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ERRATA

Volume I, page 63, Contents VII, strike out "James" and insert "Samuel"
Findlay.

Volume II, pages 95, 99, strike out "G. S. Wau" and insert "C. Swan."

Volume III, pages 67, 84, 86, strike out "G." and insert "J." B. Trevor.

12873.57.3

**The Quarterly Publication of
the Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio**

C I N C I N N A T I , O H I O



**Vol. I...1906...No. 1
JANUARY-MARCH**

OFFICERS FOR 1906-7.

JOSEPH WILBY, PRESIDENT.

FRANK J. JONES, VICE-PRESIDENT.

HOWARD C. HOLLISTER, VICE-PRESIDENT.

CHARLES T. GREVE, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GERRIT S. SYKES, RECORDING SECRETARY.

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DAVIS L. JAMES,

MERRICK WHITCOMB,

JOHN FLACK WINSLOW,

CHARLES A. LIVINGOOD,

} CURATORS.

The meetings of the Society are held in its room 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.

The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio —



Vol. I...1906...No. 1
JANUARY-MARCH



WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.

CINCINNATI

Cincinnati, Ohio

The King manuscripts have been arranged and are ready for consultation. During the year 93 volumes have been bound.

The Society has received from Mrs. A. W. Whelpley a rare collection of autographs numbering about 500. Included among these are many original drafts of poems, prose writings, speeches, etc., and many letters from eminent men and women. The mention of some of these papers will suffice to show their interesting character.

Original manuscript writings of:—

“Defenders” by T. Buchanan Read; “Queen Esther” by Harriet Beecher Stowe; Preface to “Fudge Doings” by Donald G. Mitchell; Preface to “Sparrowgrass Papers” by F. Cozzens; Magazine article by Alice Carey; Preface to “Idlewild” by N. P. Willis; Dedication to “Hidden Path” by Marion Harland; Response by General W. T. Sherman “Our Sister Societies of the Armies East and West”, etc.

Original manuscript poems of:

J. G. Whittier, J. R. Lowell, W. P. Brannan (Van Dyke Brown), W. D. Gallagher, T. B. Aldrich, Fitz James O'Brien, Lucy Larcom, etc.

Manuscript letters of:

Ruskin, Rembrandt Peale, Bierstadt, Dickens, Mendelsohn, Agassiz, Longfellow, Wendell Phillips, Jacob Burnet, John Mitchell (celebrated letter to Archbishop Hughes), Edwin Forrest, James Monroe, Madison, Jefferson, Hamilton, W. H. Harrison, Pierce, Jackson, Clay, Lincoln, Garfield, Hayes (letter relating to contest between Lincoln and Douglas, 1859, and in reference to an address which Lincoln was to deliver in Cincinnati), and letter of McKinley, etc.

A paper bearing date Steubenville, Jefferson County, Ind., Dec. 17, 1798, addressed to the speaker of the House of Representatives, Northwest Territory, Cincinnati, requesting that the name of Colonel David Vance, the present representative for Jefferson county, be placed among the ten that are to be forwarded to Congress as candidates for the Legislative Council. Signed, Francis Douglas, Sheriff.

A quaint old paper, dated Jan. 17, 1705-6, written by William Titcomb to Lieut. Col. Thomas Noyes.

The appointment of John Howard of the parish of Christ Church, London, as a stamper of Vellum, Parchment, etc., printed on parchment and dated the 24th day of January, 1761.

The gift from Mrs. Whelpley which will be most valued by the Society is the autograph copy of the Amnesty Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln, Dec. 8, 1863. The accompanying letter of Senator John Sherman gives an interesting account of his interview with Mr. Lincoln when he obtained this historical document for exhibition and sale at the Great Western Sanitary Fair held in Cincinnati in 1863.

An addition to the library of 6 manuscript volumes and various letters, accounts, and other papers, has been received from Mr. Davis L. James. Three of these volumes contain an unbroken record of the meetings of the members of the Western Academy of Natural Sciences

of Cincinnati, from April 25, 1835 (date of its organization) to April 24, 1854; Vol. 4 covers the Treasurer's report for years 1860-71; and the two remaining volumes are catalogues of the books owned by that society.

Mrs. C. W. Baker has continued her valuable work of gathering early data pertaining to this locality and has added two manuscript volumes to the six heretofore given the Society by her. They contain tombstone inscriptions found in Fulton, North Bend, South Lebanon, graveyards and the graveyards of the Columbia Baptist church, Deer Creek Baptist church, Pleasant Ridge Presbyterian church and the Wealeyan (Cumminsville), accompanied by descriptions of these different churches and many facts concerning early settlers in their localities.

The following additions to the Cabinet have been made during the year:

A fac-simile of the Autographs of the Officers of State, Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, 1860-61. The interesting fact is noted by the donor that among its members were one who became President of the United States; one, Governor of Ohio; one, Justice of the Supreme Court; two, Cabinet Officers; eighteen, Generals and Colonels; one, U. S. Senator; and fourteen, Members of Congress. Given by Gen. B. R. Cowen.

An attractive oil painting of the old Deer Creek Baptist church—the handiwork of the donor, Mr. J. L. Niles.

A design of the prisons of Salisbury, N. C., and Charleston, S. C., with the signatures of the officers who were in Salisbury prison, Dec., 1861. Three of these were Cincinnati men. Given by Mrs. Catherine E. Bense (widow of Major James Bense of 6th O. V. I.)

Two books containing a collection of photographs of former residents of Cincinnati, photographed by Hoag & Quick. Purchased and given by eight members of the Society: Messrs. C. T. Greve, J. W. Bullock, F. J. Jones, W. A. DeCamp, F. B. Wiborg, J. R. Callahan, and H. M. Levy.

Six framed photographs by Hoag & Quick. Given by Mr. Joseph Wilby.

A photograph of 62 Longworth street in 1883. Given by Mr. G. C. James.

A view of the upper portion of the Ohio river. Given by Mrs. G. B. Parkinson.

A collection of 150 envelopes used during the Rebellion in 1860-1. Given by Mr. Joseph Wilby.

One stock certificate of the old Marietta & Cincinnati Railroad Company, 1870. Given by Mr. J. V. B. Scarborough.

Old-fashioned box in the form of a small trunk, formerly belonging to Judge H. C. Whitman, used for holding private papers. Given by the Ezekiel & Bernheim Co.

L. BELLE HAMLIN,
Librarian.

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY.

	Vols.	Pam.
Academy of History and Antiquities.....		6
American Jewish Historical Association	2	
Berlin Stadt Handels-Hochschule in Cöln		1
Boston City Hospital.....	1	
Boston City Register Department	3	
Bunker Hill Monument Association.....	1	
Chicago City Statistician.....	1	
Cincinnati—		
Art Association.....		1
Chamber of Commerce	1	
City Auditor.....	1	
Children's Home.....		1
Law School.....		3
Medical College of Ohio		1
Museum		12
Ohio Mechanics Institute		1
Orchestra Association		12
Public Library.....		8
University of Cincinnati.....		53
Water Works Commission		1
Colorado College.....	2	2
Colorado Historical Society	1	1
Colorado Scientific Society.....	3	
Essex Institute	1	
Indiana University	1	
Illinois State Historical Society.....	1	
Institutio Geológico de Mexico.....	4	
Iowa State Historical Society	17	
Kansas State Historical Society.....	1	
Lake Mohonk Conference.....		2
Louisiana Historical Society.....		1
Massachusetts Historical Society.....	2	
Medford Historical Society		4
Military Order of the Loyal Legion, U. S.—		
California		18
Iowa.....		10
Michigan		3
Minnesota		20
New York		62
Wisconsin		15

	Vols.	Pam.
Milwaukee Public Museum	2	
Minnesota Historical Society	3	1
Missouri Historical Society	2	1
Missouri State Historical Society		1
Newberry Library		2
New Hampshire Historical Society		1
New Haven Colony Historical Society		1
New Jersey Historical Society	1	
New York Charity Organization Society		1
New York Institute for the Deaf and Dumb		1
New York Public Library		12
North Carolina Agricultural Experimental Station		1
North Dakota State Historical Society		1
Oberlin College		1
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station	1	
Board of State Charities		3
Diocese of Southern Ohio	1	
State Archaeological and Historical Society		3
Ohio Society of New York	1	
Pennsylvania Prison Society		1
Rhode Island Historical Society	8	
Royal Society of Canada	1	
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association		1
Syracuse Public Library		1
Texas State Historical Society	1	
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology	3	1
Bureau of Education	1	1
Bureau of U. S. Forestry (Philippines)	2	
Coast and Geodetic Survey	1	
Department of Commerce and Labor	14	15
Department of the Navy	1	
Department of the Interior	2	
Department of State	1	1
Department of War	10	63
Interstate Commerce		35
Library of Congress	3	3
Smithsonian Institution	4	1
Government Printing Office	4	
Université de Toulouse		10
University of California		1
University of Toronto	1	1
William's Directory Co. (Cincinnati)	1	
Wisconsin Natural Historical Society		1
Wisconsin State Historical Society	2	

	Vols.	Pam.
Worcester Public Library.....		3
Yale University.....	2	2
Anderson, Mrs. E. M.....		1
Anonymous.....		7
Ayres, D. C.....		1
Carnegie, Andrew		1
Conroy, A. J.....	2	
Davies, Junius.....		1
Ezekiel & Bernheim Co	3	
Fairchild, Mrs. Charles S	2	
Ferrier, Francis		1
Glover, E. W		5
Halloway, F. O	1	
Hartmann, Mrs. P. H.....	2	31
James, G. C		1
Jones, W. St. J		248
Keys, Miss M. E.....	2	
Orton, Edward	1	
Peaslee, J. B.....	1	
Perkins, W. H	1	
Smith, M. P. W.....	1	
Strickler, W. M.....	1	
Thayer, G. A.Old newspapers,	2	1
Valerio Alfredo		1
Vatterh, K.....		6

MEMBERS.

	Vols.	Pam.
Anderson, L. N.....	1	12
Baker, Mrs. C. B.....1 newspaper,	4	2
Bliss, E. F.....	25	52
Bullock, J. W.....	1	
Chatfield, A. H	10	14
Cowen, B. R.....	1	
Dabney, C. W		1
Green, S. A.....	6	9
Goepper, E.....		1
Hamlin, L. B.....	5	9
James, D. L		13
Parkinson, Mrs. G. B.....		12
Wilby, J	1	

PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

During the year that closes today there have been several events in the life of your Society worthy of mention.

Miss Jane C. Neave has three times expressed her interest in the Society by substantial gifts. At the last annual meeting your President reported a gift from her of one hundred dollars to the E. H. Appleton Fund. In June she gave us one thousand dollars, toward a new fund, to be called "The Halsted Neave Endowment Fund", in memory of her brother; and again in October she sent us another thousand dollars for the same fund.

For its growth from small beginnings to its present condition, your Society owes a large sense of obligation to the generous support of such friends as Miss Neave.

At the last annual meeting Mrs. T. L. A. Greve found it necessary, on account of continued absence from the city, to decline reelection as Curator. Mrs. Greve had served the Society long and faithfully; her interest in our work was much appreciated, and her withdrawal from the Board much regretted.

In March the Board adopted a set of rules governing the use of the Society's books, pamphlets and manuscripts.

Your President suggests that these rules, which are spread upon our minutes, be printed with our Constitution and By-laws.

Mr. Erasmus Gest, for many years one of our life members, presented to your Society last April approximately six hundred books, which form a valuable addition to our library. The book plate of the Society has been placed in each volume of this gift of Mr. Gest's, but by arrangement between him and your President they are permitted to remain in the library of Mr. Gest's house, back of Newport, Kentucky, covered by insurance in the name of The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. It seemed best not to go to the expense of moving these books to our present quarters in the Van Wormer Library Building. Upon our return down town, as we hope to before many years, these books would have to be moved again.

Probably the most important work that has recently been accomplished, has been the cataloguing of the books in our library, by our

Librarian, Miss Hamlin, and a special cataloguer, who has been engaged for over seven months. Fuller reference to this work is contained in the Librarian's report.

There was begun during the year a quarterly publication of original historical matter from our library and collections, the selection and publication of which was left to a committee of your Board. The first publication was "The Personal Narrative of William Lytle". The second was "Letters of Hiram Powers to Nicholas Longworth, Esq., 1856-1858".

At the request of the Massachusetts Historical Society, your President, by direction of the Board, cooperated with other Historical Societies, by addressing our Senators and Representatives at Washington, in bringing about action by Congress which has resulted in preserving the frigate Constitution.

Between last Christmas and New Year's Day, your President attended the meeting of the American Historical Association at Baltimore, Md.

Our agreement with the Board of Directors of the University of Cincinnati, under which we now occupy part of the Van Wormer Library Building, was made November 8, 1899; and by its terms is to continue in force until the 31st day of December, 1909, and thereafter until terminated by notice given by either party to the other. That notice must be in writing, and given one year before the date therein specified for such termination. Our agreement to remain in our present quarters, therefore, may be said to expire in three years. I referred to the shortness of the balance of our term in my last report. I again refer to it, not only to remind you that notice to terminate our ten year tenancy here must be given two years from now, but also to furnish this opportunity of expressing again my conviction, which grows from year to year, and is shared, I am sure, by all members of your Society who attend the monthly meetings of its Board, that the interests of this Society require a removal to some location in the city more accessible and convenient not only for the meetings of the Board, but for use by members of the Society and the public. I believe that move should be made as soon as our contract with the University will permit it.

I also believe that the means will be forthcoming to make that move possible. It behooves all of us, however, to bear in mind and plan for that removal.

JOSEPH WILBY,
President.

December 3, 1906.

ACCOUNTANTS' REPORT.

CINCINNATI, November 30, 1906.

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

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books and accounts of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ended November 30, 1906, and we beg to report as follows:

We submit as a part of this report the following schedules:

SCHEDULE "A"—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at date of closing, November 30, 1906.

SCHEDULE "B"—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for year ended November 30, 1906.

These schedules are supported by the following exhibits:—

Exhibit "1"—Statement of Investments and Savings Deposits.

Exhibit "2"—General Fund.

Exhibit "3"—Building Fund.

Exhibit "3"—Endowment Fund.

Exhibit "4"—Life Membership Fund.

Exhibit "4"—Julius Dexter Publication Fund.

Exhibit "5"—Elizabeth H. Appleton Memorial Fund.

Exhibit "5"—Margaret Rives King Fund.

Exhibit "6"—Colonial Dames Fund.

Exhibit "6"—Binding Fund.

Receipts and Disbursements have been audited and found correct.

Cash account has been reconciled and securities as shown duly examined and found on hand as represented.

The Statement of Assets and Liabilities as shown, in our opinion, represents the true financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30, 1906.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,

Public Accountant and Auditor.

(Schedule "A")

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES.

December 1, 1906.

Assets.

Cash in Bank	\$1,363.44	
Cash in hands of Librarian	14.19	
		\$ 1,377.63
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., (Interest on deposits)		4.65
Investments and Savings Deposits		19,104.42
Fee of 108 West Eighth street.....		29,000.00
E. H. Appleton, Income account (Debit balance).	2.79	
Halsted Neave, Income account (Debit balance).	1.97	
		4.76
	<i>Total,</i>	<u>\$49,491.46</u>

Liabilities.

General Fund,	Investment Account,	\$ 716.25
Building Fund,	Principal	" 16,657.64
Endowment Fund,	" "	" 12,320.00
Life Membership Fund,	Investment	" 5,037.13
Julius Dexter		
Publication Fund,	" "	850.00
Julius Dexter		
Publication Fund,	Income	" 125.64
E. H. Appleton		
Memorial Fund,	Investment	" 4,045.90
Halsted Neave,	Principal	" 1,000.00
" "	Investment	" 1,000.00
Margaret Rives		
King Fund,	" "	6,545.00
Margaret Rives		
King Fund,	Income	" 224.99
Colonial Dames Fund,	Investment	" 200.00
" " "	Income	" 20.05
Binding Fund,	Income	" 38.72
" "	Investment	" 710.14
	<i>Total,</i>	<u>\$49,491.46</u>

(Schedule "B")

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS.

For Year Ended November 30, 1906.

Dec. 1, 1905, Balance in Bank	\$ 421.81	
In hands of Librarian	15.69	\$ 437.50
	<hr/>	

Receipts.

Membership Dues, 1903.....	\$ 10.00	
" " 1904.....	30.00	
" " 1905.....	80.00	
" " 1906.....	630.00	750.00
	<hr/>	

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:

General Fund.....	\$ 30.00	
Life Membership Fund.....	268.50	
Dexter Publication Fund.....	36.00	
E. H. Appleton, Memorial Fund....	190.50	
Margaret Rives King Fund	264.00	
Colonial Dames Fund.....	12.00	
Binding Fund	30.00	831.00
	<hr/>	

DONATIONS:

To Endowment Fund.....	\$ 20.00	
To E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund.	100.00	
To Binding Fund.....	25.00	145.00
	<hr/>	

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS:

Jos. Wilby.....	\$ 100.00	
J. W. Bullock.....	100.00	200.00
	<hr/>	
M. M. Robertson—Building Fund In- come from rent to Oct. 1, 1906.....		800.00
Halsted Neave.....		2,000.00
		<hr/>

<i>Total Receipts,</i>	<u>4,726.00</u>
<i>To be accounted for,</i>	<u><u>\$5,163.50</u></u>

Disbursements.

Books bought—General Fund.....	\$	170.05		
General Expenses		138.96		
Stationery		14.80		
Printing.....		36.00		
Card Catalogue Expense.....		467.70		
Postage.....		25.31		
Insurance		97.50		
Salaries — Librarian and “Janitor, Heat and Light”		1,050.00		
INVESTMENTS:				
From Life				
Membership Fund ..	\$	289.00		
From E. H. Appleton				
Memorial Fund		144.50		
From Halsted				
Neave Fund.....		<u>1,000.00</u>	1,433.50	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund, ac- count Purchases and Expenses.....			150.42	
Halsted Neave Fund, account Pur- chases and Expenses.....			1.97	
Margaret Rives King Fund, account Purchases and Expenses.....			115.66	
Colonial Dames Fund, account Pur- chases and Expenses			11.40	
Binding Fund, account Purchases and Expenses.....			<u>72.60</u>	
<i>Total Disbursements,</i>			3,785.87	
Cash in hand of Librarian.....			14.19	
Cash in Bank.....	\$	<u>1,363.44</u>	<u>\$1,377.63</u>	<u>\$5,163.50</u>

(Exhibit "1")

INVESTMENTS AND DEPOSITS.

December 1, 1906.

GENERAL FUND:	Investments.	Deposits.	Total.
10 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	\$ 716.25		\$ 716.25
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:			
83 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	4,425.75		
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Rwy. Co. 4½ per cent bonds (cost)....	314.38		
4 shares Cincinnati St. Rwy. Co. (cost).....	<u>289.00</u>		5,029.13
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent).....		8.00	8.00
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:			
12 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	<u>834.00</u>		834.00
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent).....		16.00	16.00
E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:			
\$3,000 C. H. & D. Rwy. Co. 4½ per cent bonds (cost).....	2,882.50		
15 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	822.00		
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Rwy. Co. 4½ bonds (cost).....	<u>314.37</u>		4,018.87
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent)		27.03	27.03
HALSTED NEAVE FUND:			
\$1,000 Gold Bond, C. L. & N. Rwy. Co. (cost).....	<u>1,000.00</u>		1,000.00
MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:			
\$4,000 C. H. & D. Rwy. Co. 4½ per cent bonds (cost).....	4,512.50		
7 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co.	481.25		
Part interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Rwy. Co. 4½ bonds (cost)	<u>1,551.25</u>		6,545.00
COLONIAL DAMES FUND:			
4 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	200.00		200.00
BINDING FUND:			
10 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost)	680.63		680.63
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co. (deposit 3 per cent).....		29.51	29.51
Totals,	<u>\$19,023.88</u>	<u>\$80.54</u>	<u>\$19,104.42</u>

(Exhibit "2")

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues 1903	\$ 10.00	
" 1904	30.00	
" 1905	80.00	
" 1906	640.00	\$ 760.00
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co.—Dividends.....	30.00	
Transfer from Life Membership Fund—In- come Account.....	180.04	
Interest on Endowment Fund Loaned to Build- ing Fund, Transferred from Endowment Fund.....	615.00	\$1,585.04

DISBURSEMENTS AND TRANSFERS:

Books Bought.....	170.05	
General Expenses.....	138.96	
Stationery	14.80	
Printing	36.00	
Card Catalogue Expense	467.70	
Postage.....	25.31	
Insurance	97.50	
Salaries—Librarian and Janitor.....	1,050.00	
Dues—Librarian	10.00	2,010.32
Excess Disbursements and Transfers,		<u>425.28</u>
Dec. 1, 1906—Balance transferred to Building Fund, Income Account.....		<u>425.28</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Dec. 1, 1906—Balance invested as per Balance Sheet.	<u>716.25</u>
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27
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 Releasant

11 75

11 75

00

36
64

5.00

Transfer to General Fund..... 5.00

Principal Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance.....	12,300.00	
May 8, 1906, K. D. Hinkle, Cash donation	20.00	
		<u>20.00</u>
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance as per balance sheet..		<u>\$12,320.00</u>

(Exhibit "4")

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

Income Account.

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co., dividends.....	\$ 255.00	
C. & O. Rwy. Bond interest	13.50	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest54	
Life Memberships	200.00	\$ 469.04
		<hr/> <hr/>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Investments—4 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	289.00	
Balance transferred to General Fund.....	180.04	469.04
		<hr/> <hr/>

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, balance invested	4,748.13	
Purchases—4 shares Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co. (cost).....	289.00	
Dec. 1, 1906, credit balance as per balance sheet		5,037.13
		<hr/> <hr/>

(Exhibit "4")

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, credit balance	\$ 88.56	
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RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co., divi- dends	\$36.00	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest.....	1.08	37.08
December 1, 1906, credit balance as per balance sheet.....		\$ 125.64
		<hr/> <hr/>

Investment Account.

December 1, 1906, balance invested as per balance sheet.....		850.00
		<hr/> <hr/>

(Exhibit "5")

ELIZABETH H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND.

Income Account.

RECEIPTS:

J. C. Neave, donation	\$ 100.00	
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co., dividends.....	42.00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co., bond interest	135.00	
C. & O. Ry. Co., bond interest.....	13.50	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest	1.63	\$ 292.13

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books purchased	150.42	
Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. stock, investment.....	144.50	294.92
Dec. 1, 1906, Excess Disbursements as per balance sheet.....		2.79

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Balance invested	3,901.40	
Purchases, 25 shares Cincinnati Street Ry. Co. (cost).....	144.50	
Dec. 1, 1905, Total as per balance sheet.....		4,045.90

(Exhibit "5")

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance.....	\$ 76.65
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RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Ry. Co., dividends	\$ 21.00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co., bond interest.....	180.00	
C. & O. Ry. Co., bond interest.....	63.00	264.00
		340.65

DISBURSEMENTS:

Books purchased	115.66	
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance, as per balance sheet....	224.99	

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance invested, as per balance sheet,	6,545.90
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(Exhibit "6")

COLONIAL DAMES FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance	\$19.45	
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Rwy. Co., dividends	12.00	
	<u>31.45</u>	
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Books purchased	11.40	
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance, as per balance sheet.....		<u>20.05</u>

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance invested as per balance sheet.....	<u>200.00</u>
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(Exhibit "6")

BINDING FUND.

Income Account.

Dec. 1, 1905, Credit balance.....		\$ 54.92
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Rwy., dividends	\$30.00	
E. F. Bliss, donation	25.00	
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., interest.....	1.40	56.40
		<u>111.32</u>
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Binding Expenses.....		72.60
Dec. 1, 1906, Credit balance, as per balance sheet.....		<u>38.72</u>

Investment Account.

Dec. 1, 1906, Balance invested, as per balance sheet.....	<u>710.14</u>
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CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Alms, William H.
Anderson, Davis C.
Anderson, Mrs. William P.
Ault, L. A.
Baker, Mrs. Charles W.
Baker, Miss Phebe S.
Balke, Rudolph F.
Battelle, John G.
Brunswick, B. H.
Burnam, John M.
Caldwell, Charles E.
Callahan, John R.
Carew, Joseph T.
Cist, Charles M.
Compton, William C.
Cowen, Benjamin R.
Dabney, Charles W.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henchman
DeCamp, Walter A.
Duhme, Charles H.
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.
Felter, Harvey W.
Foley, B. W.
Foster, Miss Anna H.
Foster, Wm. Lytle
Forcheimer, Mrs. Frederick
Freiberg, Maurice J.
Gano, Mrs. John A.
Goepper, Edward
Greve, Charles Theodore
Greve, Mrs. T. L. A.
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle
Harry, J. E.
Hollister, Howard C.
Holmes, D. H. J.
Holmes, John R.
Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.
Ingalls, M. E.
James, Davis L.
Kittredge, Edmund W.
Köch, Felix J.
Laws, Miss Annie
Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Levy, Harry M.
Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Ludlow, William S.
McDonald, Alexander
Miller, Griffin T.
Parkinson, George Bowen
Pendleton, Elliott H.
Procter, William Cooper
Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Ransohoff, Joseph
Schmidlapp, J. G.
Shillito, Stewart
Storer, Bellamy
Strobridge, Nelson W.
Sykes, Gerrit S.
Taft, Charles W.
Taylor, William W.
Voorheis, Albert B.
Whitcomb, Merrick
Wiborg, Frank B.
Wiborg, Mrs. Frank B.
Wilson, Obed J.
Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Winslow, Howard S.
Winslow, John F.
Worthington, Edward
Worthington, William
Wulsin, Lucien

LIFE MEMBERS.

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.
Bliss, Eugene F.
Bullock, James W.
Chatfield, Albert H.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.
Davis, Nathaniel Henschman
Davis, William Henry
Fleischmann, Julius
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.
Gest, Erasmus
Gibson, Mrs. William
Hurd, E. O.

Jones, Frank J.
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.
Livingood, Charles J.
Neave, Miss Alice
Neave, Miss Jane Caldwell
Procter, Harley T.
Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Thomson, Peter G.
Vail, Henry H.
Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Wilby, Joseph
Woods, Harry F.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Adams, Charles Francis
Duro, Cesario
Foulke, William Dudley
Galbreath, Charles W.
Green, Samuel A.
Hayes, E. G.

Heath, William Mck.
Hoyt, Albert H.
Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Tyson, Philip T.
Warder, Reuben H.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Durrett, Reuben T.

Venable, William H.

AN ACT to incorporate the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio:

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio,* That Benjamin Taffan, John C. Wright, and Dr. John Andrews, of Steubenville; Arius Nye, and Dr. S. H. Hildreth, of Marietta; Appleton Downer, Dr. T. Flanner, and E. Buckingham, of Zanesville; Thomas James, B. G. Leonard, and James T. Worthington, of Chilli-cothe; Gustavus Swan, John M. Edmiston, Alfred Kelley, and Dr. — Platt, of Columbus; Joseph Sullivant, of Franklinton; Dr. — Cooper, of Newark; R. H. Bishop, Thomas Kelley, and James McBride, of Butler county; Dr. — Cobb, Dr. — Slack, N. Longworth, John P. Foote, and Timothy Flint, of Cincinnati; John Sloane, of Wayne county; Jared P. Kirtland, of Trumbull [county]; Samuel Wheeler, of Geauga county; Ebenezer Lane, of Huron county; and William Wall, of Athens; and such other persons as may from time to time, become members, shall be, and are hereby constituted a body corporate and politic, by the name of **THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO:** and by that name they shall have perpetual succession; and shall be capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended, in all courts and places whatsoever; and may have a common seal with power to change or alter the same, from time to time; and shall be capable of purchasing, taking, holding, and enjoying, to them and their successors, any real estate, in fee simple or otherwise, and any goods, chattels, and personal estate, and of selling, leasing, or otherwise disposing of the said real and personal estate, or any part thereof, at their will and pleasure: *Provided always,* That the clear annual value or income of such real and personal estate, shall not exceed the sum of ten thousand dollars: *Provided, however,* That the funds of the said corporation shall not be used and appropriated to the purpose of banking.

SEC. 2. That the said society shall, from time to time, forever hereafter, have power to make, constitute, ordain, and establish such by-laws and regulations, as they shall judge proper for the election of their officers; for prescribing their respective functions, and the mode of discharging the same; for the admission of new members; for the

government of the officers and members thereof; for collecting annual contributions from the members, towards the funds thereof; for regulating the time and place of meeting of the said society; for suspending or expelling such members as shall neglect or refuse to comply with the by-laws or regulations; and for the managing and directing the affairs and concerns of the said society, *Provided*, Such by-laws and regulations be not repugnant to the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

SEC. 3. That the officers of said society shall consist of a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, a treasurer, and five curates [curators], and such other officers as the society may judge necessary, who shall be annually chosen, and who shall continue in office for one year, or until others shall be elected in their stead: that if the annual election shall not be held at any of the days for that purpose appointed, it shall be lawful to make such election at any other day; and that five members of the said society, assembling at the place and time designated for that purpose by any by-laws or resolutions of the society, shall constitute a legal meeting thereof.

SEC. 4. That any five of the persons named in the first section of this act, shall have power to call a meeting of said society for the election of their officers, and the transaction of such other business as may be necessary and proper, to carry into effect the design and objects of said corporation, by giving two month's notice in some newspaper printed at Columbus, of the time of such meeting: such meeting to be holden at Columbus.

JAMES M. BELL,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

SAMUEL R. MILLER,

Speaker of the Senate.

February 11, 1831.

29 Ohio Local Laws, 122.

13213.57.5
1875

**The Quarterly Publication of
the Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio**

C I N C I N N A T I O H I O

**Vol. II, 1907, No. 1
JANUARY-MARCH**

Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio

Burnet Woods, - Cincinnati, Ohio

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FRANK J. JONES, - - - - -	VICE-PRESIDENT.
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Quarterly Publication of the His-
torical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio

Vol. II, 1907, No. 2
APRIL-JUNE

Selections from the Gallipolis Papers,

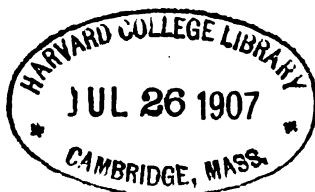
Arranged and Edited by

THEODORE T. BELOTE,

Colonial Dames Fellow in Ohio Valley History, University of Cincinnati.

PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM
CINCINNATI, OHIO

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The Society

Committee in Charge of Publication.

Charles T. Greve.

Merrick Whitcomb

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INTRODUCTION.

The documents printed in this number of the *Quarterly* were selected from the *Gallipolis Papers* as the result of a study on the part of the editor, the fruits of which will appear in his forthcoming monograph concerning "The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlement at Gallipolis." The main facts connected with the above subject are pretty well known to all students of American history, and to the general reading public of Ohio. It is not proposed to give by means of the documents herein printed a connected account of the Scioto transactions. But it is hoped that the contents of this number of the *Quarterly* will serve to throw into relief certain of the more important phases of that affair; that they will present to the mind of the reader a succession of pictures showing the various aspects of the Scioto speculation at certain periods in its development. By giving a few words of introduction of each document printed an endeavor has been made to explain it and its relation to the series as a whole. This method has been followed in preference to the more cumbersome one of giving frequent annotations in the form of footnotes. It is to be hoped that the explanation given will prove sufficiently full to enable the documents to be read with understanding. Concerning the documents now printed it is perhaps well to say that with a single exception, the petition of the French settlers to the Ohio Co., they are all copies of the originals and not the original papers.

This collection of "Gallipolis Papers," consisting of three volumes, was given to the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio by Robert Clark, John Marshall Newton and Eugene F. Bliss. The material was collected principally by Mr. Newton, with the intention of writing in full a history of the French settlement at Gallipolis, but the work was unfinished at the time of his decease. Many of the copies of both French and English documents, and the translations of a large portion of the former, furnished to Mr. Newton, appear in many instances to have been made without the requisite care, or by persons not thoroughly versed in one or the other of the two languages. Subsequently, other French manuscripts in this collection were translated by Mr. Bliss, and the arrangement of the entire collection was his work.

Theodore T. Belote.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

April 26, 1907.

I.

TRANSFER FROM CUTLER AND SARGENT TO WILLIAM DUER.

(Copy of a transfer from Cutler and Sargent to Col. Wm. Duer, the first documentary evidence we have of the existence of the Scioto Company. October 27, 1787, Cutler and Sargent completed negotiations with the Board of Treasury for nearly six million acres of western lands. There were two contracts drawn: one for the Ohio company, consisting of an absolute purchase of one and a half million acres, lying between the seventh and seventeenth ranges of townships along the Ohio River; the second contract was drawn in the names of Manasseh Cutler and Winthrop Sargent, for themselves and associates. It consisted of an option to purchase all the lands lying between the Ohio and Scioto rivers and the seventeenth range of townships. By the terms of the transfer here given, Cutler and Sargent, for themselves and associates, transfer to Col. Duer and his associates a half interest in their right of pre-emption to the tract of land last mentioned above. Cutler and Sargent and their associates bound themselves to be jointly responsible with Duer and his associates for the profits and losses arising from the disposal of said tract, in Europe or elsewhere. For document, Cf. *Gallipolis Papers*, I, 99.)

Whereas by the Resolves of Congress of the 23d & 27th of July last the Rev'd Manasseh Cutler & Major Winthrop Sargent for themselves & associates procured the right of Pre-Emption of a certain tract of the Western Territory of the United States bounded as follows, viz: "A Tract of land bounded by the Ohio from the mouth of the Scioto River to the intersection of the Western boundary of the Seventh range of townships then surveying; thence by the Said boundary to the northern boundary of the tenth township from the Ohio, thence by a due west line to the Scioto, thence by the Scioto to the beginning." And whereas in pursuance of the Said Resolves the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent have on the 27th of October instant, entered into a contract with the honorable, the board of Treasury of the United States, as Agents for the Directors of the Ohio Company of associates for the purchase of a certain portion of the above described Tract of Land, bounded as follows "Beginning at the place above the Western Boundary Line of the seventh Range of Townships laid out by the authority of Congress Intersects the Ohio & extending thence along that River westerly to the place where the western line of the seventeenth Range of Townships to be laid out according to the Land ordinance of the 20th day of May one thousand seven hundred & Eighty-five, would intersect the Said River & extending thence Northerly upon the Western boundary line of the seventeenth Range of Townships, so far as that a line drawn due

East, to the Western boundary Line of the Said seventh range of Townships will with the other Lines of the Said described Tract include One Million & a half acres of Land, Exclusive of certain reservations as specified in the Deed." And whereas the Residue of the General Tract as described in the act of Congress of the 23d of July last remains wholly unappropriated & is subject to the disposal of the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent, who have accordingly entered into a contract for the purchase of the same on the 27th day of October Instant with the Honorable Board of Treasury of the United States, describing in the Said Contract the Boundaries of the Said Tract in the manner following to wit: "Beginning at the mouth of the Scioto on the Eastern Side thereof, thence running along the Ohio to the place where the Western Boundary Line of the seventeenth Range of Townships to be laid out according to the Land ordinance of Congress of the 20th May 1785: will touch the Said River, thence running Northerly on the Western Boundary Line of the Said seventeenth Range of Townships as far as the Western line of the said Tract so as aforesaid contracted for by the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent as Agents for the Directors of the Ohio Company & their associates shall or may extend thence due East to the Western Boundary line of the Said seventh Range of Townships, thence along the same to the Northern Boundary of the Tenth Township from the Ohio, thence due West to the river Scioto, & thence along the Said river to the place of beginning, being the whole of the Tract mentioned in the Resolution of Congress of the 23d of July last, except what is contracted for by the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent as Agent for the Directors of the Ohio Company, & their associates."

