









REMINISCENCES

OF THE

LAST SIXTY-FIVE YEARS,

COMMENCING WITH THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

ALSO,

SKETCHES OF HIS OWN LIFE AND TIMES.

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SKETCHES

OF

MY LIFE AND TIMES.

THERE is no faculty of the mind, in my opinion, so important as a good memory ; in fact, without it, we learn but little, and retain but a small portion of that ; how far I am possessed of that faculty these Reminiscences must decide. Circumstances of a domestic character I remember from the age of less than two years and a half ; the first thing of general interest is the extraordinary deep snow in January, 1780, a period long remembered for the severity of the cold, as well as the depth of the snow, which was six feet deep upon a level. The severity and suffering of that winter, can never be forgotten while there survives a soldier of that army who were exposed to its inclemency, half fed, and worse clothed, fighting for that freedom we now enjoy, unmindful of its cost. There is no parallel to their sufferings, except in the mad expedition of Napoleon to Russia, and that exceeded in numbers only, not in suffering. The cause of the one was holy, while that of the

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other, was the mere offspring of an ambition that knew no bounds, and regarded no consequences, to attain its end.

In May of this year, (1780) was the dark day, a phenomenon that has never been satisfactorily accounted for to my knowledge. The darkness at mid-day was such as to require artificial light, as much so as at midnight; the effect upon all animated nature was precisely the same as at that hour.

My father was then living in a remote part of the town of Lancaster, Massachusetts, to which place he had removed soon after the British evacuated Boston; and while my uncle Isaiah Thomas was employed in collecting and printing, at Worcester, in the Massachusetts Spy, every article that was calculated to promote the great cause of our country's Independence, my father was employed in disseminating those publications over a large district of country, the inhabitants of which, but for this mode of communication, would have been kept in ignorance of those events in which their all was at stake; I consequently saw little of my father, who was sometimes absent several weeks at a time, during which little or nothing was known, by the scattered population around us, either of the progress, or the success of the cause in which all felt so deep an interest, so that his coming home was waited for with all the anxiety of the return of the Dove to the Ark.

Just before the peace took place, he removed to a farm he had purchased at the other extremity of Lancaster, adjoining Bolton, and immediately upon the great road. I was then in my eighth year, and the disbanding

of the army, and the return of the war-worn veterans to their homes, was a subject of congratulation among all classes and all ages. My father set himself to work to devise means for having the neighborhood, which was densely populated in comparison with that which we had left, provided with newspapers, and got fifty-two subscribers, who took it, turn about, weekly, to go to Worcester, only sixteen miles, and pay for the papers and bring them to Lancaster; then, for the first time, my appetite for information began to be indulged. When my father's turn came round, I was mounted on horseback, young as I was, and despatched to bring the papers, taking two days for the journey, which afforded me an opportunity of spending the night at my uncle's, who never failed to give me a book of some kind to take home; among others he gave me Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, the reading of which made a more lasting impression upon my mind than any other I ever read before, or since.

- At this period the country was bare of every thing; those few, very few, who had money, could not purchase necessaries, for they were not to be had. There were no goods in the country, and provisions were very scarce. I have rode ten miles back and forth, to purchase salt pork at twenty cents per pound, which was equal to half a dollar now. The men who composed the then late army, were taken from the pursuit of agriculture, and many an acre was left uncultivated accordingly; not even bread was to be had in sufficient quantity, until it could be raised.

About this time a circumstance occurred which I have

often looked back upon with astonishment ; my ancestors were among those who fled from religious persecution in England, and I saw the descendants of those that accompanied them, exercising a degree of religious intolerance infinitely greater than that which drove them from the land of their nativity, to seek an asylum on the then uncultivated and inhospitable shores of New England. I saw the sheriff of Worcester county, and his deputies, driving before them, like cattle, the shaking quakers, as they were then called, (now shakers,) out of the county ; but they were back nearly as soon as their drivers, and I do not recollect that they were again persecuted in that way. There is a large and flourishing settlement of them now, at Shirley, on the border of the same county.

Among the natural results of the disbanding of an unpaid army, is the increase of crime, and the then bloody code of Massachusetts, punished with ignominy, or death, crimes that would now go unwhipt of justice, or be punished only by slight fine, or imprisonment. Worcester, being by far the largest county in the State, had her full proportion of crime ; among the most atrocious, at the time I am speaking of, was the murder of Mr. Spooner, by his wife, aided by two discharged soldiers, named Ross and Buchanan ; they all three met their deserts upon a scaffold. A year or two after, two men by the names of William Huggins and John Mansfield, suffered upon the same scaffold, for one of them having entered a house in the night, through a window, and stolen a watch, while the other remained in the road. Pillory and whipping were frequently inflicted, upon the

same culprit, for offences that would not now send him to the penitentiary for more than a year; but the most singular kind of punishment was making them set on the top of the gallows, with a rope round their necks, made fast to the beam on which they sat, so that if they fell off it was at the expense of their necks.

A rebellion broke out in Massachusetts, in seventeen hundred and eighty-six, which had its origin in the difficulty there was in raising money to pay taxes and private debts. A portion of the people, driven to madness by the distresses of the times, and led on by a set of designing knaves, at the head of whom were Daniel Shays, Luke Day, Adam Wheeler, Ely Parsons, and William Shattuck, proceeded to stop the courts, and commit other acts of violence and outrage.*

Governor Hancock immediately issued his proclamation, calling upon the rebels to desist, and pointing out the consequences if they did not. I well remember hearing it read after the sermon on a Sunday. This had

* "Could we roll back the tide of time, till its retiring wave left bare the rocks on which the commonwealth was so nearly wrecked, it is not improbable, we should discover, that a loftier and more dangerous ambition, and wider, deeper, and more unhallowed purposes, urged on and sustained the men who were pushed into the front rank of rebellion, than came from the limited capacity of their own minds. We might find that the accredited leaders of 1786, were only humble instruments of stronger spirits, waiting in their concealment the results of the tempest they had roused. Fortunately, the energy of government, gave to rising revolution the harmless character of crushed insurrection, saved to after years the inquiry for the Catalines of the young republic, and left to us the happy privilege of receiving the coin impressed with the mark of patriotism at its stamped value, without testing its deficiency of weight, or assaying the metal to determine the mixture of alloy." — *Lincoln's History of Worcester.*

not the desired effect, and troops were raised to quell it by force. General Shepard was in the command of about seven hundred men, of the government forces, at Springfield, where there was a continental arsenal, which the rebels were anxious to possess themselves of. To effect which, on the 25th of January, 1787, Shays marched to the attack, with a force of from twelve to fifteen hundred men.

When within striking distance, General Shepard sent one of his aids to him, to caution him against proceeding any further; but Shays replied, "he wanted barracks and stores, and would have them." The rebels were then marched to within two hundred and fifty yards of the arsenal, where they came to a halt. General Shepard then sent them word, not to approach any nearer, at their peril. Shays immediately renewed his march at a quick step, and came within one hundred and fifty yards, when General Shepard gave orders to his artillery to fire, which was promptly obeyed, but the two first shots were purposely elevated, so as to pass over them; this not having the desired effect, of deterring them in their progress, the third and fourth were fired at the column, and threw the whole into confusion, three men being killed, and one mortally, and another badly wounded. The rebels did not return a single shot; they had no artillery, and not a musket was fired on either side.

Two days after the dispersion of the rebels, General Lincoln, of the revolutionary army, who had been appointed commander-in-chief, arrived with six regiments

of infantry, four companies of artillery, and two troops of horse; and having learnt that Shays had fallen back about six miles, on the east side of Connecticut river, where he had collected all under his immediate command, and Day had taken post on the west side; General Lincoln, with four regiments of infantry, and four pieces of artillery, immediately crossed the river upon the ice, while General Shepard, with the force under his command, moved up the river to prevent a junction of Shays, with Day. No sooner did General Lincoln's force arrive in view of the rebels, than the latter fled in every direction. Not a gun was fired. Small parties of them were occasionally heard of at different places. After a few days, General Lincoln learnt that Shays had collected all his available forces on the heights of Pelham, his native place, and pursued him, by forced marches, through a deep snow, and in the most severe weather; he came upon him so unexpectedly, after a night's march of thirty miles, that Shays fled, with all his forces, who left their cooking utensils and a hot breakfast behind them, which was most acceptable to the troops, hundreds of whom were worn down with fatigue, and many severely frost bitten. I had a brother, about eighteen, who was out the whole campaign, and gave our family a wretched account of the sufferings of the army on that night; the snow was so dry it did not path, and the rear of the column had but little better road than the front. Thus, by the great exertions of the veteran General, and the hardy yeomanry under his command, this ill advised, and worse conducted, rebellion, was put down, in a few months after the

State authorities commenced the necessary proceedings for that purpose.

Hancock, for the first, and only time, lost his election, in 1786, and Bowdoin was elected in his stead. He was a man of eminent talent, and great energy of character. It was to this trait in his character, that the Legislature attributed, in a great degree, the promptitude and success of the measures which were so wisely taken, and so faithfully carried into effect, in suppressing the rebellion. Hancock came into power again in May, 1787, and by his mild and conciliatory course towards the deluded men, with whom many of the prisons were crowded, as well as to all others, was greatly instrumental in bringing the people back to their allegiance, and healing the still bleeding wounds of the State. Had a different course been pursued, they would, in all probability have broken out afresh.

George Richards Minot, of Boston, an eminent lawyer, and profound jurist, wrote a history of this rebellion, in language so pure and classical, as to obtain for him the enviable cognomen of the "American Sallust." I never saw it but once, and that was soon after its publication.

The next event, and by far the most important, after the obtainment of our independence, was the formation of the Constitution; in fact, we were not independent, until the Constitution was made, and adopted; and although it is not what it ought to be, in my estimation, still, the wonder is, among so many contending interests, not that it is no better, but that it is no worse. What kind of a Constitution would a convention produce now?

After the Constitution was formed, and submitted to the States, for their adoption, or rejection, the plundering of the poor soldiers was effected. The knowing ones had little or no doubt of the Constitution being adopted by a sufficient number of States, (nine,) and that, being adopted, Congress would fund the public debt. Then commenced a scene of *legal* robbery, such as the history of civilized nations can scarcely produce a parallel to. Even mechanics quit their business, to speculate in soldiers' notes, which were bought up, in great quantities, for two and sixpence, and three shillings, in the pound. Among others, I recollect a large, lazy, journeyman carpenter, by the name of Patch, who threw off his leather apron, and appeared a gentleman at large, and dressed in the most fashionable style. Another was a Lynn shoemaker. Fortunes were made, from a few hundred dollars, in a few weeks; and from this arose the aristocracy of wealth in the United States. Words can scarcely convey an idea of the excitement that was kept up, for several years, in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.—There were mail stages in those days, but their snail-like pace did not answer the views of the speculators; they kept expresses continually on the road.

When the State of New York adopted the Constitution, it was an event calculated to have a very great effect upon the stock market, and Captain Levi Pease, of Boston, was kept in waiting for the result, with a relay of horses every ten miles, from there to Boston, by the then road, two hundred and fifty miles, which he accomplished in forty-eight hours, a performance, then, alto-

gether unprecedented. An express once arrived in Boston on a Sunday, when the streets were all alive with people going to church. Instantly the church was lost sight of by hundreds of men, who left their families to find the way without them, while they went upon 'change, and bought and sold to the amount of hundreds of thousands.

There was but one bank in Boston, in those days, the old Massachusetts — in fact, there were but two in the United States, the one already mentioned, and one in Philadelphia — and as a sample of the mode of conducting banking business then, the son of the president of the bank in Boston, and two other gentlemen, were permitted to draw on the funds of the institution to such an extent as to compel it to stop discounting for six or eight weeks, while the three gentlemen alluded to, went to New York, and there set speculation on foot to an immense extent, by selling and buying soldiers' notes, and other public securities, at auction, as was then the custom.

The celebrated Colonel Duer, was then a great operator upon the stock exchange in New York, with a good supply of ready money, and high credit, which he used to its full extent, borrowing from oystermen, and draymen, their little hoardings, and totally unsuspecting of the trick the three Yankees were playing him, they having got the stocks up to a price considerably above par, by sham buying and selling. Then it was that the Bostonians threw into market the immense amount they had taken with them, and Duer became the purchaser. The stocks

fell twenty or thirty per cent. the next day, and he was compelled to take refuge from his exasperated, and in many instances, ruined creditors, within the walls of the jail, from whence he was never liberated. During the first excitement against him, it became necessary to protect him, (by calling out the military,) from the exasperated people, who had surrounded the prison, with intent to get at him by pulling it down. Col. Duer, by remaining in prison, enabled his family to retain a sufficiency of property, to live genteelly, his lady visiting him almost daily in her carriage.

In the following year, 1788, I went to live with my uncle, Isaiah Thomas, at Worcester, at his solicitation, to learn the art of Printing. I was then thirteen years old. There were nine or ten apprentices of us, and our fare was very ordinary, and labor very severe. I, being the youngest apprentice, had all the drudgery to perform for more than two years; rising in winter between five and six o'clock and after the office was closed, in the evening, more than half the time, compelled to read proof until twelve or one at night, particularly during the printing of the folio and royal quarto editions of the Bible, which was more than a year and a half, they were the third and fourth editions of the sacred volume printed in America, and the first of those sizes.

Mr. Thomas was a constant attendant upon the preaching of the late Rev. Dr. Bancroft, and compelled all his apprentices to be so too, except one, who would not be compelled by him. His name was Worcester, and he became a member of the church of the Rev. Mr. Austin

before he was of age. Mr. Austin was of the Hopkintonian school, and preached of original sin, and there being infants in hell not a span long. I heard him once, and did not grudge him his faith.

Worcester was then the largest inland town in the United States, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, only excepted, and in point of good society was unsurpassed by any. There were the Paines, the Chandlers, the Waldos, the Lincolns, the Allens, Thomas, Salisbury, Stanton, Flagg, Nazro, and a number of others; forming an aggregate of as refined, polished, and intellectual society, as America could produce; living in a style of elegance surpassed but by very few in Boston, or elsewhere. In those days, instead of the jams, routs, and soirees of later date, ten or a dozen ladies had an understanding together upon the subject, and sent word to Mrs. Such-a-one, that they would take tea with her that afternoon if she was not otherways engaged. The gentlemen followed before sundown, and all returned home before candle-light. The gentlemen, a dozen or more of them, formed a "fish club," and dined together on Saturdays, alternately at each other's houses; at those dinners there were literally "the feast of reason and the flow of soul," as I had an opportunity of witnessing, some years after, on accompanying my kinsman to one of them, to which every member had a right to bring a guest.

At the period I am speaking of, Worcester town and county, both abounded in distinguished men: among them Artemas Ward, who was a rival to Washington for commander in chief of the army of the Revolution,

and was appointed second in command, (see Reminiscences of Washington.) At this time he was Chief Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The bar could boast a good portion of talent; among the most distinguished were Levi Lincoln, afterwards attorney general of the United States, and father of Governor Lincoln; Dwight Foster, Solomon Strong, Edward Bangs, and Pliny Merriek. The clergy, with the exception of the late Rev. Dr. Bancroft, and the eccentric Boylston Adams, were more remarkable for their piety, and devout and holy lives, than for shining talents.

