dates and unbound volumes of the New York Times for 1916 and part of 1917; also, a quantity of manuscripts, several portraits, and other gifts of a miscellaneous nature, of which further mention will be made below.

We have purchased 51 volumes, crediting the Elizabeth Haven Appleton fund with 19; the Margaret Rives King fund with 28; the Society of Colonial Dames fund with 4; and 59 volumes have been added by the binding of pamphlets and exchange. These with the volumes donated aggregate 225, increasing the total number in our collection to 27,222. Several maps have been credited to the Appleton fund.

Over a year ago the *Hon. Joseph Benson Foraker* gave to us an extensive collection of manuscript letters which were written largely by men of prominence in the political arena. The gift was held in his office for additions and particularly for copies of his own answers to these letters, having agreed to supply them after it had been shown how much they would enhance the value of the collection. Illness, however, retarded this labor until finally Death came in May last ending all of his life-work.

This collection was forwarded to the library last summer by Mrs. Foraker with the welcome information that the work was being continued and later we would receive the additions. These

letters were written by two hundred or more correspondents—too many to be mentioned singly at the present time. When completed and properly arranged, the collection will be known as the “Joseph Benson Foraker Manuscripts.”

The *Hon. James E. Campbell* presented the Society with an original document that he thought ought to be in our files as it related to this city. It is “An Act to remove the seat of Government and fix the same at Cincinnati in the county of Hamilton” and reads as follows:

“Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives in General Assembly and it is hereby enacted “by the authority of the same That the seat of Government of “the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio “shall be and the same is hereby fixed and established at the “Town of Cincinnati in the county of Hamilton and that the “sessions of the Legislature shall in future be held in the said “Town of Cincinnati until otherwise determined by law.” Then follows Section 2, and the certification of John Reily, Clerk of the House of Representatives that “this bill passed on Monday, the “21st of December, 1801.”

Mr. Isaac Anderson Loeb, of Anderson, Indiana, forwarded an interesting broadside, consisting of a Proclamation by Thomas J. Stephens, Mayor of Cincinnati, dated March 30, 1884, directing persons to desist from lawlessness and calling upon all good citizens to rally for the preservation of the public peace, etc. This is a memento of the Cincinnati riot of that time.

A gift of choice manuscript letters has been received by the Society from *Miss Annie L. Roelker*. It consists of 387 letters of a social nature, addressed to the Hon. William Greene, and appear to have been written by close personal friends. One third of these were written by Frederick Grimke, Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio and an author, who died in Chillicothe in 1863. About 50 of the collection were written by Thomas Corwin; 16 by Ephraim Peabody, for several years minister of the Unitarian church of Cincinnati; 10 by Salmon P. Chase; 21 by W. and A. Lovering; 7 by Henry Clay; 8 by John Pierpont; and there are from 1 to 3 letters from others, John Quincy Adams; Wendell Phillips, Julia Ward Howe, Hiram Powers, Daniel Drake, Orville

Dewey, A. A. Livermore, Daniel Webster, Joseph Tillinghast, Timothy Walker, David B. Lawler, Frances Wright (d'Arusmont), and from Rufus King, Sen., Edward King, Rufus King, Jr., Mrs. Sarah Peters, et al. Besides these letters are a number of essays or compositions which may have been read at the old Semi-colon Society of this city, of which Mr. Greene was one of the originators and the *reader* of the papers prepared by the members.

With the manuscripts is a scrap-book of clippings (from newspapers) of articles from the pen of the Hon. William Greene the original owner of this manuscript collection. He was born in Warwick, Rhode Island, January 1, 1797, the son of Ray Greene, U. S. Senator, grandson of Colonial Governor William Greene, 1731-1809, and great grandson of William Greene, an earlier Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island. After his graduation from Brown University he attended the Law School at Litchfield, Connecticut, from which he was graduated in 1817, and at the instigation of a classmate, son of Governor Ethan Allen Brown, he came west and became the Governor's secretary, living in Columbus. Two years later, 1819, he came to Cincinnati where he practiced law but was far more interested in politics and in matters of civic interest, although he never held office in Ohio. He was a strong abolitionist and was active in the William Henry Harrison campaign; was for many years a Trustee of the School Board with Nathan Guilford and Alexander McGuffey; and, he was one of the founders of the Unitarian church of this city. In 1821 he was married to Abigail Brackett Lyman, of Northampton, Massachusetts, and upon her death in 1862 he returned to Rhode Island, living on the ancestral farm. In 1866 he served one term as Lieut. Governor for that State. The year following he married Mrs. Caroline Burge Matthewson, who survived him. His death occurred in March, 1883. He had two children by his first wife, Anne Jean who died in 1831, and Catherine Ray, born in Cincinnati Nov. 20, 1824, who married Feb. 1, 1853, Frederick Roelker, M. D., of Cincinnati, and it is to his daughter, Annie L. Roelker, that we are indebted for this valuable and useful gift.

Mr. Aaron A. Ferris presented to us two broadsides that are of interest to residents of the city: Soldiers Memorial of the Spanish War of 1898, contains a Roll of members of Company M, 10th Regiment, O. V. Infantry; and a Charter of the Delta Chap-

ter of the Phi Beta Kappa in the State of Ohio, in connection with the University of Cincinnati; also, 12 scrap-books of newspaper clippings, and 2 volumes of the Cincinnati Tribune, 1893, besides other volumes and numerous pamphlets.

A most attractive portrait of our Cincinnati artist, Charles T. Webber, painted during the latter part of his life by *Miss Mary Spencer*, has been given by her to the Society. It is a welcome addition to our collection of portraits of eminent men of the city, and the value of the gift is enhanced by the fact that it is the work of another well-known Cincinnati artist. Mr. Webber came to this city in 1858 and died here April 5, 1911, at the age of 85. Of his many paintings the best known is the "Underground Railway." A list of the subscribers to the fund for the purchase of this painting of Webber's, accompanied the gift.

Miss Spencer presented also a pen and ink copy, of 15 pages, of a rare old manuscript in Mexican hieroglyphics, accompanied by explanatory notes in English. It is a curious and interesting paper.

From *Mrs. W. R. Thrall* we have received a fine engraving, size 36 x 45, engraved by John Sartain, from the painting "Men of Progress—American Inventors" painted by C. Schussele in 1861 at Philadelphia. It represents nineteen of the best-known inventors, of that date, evidently in attendance at a scientific gathering. The central figure being Morse exhibiting a small model of his electric telegraph, and surrounding him are Dr. Morton, Bogardus, Colt, McCormick, Baxter, Peter Cooper, Goodyear, Mott, Prof. Henry, Dr. Nott, Ericsson, Burden, Hoe, Bigelow, Jennings, Blanchard, and Howe.

Mrs. Theodore Stanwood sent to the library a large sized photograph of one of our eminent physicians, Dr. John Alexander Murphy, who died in this city February 28, 1900.