Be it known, that it is this day agreed betwixt the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent, for themselves, & others their associates, & William Duer of the State of New York for himself & others his associates, that they the said Cutler & Sargent do for themselves & associates, assign & make over to the said William Duer & his associates their Heirs & assigns one equal moiety of the tract last described: Provided always that the Prospective Parties to this writing shall be jointly & equally concerned in the disposal of the same either in Europe or America as circumstances will but admit of; and that they share equally in any profit or loss which may accrue in attempting to negotiate the Sale or Mortgage of the same, & in paying the purchase money due to the United States.

And it is hereby agreed upon & understood by the parties that the property in the residue of the general Tract, as above described, is to be considered as divided into thirty equal Parts or Shares, of which Thirteen Shares are the Property of William Duer, in which he may admit such associates as he may judge proper & thirteen shares in like manner the property of the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent; that the other four shares may be disposed of in Europe at the Direction of an Agent to be sent there for the purpose of negotiating a Sale or Loan as above mentioned; & if not as disposed of: to be equally divided amongst the Parties to this writing.

It is further agreed that the Said William Duer be & he hereby is fully authorized & empowered to negotiate a Loan on, or Sale of the above Lands in Holland or such other parts of Europe as may be found expedient; with power of appointing an agent to act under him in the said negotiation, agreeably to such instructions as he may receive for such purpose.—Provided always, & it is hereby understood & agreed on betwixt the parties that the Said William Duer shall from time to time (when so required) make known & communicate to the Said Winthrop Sargent & Manasseh Cutler the progress of the Said negotiation & the correspondence & instructions relative thereto, & it is also agreed betwixt the said parties that Royal Flint be & is agreed on by the Said Parties, as the present agent for undertaking the proposed negotiation under the superintendence of the said William Duer; & that if from the Death of the said Flint or other circumstances it may be proper to appoint another agent for the purpose above stated, the person so appointed shall be agreed on by the said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent & William Duer. And whereas the whole benefit of the Pre-Emption of the Residue of the Land as above described may depend on the punctual payment on the part of the Ohio Company, of one moiety of the purchase money of the First contracted for in their behalf, It is hereby agreed that the Said William Duer shall (if it be found necessary) advance on account of the Said contract One hundred thousand Dollars: provided that whatever sum so paid by the Said William Duer shall exceed thirty thousand dollars shall be reimbursed to the Said William out of the first monies which the Said Sargent & Cutler may receive for subscriptions.

For the performance of the different covenants in this agreement the Said Manasseh Cutler & Winthrop Sargent & the Said William Duer, bind themselves & their respective heirs & assigns the one to

the other--& in Witness whereof have interchangeably set their hands & seals this twenty ninth day of October one thousand seven hundred & eighty seven.

Witness {	Manasseh Cutler	Manasseh Cutler [SEAL]	
	On the 26th Nov.		Winthrop Sargent [SEAL]
	In presence of		
Edward Harris.	[SEAL]		
John West.			

II.

(PETITION OF SCIOTO COMPANY TO CONGRESS OF UNITED STATES).

(The date of this paper is uncertain. It was probably drawn early in 1790 when Joel Barlow, the agent of the Scioto company at Paris, was urging Duer to make arrangements with Congress, by means of which the company would be enabled to put in possession of their land, the first French emigrants who arrived in America. "By this course alone," said Barlow, "could the company insure for itself the public confidence of Europe, and at the same time the success of the Scioto speculation." See No. V, Barlow to Duer, Nov. 29, 1789. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* III, 109).

Whereas the Honorable Congress of the United States of America have ceded to certain persons a Tract of land on the borders of the Ohio & Scioto which the said persons agreed to pay in four equal payments & to receive possession of one-fourth part of the said tract of lands on the making of each of such payments & not before which condition tho' perfectly just in itself presents the purchasers from disposing of the lands in the manner which would be the most advantageous for them & for that portion of the U. S. where these lands are situated the purchasers who have subscribed the said contract beg leave to lay before the Congress the following arguments in favor of a change which the[y] demand to be made in the said bargain.

The quantity of acres being 3 millions & the payment of each fourth part amounting to the sum of 5 hundred thousand dollars it would be necessary for the persons contracting to pay 500,000 dollars before they can give possession of any portion of these lands & they must give possession on the other hand before they can be paid; an advance therefore on their part would be necessary of so large a sum which advance they are unable to make for that operation not having foreseen the necessity of it when the contract was entered into at which time they expected it might be possible to sell the lands

with sufficient rapidity or in sufficiently large portions to be enabled to make such payments without advancing the whole on their own part.

The purchasers with this view sent over an agent to Europe with powers to treat for the sale of these lands, he has in part succeeded but is obliged to sell them in such small quantities & to promise possession at so early a period that the company in America which treated for the lands after having been at great expense in beginning to people these lands sees itself under a necessity of abandoning with great loss their plan of abandoning [establishing] the colony which they have begun & which promises to be a very flourishing one but what is still worse of abandoning it before the eyes of all Europe, which are fixed on that establishment, unless it will please the Congress to grant the following request.

1st. That the Payments specified in the Convention already made be retarded — months.

2. That the Congress will give an order to their board of Treasury or the persons to whom such duty may belong to make out Patents of property for separate portions of the said Lands upon condition of being paid at the rate of one dollar an acre in place of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar which is the price in paying 500,000 at a time which sum shall be reduced to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar an acre when the whole amount of dollars received shall amount to 500,000 then the land so given in possession to continue at the price of one dollar an acre.

3d. That for the surety of such payment a mortgage of $\frac{1}{2}$ in money shall be left on all lands so disposed of until the dollar an acre shall be paid which shall always be within the space of 6 months after the date of the Patent.

4: That this agreement shall stand good for the term of 3 years after which it shall cease & become null as if it had never existed except for the portions delivered & sold according to the above articles.

[5th.] 4th. All the other articles to be the same as they are already contained in the cession of these lands.

Such arrangement with the variations which perhaps may still be necessary would give that solidity to the affair which otherwise it never can have as the parts of the transaction would bear the proportion to each other that they ought whereas in their present state they bear no kind of proportion & as a sale of a quantity sufficient to pay 500,000\$ at a time is not to be expected in Europe & he who buys less can not be sure of getting possession.

III.

THE PARIS AGREEMENT.

(Translation of a copy of the agreement made in Paris August 3d, 1789, by which the Scioto company was organized in Europe. See No. V, Barlow to Duer, Nov. 29, 1789. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* III, Bk A, 40.)

Before the Counsellors of the King Notarys au Chalelet of Paris the undersigned have appeared.

M. Louis Marthe, Marquis of Gouy D'arsy, Chevalier, High Bailiff of the sword, Lieutenant General in reversion of the French *vexin*, Chevalier of the Royal and Military order of St. Louis, ancient assistant Colonel of the Cuirassiers, Member of the National Assembly, living in Paris Rue de Provence at the corner of the Faubourg mons martre Parish St. Eustache.

M. Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Esquire, living in Paris, Rue neuve des Petits Champs, Parish St. Roche.

M. Antoine de St. Didier, merchant, in Paris dwellin therein Rue Royal Barriere Blanche, Parish St. Pierre de mons martre.

M. Jean Francois Noël Maheas Esquire, Comptroller of the Pay Office of the domains of the King, living in Paris Rue des Vieux Augustins, Parish St. Eustache.

M. Francois Troussier Guibert merchant in Paris dwelling there Rue de Bretagne au Marais, Parish St. Nicholas des Champs.

M. Guillaume Louis Joseph, Chevalier de Caquelon Esquire dwelling in Paris, Rue de Renard St. Messi, Parish St. Messi.

M. William Playfair, English Engineer, living in Paris, Rue Culture St. Catherine, Hotel de Lamoignon Parish St. Paul and

M. Joel Barlow Esquire, dwelling ordinarily in the City of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, one of the United States of America, being at present in Paris staying at the Hotel d'Angleterre, Rue Traversiere Parish St. Roch.

The said Mr. Barlow has stated that several proprietors of lands situate between the rivers Ohio and Scioto in America of the extent of three millions or thereabouts of English arpens under the name of acres, have the intention of selling the said lands and have authorized Mr. Barlow to go into France to announce there and to negotiate this sale at the good pleasure of the government ; that the favorable situation of their lands, following the testimony of several persons known and named in a pamphlet translated from the English original, printed

at Salem in America 1787, and the facilities which the proprietors are disposed to give to the purchasers for the payment of the price, can make as regards the acquisition of these lands an affair which promises great advantages; that a single individual could with difficulty be charged with it, to make all the payments and conduct all the operations; that it is only a society which could be in condition to unite the resources and means proper to assure the success of so great an enterprise—and that he proposes to the parties appearing, to take into consideration this affair and this association, upon which there has been made and agreed upon the following :

ARTICLE 1ST.

The aforesaid Marquis de Gouy d'Arsy, Barond, de St. Didier, Maheas, Troussier, Guibert, le Chevalier de Caquelon, Plaifair and Barlow associate themselves to make the purchase of the said three millions or thereabouts of English acres of land situate between the rivers Ohio and Scioto in America, likewise for the improvement and the settlement to be made partially and progressively of the portions of said lands which the said associates shall judge proper to place under cultivation and under the scheme of the Company of the Scioto.

ARTICLE 2ND.

In order to begin to make the payments for the purchase and opening, there shall be created by the Company, at the good pleasure of the Government eight thousand shares, which shall be numbered from one to 8000, not payable to the bearer, but which on the contrary shall be drawn up in the name of each proprietor of the sum of a thousand livres payable at the times which shall be determined after those taken for the payment of the price of this acquisition, of which the list set forth by the parties remains joined to the minute of these presents—Each proprietor shall be able to negotiate them by an indorsement to the profit and in the name of the purchaser, who shall be bound to have himself registered, within three months from the date of the indorsement to his profit, in the Bureau which shall be established by the Company, upon a register which the cashier shall hold to this effect. It is expressly agreed that this indorsement shall not give to the purchaser any recourse of guaranty against the preceding indorsers but solely against his vender and during a delay of three months only, reckoning from the date of the said indorsement and that mentioned thereof shall be made in the aforesaid shares.

ARTICLE 3RD.

The said shares shall be drawn up and printed conformably to the model which has been now shown by the parties, and which is at their requisition joined to the minutes of these presents after having been signed and marked by them in the presence of the notary undersigned, they shall be signed by two of the associates in the name of the Company, the Cashier shall give receipts for them, they shall be delivered by him only to the associates above named by inscribing in the body of each share the name of him to whom it shall be given and who shall have paid to the Treasury of the Company, the sum total of each share. As to those of the associates who shall make payments only at the periods fixed by this table hereto joined, these shall be delivered to them by the Cashier and acknowledgment conformed to the model hereto joined and at the foot of which shall be the receipts by the Cashier in accordance with the payments which shall be made; the interest which each share shall produce shall be paid to the Treasury of the Company until the period of the 1st of April 1792 for which purpose there shall be made by the Cashier mention of the time of each payment; and when a share shall be entirely paid for, there shall be delivered to the Treasury an act conformably to the model; above this interest at five per cent there shall be profit for the proprietors of shares of 10⁰⁰ on each share, to reckon from the first of April 1792.

ARTICLE 4TH.

As soon as there shall be a quarter of the said shares which shall have been taken by the associates, as making the payment, or the bond, of which mention has just been made, the contract of purchase of the said land shall be accepted by the Company of the said associates who name the said Sirs, Maheas and Playfair to take dès à présent en communication the powers of Mr. Barlow and confer with him upon the clauses, charges and conditions of the sale, the price and the times of payment, and to take all measures which will seem to them useful and necessary, upon the condition on their part of making their report at the earliest period possible, in the Assembly of the said Sirs, associates.

It is stipulated that if it shall happen that any associate lets pass a delay of three months, reckoning from this day without having paid or made the bond to pay at least a twelfth of this quarter of shares, the Company shall be canceled as far as he is concerned as if it had

never existed, and without damages or interest at the expiration of the said delay after a simple summons which shall be made to him in the name of the other associates, by due effort and diligence of the Cashier, at the domicile chosen by this present compact, without there being any need of having pronounced this cancellation in a court of justice and in this event the other associates shall have the liberty, either of agreeing that they alone shall compose the Company, or of admitting to it another person, who shall be chosen by plurality of voices by the deliberations in the assembly of the said Sir associates.

ARTICLE 5TH.

There shall be taken immediately after the signature of the contract the measures necessary to put them in possession of the said lands and to have of them an exact survey with an appraisalment of its value by the square league, or even by a township less considerable, according to the nature of the soil and its situation more or less near either to rivers or to townships already inhabited and cultivated in order to be able to determine what price the acre could be ceded and given up to the owners of shares who shall prefer to have lands by themselves rather than remain associated with the other share holders without there being the power to increase this valuation among the proprietors except by reason of clearings, improvements, plantations, enclosures, buildings, betterments which shall have been made at the expense of the Company after the said valuation of the lands of which the shareholders wish to be put into possession.

As to the price of the portions of the said lands which persons shall desire to buy, who shall not be owners of shares, the Company may place it at such a sum as it shall judge proper without being obliged to subject it to valuation and without being able also to depart from it in order to sell it lower, unless after the Company shall be freed from the whole price of the purchase, and discharged from the sum total of the loans which it shall be able to make, and after consent given by deliberations had among the associates.

ARTICLE 6TH.

The proprietor of shares who shall have made payments in advance or who shall give sureties, which the Company shall have accepted for the execution of the said payments in advance shall have the right to demand to be put in possession of a portion of the said lands in

proportion to his shares which he shall bring to the treasury of the Company in payment of the said lands at the valuation price, and the Company may accede to his demand before it shall be freed towards the sellers from the payment of the price, provided it be discharged toward the lenders.

ARTICLE 7TH.

The time of the payments being known by a statement joined to the present, each proprietor of shares will be held to satisfy it with promptness in the terms which it prescribes in order to spare himself as well as the society the trouble which delays occasion, consenting unanimously if it happens that any one fails in his engagement after having entered upon payment, that the sale of his shares shall be made at his own peril and risk, one month after the expiration of the time without there being any need of having recourse to the courts of law. The shareholder shall be informed of the sale of his shares and of the result, of which there shall be an account kept for him, because he consents likewise, in order not to occasion loss to the Company, to make up the balance of his subscription in such manner as the Company shall exact, if the sale of his shares shall not satisfy it.

ARTICLE 8TH.

The said gentlemen appearing nominate to hold the funds of the Company, M. L. Seline banker in Paris dwelling there Rue Beaubourg, who shall exercise the functions of Cashier without limitations of time and by keeping conformably to the ordinances of commerce, registers of receipts and expenses and Mr. Playfair to keep a register of control of said funds which shall be signed by two of the associates.

ARTICLE 9TH.

The Company shall last for nine, for eighteen or for twenty seven years and it may, however, be dissolved whether at the end of the ninth or at the end of the eighteenth year only as the Company shall be entirely freed not only from the price of the purchase principal and interest, but also from all borrowed money which it may have had from others than the associates.

After this liberation at the end of one or the other of these times the associates shall make a first division of the lands which shall remain to them unless they shall deem it proper to agree unanimously upon a prolongation of their Company for a time to be determined.

The amount of funds which each associate shall be found to have in the enterprise, whether in shares which shall still be in possession or in receipt for cash which he shall have paid into the treasury of the Company with the formalities herein after explained, shall regulate the amount of land which shall be given over to him according to the valuations of which mention is made in Article 5 above, without any increase except by reason of expenses of clearings and other expenses of this nature detailed in the same Article 5, above, what shall still remain of the land after this first division, shall be divided equally among all the associates as profit.

ARTICLE 10TH.

During the life of the said Company there shall be made every year in the month of July a general account of the treasury in order to show its condition and that of the Company affairs.

Two thirds of the sums which shall arise from the payments for shares, three fourths of those which shall arise from the price of the sales of the lands, made to others than shareholders, shall be employed yearly for the payment of the price of the purchase and for the payment of sums borrowed either of other persons, or of the associates, principal and interest. Even to full payment the surplus shall be used in the expenses of improvements and clearings and all outlays necessary for this purpose, deductions being first made for the rent of the places where the Company shall hold its meetings, for the employment of the Cashier and of the clerks and for office expenses; The profits which then shall be found, after these deductions, reckoning from April 1st 1792, shall be divided among the said Sir associates conformably to the proportions determined hereinafter. It is agreed that there shall be comprised in the funds on the part of the associates, in the treasury, and for the affairs of the Company, only so far as the Cashier shall have been authorized to receive them by a deliberation held with all the associates and that without this deliberation, the proprietors of funds shall not be able to exact any interest, nor pretend to have by reason of said funds a right to share in the lands at the dissolution of the Company.

ARTICLE 11TH.

The general account of the Treasury having been rendered: two months after there shall be called a meeting of all the owners of shares who shall have been registered as is mentioned in Article 2 above,

and who shall not have taken lands in exchange for their shares only to show to them at what point the Company shall be relatively to its deliberations towards the venders and the lenders ; and to let them know the amount of land it shall have improved, the progress and product of the improvements and in order to be summoned to this meeting one must be the owner of fifty shares.

The whole has been thus agreed and determined between the parties who for the execution of these presents have chosen domicile each one in his dwelling at Paris above mentioned anything to the contrary notwithstanding.

Made and sealed the said day and year and passed upon at Paris and dwelling above said of the parties as regards Messrs the said Marquis de Gouy d'Arsy, Baron and Playfair the third of August, as regards the said Sirs, Troussier, Guibert, le Chevalier de Caquelon and Barlow the Eighteenth of August, and as regards the said Sirs, de St. Didier and Maheas the thirty-first of the same month of August, the year 1789 and have signed the minutes of these presents remaining with M. Rameau one of the notaries undersigned.

IV.

BILL OF SALE.

(Translation of a copy of the Bill of Sale passed between Joel Barlow as agent of the Scioto associates in America and the newly organized Scioto company in Paris. See Doc. No. III and also No. V, Barlow to Duer, Nov. 29, 1789. For document Cf. Gal. Paps. III, Bk. A, 72.

3D NOV. 1789. BEFORE THE COUNSELLORS OF THE KING, NOTARIES IN THE
CHATELET OF PARIS UNDERSIGNED.

Was present Mr. Joel Barlow, Esquire, dwelling ordinarily in the City of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, one of the Thirteen United States of North America, being at present in Paris lodged in the Hotel d'Angleterre, Rue Traversier St. Honore, Parish of St. Roch, and stipulating in these presents in the name and by virtue of special powers, which he has proved to the purchasers hereinafter named, of Manasseh Cutler of Major Winthrop Sargent and William Duer of the City of New York, all three sole proprietors associated in virtue of the grant made by the American Congress of the country wherein is taken the object of the sale hereinafter.

The which Sieur Barlow in the said name and by these presents has sold, ceded and abandoned in full and free ownership and enjoyment, but by no means to take possession and enjoyment thereof except at the times and in the manner hereinafter stipulated to the Society formed between the said Sir Barlow and others to the effect of the present purchase under the name and style of the Company of the Scioto, following an act drawn by Mr. Rameau and associate notaries at Paris, the third of August last and accepted, purchasers for the said Society by M. William Playfair, English Engineer dwelling in Paris, Rue Neuve des Petits Champs Parish of St. Roch No. 162 at this present.

The superficial tract of three millions of acres or English arpens to be taken in the land situate between the Rivers Ohio and Scioto of North America—beginning from confluence of the rivers Ohio and Scioto towards the west along the Ohio, as far as the west line of the seventeenth range of townships and its prolongation towards the north upon the said western line of the seventeenth Range of townships as far as this line must be prolonged to make the said quantity of three millions of acres and from such point to the east as far as the river Scioto, and thence along the river to the place whence the boundary shall have begun. To render these bounds more clear and intelligible the parties have produced an engraved copy of the plan, which has been prepared, of the country where is to be taken the tract of these three million acres, following the limits herein above, and the plan wherein this tract is marked in blue, has been annexed to the minutes of these presents after having been seen by the parties, the which has been accepted in the presence of the said indorsers.

However, observing that by the terms of the grant, there is or ought to be in the extent of each township of Six English Square Miles, certain lots of land reserved for public schools, or destined for other public purposes according to the orders of Congress, it is well understood that these lots of land thus reserved or destined shall not be comprised in the present sale, but that if, deduction made for these portions, the land which shall remain in the extent above limited shall not make up the above mentioned amount of three million acres, what shall be wanting, shall be made up for the good of the society out of the lands situate to the north of the possessions of the Company of the Ohio—and to the amount of the land herein above described.

The price of the present sale has been fixed and agreed at the

rate of Six livres Tournois per acre, which makes for the whole three million acres at the rate above mentioned the sum of eighteen millions livres Tournois which Messrs . . . bind themselves and their associates present and future to pay without interest moreover, at the times hereinafter fixed to wit :

fifteen hundred thousand livres at the end of December of the	
present year <i>i. e.</i> ,	1,500,000
fifteen hundred thousand livres at the end of April in the coming year, .	1,500,000
fifteen hundred " " " " " " said year, 1790,	1,500,000
" " " " " " " " April, 1791,	1,500,000
three millions " " " " " " September of the	
same year 1791,	3,000,000
three millions more " " " " " " April, 1792,	3,000,000
" " " " " " " " " 1793,	3,000,000
and " " " " " " " " " 1794,	3,000,000
	<hr/>
Total equal to said price,	18,000,000

Notwithstanding this fixing of times the Society purchasing may anticipate its payments for such portions as it may please, and all their payments shall be made at the choice of the said society, either in ready money or in bills of the United States of America as in that country, thus under the name of its "Domestic Liquidation" the whole comes into the hands of the said Sir Barlow or of his principals at the treasury of the society or at such other place as shall be arranged by the Sieur Barlow, it being well understood that for what shall be paid of the said price in paper of the nature of that above designated this paper shall be valued at ninety livres in the hundred, that is to say, that a hundred livres in value of this paper shall only represent ninety livres silver, and the American dollar in silver shall be counted at five livres five sols.

As soon as and not before the said payments are remitted arising from the price of the present sale Mr. Barlow binds his principals towards the society purchasing or its assigns to put them in possession and enjoyment of an amount of the three million acres proportionate to the amount of the said payment at the aforesaid rate of six livres Tournois per acre, and these acres thus gradually paid for, shall at first be located upon the river Ohio at the east line of the seventeenth Township Range to the twentieth range at the west and at the north; following the arrangements marked upon the plats joined to the minutes of these presents, in the order of the remittances proportionately to the payments herein above fixed.

The said society may moreover resell all or a part of the three million acres, before the times herein above fixed for the payment of their price, provided that the said society gives up to the Sieur Barlow, under the title of pledge the agreements of the under purchasers, but the said Sieur Barlow shall give back to the said society these agreements when it shall pay to him their entire value. . . .

At this transaction were present, and are parties to the very high and very mighty Seigneur and Monseigneur Louis Marthe de Gouy Mr. d'Arsty Lieutenant General of the Government of the Isle of France, Colonel of Cavalry, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis and deputy from the island of St. Domingo in the National assembly, dwelling in Paris Rue de Provence, Parish St. Eustache. And M. Claude Odille Joseph Barond, Esquire dwelling in Paris, Rue Neuve des petit Champs, Parish St. Roch. All interested in the Society of the Scioto.

Who while approving and confirming the engagements herein above contracted by their co-associates for their Society have by these presents appointed for their attorneys, general and special, Mr. Playfair and Mr. Barlow herein above named and M. Jean Antoine Chais of Soisson, advocate to the Parliament to whom jointly and severally they have given power to resell all or a part of the said three million acres at the best price, terms or conditions of receiving the price thereof, or to assign it all or in part, and to go out of the Society with respect to the principals of the Sieur Barlow, to give for this purpose every acquittance, consent, subrogation and to disseize in consequence the Society of its rights of property over the object of resale in favor of their purchasers and generally to do for the Ease and accomplishment of the said sale all which the said Sir attorneys appointed shall judge most fit for the advantage of the said Society, to substitute in the present powers one or several others associates.

And for the execution of these presents the parties have chosen domiciles and names in their dwellings in the aforesaid four places anything to the contrary notwithstanding.

Made and done at Paris and the residence of the parties:

November 3d, 1789 before noon, . . . have signed the minutes of these presents remaining with M. Farmain one of the notaries above mentioned.

Signed Farmain

pour Copie: Signed F. M. T. de Barth.

V.

(JOEL BARLOW TO COL. WILLIAM DUER.)

(Copy of the letter from Joel Barlow to Col. Wm. Duer, Paris, Nov. 29, 1789. Barlow was appointed agent of the Scioto associates in America and sent to Europe to negotiate a loan on, or sale of, the Scioto tract of land. Barlow arrived in Paris the last of June, 1788, but for twelve months he accomplished little towards his aims. When he wrote the letter here published, however, he had enlisted the aid of Wm. Playfair, an Englishman, long resident in Paris and well acquainted with French ways. As the result of their acquaintanceship Barlow was enabled to announce to Duer the formation of the Scioto company of associates in Paris and the sale to that company of the American company's preemption of lands in the west. He describes the future plan of the company, the hope for success, etc. Finally he begs Duer to do his part in America to make arrangements with Congress by which the first emigrants to arrive might be put into possession of their lands and not allowed to know that they had at first bought only a mere preemption. For the result of this advice on Barlow's part, see No. II. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* 1, 133.)

PARIS, NOV. 29, 1789.

My Dear Sir :

I have now the pleasure to inform you that the contract was completed on the 3d of this month. It is for the sale of 3 millions of acres—the price of six livres the acre, to be paid either in cash or in American funds at 90 per cent, at the choice of the purchasers. It is probable that the greater part will be paid in the American French debt—or those Bonds given for money borrowed of the government of France; some however will be paid in our domestic debt, & some in money. For such part as shall be paid in American paper, I have fixed the exchange at 105 sols the dollar, the price of the acre, being 120 sols to be paid in paper at 90 per cent, will require $133\frac{1}{3}$ —the commissions, douceurs to public and private persons & all the expenses here will amount to about 15 per cent, this deducts 20 sols from the $133\frac{1}{3}$, the price then of the acre to us will be $113\frac{1}{3}$ sols or one dollar & $8\frac{1}{3}$ sols, this will make us a profit of upwards of 1,200,000 dollars. The payments as fixed in contract are as follows :

End of Decem. 1789	1,500,000 livres
“ “ April 90	1,500,000 “
“ “ Sep. “	1,500,000 “
“ “ April 91	1,500,000 “
“ “ Sep.’ “	3,000,000
“ “ April 92	3,000,000
“ “ April 93	3,000,000
“ “ April 94	3,000,000
	<hr/>
	18,000,000 livres

The causes that have induced me to fix the bulk of the payments so late are various; I cannot now detail them without sending you more papers than you would be willing to read, & more than I am able to pay postage for. But I have good reason to believe that the payments will be approached & the whole business finished within the next year. 1st I am preparing an arrangement with the royal treasury which I believe will give us the greater part of the sum from thence in the American Bonds above mentioned. 2d The object of the company as I mentioned to you in my last, is an immediate settlement, by the sale of portions to individuals & by sending cultivators in the service of the company. This they expect will raise the reputation of the lands to such a degree that they will sell them all off in the course of one year at a great profit, as the first of these modes, that which respects the treasury, cannot be certain as yet, my great reliance is on the second which cannot fail, if we give it proper facility on our part. The present circumstances of the kingdom are favorable, the subject is popular, many portions are already sold, & the people preparing to embark in January, & as I mentioned to you before, Maj. Gen. Duportail & Maj. Rochefontain give me reason to hope they will go at the head of the establishment. Now although my contract, in the letter of it, does not depend on the success of this or any other enterprise, yet in such great affairs no remedy can be had for any breach that a company may make either from choice or necessity, the only assurance against a violation of their engagements is never to suffer them to conceive it for their interest to violate them, for this purpose the utmost prudence & energy are still necessary on both sides the water, the managers here & agents going with the people will be perfectly in our interest. I have written to the gentlemen at Muskingum pointing out their duty in the strongest terms possible, which I wish you would enforce by your authority without delay, by writing them your reflections on this subject. I have advised them without delay, 1st to ascertain the boundary between the 17th & 18 ranges of townships, at least the southern part of it—as these people will be there by the last of Feb'ry—to begin their operations opposite the great Knehawa on the 18th range— 2d to build them there a few huts & ovens, at least for the accommodation of 100 persons,— 3d. To send a person of activity from their settlement to Alexandria to make all the preparations on the route & at the fort for their reception & journey to the Scioto, & to wait at Alexandria to conduct them. For it cannot be too much insisted on, that the success of their sale

of acres here, consequently their payments to us, will depend almost entirely on the accounts written back by the first people that arrive. It is an immense undertaking to the poor creatures who adventure in it, a situation in which all the passions are alive to the slightest impressions. They who lead the way trust their lives & fortunes to the representations that I make to them, the evidence is slight, it will be strengthened or destroyed in the minds of those who are still to be engaged, by the testimony of those who first arrive. If the first 100 persons should find things easy & agreeable as it is in our power to make them with a little attention, the stream of emigration will be irresistible ; 20,000 people will be on those lands in 18 months & our payments will be made in 12. Do my friend exercise your rapid imagination for a moment in writing to those gentlemen—the subject lies with weight on my mind ; it is tho' small, one of the most essential services that now remains to be done. Whenever you shall know the complication of difficulties I have struggled with bringing this unweildly business thus far, you will excuse the warmth of my entreaties, & believe that they are founded on the maturest reflection as well as on the most ardent desire to serve the interest of the concern. The object which I recommended to you in my last is likewise in my opinion indispensable. I enclose here a duplicate of that part of my letter, lest you may not have rec'd it. It is the only possible means of bringing a mere preemption into that shape in which it could be fairly offered for certain sale. It is absolutely necessary to us, it is the only reliance that the first purchasers of portions can have for their title. The Secretary of Finance will certainly see the interest of the United States in making that arrangement, as it is their object to sink their debt by the sale of lands, as they are perfectly secure in this case as in the other, as it gives us the means of succeeding in the whole operation, & as the success of this will be followed by other sales to the extinguishment of a great part of the debt. I must add as a farther reason why you should not fail of making arrangements recommended, that I have proceeded, as though it were already done, by giving the company here power to resell portions before they make their first payment on the contract, requiring as my security the deposit of the payments for these portions ; this they have already acted on to a considerable amount. It is further to be considered that it is possible that their first payment will not be made to us in season for us to make our first to Congress before the people will arrive ; should the people not be put in possession of their small

purchases on their arrival, we are ruined. It will be but for a few acres, I imagine not above 5,000, that those who shall arrive in the first ship will have purchased; the sec'y can run no risk in allowing them to take possession of so small a portion before it is paid for, as he can not suppose we would sacrifice the advantage of all our contracts for the sake of cheating Congress out of so small a sum. But if no other means will do, you must make a deposit of 5 or 10,000 \$ to get possession of such a number of acres opposite the mouth of the great Knehawa, to be afterward reckoned towards our contract. Dispatch such leave of entry to your friends in the West but not to let the European Settlers know the manner of this proceeding, for they will not know, except the agent, but the lands were all our own before. I hope you will be of my opinion on these subjects, & that nothing will prevent the people being put perfectly at their ease on their arrival: The expenses of the objects above mentioned will be paid by the agent of the people the moment they arrive but the charges must be moderate. If the gentlemen in the West are too poor to make the advances, which is possible, you must contrive to make them from New York. It will be but for a few days, the sacrifice small, & the object infinite. I can think of no arguments in addition to those I have formerly used to induce you to write to me, my reflections on that subject are painful beyond description. Mr. Dixon, to whom my friends have been requested to address their Letters, is about leaving London. Be kind enough to address to the care of Mr. Henry Broomfield Merchant, No. 1 Sirelane, London.

VI.

(JOEL BARLOW TO COLONEL WILLIAM DUER.)

(The following are copies of three letters of Barlow to Duer, dated Paris, Dec. 8, and 29, 1789, and Jan. 25, 1790. In these letters Barlow describes the further progress of affairs in France after the formation of the Scioto company there, and the arrangement for the departure of the first party of emigrants, etc. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 135.

PARIS, 8 DEC., 1789.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed are duplicates of such communications lately made as appears to me the most important & the subjects of them indispensable. Since the date of my last everything goes on very well, the company are now in treaty for sales to the amount of a million of livres; they

will probably be finished in a few days—many who have finished their purchases are impatient to be gone—some have already left Paris for Havre where they will wait the arrangements for their embarkation. I think Maj. Rochefontaine as agent will sail early in January with about 100 persons—there cannot be a better man for the purpose. Every step that this business takes impresses with new force on my mind the necessity of attending to every object which I have recommended to you & to the Gentleman in the West. Let nothing my dear friend, prevent their being accomplished. I fear that my letters for the Western country will not arrive in season for a person to be sent from thence to Alexandria. If you are acquainted with any Man of Business at that Port I wish you would write requesting that every succour be given to the people on their arrival. The reward will be certain & you may promise it with safety.

PARIS, 29 DEC., 1789.

My Dear Sir,

This goes by a Ship to Alexandria which carries about sixty settlers for the Scioto. Mr. Boulouge a person well recommended to me goes as their temporary agent till the arrival of Rochefontaine which will be in a month after them. I have not failed to take every arrangement in my power to secure their good reception & that degree of happiness which will secure our success. I feel a great degree of confidence likewise that nothing will be omitted either by you or our friends in the West. I hope very soon to put it in your power to make our first payment to Congress, as [our] bargain I believe will be concluded within the next month for the sale of half a million of acres. . . . Many reputable & wealthy families will go out for the Scioto in a short time. Should the first people find themselves happy I have no doubt but they would be followed in a few years by half a million of other adventurers. The idea is new in France, it was extremely difficult to set it a going, but there are cases which may extend it almost beyond calculation.

I have not yet received any letter nor any necessary information since I left you. It is not my personal feelings alone which are affected by this circumstance. The business has required that I should know the situation & intentions of the concern, the progress of the surveys, the disposition of the savages & a thousand other things that I might determine what measures to take & what promises I might safely make to facilitate the operations of the first settlement.

Besides it is difficult for me to keep this circumstance from being known, so as to endanger the confidence that People of all classes ought to have in my representation. For what confidence would you place in a stranger who should pretend to be the agent of the company, which has totally neglected him for over two years?

When Rochefontaine arrives I shall hope to get some information, until then I shall despair of being able to know whether the Western company still exists or not.

PARIS, 25th JAN'Y, 1790.

My Dear Sir,

Enclosed is a duplicate of my last in addition to which, order the Treasurer to draw on me for one hundred thousand livres—the affair goes extremely well; it is true the payments are not made, but they certainly will be. The sales increase rapidly.

Dont for God's sake fail to raise money enough to put the people in possession—make any sacrifice rather than fail in this essential object. If it fails we are ruined. All our fortunes & my character will be buried under the ruins. I know I have run a risk in suffering the people to go till I could get possession, especially as I could get no information from you, but the risk was absolutely necessary, and the proposition to the Secretary of finance which I have often mentioned is so reasonable that it cannot be rejected. Tell him that 20 millions of acres may be sold here in two years after it is known that these people are quietly in possession of their lands. You can certainly among all your Connexions raise one or two hundred thousand dollars for a few months. I pledge the faith of an honest Man for the payment. If necessary draw on me at Ninety days for a second hundred thousand Livres—advise me of it the earliest possible. I shall be more particular in a few days.

VII.