Lancaster, Brookfield, and a number of other towns, in the same county, could also boast numbers of educated, genteel and wealthy families; in fact, I doubt if, at the present day, there is a district of country in the United States, of the population of Worcester county at that period, that contains as much wealth, refinement and talent, as that county then contained; if there is, it has not been my good fortune to find it, in my travels through all the principal States of the Union, from north to south and from east to west.

My kinsman, ISAIAH THOMAS, was thirty-nine years of age, when I went to live with him in 1788. He made his escape from Boston, where he was very obnoxious to the British, during the siege, with his printing materials, and immediately set about publishing a newspaper at Worcester, which is still continued; it was the only paper, I believe, then published in the State, except those published in Boston and Salem, and possibly, one in Newburyport. The British had, at an early day, set a

price upon the heads of John Hancock and Samuel Adams for the bold and decided stand they had uniformly taken against their government, from the massacre of the fifth of March, seventeen hundred seventy; they then added ten more to the number of those who were to be summarily executed, *when taken*. Among them was Isaiah Thomas. Not one of this patriotic band of twelve ever fell into their hands, and Mr. Thomas pursued the even tenor of his way regardless of the means made use of to ensnare him. He was a pungent writer, possessing a strong and clear style, with the most biting sarcasm, add to which, he was constantly aided by the powerful pens of General Ward, Dwight Foster, Edward Bangs, and others; so that his paper, which was a small weekly sheet, was always well filled with matter calculated to confirm the patriotic in their course, and prevent the wavering from going over to the enemy, who having evacuated Boston, had no rallying point for their friends, or those disposed to become such; consequently, toryism was soon on the decline in Massachusetts.

Soon after the close of the Revolution, Mr. Thomas found himself able to build an extensive printing office, and stock it with every kind of type then in use. In one end of the building was a book bindery, and in the other a book store, well furnished with the works of the most eminent writers in the English language. He then built himself a large and handsome dwelling. In 1786, or 7, he commenced printing on a large scale, so that, besides a great number of small works, he had printed, from 1787 to 1792, a period of only four years, Benjamin Bell's

Surgery ; Cullen's Practice of Physic ; Blackstone's Commentaries ; Millott's Elements of Ancient and Modern History ; and Harvey's Works, besides the first folio and royal quarto editions of the Bible printed in America.

Few gentlemen passed through Worcester without calling to see the proprietor and his establishment, who never failed to treat them with the most marked politeness.

In his person, Mr. Thomas was tall and elegantly formed ; in his dress, fashionable to a fault ; in his manners, elegant ; with a mind stored by the most extensive acquaintance with the best authors, whether in literature or science. He was familiarly known to the periodical press in England, as the " American Baskerville." The celebrated, and ill-fated, Brissot de Warville, in his travels in the United States, makes honorable mention of him as the Didot of America. In the latter part of his life, literary honors flowed in upon him, in degrees from several colleges and universities, and finally the degree of Doctor of Laws. The last twenty years of his life were almost exclusively devoted to collecting a library and other materials for " The American Antiquarian Society," of which he was the sole founder. Having erected an elegant building with every convenience for its use, in his will he largely endowed it at the expense of those who had higher claims upon him. His principal literary productions were the History of Masonry in one volume quarto, and the History of Printing in two volumes octavo.

Mr. Thomas was the first man that ever read the

Declaration of Independence in Massachusetts; the express on his way from Philadelphia to Boston, stopped at Worcester, and waited until he read it from the steps of the meeting-house to the listening citizens, who received it with every demonstration of joy and gladness.

In both his eating and drinking he was very abstemious, as much so as any man I ever knew. His eye sight failed him long before his death, sometimes almost to blindness. The last time I saw him was in 1816, when he made this remark, "We no sooner learn how to live, but we have to die." He died in 1831 at the age of 82.

The following biographical sketch of Mr Thomas, is, by permission of the author, copied from "Lincoln's History of Worcester."

"ISAIAH THOMAS,* a native of Boston, was the descendant of ancestors of good repute, emigrating from England, soon after the foundation of the town, and

* In the History of Printing, vol. i. 368, is a narrative of the life of Mr. Thomas, from his own pen. In the Massachusetts Spy, April 13, 1831 are published portions of an address, containing a beautiful delineation of his character, delivered by Isaac Goodwin, Esq., before the American Antiquarian Society, and transferred to the 2d volume of their Transactions. The first writer was under the restraints imposed on the autobiographer; the last, felt those resting on the public speaker. Neither space nor ability permit the attempt here, to do justice to the services of one of our most eminent citizens. The duty of raising a worthy memorial, remains for more fortunate hands. The materials of the notice of Mr. Thomas in these pages, are taken from the memoirs before mentioned. The few facts which have been added, are stated on the authority of his personal relation, were obtained from the diaries of interleaved almanacs, or are derived from official papers.

engaging in mercantile business. His father, Moses Thomas, soldier, mariner, trader, and farmer, at different periods, after sharing and escaping the perils of the unfortunate expedition against Cuba, in 1740, when pestilence destroyed most of the provincial forces spared by the sword, lived a few years on Long Island. Re-visiting his early home, reverses of fortune wasted his share of a good inheritance. Driven abroad, he died in North Carolina, about 1752, leaving a widow in destitute condition, with five small children. The energy and fertility of invention, so often manifested by females in similar circumstances, soon provided resources for the support of her family. The profits of a little shop, added to the other gains of industry and ingenuity, and the savings of frugal thrift, afforded comparative comfort and independence. She was, at length, able to purchase a small estate in Cambridge, afterwards lost, on sale, by the depreciation of the continental currency.*

The youngest son, Isaiah, was born Jan. 19, 1749; at the age of less than six years, he was bound apprentice to Zechariah Fowle, a printer of single sheets, small tracts, and pamphlets, described in the History of Printing, as honest, but eccentric, irritable, effeminate, and better skilled in domestic cares than the mysteries of the printing house. It reflects no credit on the sense or taste of the master, that the first essay of his almost infant workman, who required the elevation of a high bench to

* She married a person named Blackman, and died January 17, 1798, aged 73 years.

reach the case, should have been directed to the composition of a licentious ballad.*

The pupil, deprived of the usual advantages of schools and of good instruction in the art, was compelled to rely on his own resources to supply the deficiencies of education. Earnest desire of improvement found or made the way. A tattered dictionary and ink stained bible were the whole library of the office. Two or three books, purchased with the savings of trifling perquisites, and a few more borrowed from friends, were added to this slender collection of literature. Diligent study and persevering assiduity, enabled him, unassisted, to possess himself of the elementary branches of learning, and to acquire such facility of expression as to be able to put his thoughts in type without the aid of writing, and the expertness in printing which made him principal manager of a business extended under his supervision. After eleven years of apprenticeship and employment with Fowle, Mr. Thomas went to Nova Scotia and entered the office of Anthony Henry, proprietor of the Halifax Gazette, the government paper, a good humored and indolent man. The willing assistant was allowed to assume the management. Although Henry's labors were diminished, his responsibilities directly increased. It was the period of the Stamp Act, and the Boston boy brought

* The composing stick first used by Mr. Thomas, an impression of "The Lawyer's Pedigree," and the very press upon which it was worked, which afterwards sent out the glowing words of the patriots of the revolution, were given to the Antiquarian Society by its founder, and have been scrupulously preserved, in accordance with his wishes.

with him the spirit kindled in his birth place. The appearance of an article in opposition to the obnoxious measure which roused the colonies to resistance, was followed by citation before the authorities, and Henry escaped punishment, only on the ground that the paragraph had been inserted by his journeyman without his knowledge. On the repetition of the offence, the young man himself was called before the Secretary of the Province, and received reprimand, admonition, and threats, alike ineffectual.

Not long after this interview, the whole year's stock of paper arrived from England, stamped according to the act: by night, the brand of oppression was cut off from the sheets: the effigy of the commissioner appointed to collect the impost, was found suspended from the gallows. The very correct opinion prevailed, that Mr. Thomas was principal in these and other acts of defiance of government. The sheriff, sent for the purpose of intimidating the young printer by threats, or extorting confessions, was met with so much firmness and intrepidity, that the fruitless mission was abandoned.*

* The Philadelphia Journal arrived, dressed with mourning pages; decorated with death's heads, crossed bones, and other emblems of mortality; and announcing its own decease, by a complaint called the Stamp Act. To imitate this patriotic typography required no little boldness. It was done by Mr. Thomas, with equal courage and adroitness. The columns of the Halifax Gazette were surrounded with heavy black lines; the title was surmounted by the skull; a death's head placed as substitute for stamp; and a large figure of a coffin laid at the end of the last page; accompanied by the following notice: — "We are desired, by a number of our readers, to give a description of the extraordinary appearance of the Pennsylvania Journal of the 30th of October, [1765.] We can in no better way comply with this request, than by the exemplification we have given of that Journal in this day's Gazette."

In March, 1767, Mr. Thomas went from Nova Scotia to Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and four months afterwards, returned to the employment of Fowle in Boston. An active and enterprising spirit led him to accept the invitation of a ship master, to try the fortune of a voyage to Wilmington in North Carolina. Negotiations for an establishment there were frustrated, and he embarked for the West Indies, intending to seek passage thence to London. Again his expectations were defeated, and he repaired to Charleston in South Carolina. After a residence of two years, with impaired health, he retraced his steps, and came again to the home of his fathers.

Entering into partnership with Zechariah Fowle, they published a little newspaper, discontinued in December of the same year. The connection was of brief duration. It was dissolved in three months, and Mr. Thomas, having purchased the printing apparatus, issued another paper, bearing the name of its predecessor, "The Massachusetts Spy," March 7, 1771.

The early professions of neutrality in the great contest then impending, could not long be maintained against the decided inclination of the conductor to the popular cause, and the print soon became the leading advocate of whig principles. Managed with great ability, in some departments, by Mr. Thomas himself, the strongest of the patriot writers gave the power of their pens to its support, and the Spy became the favorite channel for the diffusion of high toned sentiment. Its influence was felt and feared by the royalists, and they endeavored to avert

the danger of a free press. Overtures to the editor, with promises of honors, office, patronage, and reward, on espousing the cause of government, were rejected, and threats of vengeance for resistance, disregarded. A man too independent to be bought by gain or controlled by power, must be crushed. The debt contracted for the purchase of the establishment, was suddenly and sternly demanded: the aid of friends discharged the sum, and defeated the attempt to ruin by pecuniary pressure.

The publication of a bold essay, written by Joseph Greenleaf, with the signature of Mucius Scævola, afforded pretext for fresh persecution. Mr. Thomas was summoned to appear before the governor and council. Obedience to the executive mandate, three times repeated, was as often fearlessly refused. Hutchinson was too good a lawyer to issue process for compulsion, where no authority existed for its execution. The punishment of the offender was entrusted to the judicial arm, and the attorney general directed to institute prosecution for libel. Indictment and information, though pushed forward by the united efforts of the officers of the crown, alike failed. The Spy held on its way, vindicating the liberty of the press and of the citizen, against ministerial usurpation. Renewed attempts at coercion, only served to call forth testimonials of the ardent interest felt by the leading men of the times for the welfare of the establishment, and pledges of protection and defence.* Such a course ren-

* It is stated, by Mr. Goodwin, that the celebrated James Otis, "then withdrawn from active life in consequence of the malady which prostrated the energies of his mighty mind," proffered his professional services to Mr. Thomas.

dered Mr. Thomas obnoxious to the administration. His name was placed on the list of the suspected: his printing house received the honorary appellation of "sedition factory," and threats of personal violence were frequent in the mouths of the soldiery. Having been solicited by the whigs of Worcester, to establish a newspaper, he made contracts and sent out proposals for subscriptions in February, 1775; and with the assistance of Colonel Bigelow, under the care of General Warren, he privately conveyed a press and cases of types, over the river to Charlestown, thence transported to this town, a short time previous to the Lexington fight. The movements of the British troops for an expedition into the country, being discovered, Mr. Thomas was active in spreading the alarm, and at day break of the memorable 19th of April, joined the militia in arms against the "regulars." Laying aside the musket after the fight, to put in action a more powerful engine of freedom, and journeying almost all the next night, he reached Worcester the following day.

The first printing done in any inland town of New England, was performed at Worcester. The *Spy* re-appeared, after a suspension of three weeks, May 3, 1775, and was distributed by posts and messengers. The publications of the provincial congress were executed here, until presses were put in operation in Cambridge and Concord, the places of its session.

Although the acquisitions of five years' toil had been abandoned to be plundered, with the exception of the little remnant saved by the fortunate arrangements of early

removal, the better capital of industry, capacity, and enterprise, was undiminished, and was brought into full exertion. He was appointed post master by Benjamin Franklin, Sept. 25, 1775, and the commission was renewed, for triennial terms, by Ebenezer Hazard, Samuel Osgood, Timothy Pickering, and Joseph Habersham, the heads of the department in succeeding years. In 1776, having leased his property to Messrs. Bigelow and Stearns, and afterwards to Anthony Haswell, he went to Salem. While on a visit here, the Declaration of Independence was received, and first read to the citizens, by Mr. Thomas, July 14, 1776, from the porch of the Old South Church. Returning for permanent residence, in 1778, he resumed the management of the *Spy*. At that period, trade was disordered; in the fluctuating currency, the representative paper, had no constituent specie; manufactures were in their infancy; materials were deficient; difficulties sprang up on all sides; and the print was only sustained through the war, by the unyielding resolution of the proprietor.* The restoration of peace opened the channels of commerce; new types and apparatus were obtained, and his business expanded itself on a great scale. Uniting the employments of printer, pub-

* "In the indulgence of a peculiar poetical fancy, his papers were generally ornamented with curiously significant devices, and appropriate mottos. In 1774, they bore a dragon and a snake; the former representing Great Britain, and the serpent, this country. The latter was separated into parts, to represent the different colonies. The head and tail were furnished with stings, for defence against the dragon, which was placed in the posture of making an attack. The device extended the whole width of the paper, with the motto over the serpent, in large capitals, JOIN OR DIE."—*Goodwin's Memoir in Mass. Spy, April 13, 1831.*

lisher, and bookseller; establishing the first bindery, and building the second paper mill in the county, the relations of a business which may well be called vast, as they extended to almost every part of the Union, were conducted with that systematic and methodical arrangement, which gave successful action to the complex machinery. At one period, under his own personal directions, and that of his partners, sixteen presses were in constant motion, seven of them working here; three weekly newspapers, and one monthly magazine, issued; and five bookstores in Massachusetts, one in New Hampshire, one in New York, and one in Maryland, almost supplied the literary sustenance of the community. One of the most liberal publishers of the age, he produced and distributed works, whose titles formed a voluminous annual catalogue. The great folio edition of the Bible, in 1791, illustrated with the copperplates of native artists, was unrivalled, at the period, for neatness, accuracy, and general elegance and excellence of execution. The whole types for smaller copies of the Holy Scriptures, were kept standing, and often used.