Miss Jane C. Neave has given an old account book of Charles Neave covering dates 1829 to 1852, and another one containing accounts of Halsted Neave, 1868-1872; a silhouette cut in a curious manner; a currency bill of 1781 and a Wheeling, Va., Gazette of early date.

Mrs. James T. Whittaker has donated a photograph of Cincinnati taken by D. C. Redington, August, 1880, which measures 58 x 12 inches, exclusive of frame. The central point of interest is the Suspension Bridge spanning the Ohio.

As in past years we are greatly indebted to many Historical Societies and Universities for their historical publications, and to numerous other givers residing at a distance, as well as those nearer home, who kindly remember us with gifts of volumes, pamphlets, and other desirable matter.

The following is a partial list of additions to our library by gift and purchase:

- Spanish Regime in Missouri, 2 vols., by Louis Houck;
- Channing's History of the United States, vol. 4;
- Ohio-Michigan Territory, by C. E. Sherman;
- Early Narratives of the Northwest, 1635-1699;
- Recollections of a Cavalryman of the Civil War, by Hamilton;
- Perry's Victory Centenary, Report of New York State Commission;
- Records of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati, 1783-1804;
- Papers of the Connecticut State Society of the Cincinnati, 1783-1807;
- Records of the Ohio Company (in Marietta Hist. Coll.), vols. 1 & 2;
- Universities and their Sons, 5 vols. Ed. in Chief, J. L. Chamberlain;
- Mississippi Valley in British Politics, by Alvord;
- Hist. of Pioneer Kentucky, by Catterill;
- First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians, 1650-1674, by C. W. Alvord & L. Bidgood;
- History of the Middle New River Settlements and Contiguous Territory;
- St. Luke's Church, Marietta, Ohio, by Waters;
- Revolution in the Upper Ohio, by Thwaites & Kellogg;
- Pioneer Defense on the Upper Ohio, by Thwaites & Kellogg;
- Summers' Southwest Virginia;
- Letters of Richard Henry Lee;
- McAllister's Virginia Militia in the Revolutionary War;
- Boogher's Gleanings of Virginia;
- Recollections and Letters of Robert E. Lee;

Illinois in 1818, by S. J. Buck (Illinois Centennial Commission);

Filson Club Pub. No. 28, "Kentucky Navigation;"

Correspondence of William Shirley;

History of Fairfield, Conn., by Schenck;

Early Settlement of Nantucket;

Tyler's Cradle of the Republic, Jamestown and the James River;

Border Settlers of Northwestern Virginia;

History of Frederick Co., Va.;

Battle Fields of the Maumee Valley;

Miller's Hist. of Summers Co., W. Va.;

Thomas, A. E., Anti-Slavery Correspondence;

Rural Life in Litchfield County, by C. S. Phelps (Litchfield Co. Univ. Club);

Record Book of First Presbyterian Church of Elizabeth, N. J., 1668-1916;

Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-65;

The Red Cross War Fund Campaign in Cincinnati, June 18-25, 1917.

Thomas Jefferson Correspondence;

Vital Statistics of New Haven, Vol. 1;

Besides the usual quarterly periodicals purchased, we have added several other serials of historical nature.

A large addition to the William Greene collection of letters has been received from Miss Roelker, too late for more than a slight mention in this report, however, these with the remainder of the gift coming to us, will be fully described in the next annual report.

L. BELLE HAMLIN.

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

	VOL.	PAM.
Alliance Francaise.....		15
American Antiquarian Society.....	1	33
American Association for International Conciliation.....		11
American Jewish Historical Society.....	1	
American Steel & Wire Company.....		11
American Telegraph & Telephone Co., N. Y.....		1
Anonymous.....	4	18
Boston City Hospital.....	1	
Brazil Museum Nacional.....	2	
Bureau of Railway Economics.....		24
Canadian Archivist.....		1
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	2	2
Carnegie Institution, Dept. of Hist. Research.....		1
Chicago Historical Society.....		1
Cincinnati—		
Chamber of Commerce.....	1	
City Solicitor.....		1
Museum Association.....		7
Ohio Mechanics Institute.....		1
Ohio Medical College.....		2
Public Library.....		5
St. Xavier College.....		9
Smoke Abatement League.....		1
Symphony Orchestra.....		12
University of Cincinnati.....		5
Woman's Club.....		2
Colorado College.....		2
Columbia University.....		4
Connecticut Historical Society.....	3	
Connecticut State Library.....	1	1
Early Settlers of Cuyahoga County Association.....		1
Essex Institute.....		4
Georgia Historical Society.....		3
Illinois Centennial Commission.....	1	
Illinois State Historical Society.....		4
Illinois State Library.....		1
Indiana State Librarian.....		5
Instituto Geologico de Mexico.....		3
Iowa Grand Lodge.....	1	
Iowa State Historical Society.....	1	4
Kansas State Historical Society.....		1
Lake Mohonk Conference (for Indians).....		1
Litchfield County (Conn.) University Club.....	1	
Louisiana Historical Society.....		2
Maine Historical Society.....	1	
Massachusetts Historical Society.....	2	
Massachusetts Register of Deeds.....	3	
Medford Historical Society.....		5
Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.....	1	
Mexico Secretaria de Fomento.....		11
Michigan History Commission.....	1	3

	VOL.	PAM.
Military Order of Loyal Legion—		
New York.....		6
Ohio.....		42
Wisconsin.....		8
Milwaukee Public Museum.....		1
Minnesota State Historical Society.....		4
Missouri State Historical Society.....	1	5
Newberry Library.....		1
New Hampshire Historical Society.....	1	
New Haven Colony Historical Society.....		1
New York Institute for Deaf and Dumb.....		1
New York Public Library.....		9
New York Sons of the Revolution.....		1
New York State Commission.....	1	
New York State Department of Education.....	1	
North Dakota State Historical Society.....		1
Oberlin College.....	1	2
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station.....	1	
Archaeological and Historical Society.....		2
Board of Health.....		7
Industrial Commission.....		4
State University.....	1	4
Open Court Publishing Co.....		3
Paris Chamber of Commerce.....		16
Parker, Sir Gilbert.....	4	53
Pennsylvania Prison Society.....		1
Rhode Island Historical Society.....		2
Royal Society of Canada.....		10
St. Louis Mercantile Library.....		1
San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.....		1
Smith College.....		3
Tennessee Historical Society.....		2
Texas State Historical Society.....		4
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology.....	1	
Civil Service Commission.....		1
Coast & Geodetic Survey.....	1	2
Division of Public Documents.....		14
Interstate Commerce Commission.....	1	699
Library of Congress.....	1	
Smithsonian Institution.....	1	14
Treasury Department.....		1
War Department.....	3	
University of California.....		3
University of Colorado.....		2
University of Illinois.....		3
University of North Carolina.....		1
University of Pennsylvania.....		1
University of Toronto.....		2
Washington University State Historical Society.....		4
Wisconsin State Historical Society.....	3	1
Wyoming (Pa.) Historical and Geological Society.....	1	
Yale University.....		1
Balch, E. S.....	1	
Balch, T. W.....	1	
Beck, J. M.....	1	
Bromwell, J. H.....	1	
Buck, S. J.....		1
Campbell, J. E.....		Mss.
Currie, Miss F.....		8