JOEL BARLOW TO M. BOULONGE.

(Letter dated Paris, Dec. 31, 1789. Boulonge was a temporary agent of the Scioto company and accompanied the first party of emigrants to Alexandria, Virginia. See No. VI, Barlow to Duer, Jan. 25, 1790. For this letter Cf, *Gal. Paps.* I, 137).

To Mr. Boulonge,

Sir,—It is probable that the agent of the Scioto Company will find employment for you for one year or more after his arrival in

America. Any arrangement of this kind will however be left with him, as he alone will be responsible for whatever shall be done under his agency. Previous to his arrival I shall expect you to occupy yourself wholly in promoting the happiness & convenience of the emigrants who go in the same ship with you, and likewise of any others who may be addressed to your care previous to the arrival of the agent. On the passage you will encourage the people & be their interpreter. On your arrival at Alexandria, you will endeavor to see them conveniently lodged, assist them in procuring necessaries, & if the American agent should have arrived from the Ohio, you will after resting the people a convenient time, assist him in moving them on the route that he shall think proper. But, should such agent not have arrived, you will detain the people & stay with them yourself at Alexandria, while you send a man express with my dispatches to the Ohio. You will then keep the people quiet as possible & wait the arrival of the agent from the Ohio, or of the Agent from Europe. On the arrival of either of these you will follow his direction, & do your utmost endeavor to accomplish the great object of the Company, which is to render these people as happy as possible, & to provide for the future prosperity of an extensive & increasing settlement.

Reposing the fullest confidence in your fidelity & prudent conduct, I have the honor to be, Sir, your ob'dt & very humble servt.

VIII.

JOEL BARLOW TO M. BOULOGNE.

(Letter dated, Paris, Jan. 1st, 1790. See No. VII. For this letter Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 155.)

PARIS, JANUARY 1st, 1790.

Mr. Boulogne,

Sir,—You are requested to inform the Gentlemen proprietors of lands who go under your care to the Scioto & who embark in the first ship, that, in consideration of their patience and good conduct since their departure from Paris, and as an inducement to them to persevere in so generous and glorious an enterprise, I give and grant to each of them a house lot within the city to be laid out opposite the mouth of the great Knehawa River, and a right in the city commons, which house-lots shall be contiguous to each other, laid in two squares near the centre of the city, which two squares shall be called by the following names, *premier coup and etrenne* or such other names as you

may think more suitable to the circumstances. Send me a list of these proprietors names before you leave Havre, & I will forward their deeds by the agent in chief (add to this list the names of non-proprietors & of the women and children). As it must be some time after your arrival before the gentlemen can have their lands surveyed to them in the other municipalities, and as they will now be proprietors of one compact spot of land in the centre of the city, and of a right in the large common that surrounds it, I advise them to make their first harvest there in a large common field. And by agreement among themselves every proprietor will enjoy his proportion of the harvest according to the number of hands he employs. In this situation, their labors will be more cheerful, they will inspire each other & instruct each other in the noble art of cultivating the lands.

Assure the gentlemen, my dear Sir, of my best wishes & prayers for their happiness. My heart goes with them. I consider them as the fathers & founders of a nation—their names will not only be carved on the bark of trees along the banks of the Ohio, engraved on the stones that shall form the walls of the future city—but they shall be written in the hearts of their posterity and not one of them shall be forgotten. My first pleasure on returning to my native country shall be to visit them in their habitations, find them happy on their own soil, & take them by the hand as countrymen, brothers & friends.

As they have passed the tender scene of bidding adieu to all that was dear to them in their own country, believing they should be happier in mine; and, as their choice has been founded on the representations which I have made to them, I feel myself in a great measure responsible for their success. Though I have made every arrangement in my power for their agreeable reception & easy progress on their route, though after this their happiness must chiefly depend on their own industry & prudence; yet, as a duty which I still owe them I will send them by the agent some advice relative to that system which I conceive will be most suitable to their new situation.

Wishing you & them a prosperous voyage & a happy arrival in your second country.

IX.

COMMISSION OF BENJAMIN WALKER.

By the fall of 1790 the affairs of the Scioto company in Paris were in a hopeless condition. The drafts on Barlow made by Duer at the former's request, the proceeds of which were to be used by Duer in paying the expenses of conveying the first col-

onists to Scioto, had been returned unpaid. The Scioto associates in America decided to dispatch Col. Benj. Walker to Paris to investigate matters there and if necessary to supercede Barlow as their agent in Europe. Walker's commission dated Sept. 11, 1790 here printed was the outcome of their decision. On his arrival in Paris in Dec. 1790 Walker found the affair of the Scioto Co. too far gone to be revived. But he exonerated Barlow from all wilful blame in the matter & leaves us to conclude that the sub-agents of the Paris Co., Playfair or . . . [?], were guilty of stealing the funds entrusted to their care. For document Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I. 149.

NEW YORK, 11 SEPT., 1790.

Dear Sir,

You will receive herewith three Commissions, one constituting you a joint agent with Joel Barlow, Esq., in the management of the affairs of the Scioto Company in Europe.

Another, appointing you, our agent for examining the accounts & proceedings of the agents of the company in Europe, & the third, appointing you the agent for managing all the concerns of the Scioto Company abroad.

In bringing forward, & executing the commissions you will, we are sensible, act with all delicacy, & discretion, which our esteem for Mr. Barlow, and the nature of the case requires & with respect to the last you will neither make it known, or act under, unless the state of the company's affairs & the conduct of the parties, who have been intrusted with their management, should in your judgment, render it advisable.

Our anxious wish is to preserve Harmony amongst all the parties intrusted with the negotiation of the sales in Europe, as far as it can be done, consistently with the establishment of order in the conduct of the Company's affairs, & solid security for the funds received on account of the sales. These points must at all events be obtained, or, the interest & reputation of the company . . . as well as the property of the Purchasers will be inevitably sacrificed.

You will hear from us frequently on the state of matters here, & you will oblige us in giving from time to time an accurate detail of everything which relates to the Interest of the Company in Europe.

We are, Dear Sir

With sentiments of esteem

Your obedt. humble Servt.

Benjamin Walker, Esq. (Signed) { Wm. Duer Trustees for
Royal Flint the Scioto
and Wm. Craigie. Purchasers.

X.

(WILLIAM PLAYFAIR TO COLONEL DUER.)

(Letter dated, Paris, Dec. 27, 1790. Playfair was an Englishman long resident in Paris whose aid Barlow had enlisted in selling the Scioto land. It is a pretty well established fact that Playfair put into his own pocket the greater bulk of the money received by him as subagent for the Scioto associates. The letter herein given was written soon after Col. Walker had arrived in Paris to investigate the affairs of the Scioto Co. The insinuating tone shows admirably the character of the writer who hoped to clear *himself* from all blame in the transaction and to remain in the good graces of Duer and his associates. For this letter Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 177.)

PARIS, 27 DECEMBER, 1790.

Sir,

Since I had the honor of wrtting to you last in the month of November at such great length things are greatly changed here for the better by the arrival of Letters from several persons from the border of the Ohio who speak very favorably of the soil & climate & of the prospects in general—as soon as these letters have had time to produce their effect on the public there is very little doubt of a great sale. They are printed & within these three days copies have been sent to all parts of France & to all the Individuals who have begun treaties with us but have discontinued them thro' the bad accounts which for six months have never ceased to arrive.

Our situation is such that there is certainly a possibility with activity & a good plan to sell the greater part of these lands in six or 8 months from this time but if we once let slip this second occasion the lands will never be sold in Europe in such a manner as to enable the Company in America to make the payments to Congress. As you will receive by this or the first Packet after a historical account of the matter from the beginning with a particular account of all that has been sold with the effects on hand & Paid for the business I shall only at the end of this letter give you the result in general & here I shall confine myself to those things which do not enter into that general history & of which I have not written in my last but which it is necessary that you should know.

The arrival of Mr. Walker I consider a very lucky circumstance as it gives rise to an explanation that was very necessary. I never was so much surprised as when I understood from that Gentleman that the Scioto Company in America imagined a million of acres had been sold when in fact there has not been 1/4th of that quantity disposed

of—perhaps some of the Emigrants may have said it—if so they spoke from their imaginations or from hearsay—it is true that there was last spring a general belief that we had sold a great quantity & that belief was favorable for us, therefore we did not endeavor to destroy it but there is a great difference between the public and the Proprietors—our duty required us to inform you & leave them in their error as it was advantageous & hurt nobody. I cannot conceive why Mr. Barlow who charged himself with the correspondence did not inform you exactly as he examined all the acts of sale at the notaries himself, besides they were all in the Book open to him at all times. I have been the dupe of my confidence & that prevented me from writing myself as I ought to have done but as Mr. Barlow seemed vexed when I did it, as I trusted to him & as my attendance on the affair from morning till night left me little time while he had all the day to himself it is not so much to be wondered at, tho' I shall ever blame myself & lament it as I must be very ignorant not to perceive the consequence that such a belief must produce—in order to give credit to such a report you must imagine that 3 millions of livres had been received here out of which nothing (except 12 thousand livres by Mr. de Barth) had been remitted to you—3 millions is such a sum that you must not hesitate to suspect we kept the money with a bad intention. The fact with regard to the sales being otherwise you will no doubt change your opinion accordingly & I shall here confine myself to stating two facts which will not appear in the history of the affair but which I can scarcely prove. In the month of July last when the affair was reduced to nothing by the return of some emigrants & when Mr. Barlow had unknown to me signed a sale of the whole lands I had acceptances on my hands for the affair to the amount of 87,600lb & about 40,000lb for bills protected by people who refused to pay, in all amounting to about 127,000lb which I was personally answerable for. No other person in France being answerable for one single hapence. At that same moment every value that I had among my hands was become suspect as it was the general opinion that I should be obliged to reimburse them all. The reimbursements actually made & even the monthly expenses did not fail to increase those embarrassments all of which came upon me & upon me only. I had in truth millions of embarrassments but not millions of money & I am not a little mortified at the ingratitude of some persons whom I had served & who were at some pains (I am informed) to give an unfavourable idea of me to you—they must have done more than forget the

services which I had rendered them—but all that is past & good prospects appear. I began with venturing what little I had in the affair & I shall stand or fall with it.

For the future I shall take care that you shall not want proper information. *Facts* & not expectations that have by being unfairly represented done so much harm for surely it was not upon expectations if they had been represented as such that you would have drawn such great Bills at such a risque of loss & discredit. It was then that I took the liberty to draw upon you for 11,000*lb*. The case was urgent—I have accepted & will punctually pay Mr. Vanden . . . 's (?) Bill which is come to hand.

At this present moment when the letters have not yet had time to produce their effect as I have seen the matter from the beginning all is now without difficulty & advantageous as regards the sale in Europe, perhaps I am more capable to judge of it than any other & in order to put your mind at ease I will employ a moment to say what appears to me to be certain & to be probable.

1st. It is certain that with the good news we shall sell in the course of 3 months more land than will enable you with the greatest ease to pay the price of all that is given possession of & all the advances in money which you have made or will be in the case of making for 6 months to come, this degree of success I count infallible.

As to probable—I think it very probable that one third or one half of the land will be sold in 6 months from this time & I am afraid that what is not sold before the end of next summer at farthest say nine months will never be sold by this method at all for the nature of the French nation is to over look a thing that does not go with ardour and enthusiasm, we shall either I think have great success or a very moderate degree—no medium is to be expected & I find all the People who know France are of the same opinion. As to the advances made & the engagements already taken I believe that you & the company may be perfectly easy about them as the most moderate degree of success will do more than pay them all. I am exceedingly sorry for the error you have been led into about the sales as that has occasioned an irreparable loss by the Bills returned & I repeat it again that the child unborn was not more ignorant of the Letters that occasioned those Bills than I was, I should certainly have advised you at the time if I had &—when I think on the advantages of a well followed correspondence had it been begun last year at this time, the

money, the inquietude, the disgrace it would have saved—I cannot pardon myself for the confidence I had in him who corresponded, also for the future I will have less & I shall write myself—others may write what and how they please. If they write of the things as they are, our letters will be of accord, if not I here take the engagement that mine shall always contain the information that I think the most material & that what I say shall be strictly true & said in the way that will lead to a true conclusion.

As you are to receive the detail of the accounts here—they are as they stood on the 22d of July since which time nothing has been sold, as from that date I had no more power to sell, Mr. Barlow's agreement with these men, de Barth, Coquet &c. having unknown to me been made & stopt the whole, that is therefore the reason why the account stops at that period & not at the present—it is to be observed likewise that as Mr. Barlow engaged to cede to these men all the values received either a process or an amiable arrangement must determine to whom they belong—you owe to my obstinacy or perseverance which ever it may be called & to that alone, that all these values were not delivered up to these men—it would have been my interest to have done it as I should have entered for a third in the thing but I never think it my interest to do what ought not to be done & I quarreled without much hesitation rather than expose the affair itself, which it would have been, had that bargain been completed.

22d JULY 1790.

Acres sold in all	148,376
Values existing on hand but which from their nature can not immediately be realized	696,541
Values paid in August for the company	66,036
Values which appear by the books to have been received but which have not	93,606
	856,183

Thus then, Sir, you see how far we are from having had millions, from having squandered them or from having kept them. What has been done since the 22d of July has been little else than to keep the thing from falling to pieces by patience and good humor under the most outrageous attacks that are to be conceived. I do not claim any merit in all that for, as the Ruin of the affair would have been mine also, I did it for my own interest & to prevent myself from the disgrace attendant on a failure. The moment that our hopes begin to be realized I shall write again. & I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient & most humble servant.

XI.

JOEL BARLOW TO BENJAMIN WALKER.

(Two letters dated, Paris, Dec. 21, 1790, and May 3, 1791. In these letters to Col. Walker, who had been appointed by Duer to examine into the affairs of the Scioto Co. in Paris, Barlow gives his side of the Scioto transaction. He describes his endeavor for the good of the company and charges a large part of the whole failure to Duer's lack of interest and energy, especially accusing the latter of having left him (Barlow) without the necessary information concerning affairs in the west. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps*, I, 139 & 141.)

PARIS 21 DEC. 1790.

Benjamin Walker Esq.

Dear Sir—I cannot sufficiently express my joy and satisfaction on your arrival as it affords me an opportunity of relieving my mind from that heavy burthen which has almost worn away my life by detailing the history of the affairs of the Scioto company to a gentleman who possesses the confidence of the concern in America and who is fully entitled to mine. The letters which I have written to Col. Duer and others of the concern, the copies of which I have had the pleasure to communicate to you, have already given them a general idea of the progress of the business. It is true I have been less anxious to communicate the details of difficulties under which the business labored, and the motives inducing to the different steps taken in it, than I have to recount the facts and to state my ideas of the prospects—This enterprise in its origin was perhaps of too hazardous a nature for a Prudent man to have engaged in. I excuse myself to myself in this respect on the idea which I entertained before leaving America that the experiment might be made in a short time and at a small expense—fixing in my mind certain limits beyond which I determined not to pass—but with a strong probability to success.

After my most diligent exertions for about ten months to bring forward the business thro' the assistance of those persons in France and Holland to whom I was recommended and ordered to apply, I became convinced that they were amusing me with false hopes, that their interest as dealers in the American funds rendered them enemies to the sale of my lands which were to be paid for to the United States in those funds. I do not say with positiveness that these gentlemen would have opposed the business to the last. I have no ostensible proof of the fact, but the conviction was sufficiently strong in my mind to render it my duty to withdraw my confidence from them. In this situation which may be fixed at about the month of

March 1789 it became a question whether to return to America with the loss of a years time, the expense of five hundred pounds sterling to the concern and to be considered (at least in my own apprehension) the dupe of these gentlemen or to attempt a negotiation under the disadvantage of being obliged to avoid them and their connexions which were numerous in Paris as well as Amsterdam.

At this time the revolution which has since taken place in France had become an event to be expected with certainty, and the great emigration which must be connected with such an event promised much in favor of the sale of lands in America.

I believed that the United States might be much benefited by turning this tide of emigration to that country and that the interest of the Scioto concern required that I should try for awhile what could be done in Paris. Whatever may be the final event of this decision I must say it was very far from being dictated by personal interest. I had at that time several offers made to me for other pursuits which appeared flattering and advantageous. I had fulfilled the mission received from Col. Duer. I had been left for some time without support from the Company. Out of six hundred pounds sterling which was agreed to be allowed me by the year for expenses I had received but two hundred and fifty. I had been ten month from America without hearing a syllable from the Company. I had spent a considerable sum of my own money, and was somewhat in debt for my personal expenses. The risk therefore was all my own, for no experiment could be made without contracting further debts and the advantage, if any should result from it, would be to the Company at large and the United States.

Col. Blackden from Massachusetts then and now resident in Paris brought me acquainted with Mr. William Playfair, an Englishman of a bold and enterprising spirit and a good imagination who had been some years in business in Paris and was acquainted with many people of business and property here. Col. Blackden is a man perfectly honest, candid and generous, he was then disposing of a tract of land in Kentucky in which he had made some progress; he readily gave me all the information in his power relative to the subject and has rendered essential service to the business both at first and during the progress to this time.

In July 1789 by virtue of my powers from the Company I made to him a conveyance of one thirtieth part of the result of our contract

and speculation on condition of his rendering such services as might be in his power.

In the month of April 1789 we began the plan of forming a company to purchase the whole of the lands, as I considered that the nature of our contract being but a naked preemption was too slight and dangerous a ground to attempt retailing upon. My arguments on this head are sufficiently detailed in my letters of the last year which you have seen and which are in the hands of Mr. Duer.

On the third of August that year this company was formed in *Commandite* by a public act with the privileges of a body corporate composed of such persons as were supposed to be able to give solidity to the operation and cover the apparent defect of a mere preemption. The nature and name [of] this society will be seen by a copy of their act of formation which I shall hand you with this. They created eight thousand actions to be sold at a thousand livres each. They expected to be able to raise money enough in a short time to pay the first quarter of the land, to begin the cultivation on the Company's account and to sell portions to individuals. This they supposed would raise the value of the lands so that they would soon be able to sell them all off at a considerable profit. In short their intended manner of operation and the subsequent contract of sale which I passed to them on the 3d of November following a copy of which I shall likewise hand you. [Sic.]

From the time this Society was formed till the first of January many of these actions were subscribed for, and some portions of the lands sold so that the prospect of success was very good, and had they as much confidence in each other as every one appeared to have in the speculation itself they could not have failed. In this interval Mr. Maheas, Comptroller general of the King's domains, one of this society and appointed in the act of formation, one of the principal agents in the business, was obliged on account of his obnoxious politics, or delinquency in public office to fly his country. M. Troussie another associate for some reason unknown to me, fled about the same time. This man I found afterwards had carried off fifty actions of the company and had procured a power to sell lands for the Company. I was a long time under great apprehensions from what he might do but happily his politics soon lodged him in prison in Brabant where I believe he has lain ever since.

These circumstances were among the causes of the Company to make their first payment in January; and it was agreed in that month

that the contract should be given up. But as I conceived it dangerous that it should appear publickly that the society had failed, that the business should appear to rest only in the hands of a stranger whose powers would not bear too critical an examination they being founded on a mere contract of preemption, I did not reduce this relinquishment to writing by a public act till the month of July; of this act I shall likewise give you a copy.

It would now be necessary to detail the circumstances which led to a second contract which I made for the sale of our preemption to the Society of DeBarth, Coquet and Company on the same day of the relinquishment above mentioned, but it is impossible to give an adequate idea of the causes of this transaction. It arose from a train of indescribable events which filled my mind with horror as they passed but which can make but feeble impressions on the mind of one who only hears some of them recounted—for it is not possible to recollect them all. I shall only say that the treaty out of which the transaction grew was begun in March soon after the departure of the first ships. At this time though the affair wore a very good appearance and promised eventual success, yet the progress of the sales began to relent and I feared the funds would not come from the direct sales, so fast as would be requisite for the Engagements we might be under in America. Add to this a fact which gave me too much pain to be forgotten, that I had then been near two years in Europe without having a word from Mr. Duer or any other person on the subject of my mission. Though I had written regular and full accounts of my progress in every step I had yet taken before and after the operations began in Paris, it was impossible for me to know whether what I had done would be approved or not; whether the situation of the savages would permit possession to be taken of the lands or not. Or indeed whether the little settlement began by the Ohio Company on which the success of this must in a great measure depend, still existed or not. In this state of doubt and anxiety I conceived it a great object to find a company who could advance some immediate funds to take and fulfill our engagements to the public and allow us a sure profit though a small one compared with what had before been calculated. This Company as I fully believe had the prospect of being able to do this as long as the affairs of the Company wore the favorable appearance which they did in the month of March, this will appear by the provisional agreement made with them the 17th of that month and renewed on the 15th of April, a

copy of which I shall hand you. The increase of the calumnies and evil reports which I shall have occasion to recount more fully under the next head discouraged by degrees the married part of the Company about to be formed and finally drove me to conclude the treaty such as it is on the 22d of July. It is a thing conceived in caution and brought forth in a state of anxiety and vexation which borders on despair.

With respect to the Company funds their present state is seen in the amount in three columns hereto annexed, but to show how they came to be reduced to so pitiable a state it will be necessary to remount pretty high in the current of those events and to trace out a succession of facts which can never be so painful to any other as to me. These facts have been most of them stated in my letters to Messrs. Duer, Flint and others, the copies of which I have shown you. I do not know by what means these gentlemen have imbibed the idea that a million of acres were sold. This is not consistent with the least degree of confidence in the amounts which I had given. In my letter of the 10th of February to Messrs. Putnam and Sargent sent by Mr. DeBarth I enclosed a certified list of the purchasers with their quantity of acres up to that day.

The following paragraph in that letter will show my object in taking that precaution. "I enclose a list of the purchasers who have finished their "bargain, with their quantity of acres. I shall continue to transmit them regularly which I advise you to enregister in a book; and to prevent counterfeits consider no deed as authentic that is not comptrolled in this manner."

On the 6th of May I forwarded to the same gentlemen by M. Marnesia a continuation of this list up to that date certified by me in the same manner, the first of these amounted to about 100,000 acres and the second to about 40,000. This letter of the 6th of May it seems was the last that had been received before your departure and at the time when the trustees united in a letter in which is the following paragraph—"If reliance can be placed on the accounts received from many reputable persons who have arrived, at least a million acres must have been sold" &c.

It is to be observed that the ship in which M. Marnesia sailed was the last that had arrived when this letter was written, so that their information respecting the quantity of land sold could not be drawn from a source later than the date of my letter. My letters it is true containing the list of purchasers were addressed Messrs. Putnam and

Sargent, because they were supposed by me to be on the spot where these checks would be necessary in laying out the portions to individuals. It is possible these letters have not been received, or if they have they may be still unknown to the gentlemen in New York. My letter of the 6th of May to Mr. Duer mentions the decline of the sales and my fears that little more could be done until we should get good news from the first emigrants in the possession of their lands. As this good news has not even yet arrived (but a frightful train of contrary facts has been constantly announced) it would not be expected that much business could be done from May to September.

But to waive this part of the subject which seems to have been so much misunderstood I will return to the real state of the facts in the country relative to the Company's funds. *The increase of expenses* and the *diminution of sales* are two effects resulting partly from the same causes, and partly from causes distinct; and they require to be treated separately. The expenses here have been much increased from the operations of the first society with whom I contracted. They expected to go on at first with a large plan of cultivation on their own account in order to form an establishment which should raise the value of their lands. For this purpose they have engaged many laborers and sent them to Havre, from whence they were to sail early in January; they had enrolled many others some of which it was found afterwards impossible to get rid of, they being in numerous instances recommended by people of consequence in the town whom it would not do to offend. From hence it arose that so many people have gone out on what is called the Company's account. These people as well as many of the poorer sort of proprietors lay upon our hands for a long time before they sailed. The passengers in the first ship went to Havre some in November, others in December, others in January. Those of the second nearly at the same periods. These two ships sailed I believe on the 13th and 19th of February the first having been detained near a month simply by the weather. The same kind of expenses have been incident to every set of passengers tho' in a less degree till the last.

Another source of expense has been the reclamation for damages by those who have returned and by many others who have not been out but who were eager to seize the advantage of the clamor raised against the affair to make unreasonable demands.

The diminution and stagnation and retrogradation of the sales are

next to be considered. Their precise situation may be seen in the following statement. [Blank here, said statement not given.]

The causes of this decline of business have already been sufficiently detailed in many letters to Mr. Duer, Mr. Flint and others— I was going to repeat them here in a manner more methodical and minute, but it is not absolutely necessary, and the subject is too painful.

I shall therefore make at present only two observations. 1st. That at the time of sailing of the first ships and especially on receiving the letters of Messrs Putnam and Cutler the beginning of March, I had good reason to expect news from emigrants on the lands by the month of June which I was sure would enable me to pay Mr. Duer's drafts. 2d. The personal risk I have run in remaining in Paris several months past could not have been, could not be justified upon any other principle than the most sacred regard to the interest of the concern. I have been many times threatened with assassination. The cries of many people who believed or affected to believe their children or other friends devoured by the American savages were on the point of collecting the mobs of Paris to demolish the Bureau and sacrifice the people who had enticed away so many citizens. So lately as the day after your arrival, I was called to the house of M. De Lormerie my friend and by him warned very serious not to remain another day in this situation; to deposit my papers in a place of security, for he expected *a mob would be at the house* and he was very sure that neither the civil nor military officers of Paris would dare to interfere. I calmed the solicitude of this good man by announcing to him your arrival and the prospect of immediate good news from the emigrants: good news has now arrived and things assume a better aspect.

You will perceive by the account here rendered of the Company's funds that it is out of my power to accept the bill of Mr. Duer for 532,267 livres. I have not only not a farthing of the Company's money at my command but am very considerably in debt for my personal expenses.

I shall here enter into no details relative to the prospects that now open before us on receipt of the letters received giving assurances that the emigrants will be put into possession of their lands.

The prospect appears to me to be flattering but from the information I have been able to give you in conversation and what you have learnt from others, you will be able to form your own opinion on the subject. I will only observe that from a variety of circumstances the

present winter is the most favorable that can be expected for this business, and that not a moment is to be lost.

I am sorry for the delay which has intervened in the stating of the accounts. It is owing to a variety of objects which occupy the attention of the persons employed in the details of the business.

By the letters of the trustees of the 11th of September handed me by you I am informed that you are appointed a joint agent with myself in the future management of the Scioto concerns in Europe. I am extremely rejoiced to hear it, and hope you will not be discouraged undertaking this object on account of the embarrassments that past difficulties have brought upon the affair.

PARIS, 3 MAY, 17 .I.

Ben Walker Esq.

My dear Friend: I received yours of the 2d of April, and am much mortified at not being able to see you before your departure. You did not tell me whether the March packet had arrived. This leaves me less able to judge whether I am to expect any news from the Company or not. Indeed I see nothing but a continuation of the scene of mortification which I have experienced every since I have been in Europe. I do not blame the associates for their want of attention to the most essential parts of the business. It is now just a year since the emigrants arrived in America and there is no proof here at this day of their being in possession of the lands. I wrote and said all that I could write and say during the course of the winter before I left, that everything here would depend upon the information of the emigrants on a few obvious points. That they were on the lands, that the lands were good, that there was nothing to fear from the savages &c. and then it was necessary likewise that I should have details relative to many other things, such as the roads, the distances, the progress of settlements in that country, the real disposition of the savages, the produce of the lands, the real history of any disastrous events which are often fabricated or exaggerated in the American papers &c. You know, my dear Sir, that none of these things have been done.

One Solitary letter from a person unknown dated at Marietta says that the emigrants were on the lands in Nov. last, allowing it to be true six months had passed after their arrival during which they were kept off, without any reason being given in Europe that could appear sufficient to satisfy the minds of enquirers, not a letter in all this time

from any of the company that I could show here,—a few letters on the subject of money & bills which I received I could not communicate as they contained nothing calculated to inspire confidence here. Having it known from time to time that I received letters which I could not show, gave the appearance of mystery & increased suspicion. The letters from the emigrants in this interval were a mixture of good and bad, just sufficient to keep the mind in a balance had not the circumstance of delay intervened to turn the scale. But even had the good been unattended by the bad, the causes of delay being unexplained it is reasonable that something like the following would have been the effect: On the first arrival it would have been well, afterwards indifferent, finally mysterious and suspicious. For the reasoning would have been thus: “The Americans treat these people well & promise to conduct them immediately to the lands. Good, let us wait a little for the event. Two months afterwards the Americans continue to treat them well even generously. This is good enough, but where are the lands? why don't they move forward? Three months afterwards one season is lost, they are still treated with great attention—promised a support for a year, taught to praise the quality of the lands which however they can't get a sight at. What does this mean? Why, those gentlemen think they have got a great affair by the end. They think their agent in Europe is going on with the sales, he has need of fine stories to bait a sufficient number of purchasers & the profit they expect to draw from the whole cheat will be sufficient to warrant their expending a considerable sum in duping the first emigrants that they may assist in duping others.”

Nothing is more natural than this kind of reasoning, even supposing that some hundreds of men would have waited many months on the Atlantic shore without writing an ill natured word.

But the people here were not complimented with the pleasure of making their own reflections. They were told these things in numberless letters as well as by the fractious fellows who returned.

Consider now, my dear sir, another 6 months passed away, since (as I suppose) they are on the lands, and not a syllable of direct information from the spot. Consider the single circumstance of the expedition into the Miami Country last year. Its event was a subject suited to fill the English & French papers with dark & vague stories which might go even to the destruction of all the western settlements. The object of this expedition ought to have been explained by our correspondents as soon as they knew it, and the events of it explained,

fixing the places and distances marking the influence it might have on our settlement. The story has been here that every French emigrant except one fell in the battle with the savages ; What can I say to this? how can I prove it? Whether the Miami villages were 50 or 500 miles from the Scioto purchase I know not.

General Putnam wrote me a letter in March 1790 giving me much information from the Western country, for which I thanked him very sincerely. It was of more value to me than all I have received from others. But even this led me into one very fatal deception, he told me that he would go himself to Alexandria & meet the settlers & conduct them to the lands. This raised my hopes exceedingly, but they were disappointed. I don't mention all these things as absolute wilful sins in my associates but I mention them as facts, and as reasons why my expectations in this country have not been realized. For I have no more doubt than I ever had, that the affair would have succeeded, all their bills been paid and a great profit been made to the concern if such news had arrived here by August or September last as I had every reason to believe would arrive ; which reason was not only grounded on the nature of the subject, but was greatly strengthened & rendered in my opinion almost infallible by the letter of General Putnam.

With regard to the transactions here you know the history of them tho' you can not know but in part the motives which led to them whatever may be the dishonesty of Playfair at bottom, his conduct for a year past has been dictated as it still appears to me—rather from the uncertainty, contradictions & obscurity which involved the American part of the transaction, than from any principle of Knavery.

It is more than a year since I have thought him if not radically dishonest, at least what was as bad, a most imprudent & unfit man to have any authority in a business of this kind & I determined to get rid of him in the best manner possible. I was in hopes that every month & every week would bring such accounts from America as would enable me to force him to render his accounts without ruining the business. As that time never arrived when I could do this in a direct manner, it formed a principal motive for listening to the propositions of Bourogne & Company. Tho' this affair dragged along and ended in the contract which you have seen yet that contract would have been an advantageous one if the news from America had justified the representations which I always made here in good faith and with full conviction that they would be realized. I am willing to

allow that there have been faults committed on both sides the water, mine have not been want of attention or integrity. I have been deceived here and disappointed there, but I must say that the disappointments from that quarter have been principal causes of exposing me to the deceptions here.

Whether the gentlemen there will take the measures we have recommended or any other to retrieve the fortune of the speculation or not I cannot tell. If they do not, it is my opinion that you would do well to suggest to the Secretary of the Treasury some ideas on a mode of offering lands for sale in Europe directly on account of the United States. It seems that the troubles in Brabant are to be acted over again & that those in France are by no means at an end. An office opened at Dunkerque under proper checks & superintended by the minister here would do a great deal of business, I have no doubt. I ought to mention that there is reason to believe that many letters from the emigrants are stopped as well as some of mine & that some of those fellows are corrupted by a French consul. Bergent De Frondville has lately written from New York one of the most infamous letters that ever was seen. He says he has been to the lands that they are not habitable, that the settlers must all return & go to the Islands or starve. That the settlement of Marietta consists of a few little log huts, the people in a starving condition, that Pittsburg is a poor miserable place, in short there are no provisions in the country & there never can be. If this fellow has been to the lands, he must have been charged with letters from the emigrants—he has sent on none—but seems to be on his return on purpose to blast the whole affair. This same fellow has been famous for writing bad letters ever since he arrived. If anything farther is to be done in the business (or even if there is not, it would be for the interest of the public) some American ought to make it an indispensable duty to make every creature of them write, that can write, & tell their friends that the lands are good & that they are happy, let them all tell their own story* every one that is not heard from will be supposed to be dead.

I am dear friend, Yours sincerely,

J. Barlow.

*These letters ought carefully to be taken charge of & forwarded to Europe. If they were under cover to the ministers here it would not be amiss. This single attention would probably induce thousands of people & some of them persons of property & artists to go to that country even if no more lands were sold in Europe.

XII

(LETTERS OF RUFUS PUTNAM.)

(Rufus Putnam to M. Guion, New York, March 9, 1790; Rufus Putnam to Col. Duer, New York, May 1, 1790; Rufus Putnam to Col. Duer, May 28, and May 30, 1790. General Rufus Putnam one of the leading members of the Ohio Co., and the head of the founders of Marietta was also interested in the Scioto speculation. He was the principal agent of the Scioto Co. in the west. Major Isaac Guion was engaged by the company to take charge of the French emigrants and lead them to Alexandria, Va., to their proposed town on the Ohio. This he accomplished and remained at Gallipolis for some little time after the arrival of the French at that place. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 155-9.)

NEW YORK, MARCH 9th, 1790,

Sir :

The object of your going to Alexandria is to meet a number of people expected very soon, if they have not already arrived from France, who have purchased lands in the western country of Joel Barlow, Esqr. agent for the Scioto Company—these people have a Superintendent or agent with them to whom you will make yourself and business known; but in doing this some address will be necessary, because it will be improper that your business should be known to any other person or that you have any knowledge of Mr. Barlow and his agency in Europe—when you have made up your acquaintance with the principal person among these people, you will inform him that in consequence of letters received from Mr. Barlow, Mr. John Vanleer at Red Stone on the Monongahala River has received orders from General Putnam to provide boats and provisions, and that a number of good labourers will be ready to go down and assist them in their operations through the summer, & everything is put in train to make their circumstances as agreeable as possible—that General Putnam who conducted the first Settlers at Muskingum and is well acquainted in the country will be at Alexandria, as soon as the roads are sufficiently dry for wagons to cross the mountains—which it is presumed will not be till the latter end of April—in the meantime it will be best they should remain at Alexandria unless on enquiry you find they can be better accommodated at Winchester or some other Country Town on road to Red Stone, they will have no occasion to lay in any stock of provisions to carry them on except for a few days at a time as they may be easily provided on the road, and in the neighborhood at Red Stone and below any quantity of Flour, Pork and whiskey may be procured very cheap.

You will advise their agent that it will be best their connection with Mr. Barlow and real destination should not be known to the people of Virginia till General Putnam arrives or you hear further from me; but that they should give out that they are bound to Muskingum where they expect such information as will enable them to fix on some particular place for settlement. You will befriend them in procuring accommodation and temporary supplies in such manner as will prevent their being imposed on from being strangers in the country and not speaking the Language.