Previous to the Revolution, Mr. Thomas commenced the Essex Gazette, at Newburyport, in 1773; in January, of the next year, he began the Royal American Magazine, the last of the periodicals of Boston under the provincial governors. After the war, in 1793, he founded the Farmer's Museum, enlivened with the spirit of Prentiss, Dennie, Fessenden, and the coterie of wits gathered at Walpole, N. H.; established the Farmer's Journal in Brookfield, Mass., in 1799, in connection with Ebenezer

T. Andrews, junior partner of a house existing thirty-one years — he printed the *Massachusetts Magazine*, in Boston, from 1789 to 1795. The *Spy* was suspended, in consequence of the resemblance of an excise act, to the stamp duty, for two years. The *Worcester Magazine*, in 1787, and 1788, supplied the place of that paper. Mr. Thomas was partner of Dr. Joseph Trumbull, in the business of druggist, in this town, for some time after August 31, 1780.

In 1802, Mr. Thomas relinquished a prosperous business at Worcester, to his son Isaiah, and retired from the pressing cares of wide concerns, to the enjoyment of fortune honorably won and liberally used.

The evening twilight of a day of intense activity was not given to the repose of idleness. Enjoying personal acquaintance with some of the early conductors of the press in this country, familiar by their narrations with their predecessors, himself a prominent actor through an important period, greater advantages could not have been desired for the undertaking, on which he entered, of compiling the annals of American typography. "The History of Printing," published in 1810, in two octavo volumes, bears internal evidence, in the fulness and fidelity of its narrative, that neither toil, research, nor money, was spared for its preparation. Containing notices of the antiquities and progress of the art, the biography of printers and newspapers, the work received the approbation of criticism, and the rank of standard authority.

While this good enterprize advanced, Mr. Thomas had gathered rare treasures of literature, and rich relics

of the past. Collected, they were of inestimable value : each fragment, if dispersed, would have been desirable, but less precious than if fixed in its place, as a connecting link of the chain of events. With an elevated benevolence, contemplating in expanded view, all the good the present may bestow on the future, he associated others with himself, and became the founder of the American Antiquarian Society. The gift of his great collections and library, the donation of land, and of a spacious edifice, an unceasing flow of bounty in continuous succession of benefactions, and ample bequests for the perpetuation and extension of the benefits he designed to confer on the public and posterity, are enduring testimonials of enlightened liberality. The institution will remain, an imperishable monument to his memory, when the very materials of the hall reared by his generosity, shall have crumbled.

While his private charity relieved the distresses, his public munificence promoted the improvements of the town. The site of the County Court House was bestowed by him ; and the building, and avenues on the front, constructed under his uncompensated direction. No inconsiderable share of the cost of enlarging the square at the north end of Main street, and erecting the stone bridge, was given by him. The street bearing his own name, and the spot where the brick school house has been built, were his benefaction to the municipal corporation. In the location and execution of the Boston and Worcester turnpike, an enterprize of much utility at the period, he assisted by personal exertion and pecuniary contribu-

tion ; and few local works for the common good, were accomplished without the aid of his purse, or efforts.

In 1814, he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts, from Dartmouth College ; that of Doctor of Laws was conferred by Alleghany College, in 1818. He was a member of the Historical Societies of Massachusetts and New York, and of numerous philosophical, humane, charitable, and typographical associations. The appointment of Justice of the Court of Sessions, was made by Gov. Gerry, Feb. 21, 1812 : the office was held until June 7, 1814, when it was resigned. He was president of the Antiquarian Society from its foundation to his decease, April 4, 1831, at the age of 82 years.

While the institution of Freemasonry was prosperous, Dr. Thomas attained its highest honors and degrees, and was long presiding officer of the Grand Lodge and Chapter, of Massachusetts. He attended and bore part in most of the consecrations, installations, and high festivals of the association in the State, during his active years.

The incidents of the life of Dr. Thomas, have occupied broad space in these poor annals. His memory will be kept green, when the recollection of our other eminent citizens shall have faded in oblivion. His reputation in future time will rest, as a patriot, on the manly independence which gave, through the initiatory stages and progress of the revolution, the strong influence of the press he directed to the cause of freedom, when royal flattery and favor would have seduced, and the power of government subdued its action ; as an antiquarian, on the minuteness and fidelity of research in the History of

Printing ; as a philanthropist, on the foundation and support of a great national society, whose usefulness, with the blessing of Providence, will increase through distant centuries.”

In February, 1792, I left my uncle and proceeded to Boston, where I went to work at the book binding business, at which I soon made myself useful, and continued at it upwards of two years, when my employer changed his vocation, and I had to seek other employment. I soon got a place in a dry goods store, where I at once gained the confidence of my employer by a strict attention to business. I passed my time very pleasantly (in the evening with ladies, of whose society I was very fond) until May, 1795, when my employer having no further use for me, I at once determined to leave Boston and seek my living in the South. My father's means were limited, but sufficient to furnish all the comforts of life to his small family, which I scorned to be the means of lessening. I stated my situation to my late employer, who at once told me I could have whatever clothing I wanted, and he would take my note for it, although he knew I was not twenty years of age. This difficulty being thus at once removed, I went down long wharf to look out for a passage to Charleston, a much greater undertaking in those days than a passage to Europe is now. There was but one vessel in the trade at that time, the ship *Roebuck*, Capt. Cottle, and his price thirty dollars, which I could not command ; I continued my walk along the

wharf, when a board, hanging in the shrouds of a large schooner, caught my eye; on it was written "for Charleston S. C." I stepped on board and entering the cabin, enquired for the captain, when a stout, square built man answered, I am he. I then told him I wanted a passage to Charleston, and asked him what he would take me for. He gave me a searching look, and answered he had no accommodations for passengers, but if I would go with him, and fare as he did, he would take me for seventeen dollars, to which I at once assented. On the 30th of May we set sail. I had a tolerable supply of clothing; a dollar and a half, and Franklin's life in my pocket. I had never been on the water before, and in the evening, as we were crossing Nantucket Shoals, a white squall struck our vessel and threw her on her beam ends, which I supposed was a mere common occurrence. She soon righted without damage or injury to any one, except I made a passage from the companion way to the after locker in rather less time than was agreeable, and got a little bruised by it. No other occurrence worth noticing. I passed my time in reading Franklin's life, and conversing with the veteran captain of our vessel, who proved to be no other than Jonathan Oaks, who commanded a twenty gun ship, among the first fitted out in the war of the Revolution, and a braver, or a better man, need not be sought for; had I been his own son, he could not have treated me with a more fatherly kindness. Our fare was good, with a glass of good Madeira after dinner. We arrived in Charleston on the tenth of June, after a passage of ten days from Boston. Some of my friends had

kindly sent me three letters of introduction to men of business in the city. I dressed myself and went on shore to deliver them ; previous to which, Capt. Oaks had, in the kindest manner, informed me, that he was going to load for France, and would not get away under a fortnight, in the meantime he hoped I would continue on board with him, at least until I got employment.

On landing, my first business was to find a barber and get my hair cut ; for this I was charged thirty-seven and a half cents, and being full of cash, having still left a dollar and an eighth, I gave the odd bit to the boy who attended me. Having delivered my letters and walked about the city for an hour or two, I returned to the vessel. My object was to get employment in a store, being determined not to go to printing only as the last resort. The next day I put an advertisement in the State Gazette, by which I got a situation in a few hours after it was published. The pay was small ; so were my wants, except for clothing. I had then very little use for spending money. On the first of October I was taken with the yellow fever ; on the fifth a coffin was made for me ; on the tenth I walked out.

In November, my employer's brother arrived, which threw me out of employment ; I sought for it in vain ; a merchant, who knew me, Mr. Edward Mortimer, invited me to stay with him until I could do better. In less than a month, Mr. Caleb Cushing arrived from Boston, with a small stock of books and stationery, with which he was furnished by the gentleman with whom he had served his time. He came to settle in Charleston, on

my recommendation, and immediately proposed I should join him; after sleeping upon it, I accepted the proposition, and we commenced business on the first of January, 1796. Mr. Cushing conducted the book binding part of our establishment, and I attended to the store.

In the following March I went to Boston to procure an additional stock of books, &c. In this I found no difficulty; the same gentleman, Mr. David West, who fitted out Mr. Cushing, supplied me with what I wanted, and I went to Providence to re-embark for Charleston, where I was detained several days waiting for a vessel; during the time I made a number of acquaintances and formed friendships which still exist with the survivors; of whom more hereafter; (see Reminiscences of that city.) I arrived safe, as did my goods, and we were prospering in our business, when, on the fourteenth of June, about three, P. M., a fire broke out, which was not got under until the next morning at seven; destroying, in its progress, five hundred buildings, and much of the then business part of the city. We had fortunately, a few days before, taken a much better stand for business, and during the conflagration removed to it; the one we occupied was twice on fire, but saved. This calamity put an end to all business for a time, and in July the yellow fever commenced its ravages, which on the fifteenth of August, carried off my partner, Mr. Cushing, after an illness of six days.

He was a gentleman of unblemished honor, integrity, and moral worth, and during his short residence in the city (only seven months) had gained the esteem of all

who knew him; this was strikingly illustrated at his funeral, which was attended by many, among them fifteen gentlemen who had been his fellow boarders, all in full mourning, a very unusual mark of respect, where deaths occurred almost every hour.

His death was the most severe blow that had then, ever befallen me. I immediately wound up business, finding the assets four hundred dollars less than the debt due Mr. West, which was less than I expected under the circumstances. I immediately informed him of the loss of our mutual friend, and the situation in which I found myself; at the same time telling him that the property was subject to his order. He promptly answered my letter, and after sympathising with me in our mutual loss, he advised me by no means to discontinue the business, but send on my orders to amount of three, or four thousand dollars, and they should be promptly attended to. I did, and prosperity crowned my efforts.

In 1797, it was the *fashion* to make shipments to Havana, and I was persuaded into the measure, and made shipments amounting to about three thousand dollars, the produce of my first earnings. In common with many others, I consigned my adventure to John Paul De La Motta, a Spanish Jew, who failed soon after, and left us all minus, in an aggregate of about one hundred and sixty, or seventy, thousand dollars. This had no other effect on me, than to confirm me in my habits of industry, enterprise, and economy.

About this time, 1798, I took up the idea that while I

attended to my business, I could read law, with a view, ultimately, to practice it, and immediately commenced, under the direction of William Johnson, Esq., who was, a year or two after, elevated to the bench, first, of South Carolina Supreme Court, and then to the Supreme Court of the United States, a situation which he filled to his death, which did not happen for many years after, with honor to himself, and usefulness to his country. Having perfectly recovered from my loss at Havanna, and there being very little business doing, in the summer months, I left my business in the charge of my assistant, and went to the East to spend the summer. (See *Reminiscences of Dedham*, in 1798.)

My business continued to prosper, so that in June, 1800, I was able to purchase a quantity of cotton, and embark with it for Liverpool, notwithstanding all my losses, in less than four years and a half from my commencement of business.

This, and the three following years, my business doubled, and trebled, annually. In November, 1803, I returned from my fourth voyage, with a printed catalogue of fifty thousand volumes of books, in every branch of literature, arts, and sciences, being by far, the largest importation ever made into the United States. I had only got them opened, and arranged for sale three days, when news arrived from Columbia, that the legislature, then in session, had opened the port for the importation of slaves from Africa. The news had not been five hours in the city, before two large *British Guineamen*, that had been laying off and on the port for several days, expecting it,

came up to town ; and from that day my business began to decline, although then in a situation to carry it on to three times the extent I had ever done before. Previous to this, the planters had large sums of money laying idle in the banks, which they liberally expended, not only for their actual, but supposed wants. A great change at once took place in every thing. Vessels were fitted out in numbers, for the coast of Africa, and as fast as they returned, their cargoes were bought up with avidity, not only consuming the large funds that had been accumulating, but all that could be procured, and finally exhausting credit, and mortgaging the slaves for payment ; many of whom were not redeemed for ten years after, to my knowledge. This state of things continued, until put a stop to by that provision of the Constitution which forbade the trade after the first of January, 1808. So completely absorbed were the funds of the agriculturalists, in many instances, that those who had been in the habit of indulging in every luxury, and paying for it at the moment, took credit for a bundle of quills and a ream of paper.— For myself, I was upwards of five years disposing of my large stock, at a sacrifice of more than one half, in all the principal towns, from Augusta, in Georgia, to Boston.

During the twelve years I was in the bookselling business, I had but two assistants, one of whom died in my employ, after being with me five years, and the other, Robert Aldrich, a man of sterling integrity, honesty, and truth, is still living, and the same worthy man as heretofore. I used to send him to the country to make sales, in winter, while I alone attended to my business in town.

I read a great deal, never being without a book in my hand, except while serving a customer. A large portion of my reading was confined to works on government, and the laws of nature, and nations, scarcely ever reading a novel, although there were thousands of volumes of them on my shelves. Soon after the adoption of Jay's Treaty, the British began to issue their famous, or rather infamous, orders in council, which Sir William Scott took care to see faithfully executed ; and, not long after, the French government, under pretence of retaliating upon the English, came out with its Berlin and Milan Decrees, while the United States contended for the Rule adopted in the war of 1756, that free ships should make free goods. Desirous to become acquainted with this subject, which every one talked about, and few appeared to understand, as well as with all others of a national character—I determined to read every thing in our language that I could find upon those subjects, and at the age of twenty-six I had finished my task, including Hobbs and Machieval. Then came “ War in disguise, or the frauds of neutral trade,” which was said to be from the pen of Mr. Canning ; come it from whence it may, it was effectually put down by Mr. Madison's reply ; but much ink continued to be shed upon the subject, which was followed by a war of three years, and at the close of it remained very much in “ *statu quo ante bellum.*”

It was this course of reading, to which I was in a great measure indebted for an intercourse with some of the most distinguished men of the age ; among whom were the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, Sir James McIntosh, and many others. It was upon the hustings at Brent-

ford, pending the first election of Sir Francis Burdett, in 1801, or 2, that I was introduced to the former of those gentlemen, also to Mr. Bing, Sir Francis, and Mr. Mainwaring, who were all three candidates to represent Middlesex in Parliament; but two could be elected. The contest lay entirely between the two latter named gentlemen, Mr. Bing being so fortunate as to have the support of both parties. The result was long doubtful. — The then Duke of Bedford, and Mr. Fox, gave all their immense influence to the Baronet, who was the popular candidate, while the government gave its entire support to Mr. Mainwaring, who was a banker in the city, and extremely unpopular with the mass.

The excitement in London was immense. Every two or three days large processions were got up, headed by the Duke and Mr. Fox, and went out to the poll. During the forming of these processions on Fleet street, such was the immense multitude of spectators, the stores and shops along the street, and the whole length of the Strand, to Charring Cross, were obliged to be closed. The last two or three days the excitement had become so great, that expresses came in every hour, and posted the state of the poll at the royal exchange. The last day one came every half hour.