	VOL.	PAM.
Dixon, W. Macneile.....	2	43
Doran, G. H.....		I
Foraker, J. B. (now deceased)..... Mss.		12
Ferris, A. A.....	16	137
Harrison, C. H.....	II	
Houghton Mifflin Co.....	I	
Keidel, G. C.....		I
Landreth, B.....	I	
Loeb, I. A..... Broadside.		
Maxwell, W. H..... newspaper.		I
Read, Mrs. C. A.....	I	
Roelker, Miss A. L..... Mss.	I	14
Spencer, Miss M..... Portrait; Mss.		I
Stanwood, Mrs. T..... Photograph		
Thayer, Rev. G. A.....	13	24
Thrall, Mrs. W. R..... Engraving		
Weston, E. B.....	I	
Whittaker, Mrs. J. T..... Photograph		
Wilby, C. B.....		2
Williams Directory Company.....	I	

MEMBERS

Anderson, W. H.....	I	
Bixby, W. K.....	I	
Bliss, E. F.....	4	92
Chatfield, Mrs. A. H..... N. Y. Times.		108
Hamlin, Miss L. B.....		4
Hoadly, G.....		I
James, D. L.....		38
Neave, Miss J. C..... Mss.	2	
Proctor, W. C..... Misc. papers.	4	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The War has left its record on the annual report of the Treasurer of this Society for the year 1917, showing investments of our funds as follows:

In June, \$800.00 in $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ United States Bonds of the first Liberty Loan (since exchanged for second Liberty 4% Bonds);
In July, two \$1,000.00, par value, French Government Bonds, bearing $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ interest;
In October, \$1,000.00 in United States 4% Bonds of the second Liberty Loan.

The Treasurer's report for the year 1917 appears in the form of two semi-annual statements of our fiscal agent—one ending May 31, 1917, and the other ending November 30, 1917.

Our fiscal agent, "The Central Trust & Safe Deposit Company," shortened its name during the year to "The Central Trust Company" and in that name the report for the year ending November 30, 1917, is made.

Mrs. Frances Fosdick Jones, a Life member since 1885, died April 6, 1917.

Miss Anna H. Foster, a Corporate member since 1900, died December 18, 1916.

Mr. William Lytle Foster, a corporate member of our Society since 1906, died on the 31st day of January, 1917. For more than a year prior to his death he had been Treasurer of our Society. Mr. Elliott H. Pendleton consented to become Treasurer upon Mr. Foster's death, but after serving a few months, resigned, and Mr. Larz W. Anderson was elected Treasurer and as such makes the present annual report.

On the occasion of the thirty-second annual meeting of the American Historical Association (and other allied societies) held in this City December 27-30, 1916, the President of your Society delivered an address of welcome at the conference of local Historical Societies.

The total investments of our Society as shown by the annual report of the Treasurer amount to \$79,038.72.

Quarterlies have appeared during the year as follows:

Volume XII, No. 1. January-March letter of Thomas Boylston Adams to William Cranch, and letters of same to Joseph Pitcairn, from a volume of our manuscript collection known as the "Pitcairn papers," with introduction and editing by L. Belle Hamlin.

Volume XII, No. 2-3. April-June and July-September, issued together, comprise a reprint of a pamphlet by J. H. Daveiss, published in 1807 at Frankfort, Kentucky, entitled, "A View of the President's Conduct, Concerning The Conspiracy of 1806." The reprint is edited by Professor I. J. Cox and Helen A. Swineford, D. A. R. Fellow of the University of Cincinnati.

Volume XII, No. 4. Will consist as usual of the annual report of our Society.

JOSEPH WILBY.

December 3, 1917.

For the President and Members of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio:

I have the honor to present my annual report of the assets and liabilities of The Historical & Philosophical Society of Ohio for the year ending November 30, 1917, as shown by the following statements of The Central Trust Company (formerly The Central Trust and Safe Deposit Company).

LARZ W. ANDERSON, *Treasurer.*

December 3, 1917.

JUNE 1, 1917

THE CENTRAL TRUST COMPANY
 IN ACCOUNT WITH
 HISTORICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.

SEMI-ANNUAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS

May 31, 1917:			
Dues for 1916.....	\$10 00		
" " 1917.....	350 00		
			\$360 00
Repayment on account of call loans.....			3,250 00
Income from Investments.....			1,684 66
Interest on Savings Account Central Trust Co. .			1 46
			<hr/>
Cash Balance November 30, 1916.....			\$5,296 12
			2,320 10
			<hr/>
			\$7,616 22

PAYMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....	\$500 00		
Printing and Paper.....	168 91		
Subscriptions.....	100 00		
Dues.....	10 00		
Books.....	81 70		
Paid Librarian for Petty Cash.....	50 00		
Central Trust Co., 3% on \$1,978.62.....	60 24		
			<hr/>
			\$970 85
Dec. 22, 1916:			
Bought \$1,000 Pennsylvania Ry. 4% May 1/48 Bond @ 99 7/8.....	998 75		
Accrued Interest.....	5 67		
Feb. 26, 1917:			
Bought \$500 Cin'ti 4 1/2% School Feb. 9/34 @ 106 3/4.....	533 75		
Accrued Interest.....	1 06		
March 19, 1917:			
Bought \$500 B. & O. Ry. 3 1/2% July 1/25 @ 93 7/8.....	469 38		
Accrued Interest.....	3 65		
May 25, 1917:			
Bought \$2,000 Cin'ti Gas Electric 5% Sinking Fund Apl. 1/56 Bond @ 101.....	2,020 00		
Accrued Interest.....	15 00		
May 29, 1917:			
Bought \$1,000 C. N. & C. Ry. 5% July 1/22 @ 99.....	990 00		
Accrued Interest.....	20 56		

Bought \$1,000 Covington & Cin'ti Bridge 5% July 1 /35 Bonds @ 101 1/2.....	1,015 00	
Accrued Interest.....	20 56	
	<hr/>	7,064 23
Less Interest Savings Account Central Trust Co., Credited to Investment Account.....		\$551 99
		<hr/>
Cash Balance May 31.....		1 46
		<hr/>
Cash Balance May 31.....		\$550 53
General Fund.....	\$182 36	
Binding Fund.....	10 17	
Building Fund.....	136 11	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....	55 77	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....	252 25	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....	7 23	
A. J. Howe Fund.....	242 99	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	14 26	
Halsted Neave Fund.....	52 17	
	<hr/>	
	\$953 31	
Less Overdraft Margaret Rives King Fund.....	402 78	
	<hr/>	550 53