It will also be necessary that you ascertain as far as possible the best route to Red Stone, the price of waggonage and where they can be best procured. On your arrival at Alexandria you will write me immediately whether any of these people are arrived or not, and you will keep me informed of everything respecting them or any others coming out that shall come to your knowledge.

NEW YORK, MAY 1st, 1790.

Sir :

The other evening you desired me to state my Ideas of the business proposed to be entrusted to Capt. Guihon in compliance with which I propose the following for the consideration of the Trustees, as a general System, viz :—

Mr. Guihon to go to Alexandria to assist the agents in taking up lodging, provisions, Teams, and every other matter they may want to purchase or hire, both at Alexandria and on their way to Red Stone or place of Embarkation, to see that the Settlers are not imposed on from their not Speaking the language or not knowing the price of articles; he should ascertain the best route, stages & accomodations with the cheapest mode of Transportation whether wagons or pack horses or both are best to make use of and the practicability of Sending goods by water to Fort Cumberland or not; he should correspond with Mr. Backers at Red Stone; should notifie him of his approach and expected time of the settlers arrival at that place with their numbers and wants that such provision as their own agents shall require may be made in season for their accomodation, he should undoubtedly go on with the first party who shall cross the mountains to Red Stone, but his trying their proceeding down the river with the settlers or returning to Alexandria must depend on circumstances and the determination of the Agents who come from Europe—the money he will want depends on the advance the Trustees conclude to make—

by Mr. Barlow's letters I conceive the European agents will pay all the expenses from time to time in this quarter, except that of keeping Mr. Guyhon or some other person to assist them in this quarter.

The moment Mr. Backus has executed his orders at Red Stone &c. &c. he will set out to meet the Settlers to assist them in crossing the mountains and of this Mr. Guihon should be informed.

Mr. Backus or some other person should be continued in the neighbourhood of Red Stone for the purpose of procuring Boats and provisions for the Settlers, but to what extent is altogether uncertain at present, and depends on the numbers that shall arrive, and the arrangements their agents shall make, therefore beyond his present orders I think Mr. Backus ought not to go till the Trustees shall settle some arrangements with the European agents who are expected out with the Settlers.

Major Burnham should proceed immediately to the big Kenhawa and begin his operations of clearing and Hut building, and if possible be down in season to put in some corn. The pay of Major Burnham and his people for six months amounts to 2664 Dolls; the order given to Mr. Backus and McFarland amount to 4520. Provision should be made for discharging these debts agreeably to the propositions made the parties, and the money sent on in Season and lodged with Suitable persons for the purpose.

WELLSBURGH AT THE MOUTH OF BUFFALOE,

MAY 28TH, 1790.

Dear Sir:

I wrote you on the 20th instant from Sumralls Ferry, advising of the scarcity of provisions in this quarter, that No Credit or any means but money would procure them, & very little was to be had at any rate, that these circumstances absolutely forbad the emigrants from crossing the mountains till after harvest.

I find on conversing with Mr. McFarland that I was rightly informed by Mr. Backus, and am warranted in saying it will be impossible to procure bread for the Scioto Settlers Should they come on immediately, they must therefore at all events be prevented crossing the mountains at present, nor will it be in the power of Mr. McFarland by any means in his hands or on the credit of any man living to procure any considerable supply in future, in short you ought to rely on Cash only as the means of procuring Supplies for several months to come, for I conceive nothing else will induce people to thrash their grain before the usual time.

You ought also immediately to concert measures for procuring provisions for these and others expected from Europe both the present and ensuing year, for in consequence of the high price now given and free permission to Transport Flour to New Orleans large quantities will be sent down the River the coming fall and winter; the present scarcity will oblige people to begin on their new crops several months earlier than usual—these circumstances with the unpromising appearance of the Crops now on the ground renders it highly probable that Flour will be dear the next as well as the present Summer; if therefore you wish to secure the Scioto settlers against the inconvenience of such probable scarcity; if you wish to purchase provisions of all kinds on the best terms you must begin early in the fall. November and December is the usual time for killing beef and pork in this country, when it may be purchased much cheaper than afterwards; these months and through the winter, Wheat, Rye & Indian corn will probably be sold twenty-five per cent. lower than the next June. And sure I am that unless the Trustees or the French agents shall take the advantage of the fall and winter season to lay in sufficient Magazines of provisions for all that have or shall arrive either the present or ensuing year, the proprietors as well as the settlers must suffer greatly in their interest. Should the Trustees be of my opinion in this & determine on purchasing a supply perhaps the establishing a few stores in the best provision part of the country furnished with goods & a sufficient quantity of cash to enable them to pay money when necessary may answer the purpose as well or better than to depend on cash altogether; but in whatever way you propose to obtain the supplies you ought to put the business into the hands of some mercantile character in whom you can place confidence and who should have all the business under his direction (for my own part I understand nothing of mercantile matters, nor will the duty I owe the public, my own private affairs and other engagements suffer me to meddle with this were I ever so well qualified.) I shall religiously attend to the necessary arrangements in providing for and employing Major Burnham's people as well as the Locations and surveys it is incumbent on the Trustees to make to the settlers to fulfill the engagements which Mr. Barlow may have made to them; but as to procuring supplies and furnishing them to the settlers or their agents it is impossible for me to take any care whatever of it, and I give you this early notice that some suitable person may be seasonably provided for the purpose. I have a good opinion of Mr. Backus &

several others in this quarter who I could recommend for their abilities & integrity & who will make good assistants, but I know of none whose mercantile knowledge & circumstances are such as I should be willing to be responsible for as your chief Factor, you must I think send your principle from New York or somewhere on the East side the mountains.

I have requested Mr. Backus, to set out immediately for Alexandria to assist the French agents in conducting the settlers over the mountains &c.—if he meets any of the Trustees there he will deliver a duplicate of this letter to them and if not he will come to New York unless Major Rochefontaine shall detain him in which case he will forward my letter by the rail.

None of the settlers being on with Teams, Tools &c. as was expected when Major Burnham's company was ordered to be raised several articles must be supplied which it was expected they would have furnished & which will occasion considerable additional expense.

I shall enclose you an estimate of the whole expense to the first of December, exclusive of any supplies to the settlers & my own personal time & expenses, and must entreat that you will send on a sufficient sum of money by Mr. Backus or some trusty person, to me or in my absence to Col. Meigs at Muskingum to discharge the debts agreeably to contract; this Sir, is a circumstance that must be particularly attended to for besides the discredit it would bring on the company should there be a failure on our part in paying Burnham's people they may take it in their heads to leave us at a time when we most need their labor.

I must entreat that you will forward to me as soon as possible a copy of the sales which Mr. Barlow has made to the people who have arrived that I may be able in some measure to detail the business of surveys before I return to New England for my family.

N. B. I have desired Mr. McFarland to inform the Trustees what provisions he shall be able to obtain in the course of the fall with the means now in his power & also to give you his opinion of the best mode to be pursued for securing a general supply in future. I have the honor to be Sir with every sentiment of respect your humble servant,

RUFUS PUTNAM.

Col. Duer.

P. S. You must not omit applying to the Secretary of War for a Company or a part of a Company of the troops now in the Western

Country to be stationed at our French settlement as soon at least as the settlers arrive, & it would be for our interest if the measure could be adopted much sooner. May 30th. We leave this place within one hour—The Trustees are much obliged to Mr. McFarland for his exertions; he has given us a full supply of flour for $4\frac{1}{2}$ months at 4 Dollars per barrel when without his assistance I am sure it could not have been obtained under 6 or 7.

SUMRELLS, FAIRY ON THE YOUGHIOGANA RIVER,
MAY 30TH, 1790.

Dear Sir:

I arrived here last evening where I found Mr. Backus and Major Burnham (with his party) I learn that provisions are excessively scarce and dear. Flour eight dollars per barrel, Indian corn one dollar, 33 cents per bushel, none to be had without cash in hand and very little for it—it will be with the greatest difficulty we shall be able to procure provisions for Major Burnham's people till after harvest—these circumstances absolutely forbids the emigrant from crossing the mountains till after the new crops come in (which perhaps may be in August, but little will be thrashed till September). Mr. Backus informs me that Mr. McFarland could not procure any flour or corn without his advancing the cash to pay for it, from these circumstances, viz: the high price of provisions and that nothing but cash will procure them, you must be sensible that a further supply of cash will be soon wanted, but before I can be particular I must see McFarland when you shall hear from me again—In the meantime (I regret it) the emigrants must not cross the mountains at present, and make your arrangements to send on more money in a short time.

Burnham's party will set off in three or four days and every exertion will be made in erecting Posts, &c.

XIII.

I. GUION TO WILLIAM DUER.

(Letters dated Alexandria, May 31 and June 2, 1790. See No. XII. For these letters Cf. *Gal. Paps.* I, 159.)

ALEXANDRIA, 31ST MAY, 1790.

My dear Sir,

The determination of marching with part of the people which I mentioned in my last to you has had an excellent effect—the report

had no sooner got abroad amongst the unreasonable *acquerirs*, than they saw their weakness in being divided, and that there would be less probability, of having their demands complied with.

Boulogne at first began to reason with me on the bad policy of it, but finding me inflexible at length gave into it but faintly. A Mr. Thory and Laforge, two of the most unreasonable, finding us arranging for the march waited on Mr. Barth and asked him for his advice; he told them that they had not consulted with him when they made their demands and that he could not advise them now—pretending ignorance of the nature of their demands and the answers they had received, and what Franks &c. had written—he told them however that he thought that they had better go on with us. I find a much more considerable number ready to go on with us than I at first imagined would go.

Mr. D'Hebecourt & Mr. Rome & others, have requested the paper signed by Mr. Franks & Co. that if the business should fail, that is, if the rest do not follow—that the company shall be at the charge of transporting their baggage back to this place if they choose to return from Winchester, the place I mean to halt them at. By every account I can get I think they will be much better satisfied there than here for a variety of reasons. I mean at all events to set off before your answer to their demands could possibly return. If you can come here yourself do it by all means, it will have the best possible effect. I wish most heartily you had never sent Mr. Boulogne—he pleads indisposition and says he must stay till another Post, I am sure it is feigned, and that it is done only to see if we do not win over his party. You must be aware of him—do not think that I have any prejudices that lead me to say this of him—I declare to you I have not—I am on the best of terms with him, and he rather thinks I lean to his side than otherwise.

I wrote yesterday to General Putnam by one of the men engaged under Captn. Burnham, he left at Red Stone twenty seven of that company when he came away, which was the 10th inst. but his account of the lowness is a circumstance which may be embarrassing; but when there we must do the best we can.

I shall write to you fully by the next Post. as Boulogne must be really sick or will have no excuse to remain here longer and I mean if possible to set off for Winchester the same day.

ALEXANDRIA, 2d JUNE, 1790.

Dear Sir,

I hope when you receive this you will be on your way here, where your presence is absolutely necessary.

In my last to you I mentioned my determination of marching with part on Saturday next, since that they have had another meeting and have agreed to wait your answer. Messrs. Barth and Thiebout who were, and are, disposed to do what is proper, offer for reasons that the purchasers will have nothing to say, if after your determination, they go with their people, which they will do, they say, let the result be what it may.

Should another vessel arrive before we get away a part of those now here, such disorder will very probably ensue, as may put an end to the business, and a report is in town that another vessel is in the Bay.

There is here a Mr. Mamie, from towards Pittsburgh, who is not your friend, nor that of the company. On hearing your name mentioned by Mr. Barth, I observed him closely. There are several of them connected & I am certain doing all in their power to corrupt these people; they are artful, & some of them wealthy. What you do must be done quickly, as much expense will attend every delay & perhaps the total failure of a business that promises everything if but rightly managed.

Mr. Boulogne, will hand this to you, he will be able to give you the true detail, if his partiality for his party will let him. I am sorry he ever came to this place. Franks informs you with the particulars of the last meeting. I shall still endeavor to change them from their last resolution, and if possible, get a part of them away as this to me seems the only sure means of success.

XIV.

PETITION OF FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

(Original manuscript or very old copy of the Petition of the French emigrants then at Gallipolis to the agents of the Ohio Company, Dec. 17, 1795. This petition explains itself. For document, Cf. *Gal. Paps.*, I, 121.)

TO THE AGENTS OF THE OHIO COMPANY.

The French Inhabitants of Gallipolis by their Agents Matthew Berthelot, Peter Bureau and R. J. Meigs take the Liberty to lay before them the following Memorial:

In the Year 1789 appeared at Paris Joel Barlow esq. agent of a

Company by the Name of the Scioto Company, & by his Sub-agents Messrs Playfair & DeSoisson, offered for Sale large quantities of Land, lying in the Western Territories, a plan of which Lands were exhibited, for the Information of those who wish to become purchasers, which included the Lands, opposite & below the Great Kanhawa, (in the Ohio Company's Purchase) in which general Plan was included that of a City to be situated opposite the Mouth of the Great Kanhawa, a considerable quantity of those Lands were purchased by us—also a number of City Lots, to be chosen by us, out of the City Lots so designated by the said Plan. Possession of all which were to be delivered immediate upon our Arrival.

Upon our arrival from France to Alexandria, we finding no agent, or arrangements made by Mr. Duer the Superintendent of the Scioto Company (as had been promised) for transporting across the Mountains, we sent to Col. Duer, who sent Col. Franks as his agent to negotiate with us, relative to the expenses of our Delay at Alexandria & other matters incident to our Situation:

Col. Franks, & other agents of Mr. Duer then engaged, as a Compensation for our expenses incurred at Alexandria, that the Scioto Comp'y should grant to each of the purchasers, among us one City Lot and one four acre Lot adjacent to said City.

In the meantime the Scioto Comp'y finding the Lands they had sold us in France, belonged to the Ohio Company, negociated a Contract with the Ohio Company by Messrs. Duer, Flint & Craige of the part & Messrs. Putnam & Cutler Directors of the Ohio Company on the other four part of those Lands they had sold in France, in order to fulfill their Engagements with the purchasers & a right of Entry was given by Messrs Putnam & Cutler. In Consequence of the said Contract, & such right of Entry, the Scioto Co. proceeded to lay out the Town of Gallipolis for the fulfillment of their Contracts with us, who after long & expensive Journeys, arrived at Gallipolis.

Major Guyon Agent for the Scioto Company at Gallipolis, proceeded to designate by the Choice of the Purchasers to them the Lots sold in France, next by the drought the City Lots & four acre Lots engaged at Alexandria, as aforesaid, & lastly to sell in behalf of the Scioto Company other City & four acre Lots for which he received in many Instances immediate payment.

In this situation under these Circumstances & Assurances we have proceeded to clear, occupy & build indiscriminately upon the City & four acre Lots, not in the least doubting but that we should receive

from the Scioto Company Sufficient Titles, to the Lots so assigned. But our Expectations are disappointed by the failure of Mr. Duer, & the Lands we are upon belonging to the Ohio Com'y.*

(After the failure of Mr. Duer, Mr. Craige one of those who contracted with, the 2 Directors of the Ohio Comp'y finding the Scioto Comp'y unable to complete their Contract with the Ohio Comp'y, for the Lands, & being then a Proprietor of 5 Shares in the Ohio Company; purchased at New York on the——day of——relinquished, & transferred to the Ohio Company his aforesaid 5 shares as a Compensation for the damages the Ohio Comp'y Sustained by the failure of the Scioto Comp'y in Executing their Contract and the Contract was annulled & given up on both sides. And thus it has become impossible for the Scioto Comp'y to fulfill their Contracts with us relative to the Lands at Gallipolis.)

(And further we beg leave to state that if the Expenses of the Ohio Company attending the negotiation between the Scioto & Ohio Company, do not amount to the Value of the 5 Shares so transferred & relinquished by Mr. Craige, that the Ohio Comp'y have gained an acquisition—an acquisition of so much Value, as the amount of the difference, between those Expenses, & the Value of the 5 Shares so relinquished and transferred. If then there be to the Ohio Comp'y any acquisition, we consider that indirectly it accrued by our Means, in some measure, for had not we contracted for those Lands, with the Scioto Comp'y, the Scioto Comp'y would not have contracted with the Ohio Comp'y, for them, & if the Ohio Comp'y had not contracted, they would not have received from Mr. Craige the 5 Shares for the non-performance of the Contract—& further that the Ohio Comp'y have suffered, but we by the failure of the Contract and further that by our settlement we have augmented the value of the O. Co. Lands in that quarter of the purchase—we do not pretend to have upon the Ohio Comp'y any Claim in Law for those Lands—Although we were not parties to the Contract between the Ohio Comp'y & Scioto Comp'y, yet we have entered upon those Lands with the knowledge & Consent of the Ohio Comp'y & have resided on them to this time, we trust our Situation will be taken into Consideration.)

(Confiding in the Scioto Comp'y we have paid for the Lands we occupy, our resources have been exhausted by long Voyages and Journeys & by Improvements upon those Lands which we now find not our own, & being satisfied the Ohio Comp'y would not wish to reap

from us the fruits of our Labours, & gain an acquisition by our Loss, we request the Ohio Comp'y to grant to us so much of the Land relinquished to the Ohio Comp'y by Mr. Craige, as shall include the Town of Gallipolis & the four acre Lots adjacent thereto, if the residue of the Lands relinquished by Mr. Craige will defray the expenses which the Ohio Comp'y incurred relative to that Negotiation between the Ohio Comp'y & Scioto Comp'y.)

(These Circumstances we wish the agents of the Ohio Comp'y to take into consideration & grant our request.) P. BUREAU,

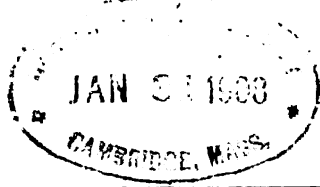
(MARIETTA, DECR. 7, 1795.) R. J. MEIGS, JUN.

*Therefore we request that the agent of the Ohio Company, would bargain & sell unto us the fractional parts of mile Squares No. (28) and number (34) of the third Township of the fourteenth Range, for such price as shall be agreed on, & subject to such conditions & Regulations as they shall deem expedient & proper.

Signed— { P. BUREAU,
M. BARTHELOT,
R. J. MEIGS, JR.

MARIETTA, DECR. 17, 1795.

The statements contained in that part of the document embraced in the brackets were erased in the original ms. by the mutual consent of the parties concerned. The Ohio Co. refused to give the French the land on which their town stood and the French changed their request in that they asked that the land in question be sold them at a nominal price. (See that portion of ms. following the brackets). The petition as then amended was granted.



13313.57.5
(Lovers)

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**CHARLES T. GREVE.
MERRICK WHITCOMB.**

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For the Year Ending
December 2, 1907



CINCINNATI
PRESS OF JENNINGS AND GRAHAM

There are eight brick yards. They lie in the western part of the Bottom, near the second bank, which is the lowest portion of the site of the town. They abound in pools, the water of which has been drained from almost every part of the town.

The shambles of our butchers are fixed on the bank of Deer creek, to the N. and N.E. of the town. The tanneries are in the same direction.

The population of Cincinnati and its suburbs is 2320 souls. Of which number 1227 are males, 1013 females, and 80 are negroes. The number of children under 16 years is 1051. The number of persons over 45 years is 184. The number who have attained to the Scriptural limit of human life, three score and ten, is not known; but as men who have passed 60 years of age, do not often emigrate to new and distant countries, instances of great longevity are not to be expected here. Indeed from the recent settlement of this place, few or none of its adult inhabitants are its natives. They have emigrated from every state in the union, and from most of the countries in the west of Europe; more especially Ireland, England, Germany and Scotland. The American emigrants have been supplied principally by the states north of Virginia.

A population derived from such distant sources, and so recently brought together, must necessarily exhibit much *physical*, as well as moral diversity. The climate and soil have not yet introduced an uniform constitution of body; nor customs, manners and laws an uniform moral character. The inhabitants are generally laborious. By far the greatest number are mechanics. The rest are chiefly merchants, professional men, and teachers. Wealth is distributed more after the manner of the northern, than southern states; and few or none are so independent, as to live without engaging in some kind of business.

A great portion of the inhabitants are temperate. There are not a few, however, who daily but quietly become intoxicated, and no *very* inconsiderable number have been known to fall victims to that habit. Whiskey is in universal, but not exclusive use, among the intemperate: beer and cider are generally drunk by those of more sobriety. Well water is generally drunk in the summer; and used otherwise by a few, throughout the whole year. But the water of the river drawn up in barrels, is employed for all domestic purposes

by far the greatest number, and is drunk throughout half the year by at least half the inhabitants.

The use of tobacco, among the male sex, is much too general. It is not confined to those who might derive benefit or comfort from it, but extends, with the usual number of exceptions, to all ages, from ten years old, upwards.

The diet of the inhabitants is similar to that of the people of the other middle, and eastern states. Green tea and coffee are in general and extensive use. Fresh meats are eaten in great quantities. Beef, more especially in the summer and autumn, is used to the exclusion of most other meats, in a great many families. The market is well supplied with culinary vegetables. Fermented wheat bread is in very general use. It is commonly eaten fresh, but *hot* bread is much seldomer served up here, than in the southern states. Indian corn bread is by no means uncommon. Rye is almost unknown as an article of food. Fish are not a principal article of diet, though the river affords many.

The dress of our inhabitants is similar to that of the other inhabitants of the middle states. The females injure their health by dressing too thin, and both sexes by not accommodating the quantity of clothing to the changes of the weather. The amusements of balls and other evening parties, so destructive to female health in all parts of the United States, are engaged in here, but not to remarkable excess.

No natural or artificial mineral waters are used here in the summer; nor are there any artificial baths. Bathing in the river is practiced by some, but is less regular and general than it ought to be.

V. Diseases.

Having, in the preceding sections, taken a cursory view of the physical condition of Cincinnati and its vicinity, we are now prepared for a few enquiries respecting the diseases of its inhabitants. These enquiries, however, will be limited to the fulfillment of a promise, incautiously made, upon distributing the previous sections of these memoranda; before the magnitude of such a work as the Medical History of a new region was fully appreciated. Nothing more, therefore, will be attempted, than briefly to indicate the principal endemic diseases, and their supposed sources.

MIASMATA.

From the topographical survey in the first section of these Notices, it will be readily seen, that Cincinnati is not *naturally* obnoxious to many sources of MARSH MIASMATA. The river beach opposite the town, is narrow, and, neither it, nor the bank exhibits much decomposable matter. The lower and back part of the bottom, afford some portions of ground, that are yearly overflowed by the spring rains; but they might be easily drained, and therefore may be ranked with the artificial causes, which may be always removed. It is to the inundated interval lands about the mouth of Mill-creek, that we are to look for the most prolific source of vegetable miasmata. This miasmata, however, affects the town much less than might be supposed, from the following causes:—1. The drowned lands lie so much to the N.W. that through the summer and autumn the town is but seldom to the leeward of them; the prevailing winds then being from the S.W. During the present autumn, when few or no cases of ague and fever existed in town, a great number of the inhabitants, to the leeward of those grounds, experienced that disease. 2. Of that tract, a large proportion is covered with trees. It should have been left, as nature prepared it for us, *entirely* covered. Where a tract of wet ground can be rendered *permanently* dry, it should be cleared and cultivated; but when it is subject to annual inundation, the case is different. The more completely the

rays of the sun are then intercepted, the lower will be the temperature of the earth's surface, and the less the quantity of noxious gas evolved. 3. Between those intervals and the town, grows a forest of tall trees. There are strong reasons for believing, that the poisonous exhalation from marshes is hydrocarbonate.* Now this substance is readily decomposed by vegetables.† But whether the gas evolved, be a hydrocarbonate, or according to our very ingenious countryman, Professor Mitchell, an oxyd of septon,‡ (which latter substance, however, it has not, I believe, been proven, is decomposed by vegetables) the efficiency of trees in intercepting its progress, and destroying its virulence, is established by numerous authorities.§ This forest should, therefore, be considered in the light of a rampart against a perpetual enemy, and preserved in the most sacred manner.

The artificial sources of miasmata, are not more numerous than the natural, but they are much more operative. The back part of the bottom, throughout its whole length, is a 'hot-bed' of animal and vegetable putrefaction. In some places, it is true, the ground has been raised (not with any regard to health, but to render it cultivable) those parts, however, make much the smallest proportion. The eastern end of this slip of low ground is a broad shallow canal, which conveys the water that falls on the site of the town, saturated with nuisances, to the pits of the brick yards; from whence neither it, nor the putrescent load can escape, except in the form of exhalation or gas. For its escape in this manner the heat of our summer sun, increased by the reflection from the contiguous high bank, is amply sufficient. Upon learning this state of things, observing and reflecting men, who have been accustomed to trace the acknowledged connection between endemic fevers and the spontaneous decomposition of animal and vegetable matter, would not hesitate to pronounce, a priori—That our principal febrile diseases, and more especially the typhous affections that have, as will be stated hereafter, scourged us for a twelve month past, are most probably owing to the exhalations here spoken of. But to proceed cautiously, and avoid all possibility of

*See Chisholm on Fever, vol. 1.

†See Fourcroy's System of Chem. Knowl.

‡See Medical Repository.

§See the writings of Rush, Jackson and Barnwell.

error in our conclusions, it will be well to take some additional views.

✓ Upon the settlement of this town, fevers of the typhous kind were not uncommon. They arose, as in all newly settled tracts, from the putrefaction which followed the destruction of the forest and exposure to the rays of the sun of a moist fertile surface. As this was a transient cause, the effect was not permanent, and a period succeeded, which was comparatively healthy. But this state of things was not very durable. The flood of emigration to this place, which commenced in 1805, required such a rapid increase of houses, and consequently of bricks, that in less than three years, the number of brick yards, which previous to 1805 did not exceed two or three, was augmented to eight. The accumulation of filth in those pits which were first dug, had been constantly going forward, so that the quantity of exhalation in 1809 ✓ and 10 may be estimated at more than ten times as much as it was seven years before. Now it is notorious, that during those years there occurred more malignant cases, of those diseases which are generally, but improperly termed putrid, than had presented themselves for the seven, or even ten preceding years. Further—These typhous affections prevailed most in December, 1809, but during that month not a single case presented itself east of Main-street, which nearly bisects the town. In the course of the ensuing year cases occurred in the other half of the town, more especially in the eastern end, which is to the leeward of a shallow pond, that has been a common receptacle of filth for more than ten years. The western parts, however, have still been more sickly than any others. Again—December, 1809, was a warm moist month, with southerly winds; and there was not only more sickness during that month than any other, but it occurred chiefly to the leeward of the ponds. Towards the close of January it became so cold that the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer sunk 7 deg. below 0, and not a single case of typhus occurred in the practice of either Dr. Allison, Dr. Sellman, or myself, for a month afterwards. February was mild, and in the beginning of March, the disease returned. It became more healthy in April and the first half of May, but the latter half of that month was intensely hot, and new cases immediately followed; some of them exhibiting symptoms of great malignity. The rest of the year was temperate, even cool, and cases of the same

disease have now and then presented themselves. Thus we see, that those inhabitants contiguous to, and to the leeward of the alledged sources of disease, have been its greatest victims, and that its appearance and disappearance have been considerably influenced by those states of the atmosphere, which were capable of affecting the progress of putrefaction. It is not believed, however, that this is the *sole* cause, that has operated in these cases. Sydenham, more than a century ago, unfolded the existence of sickly states, or constitutions of the atmosphere, during which all the acute diseases that occurred, appeared to partake of certain characteristics in common. Professor Rush, and some other American writers, have, with equal precision and greater science, pointed out the existence of such constitutions in the United States. An atmospheric temperament of this kind appears to have existed in this part of the country for some time past; its tendency seems to have been to favor the production of typhous diseases. This temperament is a predisposing cause. The exciting cause is the miasm or noxious exhalation of which we have been speaking; and wherever such an agent exists, whether in town, or in the adjoining country, these diseases may be produced.

From these tedious but necessary details, it is thought that the opinion of the insalubrity of those ponds is sufficiently corroborated; and it only remains to suggest the means of removing such a potent cause of disease. This is easily done. The gravel, sand and pebbles of the adjoining second bank, form a cheap, convenient and proper material for filling up the pits, except such as are necessary to furnish water for the manufacture of bricks; and it is earnestly hoped that such an important object will no longer be neglected.

Of our cemeteries, it may be remarked, that the one attached to the methodist church, from the limited number that are interred in it, will not very soon evolve much miasmata, and what it may ever produce is too much to the leeward of the town to be a general injury; but the case is different with that of the Presbyterian church. Whenever the population about *it* becomes dense enough to prevent a free circulation of air, and the interments have become double or treble what they now are, its exhalations must inevitably produce disease. No time, therefore, should be lost, in fixing on a new field for sepulture, without the pale

of population, whither the contents of the present should be removed.

The shambles of our butchers, and the tanneries, if they be sources of miasmata, are injurious only when the N. E. wind prevails. At present they have no perceptible agency in the production of our endemics.

These appear to comprehend all the sources of koino-miasmata, and it only remains in this part of the subject, to notice two or three cases of the production of idio-miasmata. Typhus fever has been observed, here, as in other places, to be produced by a domestic cause; for the generation of which, want of cleanliness and want of free ventilation, seem necessary. The latter however, probably has most efficiency. I have observed these circumstances to exist in healthy parts of the town without producing typhus, so constantly as in the sickly parts; so that the public and domestic causes seem sometimes to co-operate. In one instance of this kind, where a large family lodged in a close room of an old wooden house, which stood in the western part of the Bottom, one or two cases of typhus mitior, and two cases of malignant and fatal typhus gravior occurred, cotemporaneously, during a warm winter month. Means were employed to effect free ventilation, and no new cases appeared. It is from such instances as these, that the opinion, that typhus is infectious, has arisen. I can assert from observation, that it is not. I have never seen it extend to more than one or two, in a house that was clean, well ventilated, and its inhabitants were lodged in separate apartments. But it is unnecessary to urge facts against an hypothesis that is already exploded.

✓ If the constant use of fresh beef, and other unsalted meats, in the summer and autumn, be a cause of disease, it must be noticed in this place. But it has not appeared from observation, that they have had much agency in producing the intestinal affections which have prevailed here. Vegetable aliment may produce the exciting cause of that kind of head-ach which depends on the presence of acetous acid in the stomach, provided that organ be previously debilitated; and if the stomach and intestines be in a state of debility, fresh meats may suffer spontaneous decomposition, the oxyd of septon be generated, and all the varieties of intestinal disease produced. In this way, during the debilitating influence of a koino-miasmata atmosphere, the animal fibre received into the alimentary canal may be chemically decomposed, and

produce a disease of the dysenteric kind, which, without such an exciting cause, might have been a fever. In those cases, where a large number of persons have suddenly had dysentery, induced by eating fresh beef, it probably at first acted in a manner similar to that of any other article of diet, to which the stomach and bowels had not been habituated: it excited simple diarrhoea, this debilitated the digestive organs, the production of septous oxyd ensued, and the phenomena of dysentery followed.

VARIATIONS OF ATMOSPHERIC TEMPERATURE.

Neither the cold, nor heat, of the climate of this country, appears to produce many diseases. The former is sometimes so great as to freeze the extremities of those who are exposed; but death has seldom or never been produced by it. Goitre and scurvy, if they be dependent upon cold in other latitudes, are certainly not among its effects here. The heat of our summers appears also to produce but few diseases. The coup de soleil, or stroke of the sun is unknown; and death from the inordinate use of well water, so common in Philadelphia, from some cause is scarcely known here. Langour and oppression are, however, frequently experienced to a distressing degree, more especially upon the sudden accession of hot weather in May and June. Rashes, or cutaneous efflorescences of various kinds, appear to depend on the heat of the summer. Children are much more liable to them than adults. They are certainly diseases, but need not to be dreaded, as they are unattended with danger, and their presence *may* protect the system from more formidable complaints. Febricula, or inward fever, and anorexia, are not uncommon in the hottest weather, but they seldom outlive their cause, and do not often render medical assistance necessary.

But if the extremes of temperature separately, be comparatively harmless, at this place, their sudden alternation is a most fruitful source of disease. By those, however, who skilfully accommodate their dresses and domestic fires to these variations, but little bad effect is ever felt. But among the imprudent, the exposed, and those who are predisposed to the diseases excited by this cause, it produces the worst effects. In the spring and autumn, the diurnal variations, which are greater than in summer, tend to excite intermitting

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and remitting fever, as has been remarked by Professor Rush. But this is among the most inconsiderable effects of this cause. In the muscles and membranes of the extremities, it produces rheumatism; in the face and throat, tooth-ach, pain of the jaw and decay of the teeth, catarrh, tonsillitis, &c. in the thorax, pneumonia, consumption, croup, &c. It moreover frequently co-operates with marsh miasmata, and produces a disease in which the phenomena, and the indications of cure, are considerably different from any disease produced by those causes separately.

Whether the effects of this sudden alternation be always in proportion to its degree is doubtful. I have observed a great variation sometimes to occur without corresponding bad consequences: other states of the atmosphere may possibly modify its effects.

Changes from heat to cold, appear to be more prejudicial than those of the opposite kind. One reason of which, probably, is, that the system relieves itself from the effects of a sudden application of heat, by perspiration, but possesses no such resource in the other case.

The natural tendency of this cause seems to be to produce diseases that are *purely* inflammatory; but the winter of 1809-10 furnished opportunities of observing, what had been remarked before by others, that there is in epidemic constitutions, a kind of omnipotency, as it respects other causes of disease. The pulmonary affections, of that sickly season were few, and bore the lancet indifferently.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

Fogs are by many considered an active cause of disease. Dr. Jackson, in his Treatise on the Fevers of Jamaica, seems to have put this opinion in its proper light. A fog may be the vehicle of marsh miasmata, but is not of itself deleterious. It is nothing but elevated water, and can produce no effects beyond those of simple moisture. This a priori decision accords with fact, for in this town, those who are most exposed to the fogs, certainly are not more sickly than others. Both fog and dew, however, may be sometimes the *exciting* causes of fever. By conducting off the heat, and lessening *directly* the excitement of the system, they increase the excitability, and thereby augment the efficiency of miasmata. The internal use of river water has by some people been deemed

unhealthy. Its degree of saline and aerial impregnation, is certainly much less than that of well water, or even that of spring water; but there does not appear to be any just foundation for the opinion of its insalubrity. It produces, so far as observation can determine, no disease, excepting diarrhoea in those unaccustomed to it, which is nothing more than spring and well water produce on those who have been habituated to the use of river water. The occurrence of that disease, is no proof therefore, of the unhealthiness of any water. In some diseases, however, although the river water be not positively unhealthy, the greater benefit resulting from the use of well water, makes it seem so. These are cases of dyspepsia. In this disease the carbonic acid, the carbonates, and other salts of the well water produce very salutary effects. A lady in this town has repeatedly had all the symptoms of dyspepsia aggravated and palliated, by the alternate use of river and well water.

river water

Before concluding the consideration of the causes of disease, it may not be amiss to observe, that some progress has been made, in the discovery of the cause of the endemic disease, announced in the appendix, to the sections of these Notices, which were printed last spring. The people who live where it prevails, are of opinion, that the milk of the cow is poisoned by some unknown deleterious plant on which the animal feeds. It has not yet been discovered; but the experiments which have been made, and the facts which have been collected, seem almost sufficient to command our full assent.

MIASMATIC DISEASES.

In specifying the diseases of this place and its vicinity, it will be proper to commence with those endemics which are ostensibly excited by miasmata. They are the following:—
 Ague and Fever, Periodical headach, Intermitting and Remitting bilious fever, Typhus mitior and gravior, Cholera morbus, Cholera infantum, Diarrhoea, Dysentery, Jaundice and Ophthalmia.