At the final close of the poll, the judges declared Mr. Bing, and Sir Francis Burdett, duly elected. The sheriffs of London are, *ex officio*, judges of the elections for Middlesex, and were both opposed to Sir Francis, which gave rise to a laughable circumstance, on the third, or fourth day; I was present and witnessed it. There was

a mill held in common, by forty proprietors, six of whom came forward, and claimed a right to vote ; it was understood they would vote for the government candidate, and after some conversation between the judges, they were admitted, and voted accordingly ; in a short time, up came the other thirty-four, and voted for Burdett and Bing. From what I could learn, they were not any of them strictly entitled to a vote ; but the judges had committed themselves.

At the close of each day's poll, the candidates addressed the multitude. On the day just mentioned, Mr. Bing spoke first, and was listened to attentively. He was followed by Sir Francis, who was an eloquent speaker, and received with great applause. Then came Mr. Mainwaring ; in a moment his voice was drowned amidst the clang of marrow bones and cleavers, and every discordant sound ; he was compelled to retreat unheard, and immediately stepping into his carriage drove off. At Kew bridge the mob attacked him, and, had it not been for Townsend, a distinguished police officer, at the head of sixty mounted men, coming up at the moment, he would, in all probability, have been killed.

Immediately after the judges had announced the election, at the final close of the poll, a procession was formed, the horses were taken from the carriage of Sir Francis, and the people drew him the entire distance, fourteen miles, to the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, where dinner was provided for as many as could be accommodated. I procured a ticket, and waited the arrival of the procession. It was just dusk, when the

front arrived in the Strand; "lights," was the word, and in a moment every window blazed. Being near the door, I entered among the first, and was so fortunate as to be recognized by Mr. Fox, who beckoned me to him, and gave me a seat by his side.

After the cloth was removed, there was much good speaking. The noble Baronet, and Mr. Fox, were very eloquent on the occasion, and that time was taken up in listening to the voice of eloquence which would otherwise have been spent in drinking. I have seldom enjoyed a more delightful evening.

This election was a most expensive business to the noble Baronet and his father-in-law, (Mr. Coats, the banker.) I heard the latter declare that he would spend fifty thousand pounds in the cause, sooner than have Sir Francis defeated; they could, either of them, well afford it.

A law had been passed just before, to prevent candidates treating at elections; yet, in the whole town of Brentford, and for some distance round it, there was not a single house of entertainment that was not taken up by one, or the other party, where all who pleased might go, and call for what they pleased, without money, and without price. I went out in a chaise, with a couple of friends, both of whom were personal friends of Mr. Mainwaring, but we preferred eating at our own expense, and it was not until we had got half way to London, on our return, that we could find a disengaged house, and procure a dinner.

In 1804, I went to New England, to spend the summer. After visiting my relatives in Massachusetts, I spent

my time principally in Providence, where I purchased a large unfinished house, with about four acres of ground, and in connection with Messrs. Christopher Olney, Jr., and his brother, Nathaniel G. Olney, built the fifth cotton factory in the United States. Messrs. Almy and Brown, built the three first, with the assistance of Mr. Slater, an Englishman. They furnished the money, he the knowledge. I do not recollect who built the fourth.

We had much difficulty in procuring drawings of the machinery for our factory. There was but one man who could make them, and it was with much persuasion and large pay, that we got him to make some for us. As there were then no machine shops for the purpose, we had recourse to the clock makers to make it, each having only the drawings of parts of a machine, they knew not what the whole was intended for.

I immediately wrote to a friend at Liverpool to smuggle me out a machinist from Manchester; rather a perilous undertaking in those days, when the abduction was punishable by transportation, or heavy fine. In due time one arrived in Boston, and immediately joined our concern in Providence; his name was Ogden, and he was the first man that set up a cotton spinning machine shop, and taught the business in the United States. When it was discovered he had left the country, his wife and children were discharged from their employment, and went upon the parish. We sent for them immediately, there was no objection to taking them away, and they arrived safe at Providence.

I made my first acquaintance in Providence, in March,

1796. I arrived there in the evening, from Charleston, and the next morning took the stage for Boston; on entering it I found three passengers already seated, Miss Howell, the oldest daughter of the late Hon. David Howell, Samuel Willard Bridgham, Esq., the present Mayor of Providence, and a Mr. Burrows, afterwards a merchant at Savannah. They were going to Boston for the first time, and it was in my power to be of some service to them. After spending a few days, they returned home, not, however, until I had promised to visit them, before I re-embarked for Charleston.

In a fortnight after they left me, I was again at Providence, on my return, where my new friends rendered my situation so perfectly pleasant, that, although the vessel was not ready for a week, the hour of separation arrived too soon. Providence, at the time I am speaking of, contained a population of about five or six thousand; it had grown up since the revolution, at the expense of Newport, situated thirty miles below, at the entrance of the bay. Yet there was not a town in the union of twice its population, that could boast as many talented men, or beautiful and intellectual ladies.

Among the men was the Hon. David Howell, LL. D., Professor of Law in Brown University, as it is now called. He was a giant in person, as well as in intellect, but like a traveller who takes only doubloons for his journey, he carried no small change. His conversational powers were very limited, except on great occasions, but when he had a subject equal to his mighty mind, he conversed or spoke, with a power of argument, and elo-

quence, equalled by few, and surpassed by none. My intimacy in his family for several years, afforded me the best possible opportunity of knowing him. He was the presiding judge of the high Court of Commission, between the United States and Great Britain, on the boundary question. It was then his great powers of reasoning were called into action, to the astonishment of his hearers.

The late Hon. Jonathan Mason, of Boston, afterwards a senator from Massachusetts, roomed with me, and we attended the sittings of the court together. On the night of the first day, he expressed his astonishment, that such a man should have been appointed to so important a situation. I told him he would have occasion to change his opinion in the course of a day or two; and he did, remarking, he had never been so deceived in any man before, and dwelt with admiration upon his power of reasoning.

The Rev. Doctor Maxcy was then President of the College; a man of great eloquence, and of a high order of literary attainments; he was afterwards, for a number of years, President of South Carolina College. Then came the two brothers, George R. and James Burril; George was by far the man of most genius and brilliancy, but he died young. James was appointed Attorney General of the State, and from thence to the Senate of the United States, where his great amiability of character, united to his eminent talents, gained him an influence in that body which few others possessed. His close application to his duties, brought on disease, which soon ter-

minated his existence, while in the midst of life and usefulness. He was buried in Washington.

Judge Bourne lived in Bristol, but was a regular attendant upon the courts at Providence. In mind, features, manners, person, and negligence of dress, he bore a very strong resemblance to Charles James Fox. His conversation sparkled with wit the most pungent, but always accompanied by that pleasantness of manner which prevented its wounding. He was excellent company, and beloved by all who knew him.

Next came my much esteemed and unchangeable friend for forty-four years; now, and ever since its incorporation, mayor of the city, — Samuel W. Bridgham — who, if not so brilliant as some mentioned, has been a more useful man than either of them. He was educated at the college in Providence, and afterwards read law with Judge Howell. His strict integrity, moral and political, with untiring industry, useful talents, and sound judgment, soon raised him to a highly respectable standing in his profession, with an extensive practice, which enabled him to bring up and educate a family of children.

Nathaniel Searle was a lawyer of much smartness, and great tact for business, of which he had his full proportion.

Mr. Burges, at that time, had not commenced that brilliant career which brought him into congress some years ago, where he shone with a cloudless lustre, the delight of his friends, and the dread of his foes. Mr. Burges being still living, and his character known to every reading man in the nation, nothing further that I

can say will shed additional light upon the subject. I have only to regret, in common with thousands of others, that he is not now in the senate of the United States.

Providence carried on a great trade with the East Indies. At the head of this business, for a number of years, stood John Brown, who had long been among the most enterprising and successful merchants in the United States. To him, Providence was much more indebted than to any other individual. His improvements in the town, and at India Point, were many and great; the latter establishment, which was very extensive, was his sole property. There were no bounds to his enterprise, and his charities were extensive. There were also Clarke and Nightingale, Brown and Ives, John Corlis, Welcome Arnold, and a number of others. The Brown family consisted of four brothers: John, Moses, Nicholas, and Obediah. Nicholas, jun., partner of Ives, endowed, and gave his name to the University; after which, Moses, who belonged to the society of Friends, built and endowed a college for the education of members of that sect. He died but a few years ago, at the advanced age of ninety-nine. What is very unusual in the United States, this family has increased in wealth through three generations—a circumstance which I do not recollect to have occurred before, as it has been almost a universal practice, for the children to squander what the father accumulated.

In November, I returned to Charleston, leaving my partners to continue our factory building. The slave trade had so depressed many kinds of business, and par-

ticularly that which I followed, that I determined to close it as soon as possible, and take up my residence at Providence, to which I returned in June, 1805. Our factory was in progress to completion, and I turned my attention, during the summer, to finishing my house, putting up out buildings, fences, &c.; which being completed, the whole made rather an imposing appearance. In November, we had our factory under way, and I returned to Charleston for the winter. I had been there but a month, when I very unexpectedly got married to Miss Fonerden, a daughter of Adam Fonerden, Esq., of Baltimore; she was on her way to Italy, with her sister and brother-in-law; they continued their voyage to Leghorn, where they spent several years; myself and Mrs. Thomas spent the winter in Charleston, and went early in the spring to Providence, and took possession of our mansion.

During the summer, we took in two additional partners to our factory, that we might carry on the business more extensively; they were Col. J. Olney, of the Revolutionary army, then Collector of the Port, and his brother, Mr. George Olney, Deputy Collector, uncles to my original partners.

In November, I returned to Charleston to close my business, leaving my family in Providence. In the following spring, 1807, I bid adieu to a city which I had made my home for twelve years, and twelve happier ones seldom fall to the lot of any man. I would willingly go through all the toil, trouble, and care, I have gone through since, to pass them over again.

After a month spent in Providence I went with Mrs.

Thomas to visit her relatives in Baltimore, whom I had never seen. They prevailed upon me to quit Providence, and come and reside in Baltimore. Accordingly I returned, sold out my share in the factory, shut up my house, and took my furniture to Baltimore, in the neighborhood of which I had already purchased a farm, which I immediately began to improve. I had got it into fine condition when the long embargo came on, which brought produce down the next year (1809) to less than half the usual prices. I continued on it working from sunrise to dusk until November, 1809, when one day my two carters returning from town with the loads which they had taken in and could not dispose of, at any price, I in a moment determined to return to Charleston. When a resident of that city, Mr. Freneau had often urged me to purchase his establishment, the "City Gazette," which I as often, declined. I now wrote to him to know what he would take for it, and to write me every particular as soon as possible. He answered me promptly. Knowing the man, I accepted all his propositions, and wrote him by the return mail, that I would be in Charleston by New Year's day, if possible, and if I did not arrive by that day, to conduct it for me until I did. I owed some three or four thousand dollars, had a plat made of the front of my farm and sold off as much as paid every cent; packed up my furniture, and, with my family, arrived in Charleston on Christmas day, 1809, where I received a hearty welcome. That day a week, January first, 1810, I commenced editing and publishing the "City Gazette," and continued it until January first, 1816. During five years

out of these six, we had embargo, non-intercourse, or war. Notwithstanding which, I averaged a net profit of twelve thousand dollars per annum. The daily paper increased, during the six years I had it, from eight hundred to twelve hundred and fifty; and the Carolina Gazette, a weekly paper, totally unconnected with the daily, from one thousand to fifteen hundred subscribers.

The expenses of the Gazette establishment were heavy, and I had not the means to meet them until my first half year expired.

Thus situated, I applied to the "State Bank," where my friend, Freneau, was a director, and indorser on my paper. They discounted for me, at three several times, my notes for five hundred dollars each; the fourth they threw out, although every man of them knew me, and knew I could not derive support from my establishment until the expiration of the first half year. The next morning, as one of the directors was passing my office door, I hailed him, and asked him if my credit was limited to fifteen hundred dollars. He replied, he could not answer that question. I then told him I would get up a new bank; he smiled at the idea of a man getting up a new bank, who wanted to borrow five hundred dollars. This was in the month of March. A friend of mine stepped forward and offered me his name at another Bank, where I procured all that I wanted until July, when I immediately collected all that was necessary for my current expenses from my patrons; *they* were patrons, not in name only, but in fact.

The Legislature did not meet until November; early

in October, I set about carrying my threat of getting up a new bank, into execution. I drew up the plan of the Planters and Mechanics Bank, with a capital of 1,000,000 of dollars, in shares of 25 dollars each. I put it into my pocket, and kept it there to obtain signatures from such only as I chose to let into the secret, every one of whom I required to pledge me his word of honor, whether he signed it or not, that he would say nothing about it. Every man that I asked signed it, with one exception. The time for the meeting of the Legislature arrived. I got Col. Thomas Lehre, who was a member, to go so as to be upon the spot and see every member as they arrived. The former Governor, Charles Pinckney, followed with the plan, a bill and petition to the Legislature, who no sooner organized, than the bill to charter it was brought in, and in one week it was a law of the State.

While I was getting my subscription for it filled, (only about sixty names) a Frenchman, whose name I had gotten to it, and who was a large stockholder in the Union Bank, immediately sold out in that institution, and then let out the secret. The next morning I saw two, four feet and a half men, both directors in the bank that had thrown out my note, and one of them the same that I had told, a few months before, that I would get up a new bank, coming towards my office. I was standing in the door and waited their arrival. After a "how do you do, gentlemen," he said, they had been informed I was getting up another bank, and they wished to see the plan of it. I told them it was true that I was doing so, but they could not see it. At which they expressed their astonish-

ment, and asked if it was not to be public. I told them, not at present. They turned on their heels and left me.

When the Legislature adjourned, (it never sits but about five or six weeks,) the Board of Commissioners whom they had appointed, gave notice for the opening of the books.

In the meantime I had been busy in getting powers of attorney for five shares each, which number could not be reduced until all were brought down to that level, and providing funds for the first payment, of five dollars on each share. On the day appointed, I went to the court house to hand in my subscription, pay my money, and receive my certificates. When I produced a string of names some six, or seven, yards long, the Chairman of the Board, Mr. John Potter, declared it could not be received. I referred him to the back of the paper, where he found written, that the power of attorney within was good and sufficient, to which certificate was attached the name of the Attorney General of the State. This at once removed the worthy Chairman's scruples, and he took my list and money, and gave me my stock, which I sold in a few days for cent per cent. During the six years that I was there afterwards, I never had any difficulty in procuring what money I wanted.

An election for members of the eleventh Congress took place in October, 1810. The tenth had disgraced themselves — they spent nearly the whole of their last session upon three bills, brought in by Nathaniel Macon, not one of which they passed. The people of Carolina were ready for a change in their representation generally. In

August, I commenced the campaign with an editorial article, in which I made use of the following expression: "If my father was a member of the tenth Congress, and his bread depended upon his re-election, he should not have my vote." I was at that time, and had been from the time I took charge of the Gazette, the preceding January, in habits of intimacy with the Hon. William Laughton Smith. I considered this gentleman as having been ill used and neglected by both political parties, from the time he returned from his embassy to Portugal; the federalists appeared to have dropped him without reason, and the republicans had not taken him up. When Doctor Shecut wrote up the cotton manufacturing business, and Mr. Smith was appointed orator of the day, at the laying of the corner stone of the building, he came out in terms so plain, upon the republican side, that he did not leave a loop to hang a doubt upon, yet they did not take him up, so that he remained in a complete political purgatory, suspended between the two parties, and acknowledged by neither. This was the situation of affairs, when the campaign opened for the election of members to the eleventh Congress.