INVESTMENTS

	PAR	BOOK VAL.
145 Shares Cin'ti Street Railway Co.....	\$7,250 00	\$8,448 88
15 " Western Pacific Ry. Co. Com.....	1,500 00	\$1,870 00
10 " " " " " Pfd.....	1,000 00	
7 1,000 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	7,000 00	7,395 00
8 1,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	8,000 00	8,285 00
3 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	3,000 00	2,887 50
4 1,000 Norfolk & Western Ry. 4% Bonds.....	4,000 00	3,547 50
1 1,000 Chattanooga Station Co. 4% Bonds.....	1,000 00	930 00
2 1,000 Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds.....	2,000 00	1,950 00
2 1,000 Cin'ti, Newport & Cov. Ry. 5% Bonds....	2,000 00	2,035 00
1 1,000 American Book Co. 6% Bonds.....	1,000 00	1,115 00
2 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4% Bonds.....	2,000 00	1,835 00
5 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge 5% Bonds.....	2,500 00	2,557 50
5 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bonds.....	2,500 00	2,653 90
1 500 Cin'ti 4½% Hospital Bonds.....	500 00	535 60
3 500 Hamilton Co. 4¼% Longview Hospital Bonds.....	1,500 00	1,564 50
1 1,000 Pennsylvania Ry. 4% Cons. Mtge.....	1,000 00	998 75
1 500 B. & O. Ry. 3½% Prior Lien Gold Note..	500 00	469 38
1 500 Cin'ti 4½% School Bond.....	500 00	533 75
	<hr/>	
	\$48,750 00	\$49,612 26
2 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Electric 5% Bonds.....	2,000 00	2,020 00
	<hr/>	
	\$50,750 00	\$51,632 26
Savings Account No. 7169, Central Trust Co., with Interest to May 1, 1917.....		74 47
Collateral Loans.....		25,800 00
		<hr/>
Total Investments May 31, 1917.....		\$77,506 73

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

87 Shares Cin'ti Street Railway .	\$4,714 75	
Interest 2,000 C. & O. Ry. Bds.	314 38	
Savings Dept. Central Trust Co.	11 68	
	<hr/>	\$5,040 81

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cin'ti Street Railway .	\$834 00	
Part Int. C. L. & N. Ry. Bond	224 25	
" " St. Paul & Kansas City		
Short Line.....	152 92	
Savings Dept. Central Trust Co.	23 38	
	<hr/>	1,234 55

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

15 Shares Cin'ti Street Railway .	\$822 00	
3 1,000 C. H. & D. Ry. Bonds..	2,882 50	
Int. in 2,000 C. & O. Ry. Bonds.	314 37	
" " 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. Bonds.	97 50	
" " 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas		
City Short Line.....	191 15	
" " 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge		
Bond.....	253 75	
500 Hamilton Co., O., 4½% Bd.	521 50	
Savings Dept. Central Trust Co.	39 41	
	<hr/>	5,122 18

HALSTED NEAVE FUND:

2 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bds.	\$1,912 50	
4 1,000 N. & W. Ry. 4% Bds...	3,547 50	
Int. in 1,000 Kentucky Cent. Ry.		
Bonds.....	487 50	
" " 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. Bds.	165 75	
" " 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas		
City Short Line.....	458 75	
" " 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Electric		
Co. Bonds.....	505 00	
1 500 Cin'ti 4½% Hospital Bd..	535 60	
1,000 American Book Co. Bd...	1,115 00	
	<hr/>	8,727 60

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 1,000 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bds	\$4,512 50	
Int. in 2,000 C. O. Ry. Bonds..	1,551 25	
" " 2,000 Kentucky Cent. Ry.		
Bonds.....	1,462 50	
" " 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. 4%		
Bonds.....	390 00	
" " 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas		
City Short Line.....	458 75	
1 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bd	535 30	
1 1,000 Pennsylvania Ry 4%....	998 75	
12 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry. Co..	839 38	
	<hr/>	10,748 43

COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry. Co...	200 00
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BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cin'ti St. Ry. Co....	\$680 63	
Int. in 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry Bds.	97 50	
" " 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas		
City Short Line.....	114 68	
" " 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge		
Bond.....	253 75	
	<hr/>	1,146 56

ERASMUS GEST FUND:

I 1,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bd...	\$1,017 50	
I 1,000 Chattanooga Sta. 4% Bd.	930 00	
I 1,000 C. N. & C. Ry. 5% Bd	1,045 00	
I 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge Co. 5% Bond.....	515 00	
Int. in 500 Cin'ti Bridge Co. 5% Bond.....	253 75	
" " 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line.....	229 37	
5 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	358 12	
I 5 Shares Western Pacific Ry. Co., Com.....	1,870 00	
I 10 Shares Western Pacific Ry. Co. Pfd.....		
		6,218 74

A. J. HOWE FUND:

5,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bds...	\$5,087 50	
1,000 Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge Co...	1,027 50	
Int. in 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short line.....	229 38	
		6,344 38

BUILDING FUND:

4 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bonds.....	\$2,118 60	
2 500 Hamilton Co. 4½% Longview Hospital Bonds...	1,043 00	
I 500 Cin'ti Gas & Electric 5% Bond.....	505 00	
Collateral Loans.....	16,730 00	
		20,396 60

ENDOWMENT FUND:

I 500 Cin'ti 4½% School Bd...	\$533 75	
I 500 B. & O. Ry. 3½% Bd...	469 38	
I 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Electric 5% Bond.....	1,010 00	
I 1,000 C. N. & C. Ry. 5% Bond.....	990 00	
Int. in 500 Cov. & Cin Bridge 5%.	253 75	
Collateral Loans.....	9,070 00	
		12,326 88

\$77,506 73

GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Dues for 1916.....	\$10 00	
" " 1917.....	350 00	
		\$360 00
Transfer from Endowment Fund (being Interest on this Fund Loaned to Building Fund).....		236 98
Transferred from Life Membership Fund.		132 82
		\$729 80
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		292 27
		\$1,022 07

PAYMENTS

Salary of Librarian 6 mos.....	\$500 00
Paid Librarian for Petty Cash.....	50 00
Paper & Printing.....	168 91
Dues.....	10 00

Contribution to Joint Convention American Historical Ass'n, American Political Science Ass'n, and Mississippi Valley Historical Ass'n.....	100 00	
Commission 3% on \$360.00 dues.....	10 80	
	<hr/>	839 71
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....		<hr/> \$182 36

BUILDING FUND

RECEIPTS		
Interest on Secured Call Loans.....		\$349 71
" Cin'ti 4% Sewer Bd. to Mch 1...		45 00
" Hamilton Co. O., 4¼% Bond to April 1.....		21 26
		<hr/> \$415 97
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		<hr/> 241 37