AGUE AND FEVER. A tertian ague has been considered the simplest form of fever; and if unity of cause, greater regularity in the trains of diseased action, and more uniformity in the disorders consequent upon those trains, entitle any febrile affection to a character of greater simplicity than the rest, it certainly belongs to this disease. Its legitimate cause

appears to be generated by the decomposition of vegetable matter alone; its empire in the system is more limited than that of most fevers; and the same consequence, dropsical effusion, more constantly results from it, when protracted, than almost any consequence from any other disease. In a series of notices, therefore, respecting our endemics, this disease constitutes the most proper commencement.

In the adjoining state, Kentucky, the thirsty calcareous ridges and dry narrow valleys are unfavorable to the production of ague and fever, and it is but seldom felt, except in the vicinity of some of the larger streams. But in this state, especially in the central, northern and western parts, a leveler surface, with a diminished quantity of calcareous and an increased proportion of argillaceous matter, admits of a more frequent production of this disease. Even here, however, it is rarely fatal; and except in a few situations, its prevalence or malignity has never rendered it a serious evil, nor retarded in any perceptible degree, the current of emigration.

Concerning its symptoms, but little need be said. It generally assumes the quotidian type; sometimes the tertian, and more rarely the double tertian, or quartan. When left to itself, it commonly produces hepatic affections of a mild kind, with ascitic or anasarcaous effusion; but under the ordinary treatment, it seldom proves obstinate, except where its remote cause continues to act. In such cases, when the removal of the patient has not been attended to, it has sometimes resisted the combined action of the most powerful remedies, and proved fatal. Emetics, cathartics, and the bark, with opiates and gentle diaphoretics, are generally found sufficient. In a case of protracted quotidian, the cold fit of which was so intense as to threaten life, my respectable friend and preceptor, Dr. Goforth, administered 4 oz. of the bark in substance, during a single apyrexia. The patient recovered.

With arsenic, exhibited according to the formula of Professor Barton, I have sometimes succeeded; and during the present autumn (1810) a gentle salivation, as suggested by Professor Rush, effected a cure in two cases, which had obstinately resisted many other remedies. The great tendency in this disease to produce hepatic affections, would seem to point out mercury as a principal medicine, in long continued cases.

PERIODICAL HEAD-ACH. As it is deemed correct to range with the ague almost any disease that has diurnal paroxysms, the "sun-pain" or periodical head-ach may be introduced here. In its most regular form, it consists of a pain in the lower part of the os frontis on one side, near the orbit of the eye, commencing early in the morning, and continuing through a part or the whole of the day. But these symptoms are not constant. There does not appear to be any inflammation in the pained part, and the arterial action is generally defective. The stomach and bowels are commonly overloaded with bilious matter. From observations at this place, it prevails more in winter than summer. It is generally sporadic; but in the winter of 1803-4 so many were affected with it, as to entitle it to the appellation of an epeidemic. Antispasmodics are absolutely inadequate to the cure, as are also sinapisms and blisters. The latter, however, are a good auxiliary. Evacuations from the stomach and bowels with the subsequent use of the bark, as in ague and fever, are the most certain, and generally the only remedies necessary. I have never known it prove fatal. It does not appear to effect those of any age, sex, or condition, exclusively.

INTERMITTING AND REMITTING FEVERS. To make room for the anomalous affection of which we have just spoken, the higher grades of bilious fever have been arbitrarily separated from the ague, of which they are merely extended and more intense degrees—augmented effects of the same cause. The assertion, which was first made by that illustrious pathologist, Professor Rush, is amply supported by the phenomena which these diseases have exhibited at this place. From the simplest 'shaking ague', with a febrile paroxysm of two or three hours, to an intense bilious fever with a remission scarcely perceptible, I have observed symptoms of the same kind. In the ague the cold fit is considerable; in what is popularly called the dumb ague, and here denominated intermitting fever, the chilliness is less regular and violent, and in the more ardent remittent, the cold stage is feeble or wholly absent. The danger therefore is generally in an inverse proportion to the intensity of the cold stage. A diminution of both chill and fever is favorable, of the chill alone, unfavorable.

As it is only designed in these Notices to announce some of the principal phenomena of our diseases, a detailed account

of the symptoms of these fevers will not be attempted, and the following limited remarks may suffice.

They are invariably attended with an undue excretion of bilious matter. In the present state of pathological science, this excretion is not regarded as the cause of the disease, but it certainly produces some of the secondary symptoms, and aggravates the whole. It also tends to prevent the action of sudorifics, sia agogues and tonics, and I am convinced from experience, notwithstanding the plausible reasonings of that eminent chemist, Professor Mitchell, that it ought to be expelled from the system as early as possible. It has not been proven that the vitiated secretion of the liver contains soda; and if it do, in these cases it will probably be better to alkalize the alimentary canal by some more unexceptionable agent.

The state of the pulse in these affections at this place, has not appeared to vary *very* much. It is commonly full, frequent and tense, but seldom hard or depressed. It has frequently tempted to the use of the lancet, but not always with the anticipated benefit. Indeed our bilious fevers in most cases, although apparently of an inflammatory character, do not admit of copious venesection. For some time past at least, the tendency to typhus has been so great, that the lancet has been almost wholly laid aside. Every autumn is not however alike in this respect, and these diseases have occasionally been presented in a form that unequivocally indicated, and really required extensive bloodletting.

But venesection in these complaints is the only evacuant that is not uniformly beneficial. Emetics and cathartics, diaphoretics and sudorifics, diuretics and sialagogues are all of great consequence. The two first are indispensable. Emetics however cannot be safely employed where the degree of inflammatory action is great; but it appears to me that in the reformed practice of medicine in the United States they are by many physicians, too much neglected. I have repeatedly observed cathartics to fail evacuating the stomach, and in bilious fevers of the milder kind, one or two emetics would probably always be beneficial. The employment of this medicine, however, will not remove the necessity for cathartics; and in all cases they should be administered, and generally repeated till the discharges exhibit a healthier aspect. This is the method which has usually been pursued here, and with satisfactory advantage. It has not, however,

always been possible to procure good discharges, even where medicines, to supercede morbid action, have been employed at the same time. Such cases have usually proved fatal. The choice of cathartics has not been deemed a matter of great moment, provided calomel be not omitted. From the disordered state of the biliary system in these diseases, that medicine seems to be peculiarly required. It is also required as a sialagogue; and when it can be made to produce a good salivation at the same time that it evacuates the bowels, it does all that can be expected from medicine—it invariably cures the patient.

Sudorifics and diaphoretics have been employed in these fevers, after due evacuation from the stomach and bowels, and from the blood vessels in some cases, with manifest advantage. And diuretics have been frequently found serviceable. It appears to me that sal nitre, which in the quantity of a scruple or half a drachm every hour, is no contemptible remedy in the milder bilious fevers, produces its good effects chiefly by operating as a diuretic. After sufficient evacuation and reduction of the tone of the system, the combination of opium with this salt forms a valuable sudorific and anodyne.

Blisters have been employed in these affections with the usual benefit.

Cases of bilious fever have occasionally presented themselves, in which the bark could not be taken even during convalescence; but in most instances, after due evacuation, that medicine has been found beneficial. In general, the probability of its being serviceable, is in proportion to the violence of the cold stage. In some cases, where neither the chill nor fever was considerable, I have seen cream of tartar and the bark combined, given throughout the whole twenty-four hours with evident advantage. But these cases should be properly referred to the *ague* and fever.

Having found but little good effect from nitric acid in other diseases, I have never tried it in bilious fever.

TYPHUS MITIOR AND GRAVIOR. These diseases seem to bear the same relation to each other that is observable in intermitting and remitting fever. They are also in this country closely connected with those affections, and furnish a good proof of the correctness of that pathological idea, which questions the doctrine of diagnostics. The difference between a case of inflammatory remittent, and one of typhus gravior, is indeed very manifest, but these are to be regarded

as the extremes: many of the milder cases are so complicated, that the pathognomonic symptoms of neither disease appear to predominate.

The more characterized cases of these typhus affections frequently exhibit nearly the same derangement of the biliary system with the fevers already noticed. But they are attended with many phenomena not common in those simpler affections, such as inactivity of the functions of the brain, oppression of the thorax, and the exhaustion of the muscular energy. They are also generally accompanied with diarrhoea, in which the discharges are constantly vitiated; and almost invariably with complete anorexia. In the more violent cases the pulse is small, intermitting and frequent, and the pains and anxiety of the thorax and abdomen are very great. In milder cases the pulse is fuller, but always frequent, and the restlessness gives way to profound stupor. The tongue is generally dry, and sometimes covered with a dark colored hard crust that appears cracked into fissures. In two cases there occurred an eruption of pimples, which in a few hours became filled with pus. They both proved fatal. Concerning their other phenomena, the limits of this work will not admit of any detail.

As these diseases consist in a more extended series of morbid actions, than those we have before considered, they are of much more difficult management, and have not unfrequently proven fatal at this place, during the last two years. Before that time they occurred more seldom. Their cure has been attempted nearly in the same way with that of the bilious fever, except the early administration of tonics and stimulants, and the total omission of venesection.

These medicines, with mercury and cold water, would probably in most cases effect a cure, could they be retained in the system; but the tendency to diarrhoea has generally been so great as to preclude the copious exhibition of sudorifics or of mercury, and require the constant use of astrin-gents, demulcents, and alkalies. Of the former class of medicines, saccharum saturni and geranium root (*geranium maculatum*) have been employed with most advantage. Of the latter, the alkaline earth, magnesia alba, has been commonly preferred. When mercury has not been employed, these complaints have generally had their full course, the typhus gravior a shorter, the typhus mitior a longer one. The ordinary remedies in many cases appear to have saved life, but not

cured the disease. Mercury, however, has done both. In the few instances in which a genuine salivating effect has resulted, the disease has yielded and the patient recovered, some cases have occurred in which mercury ulcerated the mouth without producing ptyalism, and then it did but little service.

Blisters have been a constant remedy in these typhus affections. Much advantage has frequently resulted from them; but it has been considerably diminished, by the strong tendency to gangrene which the blistered places, in a great number of instances, have shown. Among the effects of blistering in a case of typhus mitior, may be mentioned the total suspension of a copious ptyalism attended with sore mouth, for two days, and its return upon the cessation of inflammation in the blister.

A *local* application of cold water has been frequently made, with obvious advantage. But a general affusion, as recommended and practised by several ingenious physicians of the present day, has never been resorted to here. Many cases of our mixed fevers, appear to be very analagous to those in which Dr. Jackson found the cold affusion so beneficial; but at this place medical intrepidity has heretofore yielded to the invincible prejudices of the people. In May, 1810, I had a case of typhus mitior, in which the patient was exposed, covered with a single sheet, to a constant and copious current of fresh air, except a few hours of the latter part of the night: His recovery, which was unusually rapid, appeared to depend much more on that than on the medicines employed.

CHOLERA MORBUS & CHOLERA INFANTUM. These affections having essential symptoms in common, and probably depending on a similar mode of action of the same cause, may be considered together. Their phenomena, however, are not perfectly identical. The first is generally a disease of adults. When it has appeared at this place, it was attended with inconsiderable fever, but with copious bilious discharges, and ultimately with spasms and cramps. It has usually terminated in health in 24 or 48 hours. The cholera infantum is commonly attended with fever, which is sometimes intense; the discharges are not uniformly bilious; stupor and insanity are apt to supervene; it sometimes terminates in health, or in death, in two or three days; but generally has a protracted course, producing, with great debility,

a peculiar, sunken and languid state of the eyes. These two varieties of cholera agree, however, in being apparently excited by an irritating material, exerting a strong impression on the stomach and duodenum.

The former of these diseases is much rarer at this place than the latter. It appears sporadically during the warm part of the year, but has never yet been epidemic. Of its treatment I have nothing to observe, except that in one protracted case, in which the discharges were very bilious, a salivation, induced, principally, by mercurial frictions, suddenly removed all the symptoms.

The Cholera Infantum prevails every summer, in this town and its vicinity, and may be regarded as the principal disease to which our children are liable. As in other parts of the United States, it precedes the other summer and fall endemics, generally beginning in June, and sometimes much earlier. In this disease I have seen calomel in small doses, with, or without opium, according to the state of the pulse, as recommended by Dr. Miller, of more service than any thing else. Cold applications to the abdomen, and head, have also proved very advantageous. I have never tried the cold immersion, as practiced by some physicians. At the same time, that the refrigerating applications are made to the head, sinapisms to the feet have been useful. When the evacuations have been very copious, and the child's strength is very much reduced, calomel and opium, with a milk decoction of the geranium root are invaluable. This complaint, however, has frequently resisted the powers of these and other medicines, and either proved fatal in two or three days; or assumed a protracted form, and yielded to nothing but the frosts of the succeeding autumn.

✓ **DIARRHOEA & DYSENTERY.** An epidemic diarrhoea, has never been known here. This disease, however, occasionally presents itself throughout the whole summer; and appears like the other endemial affections of the warm season, to depend on miasmata. Its cure has generally been attempted with rhubarb, and other cathartics, followed by alkalies, farinaceous preparations, geranium root, and other astringents; aided, in obstinate cases, by the cold bath, ✓ flannel next the skin, and exercise on horse-back.

✓ The Dysentery is a more formidable disease. Every summer and autumn furnish sporadic cases of it, and in 1808 it was epidemic. In the month of July, of that year, it was

more prevalent than any disease has ever been at this place, except the influenza. Fevers, during its predominance, were not observed to occur, and the simple diarrhoea and cholera infantum, which appeared cotemporary with it, did not long preserve their pathognomonic characters. Notwithstanding this power of banishing, or assimilating to itself other diseases, this epidemic was mild, and proved fatal in but few instances. It was not often attended with fever, and the appetite, generally, was unimpaired. The morbid cause appeared to exert a very limited power on the system, mucous and sanguinous discharges, with gripings, constituting the principal symptoms. Large portions of *Ol. ricin.* alternated with opium, or opium and ipecac, were chiefly relied upon; and when aided by amylaceous and glutinous preparations, were generally sufficient. When astringents were required, the geranium root was employed with success. The carbonates of potash and magnesia were exhibited in several cases, but not with very marked advantage. In the dysenteries of some parts of this country, however, they have been found more efficaceous. My friend, Dr. Canby, has employed them along with the usual remedies, with a success, as honorable to himself and his profession, as to the respectable Professor, who first pointed out their *modus operandi* in this disease, and insisted on their exhibition. The dysentery of 1808 was so mild, that calomel was scarcely resorted to. It had been epidemic previous to that year, but has not been since.

JAUNDICE. This is one of our endemics, but it is seldom very prevalent. Throughout the whole of the year 1808, cases of it presented themselves more frequently, than before, or since. It was generally attended with a dull pain in the pit of the stomach. I heard of its proving fatal in one case, in the vicinity of this town. In one instance it was connected with a slight eruption, and violent itching in the skin, attended with a synocha pulse, and required bloodletting. Generally the pulse was weak, and the whole system appeared to partake of the inaction of the alimentary canal. It affected adults more than children.

As a remedy for this disease, the puccoon root (*sanguinaria canadensis*) has been recommended by Dr. Schoepf.* The people in this part of the country employ a tincture of it.

* See Barton's Collections, part 1.

for the same purpose, and from experience I can declare it almost a specific. But I prefer giving it in substance.

OPHTHALMIA. On the arrangement of this affection among the miasmatic diseases, it is by no means intended to insist. The following are the reasons for which it was referred to that head, and physicians can estimate them, as they deserve. 1, The ophthalmia is an endemic disease of this country, which like our other endemics, appears sporadically every summer, and occasionally becomes epidemic, affecting great numbers, especially children. 2, It occurs as much, if not more, along our water courses, and in the depths of forests, as on open plains or uplands; and therefore neither dust, nor reflected light, has any agency in its production. 3, When epidemic, it appears and declines about the same time, with our other summer miasmatic diseases. 4, It has been prevalent before the annual burning of the woods, which invariably takes place in some parts of this country, and therefore is not occasioned by smoke. 5, In the summer of 1807, I was assured of two cases, in which this disease alternated with cholera infantum; the ophthalmia prevailing at night and the cholera infantum in the day. Similar cases have been mentioned to me by Dr. J. Canby. 6, This disease has diurnal exacerbations. It is generally worst at night, even where the eyes have not been exposed to the light. In one case, the subject of which (a man of veracity and observation) communicated the account to Dr. Este, of Hamilton, it assumed a certain type. During the paroxysm, which had about the length of a common fit of fever and ague, light and every exertion of the eye were intolerable; but during the intermission, he was entirely free from those morbid sensibilities. The same physician has also lately met with a case in his practice at that place, in which ophthalmia had true certain paroxysms. 7, Topical applications are seldom adequate to the cure, and means calculated to operate on the general system, must be resorted to, in all violent cases. 8, It is somewhat difficult to conceive, how, either directly, or through the medium of the general system, the action of miasmata can be concentrated in the eye; but there does not appear to be in it, any physical impossibility.

Of the local remedies in this disease, I have generally seen the stimulating, the most beneficial. Cold water seldom gives permanent, and frequently not momentary relief. I had

lain it aside before reading the experiments of Dr. Wilson, which prove inflammation to consist in defective, instead of excessive action. Of the general remedies, blood-letting and purging are frequently necessary. They reduce the action of the system, at large, when necessary, and prepare it for the exhibition of opium and sudorifics. The former is necessary in all obstinate cases. I have seen from two to six grains given during a single night, with obvious and permanent advantage. In protracted cases, a salivation would probably be of great service. In a case of several months standing, in which the eyes were covered with films, to such a degree, as to produce total blindness in one, and very impaired vision in the other, after various collyria, blistering, repeated cupping, sternutatories, cathartics, opium and tonics (the pulse being weak) were employed for several weeks, with inconsiderable advantage; a salivation suddenly removed most of the inflammation, and promoted the absorption of the films, so far as to restore one eye entirely, and render colors perfectly distinguishable by the other.

DISEASES CONNECTED WITH VARIATIONS OF ATMOSPHERIC TEMPERATURE.

The diseases comprehended under this head, are not *exclusively* produced by changes in the temperature of the atmosphere; but this cause so frequently excites them, that they may with propriety be referred to it. The principal ones which have been observed to occur here, are Catarrh, Consumption, Pleurisy, Peripneumony, Rheumatism, and Tooth-ach.

CATARRH. This is the most ordinary and simple effect of the above cause. It does not appear to be more frequent or obstinate here than in other parts of the United States. The schneiderian membrane appears to be first affected in most cases of this disease. From thence the morbid action extends to the pharynx and larynx, and the pulmonary affection follows. In children, this disease is sometimes attended with such symptoms, that it can scarcely be distinguished from the genuine croup, except by the facility with which it yields to medicine. The common catarrh, upon a reference to its cause, appears to be essentially different from the influenza, and should probably be always regarded, in the language of Dr. Sydenham, as an intercurrent disease; yet

it sometimes becomes almost as prevalent as the epidemic just spoken of; and there is some foundation for believing that in the causes of the two diseases there is an intimate connexion. But as one of them results even from a trifling variation in the state of the circumambient caloric, and the other traverses whole continents, uninfluenced by any changes of that kind, it is difficult to perceive in what the connexion consists.

The catarrh is frequently a harrassing and protracted disorder, but is formidable, chiefly, as an exciting cause of consumption, of which we will now proceed to speak.

PULMONARY CONSUMPTION. From Dr. Spalding's bills of mortality, it appears that in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a fifth of the deaths are from this disease. In Philadelphia it carries off between a fifth and a sixth. In this town, from several years observation, I am confident that a tenth or twelfth of our deaths from consumption, is a liberal estimation. So that if we make due allowance for the skilfuler treatment of this deplorable malady by our more enlightened fathers and brethren of the maritime cities, we may conclude that consumption occurs nearly three times as often in those places as in this town. It has, however, been a more frequent and fatal disease since the influenza of 1807, than before. Its subjects are generally women, between the ages of 15 and 30 years.

I have not had the satisfaction of seeing this disease cured by a salivation. In several cases mercury, in conjunction with the usual auxiliaries, has been exhibited to such an extent as to produce ptyalism for several weeks: It has appeared to mitigate, but in no instance, whatever, to remove the disease. From digitalis no greater benefit has been derived. In cases of legitimate phthisis, its exhibition has been continued unceasingly for several months; and it has sometimes moderated the pulse, but never superseded the cough or hectic fever. In two instances the vegetable alkali was given for many weeks in large quantities; but no advantage resulted. Of the efficacy of those nearly obsolete remedies, carbonated hydrogen gas and azotic gas, mixed with atmospheric air, I can say but little from experience. But in the vicinity of this town, nearly a whole family has been swept off by consumption, while living in a situation, the atmosphere of which, must have abounded, at least, with the former of these gases; and in 1808, a phthisical patient was put

under my care from an aguish part of the country, whose hectic fever was preceded, every other day, or every third day, by a chill and shake, so violent, that her friends supposed her to have the ague. The two diseases, indeed, appeared to be combined.

PLEURISY. This disease was more prevalent here previous to the visitation of the influenza, than since. It has seldom presented itself in such a shape as prohibited the use of the lancet. It is almost invariably attended with a preternatural excretion of bile, and not unfrequently with a very obvious degree of hepatic affection. Bleeding, blistering, and the common antiphlogistic regimen are inadequate to the cure in such compound cases, and a liberal use of mercury must be resorted to. It has been given so as to evacuate the bowels freely, and also to excite a ptyalism as early as possible. Upon the accession of that effect, the symptoms have almost invariably yielded. Mercury, indeed, is wholly indispensable in these bilious pleurisies, and when combined with the ordinary antiphlogistic treatment, is seldom unsuccessful.

PERIPNEUMONY. That singular epidemic the influenza, whilst it diminished, at this place, as has just been stated, the number of cases of pneumonia pleuritis, seems to have invited a more frequent occurrence of the pneumonia peripneumonia; for since the autumn of 1807, the latter disease has been much more common, than previous to that period. Its most conspicuous phenomena are, a frequent elastic pulse, cough, obtuse pain in some part of the thorax, or the total absence of all pain in that region; frequent and difficult, but not painful respiration, and inability to lie with the head and shoulders level with the body. In one case which terminated in vomica, not the slightest pain was at any time felt above the diaphragm; but there was a constant pain in the lower part of the left hypochondrium, attended with vitiated alvine discharges. In this complaint, there is not, as in the pleurisy, any crisis on the 5th, 7th, or 9th day, but it continues until, probably from congestion or disorganization of the lungs, it terminates in death, at no specific period; in vomica; or in health, from the successful exhibition of medicine. It is, like the pleurisy, occasionally attended with derangement of the biliary system.

In the treatment of this complaint, blood-letting and the ordinary antiphlogistics, are indispensable; but it is seldom possible to reduce the morbid force and frequency of the

pulse by them alone. From the progress and termination of several cases, it is rendered probable, that mercury and digitalis are the most efficient medicines that can be superadded to the common debilitating means. The first of those active substances should be given so as to produce a ptyalism, which in part effects the reduction of the pulse, and appears to prepare the system for the reception of the second. In the administration of the digitalis, a constant regard should be had to its effect on the pulse. If it do not produce a slow, pausing pulse, it is of but little advantage. During the convalescence from this disease, I have felt the pulse of a young adult, at 52 and 54 or 56 strokes in a minute, with very remarkable intermissions: when it was in that state she felt active and comfortable; when a relaxation in the exhibition of the medicine permitted the pulse to rise to 70 or 80, dyspnoea, & oppression at the breast rendered it difficult for her to lie down, or to make any considerable exertion. A salivation preceded its use in this instance, and indeed in almost every case of peripneumony, in which it has appeared to be serviceable. The following case will in part confirm this, and may be somewhat interesting in other respects.

W. W. aged 26 years, with a flat chest, and distant shoulders, was seized in July with a severe cough, and inability to lie with his head and shoulders low. After trying the use of some popular remedies for several days, with no good effect, he applied to me. Finding his skin cool, his pulse slow and weak, his thorax entirely free from pain and stricture, and that he had no thirst, and could walk about, I did not at first suspect the existence of inflammation. An emetic and cathartic, with the subsequent use of anodynes, and a plaster of Burgundy pitch, were employed without any advantage whatever. In three or four days he was unable to lie down at all. His exemption from pain, and weak pulse continued; but it was determined to bleed him.—About eight ounces were taken, which exhibited some slight traces of buff. A blister was then applied to his side. His pulse did not rise, from bleeding, but as he felt rather better, the next day, it was repeated to the quantity of twelve ounces. The blood drawn this day was more sily; and after the operation, his pulse rose a little. On the succeeding day he was bled again. The blood exhibited much inflammatory crust, and after the operation his pulse became full, tense and frequent. His cough continuing, the admin-

istration of calomel, with squills and nitre, was now commenced. Venesection, to the quantity of fourteen or sixteen ounces, was continued every day, or every other day, from this time for a week, the pulse beating 120 strokes in a minute, with a great degree of energy. The blood was remarkably cupped and sizzly. By the expiration of that time, a salivation came on. No considerable reduction of the pulse followed, but he was able to lie with his head and shoulders lower. The use of digitalis was then begun. It was given in substance. In three or four days the expected intermissions in the pulse occurred, and it was soon at 60 and 54 in a minute, having sustained an equal reduction in its force and fullness. The cough soon became more moderate, expectoration increased, and his amendment was unequivocal. The digitalis has been continued ever since (a period of six months) in such quantities as generally to keep his pulse in a state of defective action; he has taken exercise on horse-back, and at this time has as good a prospect of complete restoration, as is consistent with a malformed thorax.

Was the pulse depressed in this case? Is it not more probable that the disease was at first local, and that the arterial system did not sympathize for some time. In the fanciful manner of Dr. Darwin, it might be said, that depletion increased the sensorial power of association, and brought the general system into excessive action, much sooner than it otherwise would have come.

Judging, which, however, is improper, from the event of a few cases, I am not disposed to ascribe much efficacy, in this disease, to the carbonic acid and carbonated hydrogen gases, as recommended by Dr. Withering and Dr. Beddoes.

CROUP. The cynanche trachealis, or hives, is here, as well as in the middle and northern maritime states, one of the principal diseases of children. It prevails more in autumn, winter, and spring, than in summer, and more in some years than others; but it has never assumed that malignant and epidemic character which, according to Dr. Dick, it exhibited at Alexandria in 1799. It is almost invariably attended with fever, and as constantly with a disordered state of the bowels, the alvine excretions being green or blackish.

In one case, only, have I employed blood-letting to any considerable extent. The infant had labored under the disease 16 or 18 hours, but still had a vigorous pulse. The

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quantity taken was so considerable, as to produce partial deliquim. Many other of the usual remedies were employed, but the patient died. I have seen the violent operation of strong emetics at the commencement of the disease, as recommended by Dr. Rush and others, of great service. In one case that was fully formed, more than a dozen motions were procured by an emetic, in less than an hour; and the little patient began to recover immediately. After the operation of a strong emetic and cathartic, I have found the exhibition of a decoction of Seneca root, as recommended by Dr. Archer, of more benefit than anything else. Unusual quantities of emetic medicines are necessary to produce vomiting in these diseases; and the same observation may be made respecting the Seneca decoction. It should be very strong, and in most cases given in larger quantities than are recommended by Dr. Archer. In one case that was about to terminate fatally, such a free exhibition of this decoction was made, as to dislodge from the glottis great quantities of thick phlegm, tinged with blood. The irritation throughout the whole system was so great, for a few minutes, as almost to produce convulsions, but the urgent croup symptoms were mitigated, the threatened dissolution averted, and the child recovered. Would not the roots of the *Sanguinaria Canadensis* (which indeed have been employed) the *Lobelia siphilitica*, and the *Jeffersonia binata*, produce the same effect? The warm bath and blistering are excellent auxiliaries in this disease; but the first should never be employed until the intensity of the fever is abated by evacuants.

RHEUMATISM. This disease frequently presents itself in this country, but not often in a formidable shape. It appears to result from exposure to vicissitudes of the weather. Now and then it assumes the form of lumbago. In one instance it terminated in white swellings of various parts of the body. Among many other remedies, a protracted salivation, with a subsequent course of the volatile tincture of gum guaiac, was employed in this case without any good effect.

In the treatment of the milder cases of rheumatism, the people use the Seneca oil, a bituminous substance brought down the Allegheny river. Concerning the remarkable efficacy of this liquid, in removing the numerous cases of rheumatism and stiffness in joints, in a detachment of troops, here is a note by B. Lincoln, Esq. in the first volume of the American Museum.

The poke (*phytolacca decandra*) and the prickly ash (*zanthoxylum fraxinifolium*) are popular remedies of considerable estimation; but the *actea racemosa*, or squaw root, will probably supersede them. This powerful medicine has received too little attention from physicians. In two instances in this town, in which it was taken to excess, it produced the most violent and alarming effects. One of them I had an opportunity of witnessing. In about an hour after the tincture was taken, by a person able to go about, and of an inflammatory diathesis, violent pain in the epigastric region came on, with vomiting, intense head-ach and delirium. The face was flushed, and the pulse full, frequent and tense. The loss of fourteen or sixteen ounces of blood, followed by a portion of paregoric, and the subsequent use of a cathartic, carried off these disagreeable symptoms. The people no doubt frequently err, by using this medicine when too much inflammation exists.

TOOTH-ACH. Pain of the jaw, decay of the teeth, and tooth-ach, are common here, but by no means so frequent as in some of the states. According to Dr. Hazletine, these diseases constitute an eighth of the morbid affections incident to the inhabitants of the province of Maine.

Dr. Foot, in an ingenious paper, inserted in the Medical Repository, has rendered it highly probable that the undue prevalence of these maladies in the United States, is referrible to the sudden vicissitudes in our climate. The action of septic acid, generated in the mouth, may account for the destruction of the teeth in some particular instances; but it is difficult to believe that the teeth of the inhabitants of a whole country can suffer from that cause. I have seen a fine set of teeth apparently decomposed and very much injured in the course of a year, during which time the person labored under a high degree of dyspepsia, and frequently ejected a very sour liquid. If it be possible for oxalic acid to be generated in a human stomach, it probably was in this case, and in its passage through the mouth effected the decomposition of the teeth.

It frequently happens, that those who have decayed teeth, are seized with pains in the jaws, or some other parts of the face. These pains are often extremely severe. They are not fixed, but attack almost every part of the jaw and sometimes all the teeth in succession; but the most remarkable circumstance is, that the decayed teeth are quite as much and

in some cases more exempt from pain than the rest. The immediate exciting cause of this kind of pain, is exposure to cold; but the agency of the decayed teeth appears manifest, from the impossibility, in many cases, of removing the pain without extracting them. In one instance, the pain, after attacking most parts of the face, at length affected the whole anterior part of the head. The use of snuff, however, soon transferred it to the face again, where it obstinately resisted the application of galvanism and many other stimuli: upon extracting two decayed teeth, in which scarcely the slightest pain had been ever felt, the whole disease instantaneously vanished. In another case, the pain of the face was attended with many of the phenomena of hysteria; and likewise appeared to have a periodical type, recurring many times, in the forenoon. The pulse was weak during the paroxysm. The bark and volatiles afforded considerable relief. A blister was drawn, on the neck: it moderated the pain of the face, but became affected itself with a most insupportable sensation, which was likened to the action of needles or of animalculæ in the flesh, and at the same time it became very much inflamed.

There can be no doubt but that, as Dr. Darwin has asserted, this pain of the membranes which invest the jaws and alveoli, contributes to the destruction of the sound teeth; and therefore those teeth which are already decayed should be extracted as soon as any pain in the face is felt.

EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

Concerning these diseases but little will be said. They are, Measles, Mumps, Hooping-Cough, Angina maligna, Scarlatina anginosa, and Influenza.

It is not pretended that these affections can, properly, be grouped together; and by most physicians, the following superficial reasons for this arrangement will be deemed wholly insufficient:—They are seldom or never sporadic, but when they occur, it is almost invariably in an epidemic form; and as they do not appear to have the same origin with our miasmatic endemics, which are either local or general, according to the extent of their causes, they cannot be ranked with that tribe. Thus they have some agreement in cause. In their symptoms, although it have not been generally remarked, there is also some loose analogy. They all affect the throat and lungs chiefly. But in the type of the fever, which accompanies them, the similitude fails, for

some are generally attended with synocha, and others as continually with typhus. How they are arranged, however, in this series of memoranda, is a matter of little moment.

MEASLES. This disease has occasionally prevailed here, but not having seen many cases of it, I am unable to say whether its symptoms have exhibited any peculiarities. It does not appear to have proven fatal in any instance at this place.

MUMPS has also prevailed in Cincinnati and the adjoining country several times. In the year 1807, it was more general than at any other period. A few cases of its retrocession then occurred. In one instance of that kind, blood-letting, cathartics, and saturnine applications to the sympathetic tumour, which was large, were of very essential service.

HOOPING COUGH has affected the children of this part of the country more than either of the preceding diseases. For several years, indeed, it appears never to have been extinct in every section of this part of the state. In its symptoms nothing very peculiar has been observed, except that during the state of atmosphere which produces croup, the hooping-cough has sometimes assumed or counterfeited the phenomena of that disease. When medical aid has been applied for, emetics and cathartics, with the subsequent use of expectorants, tonics, and the cold bath, have generally been found sufficient. In one case, blood-letting appeared of decided advantage. A sweetened decoction of colts-foot or wild ginger (*tussillago*) is a popular remedy here, as in other parts of the United States. The precise value of this medicine appears to remain yet to be ascertained.

ANGINA MALIGNA & SCARLATINA ANGINOSA. The former of these diseases had an extensive and fatal prevalence in this country 18 or 20 years ago. It does not appear to have been epidemic since. The latter probably never has prevailed generally here. Within two years, however, there has been at this place a tendency to both these diseases. Within that period, a few bad cases, and a considerable number of very mild ones, more especially of the former disease, have occurred. It would seem as though their cause or causes were or had been among us, but in a state too diluted or unformed, to excite an extensive or fatal epidemic.

In the course of this constitution, cases of sore mouth have been common. Small blisters, ulcers and redness of the tongue, gums and inside of the lips and cheeks, with a bur-

ning sensation in those parts, were the usual symptoms. They were probably produced by such a gentle action of the cause of scarlatina, as was conjectured to produce the sub-maxillary abscesses mentioned by Dr. Rush.

In the treatment of these affections, Dr. Allison, Dr. Sellman and myself pursued nearly the same course. Emetics, calomel, and the bark, with blisters, mercurial frictions, and emollients externally to the throat; and astringent, alkaline, saline and pungent gargarisms, were the remedies generally employed. They were attended with considerable, but not invariable success—a few cases of the angina maligna proving fatal. In the smarting and blistered mouth, Dr. Sellman found magnesia alba a serviceable remedy. He conceived that the contents of the stomach were in a state of morbid acidity, and that the affection of the mouth was thereby aggravated. In a few cases, the stimulating gargle recommended by Dr. Farquhar, was employed, but not with the advantage experienced by him in the West Indies.

For six months past, few or no cases of these diseases have presented themselves.