Mr. Smith had written several small articles for the Gazette, which made an impression upon the public, without its being known from whom they came. Those who recollected his brilliant career, in the early days of Washington's administration, had turned their attention towards him. For myself, I considered him as decidedly the first statesman in the State, and among the first in the Union. It may be proper to remark, here, that none

of those who have since figured in the politics of South Carolina, had then a political existence. He was my first choice. A large portion of the republican party had fixed their minds upon Mr. Cheves, and knowing they could not elect him without the support of the Gazette, which was the only republican paper in the city, a committee, of whom the late Col. Charles John Steadman was spokesman, called upon me to persuade me to abandon Mr. Smith. I listened respectfully to what the gentlemen had to say, but could not be brought to believe that Mr. Smith was not the best man. There were more of the huzza boys for his opponent, but by far the greater portion of the men of "sober second thoughts," were for him. I had three political friends, whom I always consulted in matters of moment. They were Peter Freneau, Esq., ex-governor Charles Pinckney, and Col. Thomas Lehre. Our place of meeting was at Mr. Freneau's, on George street, every Wednesday evening, pending elections, and as occasion required, at other times. We all met, and I informed them of the interview I had with the committee, and its results. They agreed with me, and I thought the matter settled; but the committee immediately set to work upon Mr. Freneau, whose only fault was, he could not withstand the solicitations of his friends. He finally yielded, and having succeeded thus far, they then prevailed with him to work upon me, knowing, as he could deny them nothing, I could deny him nothing:—"he was a man I loved next heaven." The next thing, was another visit from the committee, to thank me for having yielded to their

wishes. Mr. Pinckney and Col. Lehre came into the measure, and we formed a union for the sake of a union, against what I then thought, and still think, my better judgment; and I know they all thought with me, when it was too late. It was the only instance, in six years, of my friends making an alteration in any suggestion I ever made to them. It is due to Mr. Smith, as well as myself, to state, that not a word ever passed between us upon the subject of his being a candidate, but the result estranged him from me, and we never were upon the same friendly footing afterwards.

The South Carolina Gazette, my weekly paper, circulated all over the state, and I made the best use I could of it to turn out every member of the tenth congress; with what success, the reader will judge, when told that eight, out of nine, were obliged to give place to other men. The ninth barely escaped, and good humoredly remarked, that if "Thomas' lever," as the country people called the Carolina Gazette, could have had a little more purchase, he should have gone with the rest. It was on this occasion that William Lowndes, Calhoun, and Cheves, were first elected to congress, forming, with their colleagues, such a constellation of talent, as seldom meets, from one State, in that body.

The following letter from Colonel Thomas Lehre, is illustrative of the way in which the republican party managed their affairs at that time.

Charleston, January 30, 1819.

My dear sir — The other day I paid a visit to your old friend, Governor Geddes; he informed me he had then received a letter from you, and seemed much pleased to hear you were doing well. Since which, I have been informed that you was elected a member of the legislature of Maryland, for Baltimore county, and that you had made a very able speech in favor of a bill then before that body, granting to the Jews of that State greater privileges than they heretofore enjoyed under the laws of Maryland; and that you had, upon various other occasions, rendered yourself extremely popular with the people of your district. Permit me, as an old friend, to congratulate you on the occasion.

I observe by the papers that a violent opposition is made in congress, to the president and Gen. Jackson, respecting the Seminole war; however, I think that Mr. John Q. Adams, by his note to our minister in Spain, has put the whole of that business in such a point of view, as to have produced a wonderful effect upon the mind of almost every person here who has read it, in favor of the president and the general on the occasion. It is reported here, that Mr. Munroe will meet with some opposition at the next presidential election. If so, as I know you of old, not to be an idle spectator on such an occasion, pray inform me from what quarter you have heard it is to come?

I cannot help smiling, when I call to mind the frequent nightly caucuses you and your little club of three old

school republicans, (jocosely called by me "The members of the Rhye House Plot,") used to have at your friend's in George street, to discuss, plan, and arrange the best method to adopt from time to time, to keep up the republican party in this State; and at the very great zeal you uniformly displayed on all those occasions. It is well known in this State, that the measures adopted at those meetings, aided by your great exertions in your Carolina and City Gazettes, enabled the republican party in this State to bear down, most completely, all opposition; otherwise it must inevitably have been overcome.

You know, the federalists, whenever they heard that your club had a meeting, used to say, "Well, the triumvirate, Cæsar, Pompey, and Lepidus, had a meeting last night; we must expect something from them to-morrow in the City Gazette." You no doubt have heard that one of your club [Ex-Gov. Pinckney] is elected a member of congress.

The report of the committee of congress, on the Bank of the United States, has caused unpleasant sensations here, as a number of your old friends here are interested in that institution. Pray inform me what you think will be done on the occasion, and what the stock of it will hereafter be worth. I observe by a Philadelphia paper, that Judge Langdon Cheves, and Mr. John Potter, of this city, are elected directors of the above bank. The stockholders here are very anxious that Judge Cheves should be elected president.

The Constitutional Court of this State, on Monday last, made two important decisions. 1st. That the branch

Bank of the United States, in this city, could be taxed. The case was this; the city council last year passed a law to tax them, Mr. John Potter, and others, refused to pay the tax, and caused the case to be brought by a writ of prohibition, to the above court, who decided against the appellants, as above stated. 2d. That no person can swear out of gaol in this State, unless he gives three months notice to his creditors, prior to the time of his swearing out. This is very different from what it was when you was here.

As you are near the seat of our government, and from your active turn of mind, I have no doubt you are well informed of what events are passing at Washington, therefore, it will afford me great pleasure, to hear from you as often as you can find time to write to me on politics, or on any subject you please. Should any thing occur here, that I shall think of any moment, I will in return cheerfully send you the same. It is with great regret I state, that ever since you left us, we have never been able to form such a club as the one above mentioned.

I remain, with the greatest esteem,

Dear sir, your sincere friend,

E. S. THOMAS, ESQ.

THO. LEHRE.

Parties ran high at this time, and were unequally divided. Notwithstanding this situation of affairs, the most gentlemanly deportment continued to be preserved between them on all occasions. Three or four weeks before the election, I was called on by a committee, from the federal party, consisting of the Hon. Henry Laurens, General

Daniel Elliot Huger, and another gentleman, whose name has escaped me ; to request me to publish their address and ticket in the Gazette the next morning, and continue it until the election ; this was complied with, of course. That day, Col. Geddes, who was then Speaker of the House, and a republican of the Jefferson school, had a large dinner party, without regard to politics. There were present a number of the judges of the courts of law and equity ; members of the bar ; and field officers of the military. About nine o'clock, that portion of the company who were advanced in life withdrew, and as the ten or twelve who remained were all of the republican party, I told them what had occurred, and that we might not be behindhand with our political opponents, proposed that we should make up a purse, and I would enclose it in a note to the proprietors of the Courier, with a request that the republican address and ticket might both appear in their paper the *next* morning. The proposition was agreed to, the money was sent, and the address and ticket appeared as requested, to the utter astonishment of the federal party, who contemplated stealing the march upon us ; the thought was a good one on their part, but they did not succeed.

In 1811, there were repeated meetings held in Charleston, and throughout the State, calling on the general government to vindicate their country's rights, by an appeal to arms against Great Britain. At these meetings both parties appeared, and there was much good speaking, pro and con ; but the republicans having a decided and large majority, always carried their point, and pledged

their lives and fortunes to support the government in such a measure.

The last meeting held before the declaration of war, was called at the Exchange, but its spacious hall could not hold them; an adjournment took place to the circular church. Mr. Speaker Geddes, was called to the chair, and the first person that rose to address it, was a stout young gentleman, with sandy hair, a large Roman nose, and large red whiskers. In a moment the inquiry ran through the crowd, who is he? Where did he come from? I was sitting in a pew with Col. Keating Lewis Simmons, who put the question to me. I could not answer it, never having seen the gentleman before. The attention of the meeting was soon called off from enquiring who he was, to listening to what he said. He spoke well, very well, and was heard with the most profound attention.

He no sooner took his seat, than Col. Simmons rose in reply. Who that ever heard that talented orator, and excellent man, but admits the power with which he enchained a public assembly when speaking? He began by a well merited compliment to the stranger gentleman, who had just taken his seat, and who was still unknown to the audience. Col. Simmons was the leader of the federal party, not the head; that honor was conferred upon General Charles Coatsworth Pinckney. His speech, on this occasion, was one of his happiest efforts, and received the plaudits of foes, as well as friends — political ones I mean, such a man could have no other.

The next who addressed the chair, was Joshua W.

Toomer, Esq., then a very young man, but of great promise, which he fulfilled in his after life, and still continues to do; his passions were strong, and not sufficiently under control then. He spoke very disrespectfully of the republican party, who constituted at least two thirds of the assembly. Some one, or more, hissed him; he folded his arms, and looking round on the audience with ineffable contempt, demanded who hissed him? There was no reply. The resolutions brought in by the republicans were passed, and the meeting adjourned.

As we went from the house, I was introduced to the stranger gentleman, who was no other than Major M. M. Noah, now of the New York Evening Star. He had been in the city some weeks, staying with his brother-in-law, and had made but few acquaintances, having employed his time in writing a series of essays, in the style of Goldsmith's Citizen of the World, which were published in "The Times," a daily evening paper, over the signature of "Muly Malack;" they were much sought after, and read with great avidity.

The next morning, the Major called upon me with a piece of manuscript, not then complete, and said he would bring the remainder by one o'clock. I read it, and told him I would publish it, but that there would be a call for the author, as soon as it was published, and that he, or I, must meet it. He asked for my reasons, and I gave them to him. The entire article appeared the next morning. While I was gone to market, Lieutenant Hamilton, of the army, since Governor, and now, General Hamilton, called at my house; I met him as he was coming from it.

After the usual salutations, as we walked towards my office, he made known his business, which was precisely what I expected. I endeavored to convince him that the article contained nothing against his friend, as a private citizen, but was solely confined to his public conduct, at a public meeting. This did not satisfy him. I then told him if he would call at one o'clock, I would give him an answer; he bid me good morning, and left me. In the course of an hour after, I met Major Noah on the street, and told him what had occurred; he immediately handed me his card, and we parted, he to seek a friend, and I to my business. He had no difficulty in finding one who could either negotiate, or fight, as circumstances required. It was Col. Thomas Clement, then State Treasurer. At the hour appointed, Lieutenant Hamilton called, and I gave him the card.

This was no sooner known, than the affair took a party hue. The federalists immediately prevailed upon Lieutenant Hamilton to give place to Col. K. L. Simmons, before mentioned. This was on Saturday. Nothing decisive had taken place; each political party being anxious for the safety of their principal in the affair. The next morning, unknown to any one, I made a confidential call upon Col. Simmons, and gave him my reasons for believing that the difference might be settled to the satisfaction of all parties, without risking the lives of gentlemen who were alike held in great estimation by their respective parties and friends. The Colonel listened attentively to my proposition, and said he would think seriously of

it. The next I heard upon the subject, it was settled on the very terms I had suggested.

Unfortunately, there are men, in every community, who take pleasure in promoting quarrels, instead of preventing them, particularly when their own persons are not likely to be brought into danger by it; so on the above occasion, some few would sneeringly remark, that "they did not think the Major was more fond of fighting than other people." This did not last long. The Major had a misunderstanding with one of his nation, who called him out, and was badly wounded by him. There was nothing more said about his not fighting.

When war was declared, Charleston was in a very defenceless state; Fort Moultrie might be said to be its only defence, and it no doubt would have proved a very efficient one from an attack by water, as it did on the 28th of June, 1776. Fort Johnson, only three miles from the city, on James' Island, was entirely defenceless on the land side, and as for Castle Pinckney, an enemy that came near enough to be in reach of its guns, could throw shells into the city, and destroy it at their leisure. They would not have to throw them as far as the British did into Fort McHenry. The attention of the citizens was immediately turned to strengthening the garrison of Fort Moultrie; for which purpose, a draft of two hundred and fifty men, was made from the city militia. I was drafted, but found I had been illegally so, and was advised not to submit to it. As for going myself, it was out of the question, as my paper would have had to stop; but I at once determined to provide a substitute, whom

I uniformed and equipped according to law, and agreed to give him a dollar per day in addition to government pay. He was inspected and received, by Col. John Ward, as my substitute, and with the others, put under the command of Major Stroble. Col. Ward having first addressed them, they were marched off the ground for exercise. They had not got half a mile when they were met by Brigadier General Read, who had no longer any legal control over them; they were ordered to halt, and he called for the muster roll; when he came to my substitute, he ordered him out of the ranks, declaring "he would allow no substitutes;" the law declared that substitutes should be allowed. While he was exercising this authority over troops with whom he had no business, as if to cap the climax, he was seated in a one horse chair in citizens' dress.

My substitute returned; but I was determined such unmilitary conduct should not pass unnoticed, where I was a party concerned. The next morning, Governor Middleton called at my office to learn the news, as usual, when I stated the facts to him, and further, that I should require a court martial upon the general, unless the matter was amicably settled without. The governor asked me to wait, until he had an opportunity of seeing him, to which I agreed. An hour, or two, after, I saw them together in the street; the governor spoke to me, and I joined them, when the affair was settled to my entire satisfaction.

The troops went into garrison at Fort Moultrie, where I spent the fourth of July with them. That excellent

officer, and accomplished gentleman, Col. William Drayton, was in command — the same whom *General Jackson* recommended to President Monroe for Secretary of War. In August, they were removed to Haddril's point, nearly opposite the fort, upon the main, where they were put under tents. A long spell of wet weather followed close upon their removal. I went to see them, and found the water from six inches to a foot deep, in many of their tents. The next day I opened a subscription to build barracks for them, and collected between three and four thousand dollars. In one fortnight, two ranges of barracks, two stories high, and each two hundred feet in length, were completely weather boarded and roofed in, with a sufficient number of chimneys for all purposes.

Among other defences, it was determined to fortify the city, on the land side, by a line of works across the neck, from Ashley to Cooper rivers, thus completely cutting off the city from the country. The engineer was immediately set to work to lay out the plan, which was soon done, and the citizens determined to carry it into execution with all possible expedition. The work, to the best of my recollection, consisted of a wall of earth, ten feet high, and fifteen feet thick, with a ditch, in front, ten feet deep, and twenty wide, so that it was twenty feet from the bottom of the ditch to the top of the battlement. In the construction of this wall, every shovel full of earth was pounded down, until it was as solid as it was possible to make it. It was then handsomely sodded. There were zigzags, equi-distant, along the whole line, on which the heaviest guns were mounted, to rake the ditch. The

The guns were all mounted in barbet at first, but it was soon discovered that that plan would expose the men too much. Embrasures were then cut, which greatly disfigured the work, but would have been a great safeguard to the men, had there been an attack. The men of small arms were completely sheltered, except at the moment of firing, and then only their heads would have been exposed. There were seventy-eight pieces of cannon on the wall, and the lines were manned by seven thousand men, to which number three thousand more could have been added in an hour, if wanted.