PAYMENTS		
May 25, 1917:		
Bought ½ of 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Elec-5% Skg Fd Apl 1 /56 Bd @ 101..	\$505 00	
Int. from Apl 1.....	3 75	
	<hr/>	\$508 75
May 31, 1917:		
Commission 3% on 415 97 Income...	12 48	
	<hr/>	521 23
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....		<hr/> \$136 11

COLONIAL DAMES FUND

RECEIPTS		
Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry. Co.....		\$6 00
Cash Balance, Nov. 30, 1916.....		15 44
		<hr/> \$21 44
PAYMENTS		
Books purchased.....	\$7 00	
Commission 3% on \$6.00.....	18	
	<hr/>	\$7 18
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....		<hr/> \$14 26

ENDOWMENT FUND

RECEIPTS		
Interest on Call Loans.....		\$289 31
Payment on Call Loans.....		3,250 00
		<hr/> \$3,539 31
PAYMENTS		
Feb. 26, 1917:		
Bought 1 500 Cin'ti 4½% School Feb. 9/34 Bd @ 106¾.....	\$533 75	
Int. from Feb. 9.....	1 06	
	<hr/>	\$534 81

March 19, 1917:			
Bought 1 500 B. & O. Ry. 3½% Prior Lien Gold July 1/25 Bd @ 93-7/8.....	\$469 38		
Int. from Jan. 1.....	3 65		
			473 03
May 25, 1917:			
Bought 1 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Elec. 5% Skg Fd Apl 1/56 @ 101.....	\$1,010 00		
Int. from Jan 1.....	7 50		
			1,017 50
May 29, 1917:			
Bought 1,000 C. N. & C. Ry 5% 1st Mtge July 1/22 Bd @ 99.....	\$990 00		
Int. from Jan. 1.....	20 56		
			1,010 56
Bought ½ of 500 Covington & Cin'ti Bdge 5% July 1/35 Bd @ 101½.	\$253 75		
Int. from Jan. 1.....	5 14		
			258 89
May 31, 1917:			
Commission 3% on.....	\$289 31		
Less accd int. paid.....	37 91		
	\$251 40		
Transferred to General Fund.....		7 54	
		236 98	3,539 31

BINDING FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$15 00
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug 1/16.....	2 81
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Feb. 1/17.....	2 81
Interest C. L. & N. Ry. Bond to May 1 .	1 98
	\$22 60
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	247 14
	\$269 74

PAYMENTS

May 29, 1917:			
Bought ½ of 500 Covington & Cin'ti Bdge 5% July 1/35 Bd @ 101½.	\$253 75		
Int. from Jan. 1.....	5 14		
		\$258 89	
Commission 3% on \$22.60.....		68	
		259 57	
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....		\$10 17	

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$18 00
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1/16.....	3 75
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Feb. 1/17.....	3 75

Interest C. L. & N. Ry. Bd to May 1....	4 54
Interest Savings Acct Central Trust Co..	46

Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$30 50
	223 12

PAYMENTS

Commission 3% on \$30.50.....	\$253 62
	91

Less Interest Central Trust Co. added to Investment Acct.....	\$252 71
	46

Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	\$252 25
--------------------------------	----------

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry. Co.....	\$22 50
------------------------------------	---------

Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1 /16.....	4 70
--	------

" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Feb. 1 /17.....	4 70
---	------

" C. H. & D. Ry. Bonds to Jan. 1.	67 50
-----------------------------------	-------

" C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bd to Mch 1.	6 43
--------------------------------	------

" Hamilton Co. 4½% Bd to Apl 1.	10 63
---------------------------------	-------

" C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bd to May 1..	1 98
-----------------------------------	------

" Savings Acct Central Trust Co...	78
------------------------------------	----

Cash Balance November 30, 1916.....	\$119 22
	222 80

PAYMENTS

May 29, 1917:

Books Purchased.....	\$23 00
----------------------	---------

Bought ½ of 500 Covington & Cin'ti Bdge 5% July 1 /35 Bd @ 101 ¼.	\$253 75
--	----------

Int. from Jan. 1.....	5 14
-----------------------	------

Commission 3% on \$119.22.....	258 89
--------------------------------	--------

	3 58
	\$285 47

Less Interest Central Trust Co. Added to Investment Acct.....	\$56 55
	78

Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	\$55 77
--------------------------------	---------

ERASMUS GEST FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry. Co.....	\$7 50
------------------------------------	--------

Interest C. N. & C. Ry. Bonds to Jan. 1.	25 00
--	-------

" Covington & Cin'ti Bdge Bds to Jan. 1.....	12 50
---	-------

" Chattanooga Sta. Tenn. Bds to Jan. 1.....	20 00
--	-------

" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1 /16.....	5 63
---	------

Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1 /16.....	5 63
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Feb. 1 /17.....	5 63
" C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bd to March 1.	22 50
	<hr/>
	\$98 76
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1917.....	170 32
	<hr/>
	\$269 08

PAYMENTS

May 29, 1917:			
Bought ½ of 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bdge			
5% July 1 /35 Bd @ 101½....	\$253 75		
Int. from Jan. 1.....	5 14		
	<hr/>		
		\$258 89	
Commission 3% on \$98.76.....		2 96	
		<hr/>	
			261 85
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....			\$7 23

A. J. HOWE FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1 /16.....	\$5 63
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Feb. 1 /17.....	5 63
" Covington & Cin'ti Bdge Bond to Jan. 1.....	25 00
C. & O. Ry. Bd to Mch 1.....	112 50
	<hr/>
	\$148 76
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	98 69
	<hr/>

PAYMENTS

Commission 3% on \$148.76.....	\$4 46
	<hr/>
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	\$242 99

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$18 00
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1 /16.....	11 24
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line Feb. 1 /17.....	11 24
" C. H. & D. Ry. Bonds to Jan. 1.	90 00
" Kentucky Central Ry. Bds to Jan. 1.....	30 00
" C. & O. Ry. Bds to Mch. 1.....	32 14
" Pennsylvania Ry. Bds to May 1.	20 00
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bds to May 1...	7 90
	<hr/>

Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....	\$220 52
	439 44
	<hr/>
	\$659 96

PAYMENTS			
Books Purchased.....		\$51	70
Dec. 22, 1916:			
Bought 1 1,000 Pennsylvania Ry. 4%			
Csltd Mtge May 1 /48 Bond @			
99 7/8.....	\$998	75	
Interest from Nov. 1.....		5	67
			<hr/>
		1,004	42
May 31, 1917:			
Commission 3% on \$220.52.....		6	62
Overdraft.....			
			<hr/>
		\$402	78
			<hr/>
		\$1,062	74
			<hr/>
		\$1,062	74
May 31, 1916:			
Overdraft.....		\$402	78