INFLUENZA. The few remarks which follow, relate entirely to this disease, as it appeared in 1807. Cases of it occurred in town the two or three last days of September; but it was not general before the 5th or 6th of October. On the 29th and 30th of September, a great proportion of a regiment of militia, which was encamped in the open air, about seven miles from town, became affected. The dust and smoke and night air to which they were exposed, probably acted as exciting causes. This disease affected adults chiefly, but not exclusively. In a great number of its subjects, it was so mild as not to require any medicine. Intermittents which were prevalent at the time of its appearance, immediately declined, and it was soon left almost the only disease. During its reign, a sudden diminution of atmospheric temperature effected the supervention of pneumonic inflammation in several persons. These cases as well as many others, were attended with a very redundant secretion and excretion of bilious matter. The pulse was synocha, and they required copious blood-letting, with all the remedies generally employed in bilious pleurisies. In one of these cases, an ague which had left the patient just before the attack of influenza, returned for three successive days: but unequivocal signs of pulmonary inflammation existing, copious blood-letting, blistering and the antiphlogistic regimen were

employed. To this treatment the combination yielded, and abortion was prevented, though the period of gestation had more than half elapsed. But these compound cases were not the only ones in which bloodletting was advantageously employed. Whenever the pulse was excessive, the loss of blood was found to afford great relief. Emetics, cathartics, and febrifuges were likewise employed with considerable advantage. After the excess of morbid action had subsided, and in those who experienced no excess, gentle anodynes and stimulants were found of great service. In some persons a troublesome cough continued for many weeks after the other symptoms of the disease had subsided, and did not appear to be much affected by any of the common remedies for that complaint. It proved fatal to few or none. About the first of November, the disease began to occur more seldom, and was entirely gone by the middle of that month. After its disappearance, the town was very healthy.

The influence of this epidemic on the pulmonary diseases which have preceded it, has been already mentioned.

The equinoctial storms of the ensuing spring were unusually violent, and the temperature was low. Immediately after the equinox, a catarrhal affection, but little inferior to the influenza, in its violence and the numbers that were affected with it, appeared in this town and the adjoining country.

MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS.

The ITCH (*Psora*) or cutaneous affections nearly resembling it, are remarkably common in many parts of this country. They are ascribed by some to the water, but the cause of their general prevalence does not yet appear to be ascertained. They are treated by the people, with the different mercurial preparations, and in most cases with success; but sometimes they prove very obstinate. Occasionally these affections are in all probability attended with a scorbutic diathesis.

The *Lepra Grecorum*, now and then presents itself, generating, in its usual manner, immense quantities of large branny scales. I have observed it not to affect, at least in any considerable degree, those parts of the body that are uncovered. Venesection, cathartics, and low diet, with the subsequent and long continued use of mercury or arsenic, will generally effect a cure.

An affection, called by the people, catarrh, or guttarr, now and then presents itself. It is a deep seated farunculus

of the joint that connects some one of the fingers with its metacarpel bone. It appears oftenest to attack the ring finger. Stimulating poultices and a free vent for the pus, produce a cure very readily.

A few cases of mortified gums, in children, have been observed. The first that presented itself was attended with a depraved state of the primae viae, and a moderate fever, inclining to the typhoid character. A great variety of astringents and stimulants was applied to the sphacelated parts, without arresting the progress of the disease. At length I discovered that the silver spoon, with which the mouth was examined, was tarnished by the action of an acid, which must necessarily have been the septic. I directed a solution of carbonate of potash, which in a short time produced a cure. The same application has been since made, in similar cases, with corresponding success. Since the occurrence of that case, I have read Dr. Harrison's paper on the diseases of Chillicothe, and find that cases of the same disease have occurred at that place, and were treated by him in the same way, with the best effect.

The Goitre is an endemic of some of the N. E. portions of this state, but it is not known here. The Scrophula, Rickets, and Scurvy, are very rare diseases. Canine madness has not been epidemic for many years, and Hydrophobia has not been observed to occur as a symptom of any of our other diseases. Insanity seldom presents itself; but the protean disease, Hysteria, is frequently met with. Hydrocephalus internus but seldom occurs. Tetanus is rarer still. But one case has occurred here for many years. It was produced by a wound in the hand. It proved fatal in less than three days after the spasms came on; probably from their extending to the muscles of the glottis. Cancers occasionally occur with their usual fatality. Calculus, Arthritis and Apoplexy, are rare diseases. Dropsies are more common, but generally appear only as one of the consequences of intermitting fever.

No bill of mortality has yet been kept in this place.

ERRATUM.—Where "OPHTHALMIA" occurs, read OPTHALMIA.



APPENDIX.

I. "*Columbo Root.*"

In different parts of the western country, a bitter root, said to be the officinal columba, has excited considerable attention. In 1805, upon presenting that great botanist, professor Barton, with a specimen of it, he informed me that it was the root of the *Frassera Carolinensis* of Walter; the *Frassera Walteri* of Michaux. I have not been so fortunate as to obtain the works of those botanists, but the authority of the professor is unquestionable. The plant therefore is not a nondescript, as has been said. It however does not appear to be recognized in Turton's edition of the *Systema Naturae*.

It is sometimes found pentandrous, at other times tetrandrous, always monogynous. The stamina are erect, the antherae are deeply cut longitudinally, on both sides, and fixed obliquely. The style is simple, erect, and longer than the corolla, the stigma is somewhat bilobed. The calyx consists, when the plant is tetrandrous of four, when it is pentandrous of five, ovato-lanceolate, permanent leaves. The corolla has 4 or 5 lanceolate petals; with a nectariferous? radiated spot of bristles in the centre of the superior surface of each.* The stem (caulis) is from 2 to 7 feet high, smooth and straight. The cauline leaves are verticillate, glabrous, lanceolate, and from 4 to 8 in number. The radical ones of the same form. The branches are axillary, as numerous as the leaves of the whorl from whence they rise: they incline upwards, and send out opposite, axillary, one-flowered peduncles. The root of the young plant is fusiform and branching, of the old, tuberous and irregular. It is *said* to be triennial: it certainly is not annual. It is chiefly found in thin soils, among oak timber, or in prairies surrounded by that timber. I have never seen it in *fertile woodlands*. It flowers from the 25th of May to the 20th of June.

Every part of the plant is bitter, but the root is generally chosen for medicinal purposes. Dr. J. Canby, and others, inform me, that they have found it, more especially in its recent state, to possess considerable laxative power.

It gives out its bitterness both to aqueous and alcoholic menstrua, but more fully to the latter; the reverse of which

* Whether this be a specific or generic character, I do not know.

II

is the case with the colomba. Its spiritous tincture also suffers decomposition, upon the addition of water, indicating that it contains resin, which the colomba does not. And the addition of decoction, or alcohol of galls, to its watery and spiritous infusion, caused no precipitate of cinchonin, the principal constituent of colomba.

Hence it appears to be essentially distinct from the substance to whose name it probably owes a portion of its reputation. It is, however, a medicine unquestionably entitled to attention,* and will no doubt be found equal, and possibly superior to most of our other indigenous bitters.

II. *New Disease.*

In the spring of 1809, Dr. Barbee, of Virginia, on returning from a visit to the Madriver country, in this state, gave me some information concerning a new and formidable disease which had appeared among the settlers of that tract. Since that time, I have been able to collect several additional facts respecting it, from different persons, more especially Mr. William Snodgrass, and Mr. John M'Kag, two intelligent and respectable inhabitants of that country, who have several times, experienced the disease in their persons and families. A summary of the whole, is here given, that physicians may determine how far it deserves the appellation of a new disease.

It almost invariably commences with general weakness and lassitude, which increase in the most gradual manner. About the same time, or soon after, a dull pain, or rather soreness, begins to affect the calves of the legs, occasionally extending up to the thighs. The appetite becomes rather impaired, and in some cases nearly suspended; sensations of a disagreeable kind affecting the stomach: upon taking a little food, however, a greater disposition for it is generated, and more agreeable feelings are introduced throughout the whole system. Intestinal constipation in this, as in all the subsequent periods of the disease, exists in a very high degree. A strong propensity to sleep occurs, and according to Dr. Barbee, the pulse is "full, frequent, round, and *somewhat* tense, but regular." During this stage, exercise of any kind is highly detrimental, and if persisted in,

* See Barton's Collections and Journal.

soon induces loathing and nausea at the stomach. If the patient repose, upon first experiencing these symptoms, they generally cease, and he is allowed a longer exemption from the *vomiting* that awaits him. Sooner or later, however, that symptom almost invariably succeeds the predisposition we have described, and either proves fatal in 1, 2, 3 or more days, or leaves the patient in a most exhausted state, from which he recovers only to sustain, at no distant period, a repetition of the same attack.

The matter ejected is sometimes bilious, but much oftener sour, and so acrid, that its action on the throat, in one case, (which proved fatal) was likened to that of boiling water. Towards the close of mortal cases, it is occasionally very dark colored so that it has been compared to that very convenient and fashionable object of similitude—coffee-grounds. At this time the intestinal constipation is very great: Mr. Snodgrass knew one patient in whom it continued for 9 days, throughout which he took no food whatever, and vomited during six of them. After such an attack, the propensity for sleep is destroyed, and an uncommon degree of watchfulness is produced. The patient remains languid, and his face and person generally become rather tumid. His skin is cool, palish, and frequently affected with clamminess. He has a disagreeable burning sensation in his stomach, and hot eructations are very troublesome. The thirst is considerable. The breath is peculiarly disgusting, even loathsome. The appetite is generally poor; and the inclination to costiveness remains. These symptoms often continue for several months, during which the patient experiences frequent returns of the vomiting. But at length, more especially upon the approach of winter, they gradually wear away, leaving the patient considerably worse than they found him, and liable to a fresh attack the ensuing summer.

Nothing like *regular* periodical exacerbations is observable in this disease; no chilliness occurs; the color of the skin and eyes does not deviate widely from that of health, and gives no striking indication of bile; there is no pain in the region of the liver, nor in the shoulder; it does not terminate in dropsy; nor are there any symptoms which bespeak it a disguised or anomalous intermittent. It however prevails (though not exclusively) in aguish situations, and intermitting diseases are thought to have declined since its appearance.

It affects all ages, conditions, and both sexes, indiscriminately; except probably very young children. They how-

IV

ever are not wholly exempt from it. Emigrants are not peculiarly liable to it. It was first observed in the summer of 1806, and is thought annually to extend its geographical range, and to become more intense. It sometimes commences in July or before, but oftener in August, and continues till the approach of winter, when it generally, but not always subsides.

The cure of this disease seems hitherto to have been left chiefly to the people, who have not yet discovered any certain method. Purging was a remedy that naturally suggested itself; and by some it has been thought very serviceable, more especially when effected by aloes; but others assert that they have frequently known a cathartic to increase the vomiting, and therefore rely more on enemata. All agree however, that the intestinal obstructions are to be overcome; and that the less the means made use of, affect the stomach, the better. Vomits evidently do harm. Blisters to the gastric region are considered the most efficient remedy. Tonics have been used, but no great benefit appeared to arise from them. Wine and salted meats, however, have appeared to do good, and are relished beyond any thing else. Indeed, eating a little frequently, whether an inclination exist or not, has been found a good palliative: It relieves the stomach from the knawing which so perpetually exists. Alkaline lye has been used in one case: it gave some temporary relief, but not more than almost any other substance which might be received into the stomach. Bleeding has occasionally been resorted to, but with doubtful advantage. Ardent spirit appears to render the disease worse: It is not however, much sought after, all inclination for it, generally being destroyed. Tea and coffee, also, with several other articles of diet, which were agreeable before the disease, are in many cases disliked for a long time after.

This disease is unequivocally observed to affect four domestic animals: the horse, the cow, the sheep, and the dog. It is often fatal to the two former; but not so fatal to the latter. It as frequently attacks horses in the winter as summer, and sometimes kills them in 24 hours.

It prevails chiefly in the neighborhood of Staunton on the Great Miami, and in the country south of Madriver, between Dayton and Springfield. In those tracts, ponds and marshes occasionally occur, more especially in the former. The soil and water are calcareous. The timber generally oak.

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(Box 134)

The Society

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the Historical and Philosophical
Society of Ohio**

C I N C I N N A T I O H I O

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JULY-SEPTEMBER

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Selections from the Torrence Papers, IV

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Selections from the Torrence Papers, IV

THE POLITICAL AND PERSONAL CAREER OF WILLIAM HENRY
HARRISON FROM 1830 TO 1841, AS ILLUSTRATED
BY THE FINDLAY LETTERS.

FOREWORD.

The present number of this QUARTERLY continues the letters published in *Volume II, No. 3*. Although the main subject mentioned in these letters is the varying political fortune of General Harrison, yet many of the earlier letters touch upon intimate personal and family matters, while the later ones are chiefly concerned with the hopes of would-be office-holders or their friends and relatives—hopes which, unfortunately for them, his early death rendered void. The chief purpose in publishing many of these letters is to show that distressing financial and family complications did not destroy General Harrison's "availability" as a presidential candidate; nor did this same quality protect him and the inmates of his household from the importunities of those who felt the force or were influenced by the example of the spoils system established under his immediate predecessors.

The career of few individuals in American politics exhibits a greater contrast than does that of General Harrison, as shown by the first ten of the following letters and by the next seven. And this contrast is all the more marked when one peruses those that close the list. From the depths of misfortune, for which he personally is not responsible, to the highest office within the gift of the American people, constitutes a step that far more talented men were unable to take. Although he evinced no great genius to match his remarkable success, his career exhibits a series of important duties, well done if not brilliantly executed, while his sterling integrity and homely sense of honor deepen the popular impression of regret caused by his unexpected demise.

In the preparation of this material I have profited from the assistance of Miss L. Belle Hamlin and Mr. Earl F. Colburn, to whom I gladly make this acknowledgment.

I. J. C.

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I.

E. HULSE TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 11, No. 61.]

CINCINNATI, FEBY. 24, 1830.

GEN[ERA]L FINDLAY,

Sir,—I wish to apprise you of the movements in this section of our country in regard to politics.

At this time much is said about the recent trial in Congress to enquire into the expediency of altering the Tariff¹ and all parties appear to be well pleased with the course pursued by our Delegation on that subject. But Sir much is said concerning our next Congressman. Who he shall be? R. T. Lytle, J. S. Benham, and N. G. Pendleton² are all talked of, but We find opinions are various as faces on that subject and believing you to be the person Who Will unite the greatest number of Electors We have Dared to state that if Gen[era]l Findlay Was elected he Would again serve.³ Now We wish you to answer this Communication Immediately, and if it meets with your approbation We shall be pleased and as far as We can at this time Discover Shall meet with success.

You may think perhaps we are premature, but all parties appear to be on the alert, and procrastination is always Dangerous. Therefore have adopted this policy, We believing it best.

General Harrison is spoken of as our next Governor⁴ and Will probably, if he should think proper to run, be elected as certainly he

¹ Cf. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, VI, 37-40.

² For Lytle and Benham Cf. *Quarterly* II, 10, 28-29. N. G. Pendleton had previously served as aid-de-camp to Governor Jeremiah Morrow, had been a candidate for the State Legislature, and was later a member of Congress. Cf. "*The Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly*," IX, 131; X, 318, 332.

³ James Findlay was re-elected this year, but by a narrow plurality over Benham, receiving fewer votes in the city than his opponent. Cf. *Niles' Register*, XXXIX, 138.

⁴ In December of this same year Morgan Neville writes (*Quarterly* II, 261) that "Harrison is coming out for the Senate heavy. If both parties are in doubt as to their superiority, he may succeed. I have just written a sketch of his life, but I doubt the propriety of his publishing it." In *Niles' Register* (XXXIX, 187), he is reported as one of the four persons who are candidates for the Senate from Ohio. Financial difficulties, coupled with distressing family complications, effectually stemmed any political ambition for the next few years.

will obtain the votes in this part of the State. I have no News. We enjoy good health (here) and (in) the country in our vicinity; please answer this as soon as convenient, and believe me yours, with the greatest Esteem

II.

LEWIS WHITEMAN TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 27, No. 16.]

CINCINNATI, APRIL 25, 1830.

.....
General Harrison and herself [Jane Findlay Harrison] came up on a steamboat, on Tuesday last and remained with us until Thursday. William arrived the same day on horseback.

The object of the General's visit was to make arrangements with his creditors, and as far as possible to relieve himself from embarrassment, and also to satisfy William's creditors. The latter object seems to interest him much more than the former. I do hope he will have it in his power to do both, and the General himself is highly flattered with his prospect of accomplishing both objects, without great difficulty. He is however of a sanguine temperament, and what would, to most men, seem insurmountable difficulties, that they would yield [to] and sink under, would to the General, be disposed of very easily.

It may be considered a happy circumstance that he is possessed of this disposition. Were it the reverse, he could not be otherwise than miserably unhappy.⁵ The general came up yesterday, on business, and has just left for home. I presume he will return in a few days, as his friends are about getting up a Public Dinner⁶ for him. I mean his personal not political friends, for I understand there are as many Jacksonian contributors, as of any other faith.

⁵ Mrs. Scott Harrison had died a few months before (Box 27, No. 13): and his son William was just recovering from a serious illness brought on by his unfortunate personal habits (Box 27, No. 2). Moreover this son was planning against his father's wishes to abandon the legal profession.

⁶ On the same day L. Whiteman had already written (Box 27, No. 13) that "a public dinner to General Harrison is in agitation and I hope it will be given. To him it would *at any time* be gratifying—at this time peculiarly so." Later Mr. Whiteman writes on May 10 that "The citizens of this place [Cincinnati] gave General Harrison a dinner last week—all went off well The General had good reason to be pleased." Harrison had already published a pamphlet, summarized in *Niles' Register* XXXVIII, 121, defending his course in Columbia; and in August, at a dinner given in his honor, at Madison, Indiana, repeated portions of this defense and touched upon the political issues of the day. The society has a copy of this pamphlet.

III.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 57.]

NORTH BEND, 16TH MAY, 1830.

Dear Gen[era]l.

I am fearful that y[ou]r House will find so much to occupy it of a more important character that my little bill⁷ will be passed over—a circumstance productive of much inconvenience to me. I have written to Messrs McDuffie and Archer⁸ desiring them to get my claim tacked on to another bill so that it may be passed. I wish you to attend to it. Speak to Colo[nel] Johnson [?] and Mr. Carson of North Carolina. They will give their aid most willingly. If it gets through the House put my friends in the Senate upon the alert also. The family is in tolerable health. William is quite well. My respects to Mrs. Findlay.

IV.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 59.]

NORTHBEND, 7TH DEC., 1830.

Dear General

The morning that I left you I barely got down [in] time enough to see my beloved son⁹ expire. It almost broke my heart. And never did a house exhibit a scene of greater distress. Never was a man taken away whose life was more necessary to his family. Mother and Daughter both in bad health and of the six orphan children, four ill. They are now all very much better but with that exception, their circumstances present a worse appearance than they did at the time of

⁷ Possibly this "little bill," was his account of return expenses from Colombia. He had expected to return in the public vessel that conveyed his Jacksonian successor, Moore, to the field of his mission, but through some misunderstanding, he had to return at his own expense.

⁸ George McDuffie, member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina; William Archer was from Virginia.

⁹ His oldest son John Cleves Symmes Harrison, born in 1798. Cf. *Quarterly* II, 108. At the time of his death he was evidently living with his mother-in-law, Mrs. Z. M. Pike, in Boone County, Kentucky. Cf. also Box 10, No. 10.

Symmes' death. The suit for the whole property (Mrs. Pike's¹⁰) was not determined in consequence of the resignation of the Judge but as he had the case under advisement and had sufficient time to make up his opinion I fear his not doing it proceeded from an unwillingness to decide against Mrs. Pike. If the decision should be adverse to her, as they have, you know, not another friend in the world to afford them existence, their future support must be derived from me. It is however not the trouble or the expense which I fear but the apprehension that my utmost exertions to provide for the great number which are dependent upon me will be ineffectual. I was ruminating on this subject the day before yesterday when I was served with a summons to answer at Columbus *within the present month* to a claim of the U[nited] S[tates] against me as security of my second son of \$12,803 $\frac{4}{10}$. I suppose an other is gone to Vincennes or to the Marshal of Kentucky to be served upon his representatives. The above sum is the supposed amount of his defalcation. I saw a statement of the amount last Spring taken from the books of the Treasury; it was then about \$10000 and a credit was added of about \$2000 for a subsequent deposit. So that it appears that they have not only refused to allow the items claimed by Symmes—one of which Mr. Graham¹¹ told me was established to his satisfaction, but they must have disallowed some that had been passed. After reflecting upon the subject I have determined that it will be proper for the widow to petition Congress to be allowed those rejected items and for relief generally. Surely the Representatives of this just and generous Nation will listen with favor to the petition of the only child¹² of their favorite hero who after a life devoted to their service shed his last drop of blood in the defence of their rights, but who left to his orphan no inheritance but his claim upon his country's gratitude. I recollect that after the defeat of my bill for extending the pensions in the year 1818¹³ several

¹⁰ Widow of General Zebulon Montgomery Pike, and daughter of Senator John Brown of Kentucky. Concerning her Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison, wife of W. H. Harrison, Jr., writes (Box 10, No. 10): "Poor Mrs. Pike, how I do pity her. She has all the care of the family and having no one to attend to her negroes they give her a good deal of trouble."

¹¹ George Graham, of Virginia, then Commissioner of the General Land Office.

¹² This was General Pike's daughter, Clarissa, who had married J. C. S. Harrison. Of her Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison writes: "Clarissa appears better since his death. I am in hopes it will arouse her to attend to her house and family."

¹³ For House debate with Harrison's speech on this occasion Cf. *Annals 15th Cong., and Sess.*, Vol. I, pp. 376-387, 393-397. The bill passed the House, but

members who opposed the bill wished me to bring in one for the relief of Mrs. Pike alone, but I would not. And last spring one of the Georgia members told me that his State would sanction almost anything for the benefit of Pike's representatives. I will forward the petition on Friday to Colonel [Richard M.] Johnson because I know he will undertake it willingly and because Symmes was one of his constituents when he died. There is considerable difficulty in drawing the petition because I do not know the items which Symmes claimed and which were rejected. We shall therefore have to refer to a copy of his account to be procured from the Commissioner's office. I have written to Mr. Hendricks¹⁴ and requested him to go with you to procure it and have it ready against the arrival of the petition which will not be longer than two days behind this letter. Unless the petition is presented soon the bill will not have time to get through before next session and ruin will come upon the whole family, for at a forced sale it will take all that we are worth to pay the am[oun]t. now claimed. Perhaps a suggestion from you and Colo[nel] Johnson might induce Mr. Ingham¹⁵ to stop the suit until it was ascertained whether Congress would do anything or not. I could not ask such a favour after the harshness of his late proceedings against me. Inconvenient as it is for me to leave home I am determined to go on to Washington in two or three weeks.¹⁶ We are all as well as usual Clarissa and myself (with Jane)¹⁷ went to Boone Court yesterday and administered upon Symmes estate.

failed in the Senate. Under the date of December 16, 1818, Harrison himself wrote concerning it (Box 10, No. 55), "The bill for continuing for five years longer the pensions granted to the widows and orphans of the officers of the regular army and the officers and soldiers of the militia, who died or were killed in the late war, passed this House yesterday by a majority of three. We had a long and pretty warm debate on the subject."

¹⁴ William Hendricks, Senator from Indiana.

¹⁵ Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, then Secretary of the Treasury.

¹⁶ Under date of January 1, 1831, Lewis Whiteman writes to James Findlay (Box 27, No. 18), "General Harrison is in town and I understand is to leave to-day for Washington per steamboat. Business of his deceased son Symmes, I understand, takes him to Washington."

¹⁷ Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison, wife of his second son, William Henry Harrison, Jr. She was the niece of Mrs. James Findlay, and afterwards acted as mistress of the White House during her father-in-law's brief residence there.

V.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 25.]

NORTH BEND, MARCH 21ST, 1832.

My d[ea]r General,

You know us all too well not to know how sincerely we sympathized with you in your late affliction, and how fervently we prayed for your recovery. It was indeed to some of us a mournful period; you we well knew were lying dangerously ill, and my father has been for a long time also dangerously ill.¹⁸ He has thank God so far recovered to be able to ride out and is rapidly recovering his strength and spirits. The illness of the two best friends of my family and myself was calculated to make us all feel as unhappy as we well could be.

You have seen some accounts of the disasters and misfortunes brought upon us by the late floods. All the fences and a great many of the houses on the lower bottoms of the Ohio and Miami Rivers were swept away. It was about four feet higher than the flood of 1815, and Judge Watson says, three feet higher than the flood of 1793.¹⁹ All of us who own lands on the margin of the Ohio are busily engaged in rebuilding our fences. I have mine nearly completed. My father will have his done in ten days or two weeks. Mr. Short *swears* he will move to the top of the Andes or take refuge in Noah's Ark or the summit of *Mount Arrarat*. Jestng aside the River really looked like a Mediteranean sea. None of us, thank God, were drowned, but the loss of property, the injury to dwellings, the necessity of thousands of people being compelled to fly to their higher neighbors, produced a scene of misery and devastation, the like of which I never wish to see again. Scott²⁰ has not yet returned from New Orleans. He started when the flood was at its height. Mrs. Sloo and Nancy Torrence²¹ will we think return with him.

¹⁸ The letters of Lewis Whiteman (Box 27, Nos. 25 and 26) also mention the illness of General Harrison.

¹⁹ For an account of these floods, Cf. Greve; *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, I, 343, 586.

²⁰ His younger brother John Scott Harrison.

²¹ Wife of Thomas Sloo, Jr., of Shawneetown, Ill.; Nancy Torrence was the daughter of George P. Torrence and was returning from a visit to New Orleans. Mrs. Rebecca Findlay Sloo was the daughter of John Findlay of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and sister of Mrs. George P. Torrence.

VI.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 26.]

CINCINNATI, MAY 22ND, 1832.

My dear General,

I found the enclosed letter in the post-office on my arrival in town. You will please give it to my father, or in case he has left the city forward where you think he will receive it. I suppose he requested Scott to send it to him, and that he had left here before its arrival. It is a letter from Gov[enor] Cass notifying him of his appointment²³ etc. Please inform my father that in obedience to his request I am very busily engaged in the memorial he wishes to present to the Bank Directors at Phila[delphia].²³ My family are all well. The boys as well as their Papa and Mama, look anxiously for the return of their d[ea]r Uncle and Aunt. We have no news—the weather is cold, the crops of corn remarkably backward. Many fields have been replanted, and if we have not more favourable weather shortly, the second planting will rot. Old Mrs. Bailey, the mother of Andrew, died a few days ago. Give my love to Mrs. Findlay and receive for yourself the assurances of my filial attachment.

W. H. Harrison, Jr.

Genl Findlay.

P. S. The *reign of terror*²⁴ seems really to have commenced at Washington. Shall I forward on to you your *sabre* and *pistols*. If necessary I will use them for you!

W. H. H. jr.

²³ Cass as Secretary of War had appointed Harrison on the annual board of visitors to West Point.

²³ This was in reference to the matter mentioned on page 78. About a month later he writes Mrs. Findlay (Box 10, No. 27) stating that they had received no word about General Harrison's health and expressing solicitude about his health which was precarious when he left Cincinnati.

²⁴ Possibly a reference to the tariff discussion and the ensuing nullification movement. Cf. Niles XLII, *passim*.

VII.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 28.]

NORTH BEND, JULY 4TH, 1832.

My d[ea]r General,

I received by the last mail your favour of the 24th ult[i]mo. I need not assure you how sincerely glad we all were to hear of the improvement of *your* health, and that our d[ea]r Aunt had kept up both health and spirits, during your long indisposition. God knows, that with the exception of my father, mother and wife, there are no two elderly persons to whom I am so sincerely and affectionately attached. * * * * * My mother and the rest who are on the sick list, are off the doctor's roll. Will not the dread of cholera induce Congress to adjourn, even if the Tariff and the Bank Questions are not disposed of? Apropos of cholera—I have just had an elegant bath-house erected in the small building that you know stood near our dwelling house. Will not this be as beneficial for you as the mountains of Pennsylvania or Virginia? Since I wrote to Mrs. Findlay we have had no rain, the prospect is really gloomy. With one exception I have not seen a single field of corn higher than a man's knee. You know at this time it is generally as high as a man's head. We have a parched earth and a brazen sky. What is to become of us, God only knows. The Farmers are in despair; our only resource for stock will be in the hay, which is generally light, and for man's food, we must look to our wheat, which is generally good.²⁵ I am afraid our Jackson friends (the hogs) will share badly this season. Our friend Co[lone]l W[illia]m Clark²⁶ of White Water Township, died the day before yesterday. He was truly an honest and worthy man. His friend and neighbour old Isaac Swearngen died a few weeks before him.

Is there any probability of an amicable adjustment of the Tariff? I am really apprehensive of the issue—not on my own account but on that of my children. Born and raised a freeman, and my ancestors having contributed freely, and risked much to gain, maintain, and support our happy government, I feel an indignation I cannot express

²⁵ Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison wrote a few days afterwards, "We will expect Pa (General Harrison) the last of this week—his presence is very much needed.

²⁶ Not the companion of Meriwether Lewis in the famous trip across the continent. Cf. Coues; *History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, I, LXXXIX.

against those who are for raising the standard of *Nullification*, which I consider a decent term for rebellion and treason. Should the South really rebel—I will thank you to recommend me to the President as a fit and proper person to command a Regiment of volunteers from this part of the country. I will guarantee that in one month from the time we march, I will ride through the streets of Charleston.²⁷

I have spent this 4th of July like a gentlemen, making hay. Please remember me in the warmest terms to my friend Corwin.²⁸ Give my love to Mrs. Findlay and believe me

D[ea]r Gen[era]l y[ou]rs affectionately,

W. H. Harrison, Jr.

P. S.—Would it not be a good provision in the Bank Charter, that they should not withdraw any Branch without a year's notice? You know how you and other friends were treated by the old Branch in Cincinnati.²⁹

W. H. H. Jr.

5th July—My mother rec[eive]d today a letter from my father of the 24th of last month from Phila[delphia]. I suppose he is about this time with you.

VIII.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 62.]

NORTH BEND 2ND DECR, 1832.

Dear General,

My Nephew, Benjamin Harrison, came to visit me some time ago and left a gold sleeve button which is herewith enclosed. Will you have the goodness to reinclose it directed to B. H. of Berkeley to the office at Charles City Court house, V[irgini]a.

I am sorry to tell you that there is no hope of William's³⁰ reformation if he remains here, and I know of no place where he could be

²⁷ This is certainly bombastic in tone, when one considers the writer, and that his grandfather, Benjamin Harrison had opposed the adoption of the constitution; but it is doubtless typical of western sentiment at that time. Cf. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, 319, 320, 323.

²⁸ Thomas Corwin, of Lebanon, then serving in the lower house of Congress from Ohio.

²⁹ For conditions in Ohio during the panic of 1819, Cf. McMaster IV, 487, 488.

³⁰ The General's second son, William Henry Harrison Jr., (1802-1838). The latter's wife writes [Box 10, No. 13] that financial troubles partially account for his lack of self-control. Her brother I. R. Irwin, some three years before had written

out of the reach of the temptation but in one of our remote posts on the frontiers. I think I could prevail on him to go to one of them and remain ten or twelve months. I would sell anything I have to raise the money for his journey. Will you procure and send me a list of the officers who command the posts on the waters of the upper Mississippi so that I may select one to whom I am either known or can procure an introduction to and I would accompany him to St. Louis.

To the distress produced by the destruction of my hopes in relation to two of my sons, is added that of increasingly embarrassed circumstances. Scotts³¹ exertions and my own were barely sufficient to maintain the great number who are dependent upon us. We have done a good deal this year with the farm considering the injury we sustained from the high water of the Spring but still we fall behindhand. Scott went up to pay our taxes for the present year last Friday but the money he took with him for the purpose was not sufficient and we are at our wits end to find the means of raising it without going into the hands of the usurer and I believe it cannot be got of them at less than the rate of 50 per centum per annum. I borrowed \$220 of one of them when I went on to Westpoint in May³² and altho I pay the interest regularly (3 per cent a month) he is clamor-

to James Findlay, who had married his aunt, "I had heard through Uncle James Ramsey the cheering hopes of William's recovery, not only in health, but from a habit more loathsome than infectious disease, and my heart beat with a joy it has not known before since I heard of his aberration. It seemed to me so hard that my darling sister on her first starting through life should have her prospects so sadly marred by one so closely bound to her; and by an indulgence in habits that are as disgusting to me as infamy. I hope it may all be well." Young Harrison was a graduate of Transylvania University, and really seems to have been a talented man with excellent prospects of success as a lawyer and public speaker. In 1830 he was anxious to become prosecuting attorney for the County, [Cf. Box 10, No. 10] but his weakness forced him to abandon the profession and take up farming, but without avail. Five years later a visitor reports no improvement in his condition [Box 27, No. 40] and in 1838 the inevitable end came. His widow was the mistress of the White House during General Harrison's brief term, and later married Lewis Whiteman.

³¹ John Scott Harrison, his third son, afterwards a member of the House of Representatives and father of President Benjamin Harrison.

³² General Harrison was appointed by the Secretary of War, General Lewis Cass, one of the board of visitors to West Point. Despite the uncertain state of his health he accepted the honor because it gave him the opportunity to present to the Bank directors in Philadelphia *his side of the claim mentioned below*. Cf. Box 10, Nos. 27 and 60.

ous for the principal. I never felt so much discrepancy in all my life as I have for the last three months.

When I made the sale of the bottom at the mouth of the Miami to the Hayes²⁸ I thought it would be sufficient to clear me out of the bank at least but I was obliged to pay so much of the proceeds for William's debts and some others of my own and the debt which I have to pay for was so much larger than I had expected that it was exhausted, there remains a balance of debt of \$6,000 which I am to provide for and God knows how. I have sold all my land in sections 2 and 3 to pay the Gilmores and there is a balance still due them.

That Scoundrel will not advance a dollar to pay his own debt and laughs at the suit I have commenced against him—being prepared to swear that he is not worth a cent when it is well known that he is doing a most profitable business. I am engaged day and night in forming schemes to extend our business so as to equal our wants but it cannot be done without capital—and that we cannot get. I know of nothing that would be more likely to succeed than the manufacture of Kiln dried Indian Meal. We commenced the drying apparatus last Spring. But water is so scant in Indian creek (more so I believe than formerly) that I concluded not to go to the expense of repairing the old Water Mill. My intention is to convert the Stone distillery into a steam mill as soon as I can get the means of purchasing a small engine sufficient for one pair of stones and having everything but the engine when I can get that we can soon get to work. The crops of corn are very light throughout this whole region. At least one fourth of all that is gathered is too soft to keep.

But this is a partial evil compared to the prospects which our political situation presents. In this your last session you will have perhaps to decide upon questions of a character more momentous than any that have been presented to the body of which you are a member.

²⁸ On December 28, 1830, Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison had written [Box 10, No. 10] "Papa has determined to sell the point—at least the part which lies in Indiana. He is to receive \$21,000 for it—this will relieve him entirely and enable him to relieve William also." In this hope he seems to have been disappointed, for on December first, 1832 she writes concerning her husband: "His father, it seems, can do nothing for him and wishes him to sell his farm. Money is so scarce he probably cannot get a good price, but I am so anxious to see him free that I can agree to part with anything we have to accomplish it."

I am a "looker on" but "a looker on" bitten with intense interest produced by no desire to promote the success of any party line, from the desire to preserve unimpaired the institutions under which we have so long flourished.⁸⁴

When you meet with our friend, Gen[era]l Cass tell him that I congratulate him upon the termination of his Indian War.⁸⁵ It was accomplished with means much less powerful than I should have deemed sufficient for the purpose.

IX.

W. H. HARRISON, JUNIOR, TO JAMES FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 30.]

NORTH BEND, JUNE 18, 1833.

My d[ea]r General,

I send up a letter from John from my father to Mr. Webster.⁸⁶ I was to have taken it but I have given up going. I will thank you to give it to Mr. Webster and inform my father by Mr. Payne, who drives up the carriage, what day he can come down. My father wishes you, Judge Burnet, Mr. Este, and Mr. Leroy to accompany him. He wishes you to come on Wednesday next, but would prefer Thursday, if it will suit you and the gentlemen.