This great piece of work was the production of the citizens and their slaves. A large sum was subscribed to pay laborers. All took their turn at the work — even the ladies, to the number of several hundreds, marched out, and carried sods all one day! It was a glorious sight, to see the patriotic enthusiasm which prevailed.— The British officers that came to Charleston immediately after the peace, pronounced it the handsomest and best put together piece of field work they ever saw.

A number of barges were employed, at the commencement of the war, to protect the numerous inlets about the entrance to the harbor, through which large quantities of rice, and other produce were brought to market. These were all discontinued, by Mr. Secretary Jones, of the Navy Department, because they were too expensive, and the government could not afford it! A British squadron was laying off and on, in sight of the city, and their barges, taking advantage of this state of things, entered the inlets at night, and made prizes of numerous vessels, with

valuable cargoes. Complaint was made to the Secretary, through several of the Representatives of the State, in Congress, entreating him to restore the barges, but to no purpose.

I had some private business at Washington and Baltimore, that required my presence in those places. This being known to a number of the citizens, they requested me to wait on the Secretary, and urge him to restore the barges. Mr. Secretary Jones had, a number of years before, been a merchant in Charleston, of the firm of Jones & Clarke, and had commanded a brig in the Philadelphia trade; he therefore could not plead ignorance as to the importance of that kind of defence.

I took a letter of introduction to him, and started for Washington. The first intelligence I received when I got across the ferry, was the capture, the preceding night, of Mrs. Horry's schooner, from her plantation, bound to Charleston, with four negroes, and two hundred tierces of rice on board, worth between six and seven thousand dollars.

On my arrival at Washington, I found congress assembled at an extra session. I immediately waited on Col. Earle, a member from the back country of South Carolina, and requested him to go with me to the navy department, which he did; and I presented my letter, in which was set forth the grievance complained of, in plain language. It was written by Mr. Freneau. The Secretary read it attentively, and regretted extremely that he could not comply with its contents — the treasury was exhausted, and seamen's wages were very high. I told

him, his having been a resident of Charleston, enabled him to judge correctly of our situation, and we had a right to expect a different course from him. The banks there had been liberal in their advances to the government, and they had a right to that protection which they had furnished means to afford. He still persisted in his refusal. I then told him I would not take *no* for an answer. He replied, others had taken it for an answer, and I must. I rejoined, I would give him time to consider of it, and call again the next day. I then took my leave. As we returned to the capitol, Col. Earle remarked to me, "you will gain your point; he never was dealt with in such plain terms before."

The next day there was a great public dinner, in celebration of our naval victories. It was attended by the Vice President (Gerry) and all the heads of departments, with about one hundred and twenty members of congress. I attended; and the first gentleman that spoke to me, as I entered the room, was Mr. N. G. Maxwell, Mr. Secretary Jones' confidential clerk, and an old acquaintance of mine, who whispered in my ear, "you have succeeded; I copied the order to have the barges restored, and it went by mail to-day." It so happened, I was seated directly opposite the honorable Secretary at table, who invited me to take wine with him, and was otherways quite agreeable, but said nothing about the barges.

In the evening, I attended the President's levee. It was my first appearance. Judge Tate, of Georgia, introduced me, and I spent a very agreeable evening, the

pleasure of which was greatly enhanced by a quarter of an hour's conversation with Mrs. Madison, who did the honors of her house in a style of ease and elegance not to be surpassed. The next day I dined with the President. The company was not very large, but rather stiff and formal.

The next morning I called at the department of state, to pay my respects to Mr. Monroe, then secretary, with whom I was acquainted when he represented the United States at the British court. After conversing awhile, he told me he was authorised by the President to offer me the office of Commissioner of Loans for South Carolina, which was then vacant. I answered, I was grateful to the President for his good will towards me, but that I had a better office of my own, than any in his gift. Mr. Monroe smiled, and said he believed it was the first time so valuable an office had been refused; to which I replied, as I had sometimes taken the liberty to differ from the administration, I would maintain my independence by not accepting office under it. He asked me to name a candidate. I named Col. Thomas Lehre. He requested me to put it in writing, which I did; and Mr. Lowndes, with two or three other members from Carolina, signed it with me. I then wrote a note to Mr. Monroe, and inclosed it. The appointment was made, and the Colonel found himself in a snug office of two thousand a year, without having either sought for, or expected it. The duty was very light, and in common with all the loan offices in the United States, was performed by the late

United States Bank, after the organization of that institution in 1817.

I dined that day with Mr. Senator Gaillard, at his mess, where I met Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Grundy, Mr. Bassett, Governor Turner, of North Carolina, and Judge Tate, of Georgia. Mr. Gaillard and Mr. Lowndes were old friends; Mr. Bassett was an amiable, unassuming man; Governor Turner, a fine hearty jollification old gentleman; Judge Tate, very gentlemanly. He moved about upon his wooden leg, with great facility and ease. Mr. (now Senator) Grundy was a rough diamond; and, like one of those precious stones, became all the better for polishing.

Having settled my accounts with the different departments, for printing, and been completely successful in my *embassy* to the Secretary of the Navy, I left Washington for Baltimore, where I was detained nearly a fortnight. I then took the stage on my return to Charleston, and did not stop until I arrived there, except at meals. I received the warm congratulations of many of my fellow citizens, for my success in obtaining that in which so many had failed.

While the barge defence was suspended, the enemy became so bold, that they kept up a regular intercourse with their friends in the city; even got their supplies from our market, and what was still more daring, some of their officers, in disguise, attended a ball on Sullivan's Island, within two, or three hundred yards of Fort Moultrie!

A man came to my office one day and asked to speak

with me in private. I went aside with him, when he told me he had an important communication to make, but would not do it, unless I pledged myself not to betray him, as his life would be in danger. I agreed to his proposition. He then informed me, that the enemy were regularly supplied with fresh provisions from our market, and with the newspapers. From some circumstances he mentioned, I had no doubt of the truth of his communication, and "took the responsibility" of calling a town meeting, at the exchange, the next evening. When the meeting was organized, I stated the facts as I had learned them, and my full belief in them, reserving only the name of my informant. I then addressed the meeting; it was the first time I ever addressed a large one; the subject was a very exciting one, and I was loudly applauded. Measures were taken to put a stop to such proceedings in future, without looking too closely into the past. It was sound policy.

In June, 1812, Major Noah, being on the eve of departing for his Consulate, at Tunis, in Africa, addressed a long letter to me for publication, in which he made heavy charges against Joseph Alston, then Governor of the State, in relation to his connexion with Burr, in his conspiracy. It will be recollected, Alston married Col. Burr's daughter.

We had not been good friends, from a few months after our first acquaintance. It happened thus. There was a literary society, called "the Moot society," originally organized to discuss moot points of law; but the number of young gentlemen of that profession not being suffi-

ciently numerous, they threw open their doors to admit members without regard to profession. I immediately became a member, with many others. The society soon grew to be an object of general interest, and many of those who have since shed a lustre upon South Carolina, owed their advancement, in no small degree, to having been members of that society. It was in the midst of its usefulness when Alston returned from Princeton, where he had just finished a collegiate course, and taken his degree. His talents were highly spoken of. He attended the meetings of the society, where every member had a right to introduce two friends, and it was understood it was his intention to apply for admission. Those who knew him when at school were opposed to him, on the ground that he would either rule the society his own way, or break it up, and they cautioned me against him.

He offered for membership, and was present when the the ballot was taken. He gained his election by one, or two votes, only, and immediately brought forward a string of resolutions, to alter the fundamental rules of the society! Thus fully corroborating all that his former school mates had alleged against him. A committee of five was appointed, of which he was chairman, but never attended. I was a member of the committee, and we reported against his innovations. Our report was adopted. This made him more troublesome than before, and several others, with myself, withdrew from the society.

We were never on speaking terms after he was defeated in his first attempt to gain the gubernatorial chair; he succeeded in the second, by his own vote, if

my memory is correct, and became my implacable foe. Major Noah's letter, among other charges, accused him of bribing the voters of All Saints parish, to gain his election to the legislature. Alston prosecuted me for publishing it. The law of libel in Carolina then prohibited the truth being given in evidence, and at the same time required the traverser to furnish the judge with proofs for his own private ear, in mitigation of sentence. Accordingly, in order to be prepared for the trial, I set about collecting proof. My first object was to find out Bannerhasset's retreat, which having done, I wrote to him. I have not a copy of my letter, but its tenor may be gathered from his answer, the original of which was given to the judge. A notarial copy, which I took care to have taken, is as follows:—

Labach's, Port Gibson, Miss. Ter. 19th November, 1814.

TO MR. E. S. THOMAS,
Charleston, S. C.

Sir:

I received your letter of the 18th ultimo, through Mr. William Rutherford, of Natchez, no sooner than yesterday; I did not view with indifference the application you therein address to me, for what you term an act of justice, viz. my affidavit, to testify to the participation and connection which Governor Alston may have had, as you express it, "with Colonel Burr in his conspiracy." An affidavit to the *effect* you request of me, to enable you the better to go to trial next January, I could transmit to you, and I have long since stated to Gov. Alston,

by letter, facts and considerations, drawn from his own conduct, redundantly sufficient to free me from all reservation on his account. But having reflected upon your case, it strikes me, that *my deposition* on interrogatories, in which Governor Alston would have whatever advantage he could take of my cross-examination, would be more operative than any affidavit I could make to facts or transactions; your court might perhaps consider irrelevant to your defence, I apprehend your better plan will be, to offer your or this letter annexed, to the court as upon your trial, with you can obtain deposition. If your court should approve of that course, I doubt not in my answer to the general concluding interrogatory, with which depositions usually conclude, I can unfold a tale "respecting Gov. Alston's concern and participation in all the views and designs of Col. Burr, to which I have been privy," — which, in short, I have been prevented from giving it to the public, in a detailed history, though long since ready for the press. I should rejoice, so far as it includes Gov. Alston, at least, to place in a condensed state, on the records of a court of justice. I know not how far this communication may interest your court, but if the tender were made to your State, I presume your Legislature would at least appoint a secret, or select committee to extract from it resolutions approving the patriotism of their Executive past, present, and to come.

Hoping, Sir, the suggestions I have offered you, may
be of service, Your most ob't servant,

HAR^N. BAN^RHASSETT.

P. S. I am about to take up my residence at New Orleans, where communications can, if necessary, be made to me on the subject of this letter, or other business.

H. B. H.

To Mr. E. S. THOMAS,
Editor of the City and Carolina Gazettes, }
Charleston, S. Carolina.

Be it known, that, I Charles Glover, esquire, Justice of the Quorum, and Notary Public, by lawful authority, duly sworn, admitted and commissioned by letters patent under the great seal of the State of South Carolina, residing and practising in the City of Charleston and State of South Carolina aforesaid, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true, faithful and exact copy of the original letter, produced to me by Mr. E. S. Thomas, of the City and State aforesaid, (excepting the parts therein left blanks, which being so obliterated, I, the said notary, could not make out.) To the due performance of which, an act being requested, by Mr. E. S. Thomas, I have granted the same under my Notarial form and seal of office, to serve and avail as occasion shall, or may require.

[SEAL] Thus done and passed at Charleston and in the State aforesaid, on this day, the twenty-fifth of January, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and fifteen, and thirty-ninth of the Independence of the United States of America.

CH'S. GLOVER, *Q. U. and Not'y Public.*

This letter contained an envelope, headed "*private*," which cannot be made public while I live. E. S. T.

At the first term of the court, after the governor's election, my trial came on. Governor Alston's father, the late venerable Colonel William Alston, was a gentleman for whom I always entertained the highest respect. My difference with his son, never gave rise to any between him and me. He did not tell me that his son bribed the voters of All Saints parish, but he did tell me, that his election cost him (his son) nine thousand dollars, and that his opponent spent seven thousand.

My counsel sent two subpoenas for him, neither of which he obeyed. The Court then issued a bench warrant, and sent an officer to Georgetown after him, who brought him in custody to Charleston. When brought into court, he was severely reprimanded by the judge, (Bay,) and the sheriff was instructed to keep him in custody until discharged by the Court. I regretted this extremely, because it compelled that worthy gentleman, and kind father, to be present, and hear his son spoken of in the severest terms our language could furnish — which would not have been required of him, had he obeyed the subpoena of the Court.

The day appointed for trial arrived. My council consisted of William Lance, Thomas Hunt, and ——— Gibson, Esquires, who all generously volunteered their services in my behalf. Without consulting with either of them, I put the question to the court, whether it was just that I should be put upon my trial, while the prose-

cutor held the pardoning power in his hands? The judge promptly answered, no ; and the case was put off until Governor Alston's term expired. His successor was David R. Williams, than whom Carolina never boasted a better citizen, or chief magistrate — the office sought him, not he the office. There were several candidates, but the Legislature could not agree upon any one of them. A member suggested, that he could name a gentleman, who, if he could be prevailed upon to accept it would unite all parties: he named Mr. Williams. The suggestion was approved, and a committee appointed to wait upon the nominee. They found him driving one of his waggons, (of which there were a number,) the driver of which had been taken sick. He halted, as they came up, and having heard their message, he promptly answered, that if the legislature did him the honor to elect him, he would serve the State to the best of his ability; bid the committee good by, and drove on. In a few days he was sent for to be inaugurated.

In addition to my volunteer counsel, I had employed Benjamin B. Smith, Esq., an elegant speaker, who uttered a tremendous philippic against Mr. Alston. I recollect one sentence. He said, "a stranger arrives in Charleston; he walks up Broad-street, and near this hall of justice he sees the pillory erected, and on that pillory he sees Joseph Alston; he asks, why is he placed there? the answer is, for bribing the voters of All Saints parish. Near him stands Mr. Thomas — I beg Mr. Thomas' pardon for placing him in any such company — he asks

why is Mr. Thomas placed there? The answer is, for telling that Alston bribed them."

The Hon. John S. Richardson was then attorney general, now a judge. He, and I, had been in habits of intimacy from the time he came to the city and commenced his legal studies. His conduct upon this trial appeared to me extra judicial, and unprecedented. On the second day of the trial, Mr. Lance, unguardedly, took up the acts of the legislature, that happened to be laying upon the table, and shew by them, that Alston was Speaker, at the time he was charged with some of his misdeeds. The attorney general exultingly admitted the *evidence*, and exclaimed, "now I have the last word." It was not the intention of my counsel, to offer any evidence. I admitted the publication, and it was useless to offer any.— Had it not been for this circumstance, my counsel would have had the last word; which, before a jury, with able counsel, is more than half the battle. Mr. attorney general was not satisfied with this, but left his place, which was an armed chair, raised one step above the other members of the bar, and went round the table, and stood directly in front of, and within less than two feet of the foreman of the jury, whom he harangued for more than three hours! As I have said before, I repeat, that his conduct was extra judicial and unprecedented. I asked no favors; but I did not expect *my long intimate, and personal friend*, would take ten times the trouble to convict me, that he would to convict a horse thief. Such are the facts, however, and I have no doubt he had good

and *substantial* reasons for the course he pursued. The pleadings lasted nearly three days; a little before night, on the third day, the judge gave the cause in charge to the jury, as decidedly against me as he could express it. They withdrew, and a number of gentlemen of the bar came to me, and gave it as their decided opinion that the jury would acquit me. I told them no. They would consider themselves bound by the judge's charge, notwithstanding the Constitution of the State declared that "the freedom of speech and of the press should be preserved inviolate."