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

RECEIPTS			
Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....		\$130	50
Interest C. & O. Ry. 4 1/3% Bd to Mch 1.		6	43
" Savings Acct Central Trust Co..			22
			<hr/>
		\$137	15
PAYMENTS			
Commission 3% on \$137.15.....		\$4	11
Transferred to General Fund.....		132	82
Interest Savings Acct Central Trust Co.			
Added to Investments.....			22
			<hr/>
		\$137	15

HALSTED NEAVE FUND

RECEIPTS			
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line			
to Aug. 1 /16.....		\$11	24
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line			
to Feb. 1 /17.....		11	24
" Norfolk & Western Ry. Bonds to			
Jan. 1.....		80	00
" Kentucky Central Ry. Bonds to			
Jan. 1.....		10	00
" American Book Co. Bds to Jan. 1.		30	00
" Cin'ti 4% Hospital Bd to Jan. 2..		11	25
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bd to May 1.....		43	60
			<hr/>
		\$197	33
Cash Balance Nov. 30, 1916.....		369	51
			<hr/>
		\$566	84
PAYMENTS			
May 25, 1917:			
Bought 1/2 of 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Elec.			
5% Skg Fd Apl 1 /56 Bd @ 101.	\$505	00	
Int. from Apl 1.....		3	75
			<hr/>
		\$508	75
May 31, 1917:			
Commission 3% on \$197.33.....		5	92
			<hr/>
		514	67
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....			
			<hr/>
		\$52	17

NOVEMBER 27, 1917.

THE CENTRAL TRUST COMPANY
 IN ACCOUNT WITH
 HISTORICAL & PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO
 SEMI-ANNUAL STATEMENT

RECEIPTS

Nov. 27, 1917:		
Dues for 1917.....		\$40 00
Repayment on Acct Call Loans.....		2,250 00
Int. on Savings Acct Central Trust Co.		74
Income from Investments.....		2,003 06
		<hr/>
		\$4,293 80
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....		550 53
		<hr/>
		\$4,844 33

PAYMENTS

Salary of Librarian.....		\$500 00	
Paid Librarian for Petty Cash.....		50 00	
University of Cincinnati Rent.....		300 00	
Express Charges.....		3 57	
Insurance.....		12 38	
Printing & Paper.....		264 62	
Dues.....		15 00	
Books Purchased.....		125 57	
Central Trust Co. Commission 3% on \$2,043.80.....		61 31	
		<hr/>	
		\$1,332 45	
June 11, 1917:			
Bought 800 U. S. 3½% Liberty Loan June 15/32/47 Bonds.....		800 00	
July 23, 1917:			
Bought 2 1,000 French Govt 5½% Apl 1/19 Bds @ \$990.62½.....	\$1,981 25		
Interest from Apl 1.....	25 97		
		<hr/>	
		2,007 22	
Oct. 24, 1917:			
Bought 1,000 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Nov. 15/27/42 Bond.....		1,000 00	
Less Interest on Savings Acct Central Trust Co. Credited Investments.		74	
Overdraft.....			\$296 08
		<hr/>	
		\$5,140 41	\$5,140 41
Nov. 27, 1917:			
Overdraft.....		\$296 08	
Nov. 27, 1917:	OVERDRAFT	BALANCE	
General Fund.....	\$412 09		
Endowment Fund.....		\$61 87	
Binding Fund.....		35 43	
Building Fund.....		82 92	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.....		43 30	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund.....		27 75	
Erasmus Gest Fund.....		3 63	
A. J. Howe Fund.....	18 17		

Colonial Dames Fund.....		9 08
Halsted Neave Fund.....		144 80
Margaret Rives King Fund.....	274 60	
	<hr/>	
	\$704 86	\$408 78
Nov. 27, 1917:		
Overdraft.....		296 08
	<hr/>	
	\$704 86	\$704 86

INVESTMENTS

	PAR	BOOK VAL.
145 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$7,250 00	\$8,448 88
15 " Western Pacific Ry. Com.....	1,500 00	} 1,870 00
10 " " " Pfd.....	1,000 00	
7,000 C. H. & D. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	7,000 00	7,395 00
8,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.....	8,000 00	8,285 00
3,000 C. L. & N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	3,000 00	2,887 50
4,000 Norfolk & Western Ry. 4% Bonds.....	4,000 00	3,547 50
1,000 Chattanooga Sta. Co. 4% Bonds.....	1,000 00	930 00
2,000 Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds.....	2,000 00	1,950 00
2,000 Cin'ti Newport & Covington 5% Bonds.....	2,000 00	2,035 00
1,000 American Book Co. 6% Bonds.....	1,000 00	1,115 00
2,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line 4% Bonds..	2,000 00	1,835 00
2,500 Covington & Cin'ti Bridge Co. 5% Bonds.....	2,500 00	2,557 50
2,500 Cincinnati 4½% Sewer Imp. Bonds.....	2,500 00	2,653 90
500 " " Hospital Bonds.....	500 00	535 60
500 " " School Bonds.....	500 00	533 75
1,500 Hamilton Co. 4¼% Longview Hosp. Bonds...	1 500 00	1,564 50
1,000 Pennsylvania Ry. 4% Bonds.....	1,000 00	998 75
500 B. & O. Ry. 3½% Bond.....	500 00	469 38
2,000 Cin'ti Gas & Elec. 5% Bonds.....	2,000 00	2,020 00
2,000 French Government 5½% Bonds.....	2,000 00	1,981 25
1,800 U. S. A. 4% Liberty Loan Bonds.....	1,800 00	1,800 00
	<hr/>	
	\$54,550 00	\$55,413 51
Savings Acct. Central Trust Co.....		75 21
Collateral Loans.....		23,550 00
		<hr/>
Total Investments Nov. 27, 1917.....		\$79,038 72

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

87 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$4,714 75
Int. 2,000 C. & O. Ry. Bonds...	314 38
Savings Acct Central Trust.....	11 80
	<hr/>
	\$5,040 93

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$834 00
Part Int. C. L. & N. Ry. Bond..	224 25
" " St. Paul & Kansas City	
Short Line.....	152 92
250 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bds.	250 00
Savings Acct Central Trust Co...	23 61
	<hr/>
	1,484 78

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

15 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$822 00
3 1,000 C. H. & D. Ry. Bonds..	2,882 50
Int. in 2,000 C. & O. Ry. Bds...	314 37
" " 1,000 C.L.& N. Ry. Bds.	97 50