Yours sincerely,

W. H. Harrison, Jr.

P. S. You will of course be expected to dinner the day they come.

⁸⁴ The reference probably is to the Nullification movement in South Carolina. On Feb. 16, 1833, his son William writes [Box 10, No. 29]: "I hope the General [Findlay] will be able to keep his temper and health, during these times of *Nullification* and bombarding from *valourous* sons of South Carolina. I hope, if his division is called out, he will kindly remember a disbanded *veteran* who is residing upon his *estates* about 15 miles below Cincinnati and whose name will be found at the foot of this Epistle."

⁸⁵ The Black Hawk War.

⁸⁶ Webster was then engaged in a tour of the western states, as his biographer Lodge states, "with the terrible prize of the presidency . . . again before his eyes." Cf. *Niles Register*, XLIV, *passim*. For Este and Burnet Cf. *Quarterly* II, 10, 101, 105, 117.

X.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON JR. TO GEORGE P.
TORRENCE.

[Box 10, No. 31.]

NORTH BEND, JUNE 13TH, 1834.

Dear Judge,

I believe I write to you for the first time in my life ; we have frequently quarreled *viva voce*, shall we have a quarrel on paper about politicks? for politicks are "the subject of *my story*." My father having been requested to be a candidate for congress is unable to give a decided answer until in some way or other the sense of the opponents of the administration can be ascertained in a way most likely to enable them to come to a just conclusion as to which of the gentlemen named by the opponents of the adm[inistratio]n stands the best chance of success. Neither my father [n] or his friends wish to forestall public opinion by sending as Brother has *couriers* through the country to trump up small meetings and then *a la mode* Jacksonians say "at large and respectable meetings" etc., was nominated. After Coombs with two aid-de-camps has been through this part of the county to fix upon their fogle-men, their success has not been very flattering so far. The opponents of the adm[inistratio]n, the lukewarm Jacksonians—all indeed who are in opposition to Jackson or Lucas⁸⁷ wish a fair expression of the sentiments of the party for the purpose of beating the Jackson candidate for Congress, and Lucas for Gov[ernor].

The two questions are inseparably connected. The person who votes for Lucas will vote for the Jackson candidate for congress and *vice versa*. Mr. movements can only tend to distract the party. Judge Watson told me a few minutes since that we stood a good chance of succeeding if we brought but one candidate in the field—if more we must be beat. The sudden revulsion in public feeling against the acts of the executive has doubtless been the reason why is a candidate. Why was he not a candidate when a majority of the county was against us? He an untried colt on the political turf could have been beaten without any regret or mortification. To gratify the wishes of the party my father consented to run and was left out.⁸⁸ Mr. was requested to be a candidate

⁸⁷ General Robert Lucas was then serving as governor of the state and was re-elected over James Findlay in the ensuing election.

⁸⁸ This was in 1822 when he was beaten by James W. Gazley.

but—the “signs of the times” did not suit And those who had character and age and reputation had to stand the brunt of a violent political contest to enable the party to whom they belonged to make *show of fight*, whilst those who stood in the background at that time wish now to attain political preferment by movements characterized by as much cunning as Atlanta in dropping her golden balls. I wish you would write me fully and freely on the subject.³⁹

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XI.

SAMUEL B. FINDLAY TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 7, No. 3.]

PHILADELPHIA, SEP. 3, [1835].

GEO. P. TORRENCE ESQR.

Dear Sir: Now for politics. I find there is a very strong interest for the old Gen[era]l in this state⁴⁰ and Maryland. If things

³⁹ Evidently the prospects did not appeal to General Harrison and his supporters, for Bellamy Storer became the candidate of the anti-Jackson forces and was elected. About this time the General became Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas of Hamilton County—an office he retained until his election to the presidency, although the details of the office work were performed by his son-in-law W. H. H. Taylor, who was likewise a cousin of his wife. This appointment evidently eased the financial burdens under which General Harrison had been sinking. (Cf. *Manuscript Journal* of General James Taylor, a copy of which is in possession of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Ky.) A letter from Bellamy Storer to George P. Torrence, (Box 22, No. 29) written shortly before the election of 1840, shows that Harrison was not wholly relieved from minor financial annoyances. That his improved circumstances did, however, react upon his health, even if domestic affairs did not brighten, is shown by a letter from Lewis Whiteman, dated August 7, 1837 (Box 27, No. 40): “The General was in fine spirits and very soon walked me over the most abrupt hills on his farm.”

⁴⁰ Early in 1835 *Niles Register* reports that General Harrison “is much spoken of in some parts of Pennsylvania as a proper person as candidate for President of the United States.” A renewal of attacks upon his military reputation had preceded this (Cf. Box 10, No. 73, and attempts were made by the Democratic press to bring forward Colonel Richard M. Johnson as an opposition hero. Despite these efforts Harrison was nominated for President by a public meeting of the citizens of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, but the former friendship between himself and Colonel Johnson seems to have been broken. (*Niles Register* XLVII, 379). In Maryland his name was joined with that of Tyler. At a New York meeting Mr. Madison’s opinion on the importance of the battle of Tippecanoe was used to extol the “Old Hero,” who now begins to exhibit some traces of General Jackson’s former prestige. An attempt to get Harrison to run as vice-president on the ticket with Webster failed. Brief journeys of Harri-

are managed properly I have no doubt he will be the candidate of the opposition in this State and Uncle Tho[mas] thinks he is the most popular in M[arylan]d and after the Gen[era]l elections they will begin to move. You have no doubt seen that they are beginning to make a stir in N[ew] York⁴¹ and that they are to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of the Thames and invite the Gen[era]l to be present; it is the opinion of some of his friends that he ought not to attend that it would probably have an unfavorable impression.

The politics of this state in relation to Gov[ernor] is all out of joint. It is probable Ritner⁴² will be elected. Some of the whigs who will vote for Wolf⁴³ say if Ritner should be elected, it will tend to unite the *Jackson* or Democratic party upon Van Buren; and the Whigs say there are some who will vote for Muhlie;⁴⁴ say if he be

son along the Ohio River aroused an enthusiasm comparable to that which greeted LaFayette. Indeed, in his speeches the General distinctly assumes the reminiscent vein, with an evident desire to affect the LaFayette pose as well as to avoid dangerous political issues. His course was sufficiently successful to call from the "Globe" the stinging characterization of "General Harrison, the recruiting sergeant for the coalition in Ohio." The Antimason convention of Pennsylvania, in December 1835, despite the opposition of the radicals formally nominated him with Granger of New York as his running mate. Cf. *Report of Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902. Vol. I, 480.

⁴¹ In September Harrison was nominated at Albany, N. Y., by a mass meeting of more than a thousand persons (*Niles* XLIX, 36). The dinner in question, without the General, was held at Niblo's Garden, in N. Y. City, on October 5th (*Ibid*, 133), but the Democrats, not to be outdone, celebrated the occasion by a dinner to Richard M. Johnson, the prospective administration candidate for vice-president, who indirectly attacked his opponent for refusing to declare himself on public questions. The controversy over the real credit for the battle raged so bitterly that Harrison was induced to publish a letter in his own defense. Whereupon the *Richmond Enquirer* quotes (*Niles* XLIX, 141): "He does justice to everyone except Harrison, and the world must therefore do justice to the man who is too modest to be just to himself," and adds, "General Harrison's character has never been paid a finer compliment." On February 22, 1836, he was nominated for President by an Ohio Convention.

⁴² Joseph Ritner was nominated by the Antimasons, with whom the Whigs were in alliance. Ritner was elected by an overwhelming majority.

⁴³ George Wolf, a Jackson Democrat, was then Governor of the State and a candidate for re-election, but had alienated many of his supporters by favoring an extensive canal policy, a public school system, and by opposing the second United States Bank. Moreover, *his friends* were supposed to be opposed to Van Buren.

⁴⁴ So strong were the opposing factions that when, at the State Convention held in March, 1835, Wolf was renominated, they withdrew and nominated Henry A. Muhlenberg, a former minister, and one of the greatest preachers of Pennsylvania. Jackson endeavored to have Muhlenberg withdraw, but in vain. This faction attempted to win over the German Antimasonic vote but failed, although aided by Richard Rush.

electd the Wolf men would desert Van Buren. And Ritner men say, elect him and the state is safe for the opposition and that Genl Harrison is the man to beat Van in this state.

XII.

G. B. TREVOR TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 26, No. 54.]

PHILADELPHIA SEP. 12, 1835.

Dear Sir,

The manner in which Gen[era]l Harrison appears to be making headway in thro the Keystone State is very similar to that in which Gen[era]l Jackson's popularity commenced. Neither the political leaders nor the newspapers appear to be as yet much in his favor but to any person who watches the current of public opinion, it must be very evident that a strong tide is setting in his favor among the great body of the people. I consider him at present, to use a familiar phrase, decidedly the "most available" candidate to defeat Mr. Van Buren and as I am opposed *toto coelo* to the men and measures of the present administration, and to the designated successor, I shall espouse the cause of that man who in my view is likely to defeat the heir apparent. For my own part to be candid about the matter I should prefer Henry Clay to any man in the nation, but as he seems at present to be out of the question, I go distinctly for Gen[era]l Harrison. In the next contest for Governor in this State the Whigs will be victorious. They will elect Ritner by a large majority,⁴⁵ and after that is accomplished, we shall hold meeting here and in the large towns in Penn[sylvani]a to take up Harrison for the Presidency. That we can carry him in Pennsylvani aagainst Van Buren I will not permit myself to doubt. To accomplish this object however we must avail ourselves of all the means within our reach. A thought has occurred to me that it would be a good hit at present to get a plate engraved representing the Battle of Tippecanoe, and in conversation with an engraver upon the subject he coincided entirely in my views, and is willing and desires to undertake it. He is an artist of skill and talent and a politician withal—and he will recollect (?) the effect produced by the engraving and circulation of the print representing the Battle of New Orleans, in favor of Gen[era]l Jackson. Now then

⁴⁵ Cf. Note 42, Page 83.

after this preface, to the point. My object in writing to you is to get you to obtain from Gen[era]l Harrison himself or some particular and confidential friend, a sketch of the Battle ground with the positions of the Americans and Indians at the most interesting part of the engagement so as to have a print as near as may be conform to the truth of the history. A small engraved portrait of the Gen[era]l with a description of the uniform he used—the Horse he rode etc., etc., would also be desirable—and the sketch of the Battle ground should be accompanied by references and explanations. Now are you not on intimate terms enough with the Gen[era]l or some of his friends to procure this for me? I presume you are and shall therefore expect to hear from you soon in relation to the matter. I presume the Battle of Tippecanoe would be the most eventful period in the history of the Gen[era]l's life, but if it was thought any of his exploits in the last War would be better, let a sketch be provided instead of the other. There can be no doubt but if a print was well got up, as it could be here by the talented artist to whom I allude and in whose behalf I write, its publication and general distribution would produce a most powerful effect, and no time should now be lost in setting about the accomplishment of the object. It may be understood that the source from whence we should derive the information would be perfectly confidential, and indeed no person need know, (if you could from your terms of intimacy with Gen[era]l Harrison apply to him personally) any thing about it except ourselves. You know enough about me and of my standing in Penn[sylvani]a to speak with confidence as to my views, and the honorableness of my intentions. The more I have thought of the subject the more importance I deem it, and I am desirous that the matter should be attended to as soon as possible. I presume C[harles] Hammond⁴⁶ is friendly to Gen[era]l H[arrison] and if necessary you might speak to him upon the subject—but I should prefer if you are familiar enough with the Gen[era]l yourself that the application be made by you personally. There is you know a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune. That flood is now setting in; the tide which is bearing the Gen[era]l at present into popular favor is steady and increasing. Our prospects in Penn[sylvani]a are certainly flattering. The Jackson party is broken—split up—divided. The bitter enmities (?) are very inveterate against each other and the breach is widening

⁴⁶ Cf. Note 47, *Quarterly* II, 18.

daily. I intend commencing soon some articles in our leading print here which I hope will have a good effect in bringing the Gen[era]l more prominently before the people of Penn[sylvani]a and I hope from Cincinnati we shall be furnished with all the material necessary to insure to the cause the most triumphant success. Please excuse the trouble I am giving you by this communication and answer me as soon as in your power that I may know what calculations to make relative to the object I have in mind.

Very truly yours

G. B. Trevor

Excuse this hasty scrawl—I haven't time to correct and amend.

XIII.

WILLIAM L. MILLER TO [JAMES K. FINDLAY?]

[Box 17, No. 34.]

NEW HAVEN, [PENNA.] 3 NOVEMBER, 1836.

Dear Jim,

I have concluded to write you this evening, for fear my hand may shake so bad, tomorrow evening that I cannot write. Tomorrow seals the fine prospects of many men in our state and the fair prospects of some in your state. General Harrison has been here⁴⁷ which I have kept you advised of by the papers. Tomorrow, he goes by the Board, like his great man Stover (?) of barbacue. I have to try the course against N. Ewing, the Lawyer, your father knows him; there is three Lawyers Runs for Convention⁴⁸ on the Harrison side and three Clodhoppers and Mechanics on the Van Buren side, and I will just tell you, that in case there is a majority of Vanburin, or anti Bank men elected to the Convention, that the charter of the Mammoth bank will be nullified.⁴⁹ Mark my prediction. I think the General has done his cause no good by his electioneering tour. I have no doubt our state will give Vanburen a majority of 10 or 15000, in this I may be mistaken.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ For references to Harrison's tour see *Niles Register*, LI, passim.

⁴⁸ This convention, elected in fall of 1836 to amend the constitution assembled in May 1837. Cf. McCall, Thaddeus Stevens, 47, 48.

⁴⁹ Cf. McCarthy in *Report of Am. Hist. Ass'n*, 1902, Vol. I, 476, 477, 488. The Second United States Bank had been granted a State charter by the Pennsylvania legislature the preceding January.

⁵⁰ The vote for President in Pennsylvania was Van Buren 91,383, Harrison, 86,784. The arbitrary course of the Antimason party under the leadership of Thad-

Give my respects to Dr. S. and tell him to keep cool as he hears of New York and P[ennsylvania]. going against the Gen[era]l. for so it must be. I will give you the returns as fast as I git them and you send me from Ohio.

XIV.

SAMUEL EVANS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 5, No. 72.]

JUNE 4, 1838.

D[ea]r Sir :

I have received y[ou]r reply to my letter

We have no domestic news of much consequence. Nat Ewing⁵¹ is Judge in place of Baird, and I think will make an excellent one. Union is improving rapidly and is in a prosperous condition. Johny Campbell is as usual—except not Post-Master—Amos⁵² reformed him, which made him for some weeks as restless as a caged Wild-cat. They say Dick Coulter⁵³ of Westmoreland has come out for Porter⁵⁴ and Van Buren, and will in consequence go to Congress again. Andy Stewart⁵⁵ is “figuring” to get back to Congress—but I think it will be “no go.”

I am clearly of the opinion that if the race in Pennsylvania should be between Harrison and Van Buren that Harrison will get the Vote of the State.⁵⁶ Mr. Clay has been gaining rapidly in Penn[sylvani]a, and it is the opinion here that he is the most available Candidate in all the States except the Key-stone. But do not be deceived by the result of the Governor's election, unless the majority against Ritner should be

deus Stevens, the struggle over the state incorporation of the Bank, and the ordinary democratic proclivities of many of the Germans who had supported Ritner on state issues, were responsible for this result. Cf. McCarthy, 483.

⁵¹ See preceding letter, page 86.

⁵² Amos Kendall, then Postmaster-General.

⁵³ His name does not appear in the list given in *Niles' Register*, LV, 129.

⁵⁴ David Rittenhouse Porter, of Huntingdon Co., Pa., a Scotch-Irish iron manufacturer and a democrat of the Wolf type, was nominated by the democrats for Governor. Ritner was made the scapegoat for all the extravagance and political intrigue of the past few years; and despite appeals made to the German element to support him on racial lines, was defeated by a small majority. This campaign, which “will rank as one of the worst in American history,” resulted in the episode known as the “Buckshot War.” McCall, *Thaddens Stevens*, 50; McCarthy, 494.

⁵⁵ Cf. Box 22, No. 20.

⁵⁶ For the meetings of Committees to further Harrison's candidacy in Pennsylvania. Cf. McMaster, VI, 551.

great—for I am inclined to the opinion that Porter will be elected *by a small majority*. So you will perceive that we are in a “strange fix.” The dissatisfaction in P[ennsylvania] is great with the General Government—but Ritner’s adm[inistration] is not as popular as that of Van Buren is unpopular. However this is all “guess and speculation.”

I saw your brother Jo the other day across the street—he looked well and sound. I think George Meason (of Thomas) will be our next sheriff. The people in y[ou]r old neighborhood are in great glee about the Balti[more] and Ohio Railroad.⁶⁷ They now have money in abundance, and will no doubt soon commence operations along the Yo[u]h[ghio]gheny. Old Fayette⁶⁸ is still probably Van Burenish, but I do think we could elect Jim Simonson and your brother Jo to the Legislature if they would consent to run. We will see this (Court) week. Our man Todd⁶⁹ has got up wonderfully in the world, from a bound-boy, a common wood-chopper at Masons, to be Att[or]ne[y] General, and now Chief Judge of the King’s bench. They are the kind of boys to push and shove along thro this world

XV.

G. W. JONES TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 13, No. 46.]

COLUMBUS, MONDAY EVENING, FEBRY 24, 1840.

Dear Sir,

.
The convention⁶⁹ which had just adjourned is said to have exceeded anything of the kind ever held in Ohio or any other State, and which I am inclined to believe is the fact from what I saw of it. From Springfield to Columbus we met nothing but a mass of human forms of every description, from the old gray haired veteran of 80 to the beardless boys, some in carriages, some in four horse waggons, some on horseback, some in canoes, and log cabins erected on wheels

⁶⁷ The map accompanying the 25th report of the B. & O. Railroad shows that this road along the Youghiogheny is not completed or even projected.

⁶⁸ Fayette County, one of the Western group, and the original home of Torrence, had given a majority for Van Buren in 1836.

⁶⁹ For a notice of James Todd, Cf. McCarthy, 480.

⁷⁰ For an account of this convention Cf. McMaster, VI, 564.

and along the road nothing was to be heard but "hurra for Harrison", "Hurra for Tippecanoe". Sunday as it was many of their banners were hoisted and streaming in the wind, even from some of the houses and particularly the Hotel, were flags with "Harrison and Tyler", but I need not attempt to describe what you have heard more elegantly expressed forty times, before this reaches you. Suffice it to say that if I had wanted evidence of the General's popularity, yesterday would have been sufficient.

.....

XVI.

D. TORRENCE TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 25, No. 7.]

XENIA, AUGUST 4TH, 1840.

Dear Sir :

.....

There is another subject however which I wish to mention and one for which I crave your notice. It is well known to you that there is much political excitement at this time. That the interests of the South and the feelings of the Abolitionists in the north are likely to clash. Which if they really do, than the defeat of Gen[eral] Harrison, nothing is more sure. We have a strong body of abolitionists in this county, and they have to a man been warmly attached to "Old Tip" till these late letters have come to the publick. In this county and I believe in this state the abolitionists hold the balance of power between us and the *levelers*. If we lose them we lose the County and I fear the State. I wish you, if you please, as no doubt you are frequently in conversation with the old Gen[eral], To ascertain whether he is favourable not only to the right of petition and free discussion *in general*, But whether he believes strictly speaking, that abolitionists or others have a constitution[al] right to discuss the subject of slavery, by lectures, and in the publick prints. And whether he is favorable to the right [of] petition, to having petitioners even on this subject respectfully received by Congress.⁶¹ The reason why

⁶¹ For the presence and strength of this abolition sentiment and for the popular impression of Harrison's position, Cf. McMaster, VI, 567-570, 579; Shepard, *Van Buren*, 381. Harrison in May, 1835, at Vincennes, Indiana, made a strong speech against the abolitionist movement then beginning to attract public attention. Cf. Todd & Drake, *Life of Harrison*, 135-139. At Carthage, Ohio, on August 20, he delivered a speech, expressing his regret at the public discussion of a subject strictly within the control of individual states, but at the same time defending the right of free speech and free petition. Cf. *Niles Register*, LIX, 42.

I ask for information on these subjects is this. I have been and yet am engaged in controversy in the Abolition-Whig paper here respecting the duty of abolitionist[s] in voting for Gen[eral] H[arrison] or a third man. The position I have taken is, That in the election of Gen[eral] Harrison there would be a triumph over Slavery.

I do not ask this information to make a public use of it, but only to see whether I cannot have some encouragement to hold on. Though I think a public avowal of the Gen[eral]'s opinions on these subjects might not hurt him in the South and would do him much good in the north.

This would make the Abolitionists easy and without them, I doubt whether he can get a free state in the union except Indiana and Illinois.

I fear—really I fear, the Whigs, and even Gen[eral] H[arrison] is ignorant of the *strength* and feelings of antislavery men. The Whig press represent them as contemptible in numbers which is not the case.

I Crave an answer the first leisure you have. Remember me to your family

Yours Sincerely, D. Torrence.

XVII.

SAMUEL EVANS TO GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

[Box 5, No. 73.]

OCTOBER 17, 1840.

Dr Sir,

We have the strongest hopes that we have carried Pennsylvania for

Tippecanoe,
and Tyler too.

Our Majority in 31 Counties and 1 City is.....6095

Van Burens Majority in 1836 in the 23 counties still

to be heard from was.....4901

1194⁶³

My conjecture is that Van's maj[orit]y in the said 23 Counties will in 1840 not exceed 3000.

⁶³ These figures are, of course, for the state election. Pennsylvania, the first of the states to cast a vote for the national candidates did not do so until October 30th. For election details Cf. McMaster VI, 587ff.

In Berks we did not oppose them—therefore don't let them impose their *whole vote* there on you as a *majority*. Their majority in Berks according to our estimate will not exceed 3300.

We are in the highest spirits—confident that we will carry the State for Harrison and Tyler on the 30th.

XVIII.

MRS. JANE CATH. WEVER TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 28, No. 30.]

NEAR HAGERSTOWN, MARCH 15TH. /41

MRS FINDLAY

Dear Madam:—I am unused to solicitation at court, but my husband being now in Washington and an applicant for the Office of Paymaster at Harpers ferry I am induced to presume on your goodness, and ask your aid with the Pres[i]d[en]t. for the office in question.

The salary is a small one, but owing to the deranged state of the monetary affairs of our country during the late mal-administration and the present unsettled state of business, would be of great service and very acceptable.

Having been intimately connected by bonds of amity and friendship which distance alone has interrupted with one branch of Gen[era]l Findlay's family—that of Col. John Findlay⁶³ of Chambersburg, and having been in some slight degree acquainted with yourself I avail myself of this as an opening to address you in behalf of my husband, feeling great hopes that you will do me the favor to mention my solicitude to Gen[era]l. Harrison.

I have heard Mr. Wever speak of the friendly aid rendered him by Gen[era]l. Findlay, in the procurement of the appointment of Sup[erintenden]t. of the Cumberland road, conferred on him by Mr. Adams, and I am aware of his selection at that time, of Mr. Nathan Findlay,⁶⁴ as his clerk in consequence of his grateful feelings to him, and to Messrs John and W[illia]m. Findlay⁶⁵ for their aid in procuring him the appointment.

I cannot, tho' it may here appear irrelevant, mentioning here the high esteem in which I hold my old friend W. N. Findlay, and here I may also say, that after Mr. Wever had resigned his appointment

⁶³ Cf. *Quarterly*, I, p. 65.

⁶⁴ Nathan Findlay was a brother of James.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Quarterly*, I, p. 65.

on the Road, after Gen[era]l. Jacksons appointment to the presidency, Mr. W[ever] exerted himself in Mr. N[athan]. F[indlay's] behalf in explaining personally and confidentially to the Engineer department the necessity and importance of keeping him in office, as the clerk of the Superintendent.

Had not my husband been a most faithful officer and done, what in later years has been rather unfashionable to do, honorably, satisfactorily and promptly settled his account, for the disbursement of a large sum of money, I could not expect him to be successful; but he has done so, and therefore I can feel no hesitation in asking for what I confidently feel will never be abused.

Please then, dear Madam, mention my suit to Gen[era]l. Harrison: Ladies *may* sometimes lend an aid in these matters and if you can further my husband's views, thro' any of your friends or by personally mentioning it to Gen[era]l. Harrison I feel confident you will not refuse. May I anxiously solicit your friendly aid whilst I subscribe myself

XIX.

J. K. FINDLAY TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 8, No. 8.]

LANCASTER, [PA.], MARCH 25, 1841.

My dear Aunt,

George W. Harris Esq. of Harrisburg the bearer of this letter, is about to visit Washington for the purpose of soliciting the appointment of Postmaster of that town. Mr. Harris is the son of Robert Harris, Esq[ui]re, of that place (whom you know very well) and a descendant of the proprietor of the town. His mother and mine were great friends and there has always been great intimacy and friendship between the families. Mr. Harris' integrity is spotless and his qualifications unquestionable and I feel very certain that the General could not possibly select any one of his friends who would be more acceptable to the respectable mention of both political parties than he. He has among his opponents a Mr. Jones who I understand is well off and has not half the influence and standing Mr. H[arris] has. I am candid when I say that it would be the interest of my party that Mr. H[arris] should be disappointed, for they could certainly make political capital out of it. But I don't wish in this instance to make

political gain by the rejection of my friend Harris, for whom I have always had a great regard and esteem, altho' differing from him in politics. Nor would I ask you to use your influence with the General to persuade him to do an act which I thought would injure him with his political friends. I am politically not personally opposed to the General. But you may rest assured that those of his friends whose good opinion he would most appreciate and the public generally will be more pleased with Mr. Harris appointment than with that of any other man he could select. I hope you will do him all the kind offices in your power for if Mr. Penach is to be removed I should be personally exceedingly gratified to see my friend Harris installed as his Successor.

I am glad to hear from Mr. Buchanan that you will visit Pennsylvania next summer. My Saray and I will meet you somewhere. She loves you already in anticipation and sends a great deal of it to you and as for myself I am ever tenderly and affectionately

Your nephew

J. K. Findlay.

P. S.—My love to Cousin Jenny⁶⁶ and to Cousin Eliza too. Tell them I had no idea of *the mendacity of the press till it began to praise their beauty.*

XX.

ELIZA M. LEWIS TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 14, No. 44.]

CALHOUN, RIVES C[OUN]TY, APRIL 3D, 1841.

Dear Madam

Circumstances of a painful nature, have induced me to recall to your memory an acquaintance whom perhaps you may have forgotten, in the changing scenes of eleven years, but in all the vicissitudes of those painful years (to me) the kindness of Mrs. Findlay and the warm hearted old General, and the happiest six months of her life spent beneath the same roof with them, has never been forgotten by Eliza McLean. Alas, I little thought at that time what trials awaited me, young, gay, and thoughtless. I little thought that the same year

⁶⁶ Mrs. Jane Findlay Harrison, daughter-in-law of the President; "Cousin Eliza" is probably Elizabeth Irwin Harrison, wife of John Scott Harrison.

that made me a happy bride would see me a bereaved widow. A few months after parting from you in Cincinnati, it pleased God to take my excellent husband. You, my dear Madam, who knew his worth, can have an idea what a loss he was not only to me but to his state; his affairs were so deranged, that nothing was left for a support for me and my infant daughter, born some months after her fathers decease. My health became too delicate for me to try and earn one, consequently I was forced to be a dependent on my relatives, for nearly four years, at the end of which time I married again. My husband's name is Lewis, of the ancient family of that name in Virginia. His father was a nephew and one of the heirs of Gen[era]l.⁶⁷ Washington, but left his children nothing except their good name, the high minded honour and polished manner of old Virginia gentlemen, a race now nearly extinct. A continued series of casualties or bad fortune has ever since our marriage befallen us and still kept us poor, several years since we emigrated this "far west", in hopes of bettering our situation. My husband calculates on getting contracts for surveying public lands, having been engaged for some years previous in that business, but the spirit of party was so high in this Humbug state, that the Surveyor General was too good a democrat to let contracts to a Whig, although knowing well his proficiency in the business. It appears ridiculous enough, but such we all know has been the custom of the mal-administration, and nowhere has its arbitrary measures been more severely felt than in this good Benton state.

The pressure of the times has been felt even in this remote district and we have as usual had our share of misfortune; much of our little all has been already sacrificed, and in a few months more, the last of that little must go. It is under these painful circumstances, that I have had the presumption, I may call it, of asking (through your mediation) of the President an appointment that will place an honest and intelligent man in a station where he may be useful to himself and his country, and enable him to stem the tide of misfortune. I am well aware that I am acting out of all precedent in thus asking an office for my husband, but despair will carry us great lengths, and hope taking her place still urges us onward.

I almost despair when I think of my presumption in applying to the President himself, who knows nothing of me, but hope nerves me

⁶⁷ The name of George Lewis is mentioned in *The Last Will and Testament of General George Washington*, (Phila. 1800) p. 12, 15.

again when I think that your kind heart, dear Madam, will plead my cause. Of my husbands character I cannot say too much. I hope you knew me well enough to know that I would not ask if he were unworthy. His integrity, his honorable character, his warm though humble exertions in Gen[era]l Harrisons cause, can be well attested by hundreds of respectable and hardy pioneers. He has been advised by his friends to solicit the office of register or receiver of some of the land offices, or that of surveyor general, for either of which he is well qualified but he never has seemed to think it possible for a moment, nor do I believe they have ever for a moment dreamed of an office. He is too disinterested to think of it and rather than enroll himself one of the hundred applicants would be contented to struggle on still harder for the sake of his helpless family, but I cannot see him thus without making one effort to aid him, though that effort, Heaven knows, may prove ineffectual. He knows nothing at all of my writing. I have kept it and will keep it a secret from him unless the President is kind enough to read my plain tale and hearken to his native goodness of heart by granting my petition. I know, my Dear Madam, that you will befriend me and should I be successful, the prayers of a grateful mother shall ascend to Heaven with those of her innocent daughter hourly for your welfare. I have said my husband knew nothing of my design in writing this. I would not for a moment add to his troubles by exciting hopes that might again be crushed.

I might possibly [have] persuaded him to apply for an office in the usual way by getting up recommendations and getting our congressman to present them, but then the probable disappointment would have been mortifying; I have therefore chosen the shortest way, reserving the mortification of a probable refusal all to myself. I will only add again that the character of my husband (I here speak impartially as though he were not my husband) will stand the test of the most rigid examination. I throw myself on the generosity of Gen[era]l Harrison knowing it does not often fail those in misfortune, and your goodness, my dear Madam, for excusing this long and tedious letter. A few lines from you will be thankfully received whether realizing or crushing my hopes; if the former you can better imagine my feelings than I describe, if the latter, I am prepared to struggle on, trusting that God will "temper the wind to the shorn lamb". And now dearest Madam will you excuse this long letter?

The very many happy hours spent with you will never be forgotten by your sincere friend

Eliza M. Lewis.

P. S.—My husband's name is George Lewis, if you will be kind enough to write to me, my address is E. M. Lewis, Calhoun, Rives county, Missouri.

XXI.

THOMAS B. VAN HORNE TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 26, No. 77.]

NEAR LEBANON APRIL 4TH 1841.

Dear Madam,

The warm and uninterrupted friendship which existed for more than twenty years between your deceased husband and myself, and the repeated marks of kindness received from you during that time and since, must plead my excuse for addressing you at this time. I feel greatly rejoiced that events and circumstances which have transpired render it proper that you and Mrs. Jane Harrison, a female I always loved, should be inmates of the Presidents house, and yet I cannot but regret that our mutual friend Mr. Whiteman⁶⁸ should be deprived of your society and hers, and your supervision and assistance in his family. Poor man, he looked when I saw him a few days after your departure from Cincinnati, as if he had lost nearly all his friends. Indeed he told me, that if he had thought the election of Gen[eral] Harrison would have made such a breach in his family,⁶⁹ he would have been almost tempted to have wished him unsuccessful.

The interest which Gen[eral] Findlay manifested in matters which related to my interest and official character,⁷⁰ whilst a Military and a Land officer, and the belief that you also felt some anxiety in the same matters, prompt me to say a few words on the subject of my application to be reinstated in the office from which I was removed, because I would not use my official influence in favor of the then exist-

⁶⁸ Probably Lewis Whiteman whom she afterwards married.

⁶⁹ General Harrison's wife preferred to remain at North Bend, so it was necessary for his daughter-in-law, accompanied by Mrs. James Findlay, to preside over the domestic affairs of the White House.

⁷⁰ For correspondence between Van Horne and General Findlay Cf. Box 26, Nos. 70-77. The former was removed from his position as register of the land office in Piqua, and was not restored as a result of this letter.

ing administration. A package of recommendatory letters and papers which were forwarded to Mr. Morrow¹¹ the Member of Congress from this District, were left by him with Mr. Stewart of Illinois to present to Mr. Ewing¹² after he should have taken possession of the Treasury Department—Mr. Morrow left Washington the day after the inauguration, and consequently could not present them himself. He told me the other day, that he had received no acknowledgement of the receipt of them from Mr. Ewing, and I am rather fearful that something may have occurred, which has prevented them from being received as intended. I am aware that there must necessarily be a very great press of business in all the Departments of the Government, and therefore feel unwilling to trouble the President with the subject by a written communication addressed to him. Will Mrs. Findlay at her own time, and in her own way (but not to induce the belief that I am importuneing improperly) do me the favor to make the inquiry of Gen[eral] Harrison whether he has any knowledge of my application? and also whether he intends the present incumbent, Mr. Helfenstein, shall continue in the Registers office at Lima.

I regret that I have no male friend in the President's family whom I could address on this business. But I flatter myself that Mrs. Findlay will not entertain the thought that I would ask any favor of her which I considered improper to be granted.

My family and friends in this vicinity are well.

With sentiments of esteem and respect, I am Dear Madam, your sincere friend and

hum-Servt.

Thos. B. V. Horne.

Mrs. Jane Findlay,
Washington,

P. S.—I have been encouraged to believe by Mr. Morrow and other friends, that I should receive the appointment named and feel some anxiety on the subject, that I may be prepared to act according to circumstances, and make such arrangements as may become necessary, if successful or otherwise.

T. B. V. H.

¹¹ Hon. Jeremiah Morrow who lived near Lebanon, and who late in life for a term returned to the scene of his early labors in Congress. For an account of his long and useful career as congressman, governor, and senator, Cf. "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, in which appears a valuable biography by his grandson, Josiah Morrow, Esquire, of Lebanon.

¹² Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, the Secretary of the Treasury.

XXII.

JAMES R. BUTLER TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 3, No. 52.]

ARSENAL [PITTSBURG] 7TH APRIL, 1841.

My dear Madam,

How deeply do I sympathize with the family and friends of my departed friend Gen[era]l Harrison, than whom I never had a warmer one. This lamented infliction of Providence changes the position of the members of his family at Washington, who will no doubt return home. Mrs. Butler begs that you and Mrs. W[illiam] Harrison⁷³ and any other of his friends who may accompany you, will make our home your home. I would advise you to journey by the way of the Penn[sylvania] Canal;⁷⁴ and by dropping me a line on the day you leave *Harrisburgh*, I will then know and make arrangements to meet you on your arrival at the Canal Basin, Pittsburg. Since closing the letter to you a messenger arrives with news of the death of Judge Dallas.⁷⁵

XXIII.

WILLIAM FINDLAY TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 7, No. 71.]