The jury were not out long, and came in with a verdict of "guilty;" and at the same time declared, that "*they found Mr. Thomas guilty, under the charge of the Court, against their feelings as men, and citizens,*" which was signed by all of them. This was more grateful to my feelings, than a dozen acquittals. My counsel got my sentence postponed to the end of the next term, as my family had proposed, if I was sent to prison, to go with me, and the accommodations might not be convenient for so many. I therefore determined to send them away, and did, — to Baltimore. This was in January, and I did not receive sentence until May. When the day arrived, I put a thousand dollars in my pocket, and went into court, thus prepared to pay a fine and costs. It was the first day of the term of the Constitutional Court, and I fell in with Judges Nott and Colcock; I asked the former how he thought "brother Bay" would deal with me? his reply was, the sentence would be a trifling fine, and costs. I had no idea of being sent to prison, although

Col. Cleary, the sheriff, had told me, weeks before, that he was sure I would be sent there, and had the best room in the building fitted up for my reception accordingly.

The following facts I copy from a letter I wrote to my family, at Baltimore.

On Saturday I went into court to receive sentence, which was first passed upon Doctor Mackey, for libeling Noah. On the first indictment he was sentenced to fifty dollars fine, and one month's imprisonment. On the second, to twenty-five dollars fine, and fifteen days imprisonment; and for the libel upon me, fined one dollar, and costs of court in all the cases. The attorney general then called for judgment upon me. I stood up, but the judge politely told me to keep my seat, which I resumed, of course; he then sentenced me to one month's imprisonment, two hundred dollars fine, and costs of court, for publishing Noah's letter; and to pay a fine of one dollar for a libel upon John L. Wilson, who had also been convicted on several indictments, but did not appear to receive sentence, and a bench warrant was issued against him.

The judge had just finished my sentence, when a loud report of a pistol was heard; the sheriff went out to ascertain the cause, and returning in a minute, reported that Doctor Ramsay, the historian, was shot. The court broke up in disorder, without adjourning. My friend, the sheriff, asked me to wait in his office a few minutes, and he would then accompany me where I pleased. We first went to my office, where I settled with all hands, and gave orders to have my letters and papers sent to

my new boarding house, upon the green, every morning. We then went and dined with my friend Mr. Courtney, where I then made my home, and late in the afternoon we walked together to the prison, where I found a comfortable room, well furnished, which, but for the "iron glass windows," might have passed for a parlor. We had been there but a few minutes, when a servant arrived, bringing me a dozen of choice old Madeira. I asked him who sent it; the answer was, master sent his compliments, and will call to see you soon. I never knew to whose kindness I was indebted for it. He had scarcely left the jail, when another arrived with a dozen of Hibbert's London brown stout, and a dozen of his famous raspberry brandy. They continued to arrive until sun down, when I found myself supplied with a stock of at least half a gross of the choicest wines and liquors the city could afford, and a room full of friends to enjoy it with me. My levee commenced each morning at ten, and ended at the same hour in the evening.

Directly after sentence was passed, my counsel, unknown to me, despatched a messenger to the governor, who was a hundred miles and more up the country, engaged in reviewing the militia. The messenger found him at a review, and handed him his dispatches, which, having read, he took out a pencil and wrote, making use of the pommel of his saddle for a desk, a full and free pardon for myself, and Doctor Mackey. The messenger arrived at the prison on Wednesday evening, about 8 o'clock, having been gone but four days and a half. He gave me his dispatch, which I handed to the sheriff. My

room was full at the time. He whispered me, he was going out, and desired me to keep my friends until his return. I had no idea of his object. In about half an hour he returned, accompanied by a band of music, and a large number of citizens. As this was my last day at the *castle*, after my friends had sufficiently regaled themselves, I gave the balance of my liquors and wines to the jailor, for his uniform kind attention to my comfort. The sheriff, who acted as a volunteer marshall on the occasion, formed a procession, which was quite long at the commencement, and soon increased to a multitude. The moon was at full, which made it very pleasant. Our first visits were to serenade the families of my counsel, and then to my host, who threw open his wine cellar, (he was a wine merchant,) and treated the entire procession. While this was in progress, I mounted the balcony, and made a speech to them on the liberty of the press. The procession was again formed, and marched to the mansion of Mr. Speaker Geddes, who was with us the whole time, and gave the order to that effect. It was immediately illuminated; the music struck up, and they danced until near morning. During the procession, the most perfect order prevailed; there was no other noise than that made by the music. Thus triumphantly, on my part, ended a prosecution, which from the beginning was intended for a persecution. Those four days I spent in prison, were among the happiest of my life.

The next morning I walked into court, and received the hearty congratulations of my friends, who proved to be infinitely more numerous than I had any idea of.

Pending the prosecution for the libel, I was, in company with three other gentlemen, spending the evening with the Hon. Thomas Hunt, Master in Chancery ; it was extremely dark, and a heavy rain falling at the time. We were seated round a table, Mr. Hunt next the fire on one side, and I on the other. One of the front windows, the shutters of which were open, was immediately behind me, distant about six feet ; when some one rode up to the side pavement, and shot at me through the glass. The ball passed through my hair, and just grazed the skin on the top of my ear ; it carried with it across the room, a small piece of glass, which struck Mr. Hunt upon the nose and drew blood, which ran down and dropped off it. The ball struck the partition wall, and fell upon the floor. It was a rifle ball. The person who fired must have been on horseback, from the height at which the ball came through the window. He must have been near, for the hole in the glass was precisely an inch in diameter, and circular, with scarcely any fracture extending from it. The middle of the street being nothing but sand, the approach of a horse could not be heard ; and the extreme darkness prevented the possibility of any one being seen.

Governor Williams sent for me the next morning, to learn the facts, in order that he might issue a proclamation, which he did, offering a reward of several hundred dollars for the apprehension of the perpetrator of the outrage. No light was ever thrown upon the subject that I know of, but the public had but one opinion as to who was the perpetrator.

Let me not be misunderstood. This remark is by no means intended, in the most remote degree, to apply to Governor Alston. Far from it. With the exception of those two persons — that is, the Governor and the intended assassin — I do not know that I ever had an enemy in Carolina, during the eighteen years, and upwards, that I resided there; but I do know, that I had many, very many friends, for whom I ever had, and ever shall have, the most sincere esteem. The remembrance of many of them who long since, and some who lately, (Blanding and Hayne) have gone to that bourne from whence there is no return, is engraven upon my heart as with a pen of diamond, by the finger of Deity, and will be as lasting as its tablet.

They were a high minded, generous, and noble people, confiding, and confided in. Those that came from other lands, in a very few years first learned to appreciate, and then to adopt their sentiments, until all were imbued with the same. It was only for one man to ask a favor of another to have it granted, if it was in the power of him who was asked, and in such a manner that he did not feel it was a favor. There was no stopping to calculate the loss, or gain, by the granting, or withholding of it.

On the first of January, 1816, I sold out the Gazette establishment, and in April returned to Baltimore. I should not have done this, but I suffered so much from the heat; and I have often regretted that, instead of selling out, I did not employ an editor for four or five months

in the year, and gone and spent my summers in the mountains, or in Europe. But

“There is a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will.”

We can only do what we conscientiously think for the best, and trust the result to Providence.

I had acquired, in six years, an independence, including my real estate in Maryland, and invested my funds as fast as I realized them, in real and leasehold estate, which was then at the highest. It began to decline in value the next year, 1817, and continued to decline until it could not be sold at any price.

There was no United States Bank then, (1816.) It was incorporated in February, of that year, and went into operation on the first of January following. The charter provided that the capital should be paid in, in specie and six per cent. stock of the United States, in portions of twenty, or twenty-five, per cent., (I have forgotten which) every six months. I had provided myself with the means of taking fifty thousand dollars of the stock, but when I found specie at twenty-eight per cent. advance, in Baltimore bank notes, and six per cents. of the United States above par; I presumed that before the second instalment was due, they would both advance in price, as a natural consequence. Under those circumstances, I concluded it was best not to take any of the stock. Had I known that, instead of the requirements of the charter being complied with, it would be violated at the first meeting of the Board, I might as well have

taken a hundred thousand dollars of the stock, as let it alone. Those who went deeply into it, knew they could elect the Board of Directors, and understood things better. When the second instalment became due, the small dealers paid in conformity to the charter, but the large ones had their first instalment discounted to pay their second with. The Bank then went into operation. The stock rose rapidly, and never ceased rising, until it reached one hundred and fifty-six dollars per share, for full paid shares, in Baltimore. That day, the Cashier of one of the banks, gave a large dinner party, and I was among the guests. He held a considerable amount of stock, and I advised him to sell it that afternoon, deliverable the next morning, as business hours were past; but he declined, assigning for a reason, that having risen so high, there was no knowing at what point it would stop. The next day it began to decline, and never ceased falling until it was down to seventy-five dollars per share!

I spent the summer of 1816 in a visit to my relatives in New England, whom I had not seen for upwards of ten years. I had to give a premium of twenty-eight per cent. in City paper, for specie for my journey. The state of exchange then, was very similar to what it has been since the expiration of the charter of the late United States Bank. Immense sums were purchased in Charleston, on Baltimore, and other cities, at ten per cent. discount. The Bank had not been in operation a year, when it was down to two, and in another year, at par. Such was the state of the currency, that in New Jersey, I met with an instance where a one dollar note I had

taken in change, which was current on one side of a turn-pike gate, would not pass at an hundred yards distance on the other side!

After a pleasant three months' tour, I returned to my farm, near Baltimore, and having stocked it, turned my attention to practical, as well as experimental, agriculture. I took great pains, and spared no expense, in procuring the best seeds of corn, small grain and grasses, in which I was greatly assisted by General Mason, of Georgetown, D. C., and Mr. Watson, of Albany. The latter gentleman made honorable mention of me, in a work of his, on agriculture. I procured seventeen different kinds of wheat in one year, a large majority of them from the Mediterranean. I sowed each of them, and found, when they came to maturity, there were only three, or four of them, worth preserving. I gave the product of those in small portions among the agriculturists. I cultivated the Ruta Baga and Mangel Wurtzel, with good success.

In August, 1817, a county convention nominated me for a seat in the Legislature, and having accepted the nomination, I was bound, according to custom, to canvass the county. Party was at the highest, and the federalists had the ascendancy, which they had possessed for a number of years. The county sent four members, and each party had an entire ticket. Nine tenths of the voters were entire strangers to me. The federalists had nominated four of the best men they had in the county, two of them, as well as myself, received the votes of both parties of their neighbors, but there was not

a man among them that could address a public meeting. To make up this deficiency, the party engaged Col. James P. Heath, a soldier and a gentleman, and since a member of Congress, to canvass the county against me, on their behalf. This was rather a singular business, because Col. Heath lived in the city of Baltimore, and had no vote, or interest, in the county; but, he was an excellent stump orator.

At the first county meeting I was introduced to him, and asked him if it was true that I had him to contend with through the campaign? He answered, yes. He was a high-minded, honorable man, and I had no objection to contend with him. I remarked to him that it was proper we should have an understanding, and proposed that neither should speak against individuals, but say whatever he pleased against the party. This was at once acceded to; we took a glass of wine together, and the battle commenced. The meeting was large, and by far the greater part of them federalists. I was first called upon, and ascended the stand, when I was greeted with every kind of noise; and, "pull him down; pull him down; don't let him speak," was uttered by a hundred tongues. I folded my arms, and looked around upon them; there was a momentary calm. I took advantage of it, and said, at the top of my voice — Gentlemen, I came here to speak, and I will speak; and if you are not deaf, you shall hear me. A fellow in the crowd bawled out, if those are the conditions, let us have it at once. I proceeded, and in five minutes there was no noise, but what I made myself. I spoke about an

hour, and when I ended, they gave me three hearty cheers.

Col. Heath then mounted the stand, and was assailed, in like manner, by my political friends. I called to them, and requested them not only to permit the Colonel to speak, unannoyed, but to listen to him. It was a bad cause that could not stand opposition. There was no more noise. At the numerous meetings afterwards, all was quiet and good order. Two days before the election, I met the Colonel in Baltimore, and he told me he had done; he was satisfied I would be elected. I was elected by a majority of about four hundred and fifty over my highest opponent.

The Legislature met on the first Monday in December. I went down to Annapolis the Friday preceding, and took the house which had, for many years, been the head quarters of the federal party. There were sixteen of us in the mess, and I reserved a room for the Hon. William Pinkney, who joined us a few days after. Mr. Pinkney's room was over mine, and I could hear him walking at all hours of the night, when I awoke. He told me that was his time for study. He was engaged in an important cause before the Chancellor. This was soon after his return from his embassy to Russia. A senator to Congress was to be elected at the next session and he wished to make an impression upon the members, as many of them would, no doubt, be re-elected. The cause came on, and the first notice of it in the house, there were not members left to get the Speaker out of

the chair. He sent the messenger, and two of us went down and relieved him from his awkward situation.

All the members of both houses were assembled in the court room, listening to Mr. Pinkney; as were also the Governor and Council. I listened to him, standing directly in front of him, three hours, without fatigue, or any thought of length of time. There was one peculiarity in Mr. Pinkney's oratory, that I do not remember ever to have witnessed in any other great speaker: his ornaments were all stuck on, instead of being interwoven with his argument. You might strip his speech of them, and the superstructure remained the same, solid, firm, and unbroken. I admit, the novelty of this was more pleasing to me than the thing itself. His manners were cold and aristocratic; not calculated to gain the applause of the multitude; those of them he did gain, he held by their ears, without saying, by your leave — it was his tongue that did it. He was not calculated to make many friends, but in those that he did make, he had an estate for life. As a lawyer, there was probably but one man in the Union his equal, (Judge Marshall.) In his dress, he was particular to a fault, not carrying even a pocket handkerchief, because it would discompose the setting of his coat. On one occasion, when Vice President Tompkins called upon him, at eleven o'clock, he sent him word he had not made his toilet, and could not see him. When he had any particular business on hand, for which he was, or had a prospect of being, liberally paid, he was untiring in his attention to it. I never can forget a remark he

made to me, a few days after he came to Annapolis. I had been asking him some questions in relation to the trial of the *citizen* pirates, that had just terminated. His answer was, "I got the rascals clear, and I made them pay me for it;" leaving no doubt on my mind that he was satisfied of their guilt.