Int. in 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line....	191 15	
“ “ 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bdge Bond.....	253 75	
500 Hamilton Co., O., 4½% Bond.....	521 50	
100 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bd.	100 00	
Savings Acct Central Trust Co...	39 80	
		8,222 57
HALSTED NEAVE FUND:		
2 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. Bonds...	\$1,912 50	
4 1,000 N. & W. 4% Bonds....	3,547 50	
Int. in 1,000 Kentucky Central Ry. Bonds.....	487 50	
“ “ 1,000 C.L.& N. Ry. Bds.	165 75	
“ “ 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line....	458 75	
“ “ 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Elec. Co. Bonds.....	505 00	
1 500 Cin'ti, O., 4½% Hosp.Bd.	535 60	
1 1,000 American Book Co. Bd..	1,115 00	
1 100 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bd..	100 00	
		8,827 60
MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:		
4 1,000 C.H.& D. Ry. 4½% Bds .	\$4,512 50	
Int. in 2,000 C. & O. Ry. Bds..	1,551 25	
“ “ 1,000 C.L.& N. Ry. 4% Bonds.....	390 00	
“ “ 2,000 Kentucky Central Ry. Bonds.....	1,462 50	
“ “ 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line....	458 75	
1 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Bond..	535 30	
1 1,000 Pennsylvania Ry. Bond .	998 75	
12 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	839 38	
		10,748 43
COLONIAL DAMES FUND:		
4 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$200 00	
		200 00
BINDING FUND:		
10 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$680 63	
Int. in 1,000 C. L. & N. Ry. Bond.	97 50	
“ “ 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line....	114 68	
“ “ 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bdge.	253 75	
		1,146 56
ERASMUS GEST FUND:		
1 1,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bonds.	\$1,017 50	
1 1,000 Chattanooga Sta. 4% Bd.	930 00	
1 1,000 C. N. & C. Ry. 5% Bd..	1,045 00	
1 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bdge Bd....	515 00	
Int. in 500 Cin'ti Bdge Bd....	253 75	
“ “ 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line....	229 37	
5 Shares Cin'ti Street Ry.....	358 12	
1 100 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bd	100 00	
15 Shares Western Pacific Ry. Com.....	1,870 00	
10 Shares Western Pacific Ry. Pfd.....		
		6,318 74

A. J. HOWE FUND:

5,000 C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bond..	\$5,087 50	
1,000 Cov. & Cin'ti Bdge Bd....	1,027 50	
Int. in 1,000 St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line.....	229 38	
400 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bds.	400 00	
	<hr/>	6,744 38
		<hr/>
		\$45,733 99

BUILDING FUND:

4 500 Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Bonds.	\$2,118 60	
2 500 Hamilton Co., O., 4½% Bonds.....	1,043 00	
1 500 Cin'ti Gas & Elec. 5% Bd..	505 00	
Collateral Loans.....	16,730 00	
650 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bds.	650 00	
	<hr/>	21,046 60

ENDOWMENT FUND:

1 500 Cin'ti, O., 4½% School Bd.	\$533 75	
1 500 B. & O. Ry. 3½% Bd....	469 38	
1 1,000 Cin'ti Gas & Elec 5%...	1,010 00	
1 1,000 C. N. & C. Ry. 5%.....	990 00	
Int. in 500 Cov. & Cin'ti Bdge...	253 75	
Collateral Loans.....	6,820 00	
200 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan Bds..	200 00	
2 1,000 French Govt. 5½% Bds..	1,981 25	
	<hr/>	12,258 13
		<hr/>
		\$79,038 72

GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Dues for 1917.....		\$40 00
Transfer from Endowment Fund (being Interest on this Fund Loaned to Building Fund).....		132 69
Transfer from Life Membership Fund.....		379 18
		<hr/>
		\$551 87
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....		182 36
		<hr/>

\$734 23

PAYMENTS

Salary of Librarian 6 months.....	\$500 00	
Librarian for Expenses.....	50 00	
University of Cincinnati, Rent for 1917.....	300 00	
Express Charges.....	3 25	
Dues.....	15 00	
Insurance on Books.....	12 38	
Commission 3% on \$40.00.....	1 20	
Printing & Paper.....	264 62	
Overdraft.....		\$412 22
	<hr/>	
	\$1,146 45	\$1,146 45
Nov. 27, 1917:		
Overdraft.....	\$412 22	
	<hr/>	

BUILDING FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest on Secured Collateral Loans.....	\$536 53
“ Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Bd to Sept. 1.....	45 00
“ Hamilton Co., O., 4¼% Bd to Oct. 1.....	21 24
“ Cin'ti Gas & Elec. 5% Bd to Oct. 1.....	12 50
	\$615 27
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	136 11

\$751 38

PAYMENTS

June 12, 1917:	
Bought \$350.00 U. S. 3½% Liberty Loan, June 15/32/47 Bd.....	\$350 00
Oct. 24, 1917:	
Bought \$300.00 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan, Nov. 15/27/42 Bd.....	300 00
Nov. 27, 1917:	
Commission 3% on \$615.24.....	18 46
	668 46
Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917.....	\$82 92

COLONIAL DAMES FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry. Co.....	\$6 00
Cash Balance May 31, 1917....	14 26
	\$20 26

PAYMENTS

Books Purchased.....	\$11 00
Commission 3% on \$6.00.....	18
	\$11 18
Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917.....	\$9 08

ENDOWMENT FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest on Call Loans.....	\$279 67
Payment on Call Loans.....	2,250 00
Interest Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge Bds to July 1.....	6 25
“ C. N. & C. Ry. Bonds to July 1.....	25 00
“ B. & O. Ry. 3½% Bds to July 1.....	8 75
“ Cin'ti 4½% School Bds to Aug. 9.....	11 25
“ Cin'ti Gas & Elec. Bds to Oct. 1.....	25 00
“ French Govt. 5½% Bds to Oct. 1.....	55 00
	\$2,660 92

PAYMENTS

June 12, 1917:	
Bought 200 U. S. 3½% Liberty Loan, June 15/32/47 Bd.....	\$200 00
July 9, 1917:	
Bought 2,000 French Govt. 5½% Apl 1/19 Bd @ \$99.0625.....	\$1,981 25
Int. Apl 1 to June 25.....	25 97
	2,007 22
Registered Mail & Ins. 2,000 French Govt. Bd. shipped from N. Y. . .	32

Nov. 27, 1917:		
Commission 3% on \$410.92.....	12 33	
Transferred to Gen'l Fund Net Inc. .	379 18	
	<hr/>	2,599 05

Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917.....	\$61 87
---------------------------------	---------

BINDING FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry. Co.....	\$15 00
Interest Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge Bd to July 1.....	6 25
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1.	2 81
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bd to Nov. 1.....	1 98
	<hr/>
	\$26 04
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	10 17

\$36 21

PAYMENTS

Commission 3% on \$26.04.....	78
Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917.....	\$35 43

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.....	\$18 00
Interest St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1..	3 75
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bd to Nov. 1.....	4 54
" Savings Acct Central Trust Co. to Sept. 1...	23
	<hr/>
	\$26 52
Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	252 25

\$278 77

June 12, 1917:

PAYMENTS

Bought 250 U. S. 3½% Liberty Loan, June 15 /		
32 /47 Bd.....	\$250 00	
Commission 3% on \$26.52.....	79	
	<hr/>	250 79