PHILADELPHIA, APRIL 8, 1841.

Dear Sister,

I did suppose that the vigor of the President's constitution afforded the promise of a long life for him, but alas! how short sighted we are. His unexpected Demise, however we may speculate upon the means which led to it, according to my views on the subject, it was *to be* and, of course, *would be*. I am a strong predestenarian on such points and believe the event to be in perfect accordance with the plan adopted by Deity for the government of the Universe, and though we cannot comprehend this plan, as we can see but a part and not the whole of his system of Government, we are bound to submit to all his decrees with humble and becoming resignation. The melancholy event, as we view it, will not be without its effects on the politics of

⁷³ Mrs. William H. Harrison, Jr., of course.

⁷⁴ Later the line closely followed by the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

⁷⁵ A. J. Dallas, father of George M. Dallas, vice-president under Polk.

our Country and the future management of our Government. The consequences of it to his family are much to be deplored and will be long felt by them, and with whom I sincerely sympathize. They have lost their earthly Guardian and protector and the bright prospects which opened to their view by his recent elevation in this world are blasted. They may however console themselves with a well founded hope, that he has been elevated to more sublime and blessed enjoyments than anything which this world could afford.

His death will greatly affect several of our Family connections. I am fully impressed that he was kindly disposed towards many of them, and which he would have evinced by efficient acts had he been longer spared. He would, especially, have given brother Thomas,⁷⁶ a situation which would have enabled him to maintain his Family. . .

Yesterday a large meeting was held by the citizens of the City and County of Philid. to make arrangements to manifest their respect for the memory of the President. You may shortly see an account of the affair in the newspapers. I was not able to attend the meeting. The mint was shut on the day, still I had to do business for some gentlemen who were travelling.

Remember me affectionately to our dear Niece Jane, I deeply commiserate the loss of her good Father-in-law.

Your brother

Mrs. Jane Findlay
care of Gen[era]l. Jesup
Washington City

Wm. Findlay

XXIY.

JAMES FINDLAY HARRISON⁷⁷ TO MRS. JANE FINDLAY.

[Box 10, No. 5.]

U. S. M. A. OCT 22ND, [1841].

Dearest Auntie,

Uncle James⁷⁸ has not answered my letter, which I wrote at Ma's request, and I am angry with him on that account. He is so proud

⁷⁶ For Thomas Finley, Cf. *Quarterly* I, 66.

⁷⁷ Son of W. H. Harrison, Jr.

⁷⁸ James Ramsay Irwin, a captain in the Mexican War and Chief Quartermaster to Scott's army. He died in Mexico City in 1848. His sister Jane had married W. H. Harrison, Jr.

that because I met with misfortune he does not care for me. 'Tis ever thus when Fortune favours all, *all* are ones friends but when once She frowns the luke warm friends fly away like rats from a sinking ship. But before such friends desert *me* they had better inquire how much their desertion afflicts me and if I will ever be able to survive the shock. I saw Gen[era]l Jesup⁷⁹ as I came back. I went up to him as an old friend—held out my hand—How are you General? in as warm a manner as I would have met a relation. How are you Mr. Harrison? (in a cold formal tone). How is your Aunt and Mother. Well we met again in the cars, I thought to have a chat with him. He commenced the conversation by asking me Where is Mr. Longworth? I dont know General, I'll find him, said I. I looked—found—and sent Joe Longworth to him and that was the last word we spoke except to say Goodbye Gen[era]l, Goodbye *Mr.* Harrison. How different when I was the grandson of *President Harrison*. He—this same General Jesup would sit and talk with us for hours. His battles, dangers, etc., etc., would be repeated over and over—His fuss with Gen[era]l Scott etc.

General Scott—how different is this noble old chief. “You have lost your best friend, I will be one to you now” were his words to me in Washington and he has ever been kind and condescending. He has honoured me in a way I shall never forget. Once at the hotel he put both his hands on my shoulders and introduced me to a host of officers as his *friend* Cadet Harrison. I am forever that man's friend as long as I live and will always support him with all my soul and hand.

XXV.

FROM THE *Cincinnati Gazette*, JULY 8TH, 1841.

THE FUNERAL OBSEQUIES.—Our citizens, yesterday morning, rendered their last honors to the earthly remains of their late friend and fellow-citizen, William Henry Harrison. The hearse which bore the body from the residence of Col[onel] Taylor⁸⁰ to the steambot that conveyed it to North Bend, was preceded by the company of Dragoons, and the several military companies which ar-

⁷⁹ Thomas Jesup. An intimate friend of General James Findlay and of General Harrison, as shown by their correspondence, in which they often mention his residence as their headquarters, while in Washington.

⁸⁰ See note 39.

rived from the Louisville Encampment in time to join in the procession, and followed by relatives and personal friends of the deceased, by the Committee which brought it from Washington, the Committee of Forty which had been appointed to make arrangements for the Obsequies, the City Council, Officers and Soldiers of the late war, Judges and Officers of the Superior and Common Pleas Courts, members of the Bar, Odd Fellows, Firemen, other Associations, and large numbers of citizens in individual capacity.

The procession moved, to solemn music, from the residence of Col[onel] Taylor on Sixth street west to Race ; thence south to Fourth ; thence east to Broadway ; thence down Broadway to the wharf, and on the wharf to the steamboat Raritan, which lay at the foot of Main ; and the pavements, and doors and windows of houses, for the whole of this distance, were crowded with persons, numbering doubtless from 18,000 to 20,000 who had assembled to have a last look, as it passed, of the coffin which inclosed the body of the venerated dead.

The boat left the wharf for the Bend about one o'clock, bearing with the remains the Committees, the detachment of United States Marines, and relatives of the deceased. By special invitation, the Rev. John T. Brooke went down, to perform the funeral service of the Church of England, at the tomb.

It is much to be regretted, that all the Companies which formed the Oakland Encampment, did not reach the city in time to join in the procession. The Louisville, Butler, Harrison and Citizens Guards, and the Dayton Artillery, left soon after the others, but on a boat which ran much slower than the Mail and did not arrive here till just as the Raritan was putting off with the remains.

He is Gone !—Of the ceremonies which took place yesterday, we attempt no labored or particular account. Our feelings disqualify us for anything of this kind. It is with great difficulty, indeed, that we can realize the melancholy truth, that he who a few months ago was moving daily among us, the theme of all tongues, the toast of all tables, the one object, next to *self* of universal regard and almost universal admiration—that he who at a later period, was fully invested, in the midst of assembled thousands from all parts of the Union, with the highest honors which a free and grateful people could bestow, and received them as became a republican statesman and a christian man—that he who, immediately after this, entered upon the discharge of the high duties imposed, with a solemn sense of their great responsibility and a noble determination to be governed in all things relating

to them by conscientious convictions of the *right*; that this good man has gone from among us, from among all living, and forever, it is difficult, indeed, fully to realize. Such, nevertheless, is the melancholy truth. We have looked upon him and upon the earthly tabernacle of his spirit, for the last time. We shall see his long-familiar form, gaze upon his well-remembered features, hear the tones of his still-ringing voice no more—*no more forever*. He is GONE!

“Gone to the land of the great departed,
Gone to the Silent Land.”

And it is only given us, henceforth, to venerate his character, to keep green the memory of his good deeds, and to emulate his virtues. At this time, ‘expressive silence’ will best ‘muse his praise.’

‘How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
By all their country’s wishes blest ;
When Spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallowed mould ;
She there shall dress a sweeter sod,
Than Fancy’s feet have ever trod :
By Fairy hands their knell is rung,
By forms unseen their dirge is sung ;
There Honor comes, a pilgrim grey,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay ;
And Freedom shall awhile repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there !

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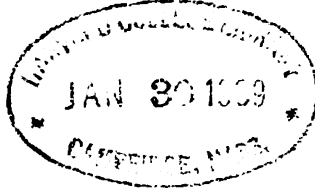
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CHARLES T. GREVE.
MERRICK WHITCOMB.

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FREDERICK W. HINKLE, - - - - -	
ELIOTT H. PENDLETON, - - - - -	

The meetings of the Society are held in its room 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 1908

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT

CINCINNATI, DEC. 7TH, 1908.

During the year the following named accessions to the library have been acquired:—

Books, - - - - -	962
Pamphlets, - - - - -	1048
Manuscript volumes, - - -	2
Manuscripts unbound, - -	99

Of the volumes added, 840 were donated; 122 purchased and 2 others were procured by exchange. 1040 pamphlets were donated and 8 bought.

From the income of the Elizabeth Appleton fund there have been bought 31 volumes. From the income of the Margaret Rives King fund there have been bought 91 volumes and 2 pamphlets, and 8 periodicals have been credited to the General fund.

The Library contains at the present time 23,092 volumes and about 68,962 pamphlets.

In 1906 Mr. Erasmus Gest presented 500 volumes to the Society, which gift was not deposited in the library until after his decease in May last. This collection of books contains some very choice works, principally along the lines of history, biography and travel, and while there are many which relate to foreign Countries, others bear upon North America. There are Histories of the World; of foreign Countries; of the United States and other parts of America; Neal's History of the Puritans, and Hall's Puritans and their Principles;

Exodus of Western Nations by Viscount Bury; Hebrew Bible published in Amsterdam, 1753; Brown's Antiquities of the Jews; and numerous works of travel and others of miscellaneous character. A large crayon portrait of Mr. Gest was included in the gift, and it has found place among portraits of other members and friends of the Society. His generosity to us and his interest in the welfare of our Society, have been evinced in other ways, an account of which will be found in the Report of our President for this year.

Another very acceptable gift has been received, coming from the heirs of Mr. William Henry Davis, deceased, which consists of 56 volumes, 13 pamphlets and various miscellanies. The volumes are chiefly of historical and biographical nature, and only ten of them are duplicates of books previously in the library.

We are again indebted to Mr. William K. Bixby of St Louis, for a choice production. This year he has sent to our collection a copy of "Hamilton's Itinerarium, 1742" printed from the original manuscript in the possession of Mr. Bixby, who had 487 copies printed for private distribution. It is a narrative of a journey from Annapolis through the eastern States during the summer of 1744, made by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a practicing physician residing in Annapolis at that period.

Miss M. E. Keyes has added to the Cabinet a large, full length photograph of Justice Stanley Matthews, and Mr. W. Meredith Yeatman has given a photographic copy of Griffin Yeatman, one of our early pioneers, who came from Virginia to Cincinnati about 1795, and there kept an Inn. We have received, also, from the children of Dr. Thomas E. Thomas of Dayton, Ohio, a photograph of the Rev. John W. Scott, D. D., who for many years was associated with Miami University, Farmer's College and the Oxford Female Seminary, in this locality. This photograph bears the inscription "Born Jan. 22, 1800, Photo. taken Jan. 22, 1890" and his autograph.

Only a few additions have been made to the manuscript collection during the year. They are:

Architect's Design and Specification, with fifty-three letters relating to the Fort Washington monument erected by the Patriotic Societies, in East Third Street near Ludlow Street. Presented by Mr. Howard S. Winslow, who was the Chairman of the Building Committee.

Forty-three letters of recent dates, written by various persons of prominence, addressed to Mr. John B. Peaslee, the donor.

Manuscript book, formerly a part of the Dr. W. W. Dawson library, containing notes taken at the Medical College of Ohio in 1849-50. From Mr. Davis L. James.

The Certificate of Naturalization of Charles Reemelin, Cincinnati, 1837. From Mr. James Morrison.

A Patent from the U. S. Government of one-quarter of a section of land "In the District of Cincinnati and State of Indiana" granted to David Kilgour and Griffin Taylor, 1824. From Mr. Griffin T. Miller.

One book containing a copy of the Records of the Simpson Family as entered in an old family Bible still in the possession of a descendant. It covers the dates of the marriage of Jesse Root Grant and Hannah Simpson, and the births of their son Hiram Ulysses Grant (U. S. Grant) and their other children. Further contents are an account of the Grant Memorial Exercises at Batavia, Ohio, 1907, and numerous sketches, newspaper clippings, etc. relating to the occasion and to the Grant family. From Mrs. Charles W. Baker, who has sent, also, two copies of the beautiful Woodward Souvenir, with newspaper accounts of the laying of the corner stone of the New Woodward High School Building, Nov. 4, 1908.

Mr. Nathaniel H. Davis added to the Cabinet collection a Badge of the Executive Committee of the Taft Notification Day, July 28th, accompanied by various Programs and Invitation cards, and to Mr. G. R. Scrugham we are indebted for a copy of the "Parade Committee Report" a beautiful souvenir of the proceedings of the day. Other material bearing upon the election of the Hon. William Howard Taft of Cincinnati to the Presidency of the United States, or relative to any action taken by our citizens on this momentous occasion, in the form of manuscripts, printed matter, pictures, cartoons, etc., would be most appropriately placed for future reference, if deposited in the collection of this Historical Society located in his native city.

Governor A. L. Harris presented our Society a copy of "State and Local Taxation" containing the proceedings of the First National Conference held under the auspices of the National Tax Association, at Columbus, 1907, and the Secretary of State has sent 19 volumes of Ohio State publications to aid in filling out our incomplete sets. We still lack a number.

By purchase we have added to the library several books on Ohio, namely: History of Clermont and Portage Counties; History of Western Ohio & Auglaize County; Shakers of Ohio; History of Columbus; History of Dayton; Dawson's Birds of Ohio; Van Tassel's Book of Ohio, consisting of two large volumes with about 2000 illustrations of points of interest in the State, and Mr. John F. Winslow gave copies of the "Ohio Canals" and the "Ohio Hundred Year Book."

Other titles acquired by purchase, are: Lowery's Spanish Settlements in the United States; Hughes' History of the Society of Jesus

in North America; Channing's History of the United States, Vol. 3; Fleming's Documentary History of Reconstruction; Smith's Our Struggle for the 14th Colony; Washington-Irvine Correspondence; Minnesota in Three Centuries; Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence; Letters of Cortez to Charles V.; Richardson's Messages and Documents of the Confederacy; Puritans in England and New England; Political History of the United States by Gordy; Fisher's Struggle for American Independence; Trevelyan's American Revolution, part 3; Works of James Buchanan; Histories of several Counties in Pennsylvania; United States First Census, 1790, covering the New England States and New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina; Several volumes of the Original Narrative Series and of the American Commonwealth Series; Biographies, and other works too numerous to enumerate.

Three sets: American Nation Series; Thwaites' Early Western Travels and Lee's North America, have been completed this year. Besides the volumes already mentioned, a curious and beautiful volume entitled "Christopher Columbus, His own Book of Privileges, 1502" was purchased. It is a facsimile of the manuscript in the Archives of the Foreign Office in Paris, with an English translation, which adds to its interest.

To conduct a library as large as our own, in accordance with modern methods, makes heavy inroads upon the time of a librarian who has no regular assistant, and as a result the re-organization of our entire collection, which was made necessary by its increasing size as well as its changed abode, progresses slowly and it may be several years before its condition reaches the standard set. As shown in preceding annual reports, the main portion of the books have been placed under the new system of cataloguing. During this year, the librarian, with the aid of an assistant for two months, has separated thousands of pamphlets, placing each under its special classification. This is but the beginning of a laborious task, requiring an immense amount of patience and perseverance, and yet, well worth while, as even in its present unfinished state, its desirability and usefulness have already become apparent.

L. BELLE HAMLIN, *Librarian.*

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

	VOL.	PAM.
American Library Association,		I
American Jewish Historical Association,	1	
Boston City Hospital,		I
Boston City Register Department,		I
Bunker Hill Monument Association,	2	
Cambridge Historical Society,		I
Chicago Historical Society,		I
Cincinnati—		
Chamber of Commerce,	1	
Children's Home,		2
City Auditor,	3	
Commercial Club,		I
Museum Association,		12
Nomad Club,		20
Ohio Mechanics' Institute,		3
Orchestra Association,		I
Music Hall Association,		I
Public Library,		6
University of Cincinnati,		29
Colorado College,		6
Colorado Scientific Society,		10
Connecticut Historical Society,		I
Connecticut State Library,	3	3
Essex Institute,		I
Illinois State Historical Society,	2	2
Indiana Historical Society,		4
Indiana State Library,	1	
Institute Geológico de Mexico,	3	3
International Conciliation Association,		I
Iowa Grand Lodge,		I
Iowa Historical Department,		3
Iowa State Historical Society,	7	5
Kansas State Historical Society,	1	I
Lake Mohonk Conference,		I
Louisiana Historical Society,		I
Massachusetts Historical Society,	2	
Medford Historical Society,		2
Michigan Pioneer & Historical Society,		I

Military Order of the Loyal Legion, U. S.—		
California,		55
Iowa,		18
Minnesota,		19
New York,		34
Ohio,		28
Wisconsin,		12
Milwaukee Public Museum,		1
Missouri State Historical Society,	1	5
Museo Nacional de Rio de Janiero,		1
Nebraska State Historical Society,	2	
Newberry Library,		2
New Hampshire Historical Society,		2
New York Lenox Library,		1
New York Public Library,		9
New York State Historical Society,	1	
Ohio—		
Agricultural Experimental Station,	1	
Board of State Charities,		3
Diocese of Southern Ohio,		1
Secretary of State,	19	
State Archaeological and Historical Society,		2
State Board of Commerce,	1	
Ohio Society of New York,	2	
Railway News Bureau,		1
Royal Society of Canada,	3	
Schenectady County Historical Society,		1
Syracuse Public Library,		1
Texas State Historical Society,	1	3
United States—		
Bureau of American Ethnology,	1	
Bureau of Education,	3	3
Coast & Geodetic Survey,	1	
Department of Agriculture,		6
Department of Commerce & Labor,		15
Interstate Commerce,		186
Library of Congress,	2	6
Postmaster General,		1
Universite de Toulouse,		3
University of California,		5
University of Michigan,	1	1
University of Toronto,	1	
Virginia State Library,		2
Washington State Historical Society,		1
Washington University State Historical Society,	1	2
Western Reserve Historical Society,		7
Williams' Directory Company,	1	
Wisconsin Natural History Society,		2

	VOL.	PAM.
Worcester Public Library,		1
Yale University Library,		3
Alexander, C. B.,	1	
Anonymous,		8
Bixby, W. K.,	1	
Bryant, T. J.,		1
Chaddock, R. E.,		1
Conner, J. S.,		1
Cook, Miss Diathea,	1	
Dempsey, E. J.,		1
Depew, C. M.,		3
Dickore, Mrs. H., misc. &		7
Edson, Obed,		1
Espy, Arthur,	1	
Harris, A. L.,	1	
Hawkins, J. P., misc.		
Irwin, Mrs. L. W.,		1
Jameson, J. F.,		1
Kittredge, Miss Anna,	1	
Mac Lean, John,		2
Maxwell, W. A., misc. &	1	
Middleton, Mrs. G. A.,		1
Moore, C. B.,	1	
Peaslee, J. B., mns.,		
Rogers, W. P.,		1
Scrugham, G. R.,	1	
Smith, Mrs. M. P. W.,	1	
Thayer, G. A.,		1
Williams, H. A.,		4

MEMBERS

Anderson, Mrs. L. N.,		7
Baker, Mrs. C. W., misc. &	3	3
Bliss, E. F.,	8	53
Chatfield, A. H.,	5	272
Cox, I. J.,		2
Davis, W. H., Estate of, misc. &	56	13
Gest, Erasmus,	500	
Hamlin, L. B.,		11
Holmes, D. H., misc.		
James, D. L., mns. &	1	16
Storer, Bellamy		5
Taylor, W. W.,		1

	VOL.	PAM.
Wilby, Joseph, misc. &		2
Winslow, H. S., mns.,		
Winslow, J. F.,	3	54
Worthington, W.,	1	

DONORS TO THE CABINET

Davis, N. H.,	1 Taft Badge.
Gest, Erasmus,	1 Portrait.
James, D. L.,	4 Prints.
Keyes, Miss M. E.,	1 Portrait.
Thomas, Dr. T., Children of,	1 Photograph.
Yeatman, W. M.,	1 Photograph.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

There is not much to record for the past year beyond what is set forth in the report of the Librarian.

The remoteness of our present quarters has resulted in the same serious inconvenience as in all the years since we left Garfield Place.

Two life members have died during the past year, William Henry Davis, on December 18th, 1907, and Erasmus Gest, on February 7th, 1908.

The books given to the Society by Mr. Gest in 1906, and mentioned in the annual report for that year, were shortly after his death removed to our library from his late residence in Campbell County, Kentucky.

By a codicil to his will, probated April 4, 1908, Mr. Gest bequeathed to us, besides certain specific articles of historical and artistic value, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars (\$5,000), as a contribution to a fund for building down town a separate home for the Society.

We have lost by death three corporate members, Reuben Haines Warder, December 26th, 1907, Benjamin Rush Cowen, January 30th, 1908, and Miss Phoebe S. Baker, November 14, 1908.

Last February the Society joined in a movement towards collecting and publishing information concerning the language of the Miami nation of Indians, by sending Representative J. Warren Keifer a set of resolutions on the subject requesting the Bureau of Ethnology to take action in the matter.

Your President collected during September a further sum of \$1400 from the Executor of the will of Mrs. Margaret Rives King, making, with sums heretofore received, \$7600. A balance of one or two hundred dollars will presently be paid to us in full satisfaction of the legacy.

Mr. Charles Theodore Greve attended, on our behalf, the meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Marietta, Ohio, on November 27th and 28th. We should be in sympathy with its work, and approve Mr. Greve's action in enrolling this Society as a member of the Association. Its next meeting will be at Frankfort, Kentucky, next October.

JOSEPH WILBY, *President*.

DECEMBER 7, 1908.

REPORT OF TREASURER

DECEMBER 7th, 1908.

To 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 30th, 1908.

A. H. CHATFIELD, *Treasurer.*

"Schedule A"
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES
 At November 30th, 1908.

ASSETS.

Cash Balance,	\$1,039	67
Central Trust & Safe Deposit Co., Interest on Deposit, . .	9	83
Investments, Exhibit 1,	23,809	42
Fee of Property No. 107 W. Eighth Street,	29,000	00
	\$53,858	92

LIABILITIES.

General Fund, Exhibit 2,	\$716	25
Building Fund, Exhibit 3,	17,057	87
Endowment Fund, Exhibit 3,	12,320	00
Life Membership Fund, Exhibit 4,	5,037	13
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,—Income, . . . Exhibit 4,	198	74
“ “ “ “ Principal, . . . Exhibit 4,	850	00
E. H. Appleton—Memorial Fund, Exhibit 5,	4,045	90
“ “ Income Account, Exhibit 5,	105	23
Halstead Neave Fund—Investment Account, . Exhibit 5,	4,242	50
“ “ “ Income Account, . . . Exhibit 5,	5	30
Margaret Rives King Fund—Income Account, . Exhibit 6,	247	04
“ “ “ “ Investment Account, Exhibit 6,	8,007	50
Colonial Dames Fund—Income Account, . . . Exhibit 6,	14	73
“ “ “ Investment Account, . . . Exhibit 6,	200	00
Binding Fund—Income Account, Exhibit 7,	100	59
“ “ Investment Account, Exhibit 7,	710	14
	\$53,858	92

"Schedule B"
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
 For Year Ended November 30th, 1908.

RECEIPTS.

DUES—1906,	\$20 00	
1907,	130 00	
1908,	440 00	
		\$590 00
INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS:		
General Fund,	\$30 00	
Life Membership Fund,	274 50	
Julius Dexter Publication Fund,	36 00	
E. H. Appleton Memorial Fund,	193 50	
Margaret Rives King Fund,	264 00	
Colonial Dames Fund,	12 00	
Binding Fund,	30 00	
Halstead Neave Fund,	170 00	
		1,010 00
Rent to October 31, 1908, 107 West Eighth St., M. M. Robertson,	800 00	
Legacy of M. R. King,	1,400 00	
		\$3,800 00

DISBURSEMENTS.

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor,	\$1,050 00	
Assistant Librarian,	113 31	
Card Catalogue Expense,	10 00	
Printing,	258 23	
Postage,	22 50	
Stationery and Subscriptions,	45 61	
General Expense,	90 65	
Dues of Librarian,	10 00	
Insurance,	24 50	
M. R. King Fund—Purchases and Expenses, E. H. Appleton Fund—Purchases and Ex- penses,	195 27	
		1,906 93
INVESTMENT MADE FROM:		
Margaret Rives King Fund,	\$1,462 50	
Interest, Accrued,	21 70	
		1,484 20
INVESTMENT MADE FROM:		
Halstead Neave Fund,	\$487 50	
Interest, Accrued,	7 23	
		494 73
		3,885 86
Excess Disbursements over Receipts,		85 86
Cash on hand December 1st, 1907,		1,125 53
		1,039 67

(Exhibit "1")

STATEMENT OF INVESTMENTS AND SAVINGS
DEPOSITS

At November 30th, 1908.

GENERAL FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$716 25

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND:

83 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$4,425 75
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Ry. Co., 4½%
Bonds (cost), 314 38
4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 289 00

Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust & Safe Deposit Co., \$5,029 13
8 00

5,037 13

JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND:

12 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), \$834 00
Savings Deposit—3% Cent. Trust and Savings Dept. Co., 16 00

850 00

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND:

3 Bonds C. H & D. Ry. Co., 4% (cost), \$2,882 50
13 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,) 677 50
2 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,) 144 50
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O. Railway Co. Stock
4½% Bonds (Cost), 314 37

Savings Deposit—3% Cent Trust & Safe Deposit Co. \$4,018 87
27 03

4,045 90

HALSTAD NEAVE FUND:

C. L. & N. Railway Co. Bond, 4%, \$1,000 00
Kineon Coal Co. Bond, 5%, 1,000 00
2 Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Bonds 4%, (cost,) 1,755 00
Part Interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bond 1950, 487 50

4,242 50

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND:

4 Bonds C. H. & D. Ry. Co. 4½%, (cost,) \$4,512 50
7 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,) 481 25
Part Interest in \$2,000 C. & O., Ry. Co., 4½%, Bond, 1,551 25
Part Interest in Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds 1950, 1,462 50

8,007 50

COLONIAL DAMES FUND:

4 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost), 200 00

BINDING FUND:

10 Shares Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Stock (cost,) \$680 63
Savings Deposit—3% Cent Trust. & Safe Deposit Co., 29 51

710 14

\$23,809 42

(Exhibit "2")
GENERAL FUND

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Dues, 1906,	\$20 00	
“ 1907,	140 00	
“ 1908,	440 00	
	\$600 00	
Cincinnati Street Railway Dividend,	30 00	
Transfer from Life Membership Income Account, . .	274 78	
Transfer from Endowment Fund Account of Interest on Endowment Fund Loan to Building Fund, .	615 00	
		\$1,519 78

DISBURSEMENTS:

Salaries—Librarian and Janitor,	\$1,050 00	
Assistant for Librarian,	113 31	
Printing,	258 23	
Postage,	22 50	
Insurance,	24 50	
Paper for Quarterly,	18 84	
Subscriptions and Dues,	16 00	
Dues of Librarian,	10 00	
Stationery,	10 77	
Card Catalogue Expense,	10 00	
General Expense,	90 65	
		1,624 80
Excess Disbursements over Receipts,		105 02
Deficit carried to Building Fund,		105 02
Investment Account, as per balance sheet,		\$716 25

(Exhibit "3")
BUILDING FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS AND TRANSFERS:

Rent to Oct. 1st, 1908,	\$800 00	
Deficiency for year 1908 transferred to Principal Account,	642 13	
		<u>\$1,442 13</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Deficiency to Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$722 11	
Interest on Endowment Fund,	615 00	
Deficiency from General Fund,	105 02	
		<u>\$1,442 13</u>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$16,977 89	
Transferred from Income Account,	79 98	
		<u>\$17,057 87</u>

(Exhibit "3")
ENDOWMENT FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Interest on Loan to Building Fund.	\$615 00	
		<u>\$615 00</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund,	615 00	
		<u>615 00</u>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at Dec. 1st, 1907,	\$12,320 00	
Credit Balance at Nov. 30th, 1908,	\$12,320 00	
		<u>\$12,320 00</u>

(No change during year.)

(Exhibit "4")
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividends,	\$261 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	13 50	
Interest on Deposits,	28	
		<u>\$274 78</u>

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transferred to General Fund,		<u>\$274 78</u>
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INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1907,		<u>\$5,037 13</u>
Credit Balance at November 30th, 1908,		<u>\$5,037 13</u>
(No change during year.)		

(Exhibit "4")
JULIUS DEXTER PUBLICATION FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,		\$162 18
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RECEIPTS:

Cincinnati Street Railway Dividends,	\$36 00	
Interest on Deposits,	56	
		36 56

Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,		<u>\$198 74</u>
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PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,		<u>\$850 00</u>
Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,		<u>\$850 00</u>

(No change during the year.)

(Exhibit "5")

E. H. APPLETON MEMORIAL FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS:

Cin'ti St. Ry. Co. Dividends,	\$45 00
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	135 00
C. & O. Ry. Co. " "	13 50
Interest on Deposits,	84

\$194 34

DISBURSEMENTS :

Books Purchased,	89 11
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	\$105 23

\$105 23

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1, 1907, \$4,045 90

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908, \$4,045 90

(No change during year.)

(Exhibit "5")

HALSTEAD NEAVE FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907, \$85 03

RECEIPTS :

C. L. & N. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	\$40 00
N. & W. Ry. Co. " "	80 00
Kineon Coal Co. " "	50 00

170 00

\$255 03

DISBURSEMENTS :

Accrued Interest on Bonds Purchased,	\$7 23
Transferred to Principal Account,	242 50

\$249 73

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908, \$5 30

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907, \$3,755 00

Part of Purchase of Ky. Central Ry. Bonds, 4%, 487 50

Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908, \$4,242 50

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907, \$245 00

Transferred from Income Account, 242 50

\$487 50

Transferred to Investment Account (Purchase of Kentucky Central Ry. 4% Bonds),

\$487 50

Exhibit "6"

MARGARET RIVES KING FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,		\$262 51
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$21 00	
C. H. & D. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	180 00	
C. & O. Ry. Co. Bond Interest,	63 00	
	<u>264 00</u>	
		526 51
DISBURSEMENTS:		
Purchase of Books,	\$195 27	
Accrued Interest on Bonds Purchased,	21 70	
Transferred to Principal Account,	62 50	
	<u>279 47</u>	
		<u>\$247 04</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance at December 1st, 1907,	\$6,545 00
Purchase of Kentucky Central Railway 4% Bonds,	1,462 50
	<u>\$8,007 50</u>
Credit Balance at November 30th, 1908,	<u>\$8,007 50</u>

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Cash Received October 8th, 1908,	\$1,400 00
Transferred from Income Account,	62 50
	<u>\$1,462 50</u>
Transferred to investment Account (Purchase of Kentucky Central Railway 4% Bonds),	<u>\$1,462 50</u>

Exhibit "6"

COLONIAL DAMES FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,	\$2 73
RECEIPTS:	
Cincinnati Street Railway Co. Dividends,	\$12 00
	<u>14 73</u>
Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,	<u>\$14 73</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance December 1st, 1907,	<u>\$200 00</u>
Credit Balance November 30th, 1908,	<u>\$200 00</u>
(No change during year)	

(Exhibit "7")
BINDING FUND

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907,		\$69 64
RECEIPTS:		
Cincinnati St. Ry. Co. Dividends,	\$30 00	
Interest on Deposits,	95	
	<u> </u>	30 95
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,		<u><u>\$100 59</u></u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Credit Balance Dec. 1st, 1907,	<u><u>\$710 14</u></u>
Credit Balance Nov. 30th, 1908,	<u><u>\$710 14</u></u>

(No change during year.)

REPORT OF AUDITOR

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 7TH, 1908.

To the President and Members of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, Cincinnati.

In accordance with instructions, examination has been made of the books of account of THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO for the year ended November 30th, 1908, and we submit as part of this report the following Schedules:—

Schedule "A."—Statement of Assets and Liabilities at November 30th, 1908.

Schedule "B."—Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for year ended November 30th, 1908.

These Schedules are supported by Exhibits showing in detail the principal items contained therein.

Receipts and Disbursements have been examined and found correct and the Cash Balance as shown by the books at closing, November 30th, 1908, agrees with the balance on Deposit in Bank.

Securities as shown by Investment Account have been duly examined and found in accordance with account as shown by Exhibit 1.

The statement of Assets and Liabilities, as shown, represents the financial condition of the Society at date of closing, November 30th, 1908.

Respectfully submitted,

GUY H. KENNEDY,

Certified Public Accountant.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Anderson, Davis C.
Anderson, William F.
Ault, L. A.
Baker, Mrs. Charles W.
Balke, Rudolph F.
Battelle, John G.
Brunswick, B. H.
Caldwell, Charles E.
Callahan, John R.
Carew, Joseph T.
Cist, Charles M.
Compton, William C.
Dabney, Charles W.
Dandridge, Miss Mary E.
Davis, Mrs. Nathaniel Henschman
DeCamp, Walter A.
Emery, Mrs. Thomas J.
Foley, B. W.
Foster, Miss Anna H.
Foster, William Lytle
Forchheimer, Mrs. Frederick
Freiberg, Maurice J.
Gano, Mrs. John A.
Goepper, Edward
Greve, Charles Theodore
Hamlin, Miss L. Belle
Harrison, W. H.
Hinkle, Frederick W.
Hollister, Howard C.
Holmes, D. H.
Holmes, John R.
Howe, Mrs. Andrew J.
Ingalls, M. E.
James, Davis L.
Kittredge, Edmund W.
Leaman, Mrs. Robert F.
Levy, Harry M.
Longworth, Mrs. Nicholas
Ludlow, William S.
McDonald, Alexander
Miller, Griffin T.
Pendleton, Elliott H.
Procter, William Cooper
Procter, Mrs. William Cooper
Pyle, E. C.
Ransohoff, Joseph
Schmidlapp, J. G.
Shillito, Stewart
Storer, Bellamy
Strobridge, Nelson W.
Sykes, Gerritt S.
Taft, Charles W.
Taylor, William W.
Voorheis, Albert W.
Whitcomb, Merrick
Wiborg, Frank B.
Wilson, Obed J.
Wilson, Mrs. Obed J.
Winslow, Howard S.
Winslow, John F.
Worthington, Edward
Worthington, William
Wulsin, Lucien

LIFE MEMBERS

Anderson, Mrs. Louise N.
Bliss, Eugene F.
Bullock, James W.
Chatfield, Albert H.
Chatfield, Mrs. Albert H.
Davis, Nathaniel Henchman
Fleischmann, Julius
Fletcher, Miss Clara B.
Hurd, E. O.
Jones, Frank J.
Jones, Mrs. Frank J.

Laws, Miss Annie
Livingood, Charles J.
Neave, Miss Alice
Neave, Miss Jane Caldwell
Procter, Harley T.
Storer, Mrs. Bellamy
Thomson, Peter G.
Vail, Henry H.
Walker, Mrs. Paul Francis
Wilby, Joseph
Woods, Harry F.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Adams, Charles Francis
Cox, Isaac J.
Duro, Cesario
Foulke, William Dudley
Galbreath, Charles W.
Green, Samuel A.

Hayes, E. G.
Heath, William McK.
Hoyt, Albert H.
Thwaites, Reuben Gold
Tyson, Philip T.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Durrett, Reuben T.

Venable, William H.

Five members died during the year :

Miss Phoebe S. Baker, corporate member.
General Benjamin R. Cowen, corporate member.
Mr. Reuben H. Warder, corporate member.
Mr. William Henry Davis, life member.
Mr. Erasmus Gest, life member.

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