\$27 98

Less Interest Central Trust Co. Added Invest-	
ment Acct.....	23

Cash Balance Nov. 28, 1917.....	\$27 75
---------------------------------	---------

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry. Co.....	\$22 50
Interest Covington & Cin'ti Bridge Bd to July 1....	6 25
" C. H. & D. Ry. Bonds to July 1.....	67 50
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1	4 70
" C. & O. Ry. 4½% Bd to Sept. 1.....	6 43
" Hamilton Co., O., 4¼% Bd to Oct. 1.....	10 62
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bd to Nov. 1.....	1 98
" Savings Acct Central Trust Co.....	39
	<hr/>

\$120 37

Cash Balance May 31, 1917.....	55 77
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\$176 14

PAYMENTS

Oct. 24, 1917:			
Subscription to 100 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan, Nov. 15/27/42		\$100 00	
Books Purchased		28 84	
Commission 3% on \$120.37		3 61	
		<hr/>	\$132 45
			\$43 69
Less Interest Central Trust Co. Added Investment Acct.			<hr/> 39
Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917			<hr/> \$43 30

ERASMUS GEST FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.		\$7 50
Interest Covington & Cin'ti Bdge Bd to July 1		18 75
" C. N. & C. Ry. Bds to July 1		25 00
" Chattanooga Sta. 4% to July 1		20 00
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1		5 63
" C. & O. 4½% Reg. Bond to Sept. 1		22 50
		<hr/>
		\$99 38
Cash Balance May 31, 1917		7 23
		<hr/>
		\$106 61

PAYMENTS

Oct. 24, 1917:			
Subscription 100 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan, Nov. 15/27/42 Bd.		\$100 00	
Commission 3% on \$99.38		2 98	
		<hr/>	102 98
Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917			<hr/> \$3 63

A. J. HOWE FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest Cov. & Cin'ti Bridge Bd to July 1		\$25 00
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1		5 63
" C. & O. Ry. 4½% to Sept. 1		112 50
		<hr/>
		\$143 13
Cash Balance May 31, 1917		242 99
		<hr/>
		\$386 12

PAYMENTS

Oct. 24, 1917:			
Subscription to 400 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan, Nov. 15/27/42 Bds.		\$400 00	
Nov. 27, 1917:			
Commission 3% on \$143.13		4 29	
Overdraft			18 17
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$404 29	\$404 29
Overdraft, Nov. 27, 1917		\$18 17	

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.		\$18 00
Interest Cin'ti 4½% Sewer Imp. Bd to June 16.		11 25
" Kentucky Central Ry. Bd to July 1.		30 00
" C. H. & D. Ry. Bd to July 1.		90 00
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug. 1.		11 24
" C. & O. Ry. 4½% to Sept. 1.		32 14
" Pennsylvania Ry. 4% Bd to Nov. 1.		20 00
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bd to Nov. 1.		7 90

\$220 53

PAYMENTS

Overdraft, May 31, 1917.	\$402 78	
Books Purchased.	85 73	
Commission 3% on \$220.53.	6 62	
Overdraft.		274 60

\$495 13 \$495 13
\$274 60

Overdraft, November 27, 1917.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

RECEIPTS

Dividend Cin'ti Street Ry.		\$130 50
Interest C. & O. 4½% Reg. Bds to Sept. 1.		6 43
" Savings Acct Central Trust Co.		12

\$137 05

PAYMENTS

Nov. 27, 1917:		
Commission 3% on \$137.04.	\$4 11	
Transfer to General Fund Net Income 6 months Ending, Nov. 27/17.		132 82
Interest Savings Acct Central Trust Co. Added to Investment Acct.		12

\$137 05

HALSTED NEAVE FUND

RECEIPTS

Interest Cin'ti 4½% Hospital Bond to July 2.		\$11 25
" Kentucky Central Ry. Bond to July 1.		10 00
" American Book Co. Bd to July 1.		30 00
" Norfolk & Western Ry. Bd to July 1.		80 00
" St. Paul & Kansas City Short Line to Aug 1		11 24
" Cin'ti Gas & Elec. Bd to Oct. 1.		12 50
" C. L. & N. Ry. Bd. to Nov. 1.		43 60

\$198 59
52 17

Cash Balance May 31, 1917.

\$250 76

PAYMENTS

Oct 24, 1917:		
Subscription to 100 U. S. 4% Liberty Loan, Nov. 15/27/42.	\$100 00	
Nov. 27, 1917:		
Commission 3% on \$198.59.	5 96	

\$105 96

Cash Balance Nov. 27, 1917.

\$144 80

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Anderson, Larz W.	Holmes, John R.
Anderson, William H.	James, Davis L.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.	Keys, Miss Mary E.
Ault, L. A.	Levy, Harry M.
Brunswick, B. H.	Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Caldwell, Charles E.	Meador, A. B.
Callahan, John R.	Nippert, Alfred K.
Clark, Jesse R.	Outcalt, Miller
Dabney, Charles W.	Patterson, Jefferson
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.	Patterson, John H.
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman	Patterson, Robert
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.	Pendleton, Elliott H.
Foley, B. W.	Procter, William Cooper
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick	Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Freiberg, Maurice J.	Schmidlapp, J. G.
Gano, Mrs. John A.	Shillito, Stewart
Gates, John	Shinkle, A. Clifford
Goepper, Edward	Storer, Bellamy
Greve, Charles Theodore	Strobridge, Nelson W.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle	Strong, Edward W.
Harrison, William H.	Taft, Charles P.
Hinkle, Mrs. A. Howard	Whitcomb, Merrick
Hinkle, Frederick W.	Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Hinkle, Philip	Winslow, Mrs. John F.
Hoadley, George	Worthington, Edward
Hollister, Howard C.	Worthington, William

LIFE MEMBERS

Bliss, Eugene F.	Neave, Miss Alice
Bullock, James W.	Neave, Miss Jane C.
Chatfield, Albert H.	Procter, Harley T.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.	Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Fleischmann, Julius	Thomson, Peter G.
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.	Vail, Henry H.
Gest, Joseph H.	Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Jones, Frank J.	Wilby, Joseph
Laws, Miss Annie	Woods, Harry F.
Livingood, Charles J.	

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Bixby, William K.	Morrow, Josiah
Cox, Isaac J.	Quaife, Milo M.
Foulke, William Dudley	Rowland, Dunbar
Galbreath, Charles P.	Storey, Moorfield
Green, Samuel A.	Thayer, William Roscoe.
Hayes, E. G.	Young, Bennett H.
Heath, William McK.	

HONORARY MEMBERS

Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.	Taft, William H.
Hulbert, Archer B.	Venable, William H.

DIED

Miss Anna H. Foster, December 18, 1916.
Mrs. Frances Fosdick Jones, April 6, 1917.
William Lytle Foster, January 31, 1916.



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