Before the existence of the present law against piracy, there was an act passed upon the subject, which, for some reason that does not occur to me, was limited to a short period. The captain of a vessel was taken, and committed, for the crime. Mr. Wirt was attorney general, and had the man indicted in the circuit court. Mr. Pinkney was his counsel. After two days had been spent in examining witnesses, and making speeches, to which Mr. P. paid no attention, when it came to his turn to make a closing speech, on behalf of his client, he rose, and with great gravity informed the court, that "he should feel much anxiety for his client, with the array of testimony there was against him, were it not for one trifling circumstance in his favor, which was this, that the law under which his honorable friend, the attorney general, had indicted him, had ceased, by its own limitation, some months before!" I do not know how the court felt on the occasion, but it was said, they looked very foolish.

Mr. Pinckney died, as every great man should wish to die, in the midst of his fame. How many distinguished men there are, in every profession in life, who outlive their reputation! This more frequently happens among the military than any other profession. The reason is obvious; circumstances frequently make them great, with

little, or no merit on their part. Among the learned professions it is different; they must possess merit to become distinguished in the first instance, but it very frequently happens they have not the merit to continue so; and consequently outlive their reputation—the greatest misfortune that can befall a man.

I now return to the hall of legislation. In the house, there was a majority of fourteen in favor of the republican party; but the senate, at that time consisting of fifteen members, were federalists to a man; this gave them a majority of one on joint ballot, which enabled them to elect the governor, and all other officers elected by the two houses, of which there were many. Robert Goldsborough was elected Governor; a better choice need not have been made. He was a man of sound mind; of great business tact; and as little of the partizan as any man I ever met with, who was one.

The house consisted of eighty members; of the senate, a great part of the time, there were but eight, or nine, in their places; of these, five constituted a majority, and would frequently nullify the proceedings of the house, and the action of sixty of its members, thus making one man in the senate, equal to twelve in the house! and it might happen, if the vote of the house was unanimous, equal to sixteen!

Of the then senators, who have since figured in the political history of our country, I recollect but two; Hon. Roger B. Taney, now Chief Justice of the United States, and Virgil Maxcy, Esq., since Solicitor of the Treasury, and more recently, sent on a foreign mission,

to the Netherlands, I believe. Mr. Taney was, without exception, the most uncompromising political partizan I ever met with; yet in private life he was very amiable. We afterwards acted together for six years, in the promotion of the cause of Andrew Jackson for the presidency, for which I pray God, and my country, to forgive *me*.

On the afternoon of the day of election in the house, between Mr. J. Q. Adams, and General Jackson, not a doubt was entertained in Baltimore, but that the latter would be elected, and the office of the Chronicle, in that city, was crowded with men waiting the arrival of the express, to bring the pleasing intelligence. He came, and the reader may imagine, I cannot describe, the indignation that was both felt, and expressed on the occasion, when they found that Jackson was defeated. Curses, loud and deep, were poured out upon the heads of those who had been mainly instrumental in bringing about that measure. I was called on to read the account of the election, brought by the express, and having finished it, I asked for pen, ink and paper, and wrote the nomination of General Andrew Jackson, as the successor of Mr. Adams, in three hours after the election of the latter! It was received with acclamation, and published in the Chronicle the next morning.

Never was man deceived in man, as I was in General Jackson. Had he carried out his professions, and redeemed his pledges, as contained in his letters to Monroe, the legislature of Tennessee, and others, he would have gone down to posterity with a nation's blessings

upon his head. What he will take with him now, I will not pretend to say, but it will be any thing but a blessing.

Mr. Maxcy I had been acquainted with from his early youth ; he was a gentleman of good talent, fascinating manners, and of convenient politics, as his present situation proves.

The only subject of exciting interest during the session, was the "*Jew Bill*." The subject was introduced by Mr. Thomas Kennedy, of Washington county, and himself ; Mr. Breckenridge, of Baltimore, now Judge Breckenridge, of Pittsburgh, and myself, were appointed a committee, to bring in a bill ; one was brought in accordingly, but was postponed from time to time, for several weeks, owing to the indisposition of one of the committee, and other causes. It at length came before the house, when an animated and interesting debate took place, which lasted nearly three days, when, on the question being taken, the bill was lost, for that session. It passed the next. [For my remarks upon the subject, as far as I can recollect them, see *Reminiscences*.] At the end of eleven weeks from the commencement, the legislature adjourned.

The next summer, 1818, I was again called upon to know if I would be a candidate ; I assented, and was defeated. In December, I went to Charleston on business, which detained me until February. My old friend Geddes, was in the gubernatorial chair, and received and treated me with every mark of hospitality and kindness, as did my other friends.

In May, 1820, after my return home, I was again

called on to be a candidate, and promptly refused to become one then, or at any time thereafter. Remarking, at the same time, that I had disqualified my sons from ever representing them; they asked me how; I told them by teaching them to read and write, qualifications not necessary for *their* representatives.

Determined to promote the cause of agriculture by every means in my power, in June I took my departure for Europe, with the sole view of selecting seeds, implements, and books upon agriculture, particularly such as were not already known in the United States. [See Reminiscences of this voyage, and my tour in England, France, &c.]

On my return from this voyage, owing to the negligence of my attorney, who had suffered judgment to go against me by default, I found all my real and leasehold estate, which cost seventy or eighty thousand dollars, in the hands of the sheriff, for six thousand dollars, who had been pressed to force a sale of it, and refused. After applying to every other bank in the city, and being refused, I succeeded in getting it from the Branch Bank of the United States. But property continuing to decline in value, I was finally compelled to make the sacrifice, and sold my farm, which cost me thirty thousand dollars, for ten thousand; a year after, it would not have brought much over five.

I continued to struggle against wind and tide, until the spring of 1827, when unable to bear up any longer, I gave up the remainder of my property, which had cost me upwards of twenty-seven thousand dollars, to pay

my debts, which were seven thousand five hundred. Judge Shriver told me no such return, or any to compare with it, had ever been made into that court before. My lawyer said that every debt would be paid, and I should have several thousand dollars left, to begin the world anew with, in the West.

Under these impressions, I left Baltimore, and with my large family, went to Cincinnati; they came from Charleston to Baltimore, fourteen years before, in their own coach and four horses; and from Baltimore they went to Wheeling, in a hired waggon and five. I walked it.

A few days before I left Baltimore, the following letter was handed me :

Baltimore, December 1st, 1828.

Sir :

Having understood that you are about to remove to Ohio, and become concerned in conducting a newspaper, we beg leave to tender you our thanks for the zeal and ability with which you have sustained the great principles involved in the election of General Jackson, and to assure you that you will carry with you our best wishes for your success and happiness in your new establishment.

Very respectfully, yours,

E. S. THOMAS.

R. B. TANEY,
GEO. WINCHESTER,
G. N. STEWART,
BENJ'N C. HOWARD,
D. S. CARR,
RICHARD FRISBY,

Members of the General Jackson Corresponding Committee of Maryland.

I had been in this city but a very few weeks, when the approach of the President elect, on his way to Washington, to be inaugurated, was announced. Preparations were immediately made, by the General Jackson Committee, to go down the river to meet him, and they invited me to join them. We met him about six, or seven miles below the city, on board the steamboat Pennsylvania, when a general presentation took place. I was introduced by the Hon. Mr. Gazley, then, recently a member of Congress from this city, in the following words: "General, allow me to present to you Mr. Thomas, now a citizen of Cincinnati, late of Baltimore, and one of your warmest friends." He took my hand, and exclaimed, "Mr. Thomas from Baltimore! Sir, I am under great obligations to you, and you may command me at all times."

Upon the strength of this, on the seventeenth of March, about four weeks after my introduction to him, I wrote him the following letter:

Cincinnati, Ohio, March 17, 1829.

Sir:

I presume you recollect, that among those who met you, on your way to this city, was a Mr. Thomas, late of Baltimore, whose services, in behalf of the great cause which brought you into the highest situation in which man can be placed, you were pleased to acknowledge; I am that person, and have, since you passed this city, established a daily newspaper, (*The Commercial Daily Advertiser*), the only daily paper, except Mr.

Hammond's, in the western-country. This latter paper has long had, and still has, the entire patronage of government. I ask this favor; should it be deemed expedient to change this patronage, mine being the only daily paper, except as above, that I may not be forgotten. Sir, I have a large family who, until latterly, have been accustomed to all the elegancies of life, to provide for them *now, its necessaries*, I ask this favor at your hands; under any other circumstances, I would neither ask, nor accept it. A former administration offered me a *lucrative* appointment, but I was *then independent in fortune* as I always was, and ever shall be, in principle. Yours, with the highest respect,

THE PRESIDENT OF THE U. S.

E. S. THOMAS.

I was only here but a short time, when I received an account of the sale of my property, for a less sum than paid my debts! The large house, out of which I had removed, which cost me upwards of eight thousand dollars, independent of the lot, was sold for fifteen hundred and fifty dollars, and every thing else in proportion! Here I was, with a large family accustomed to all the comforts, and most of the elegancies of life, obliged to begin the world anew. I lost no time in commencing.

I arrived here on the last day of December, 1828, and commenced the publication of "The Commercial Daily Advertiser," two months thereafter. I had a partner who furnished the printing apparatus, and undertook to manage the monetary concerns of the office. In a very few

weeks he had exhausted all the funds which should have lasted several weeks longer ; and the plan he adopted to get more, was new to me. He went home, and went to bed ! From some cause or other, this plan did not succeed, and it became indispensably necessary that we should separate. I immediately proposed to him, to sell out, or buy out ; he preferred the former, and in a few hours, every thing was amicably arranged between us.

By a course of labor seldom equalled, and never surpassed, I edited my paper, boarded all the vessels that arrived before ten o'clock at night, took an account of their cargoes, and published them the next morning, with whatever news the Eastern Mail brought, which was not due until nine, P. M., and frequently did not arrive until near ten. In politics, my paper was neutral.

The correspondence which follows, had its origin from the following circumstance. A fire broke out, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, directly opposite my dwelling, every pane of glass in the front of which was broken by an explosion of powder in the burning building. The cold was extreme ; thermometer at ten below zero. Having got ready to remove, but finding there would be no necessity for it, I made up large fires, and Mrs. Thomas, and my daughters, set to work making hot coffee, which was abundantly served to the firemen, in a warm room, until seven o'clock next morning. The example was not lost. Thenceforward it became a custom to serve hot coffee, instead of spirits, upon similar occasions.

Office of the Ohio Insurance Company,
February 10, 1831.

SIR:—

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Ohio Insurance Company, on the 7th inst., I was directed to tender to your acceptance a bag of coffee, as a slight evidence of the estimation in which the members hold the humane and generous conduct of yourself and your amiable family, on the occasion of the late fire in Front street. On that inclement night, it was all important that the firemen should continue on the spot, to prevent the extension of the flames by the heavy wind which prevailed. This would have been almost impossible, but for the hospitable and feeling conduct of yourself and some of the charitable neighbors, in throwing open your houses, and presenting the firemen that refreshment, which peculiarly fitted them to return and continue at their posts.

In performing this official duty, permit me to profit by the opportunity, to offer to you my individual thanks for the excellent example you have given, and to tender you the assurance, of the sincere respect and esteem, with which I am,

Your obedient servant.

E. S. THOMAS, Esq.

MORGAN NEVILLE,
Sec'y. O. I. Company.

Cincinnati, February 12, 1831.

SIR:—

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favor, stating that "at a meeting of the Board of Direc-

tors of the Ohio Insurance Company, on the 7th inst., you were directed to tender to my acceptance a bag of coffee, as a slight evidence of the estimation in which the members hold the humane and generous conduct of myself and my amiable family, on the occasion of the late fire on Front street."

Sir, little did my family, or myself, think that the performance of a mere act of duty, in doing what lay in our power, for the comfort of those who were suffering the severest privations, (in the most inclement weather,) to protect the property of their fellow citizens, would attract the particular attention of your Board, to whom, through you, permit me to tender my most grateful acknowledgments for this expression of their kindness and good feeling towards me; and be pleased to accept the same for yourself, for the very kind and handsome manner in which you have made the communication.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, your and their

Obliged humble servant.

MORGAN NEVILLE, Esq.,

E. S. THOMAS.

Sec'y. O. I. Company.

When the time approached for fixing on a successor to General Jackson, after the expiration of his *first* term, I had become acquainted with Judge McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States. The more I saw of this gentleman, the better I liked him, and I determined to "take the responsibility," and nominate him for the Presidency. The nomination took with the people, and had it been left to their management, Judge McLean

would have been elected ; but the politicians took it up, and that is always enough to ruin any cause. Few men ever had better reason to exclaim, "keep me from my friends." A parcel of political quacks, in this city, and State, undertook to manage the business, and the more effectually to do so, must have a press at their control, in this city. They tried me, and found mine was not to be controlled by them. I was then given to understand, I must sell out, or suffer a rival. I preferred the former, and have never received the first cent in payment for my extensive printing apparatus to this day. In six months after, the judge's cause was ruined ; although few men ever had fairer prospects of success present themselves, in the same length of time, than he had.

The Judge wisely withdrew from the contest, and Mr. Clay became the opposition candidate in his stead. I gave him my most cordial and unwavering support, as the columns of the "Commercial Daily Advertiser," then my paper, abundantly prove ; still I had no hope of his success. The part he took in the election of Mr. J. Q. Adams, by the House of Representatives, had *then*, never been forgotten, or forgiven ; and the result was precisely such as had been anticipated by all those who, having no personal object in view, saw things in their right light.

Early in May, (the sixth,) eighteen hundred and thirty-five, I commenced the "Daily Evening Post," and in June, I came out decidedly for General WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON for the Presidency, whom I have uniformly supported ever since. In December last, (1839) THE WANT OF SUPPORT compelled me to discontinue my paper.

I immediately set about closing up my business, and continuing my *Reminiscences*; and in March left Cincinnati on a tour, which has extended above three thousand miles, into half the States in the Union, in which I have addressed the people fifteen times, on the coming presidential election. After this work is published, which will be in August, I shall probably address them as many times more, before the election.

CINCINNATI AND CHARLESTON RAILROAD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cincinnati, (Ohio,) May 28, 1836.

Dear sir — Permit us to express to you our sincere gratification on your appointment as a delegate to the Knoxville convention, by the city of Cincinnati.

Having been the first, as far as we understand, to move in this important subject, it is just that you should be present and assist at the interesting scene, which we trust will terminate in a decision to consummate what we consider one of the greatest enterprises which ever engaged the attention of a free, and patriotic people.

We ask you to carry into the convention the same ardor and zeal which have distinguished your public course ever since you became an adopted citizen of the West; and in wishing you a pleasant trip, we take leave to recommend you to our fellow-citizens of the South, as meriting every consideration, from your untiring exer-

tions in the cause of all internal improvements, which might strengthen the political bonds that already bind the different States together.

With sincere esteem, we are, sir, your ob't serv'ts and fellow-citizens,

JACOB BURNET,	DAVID LORING,
SAMUEL W. DAVIES,	JOSEPH PIERCE,
CHARLES HAMMOND,	E. P. LANGDON,
WILLIAM BURKE,	RUFUS HODGES,
JAMES TAYLOR, <i>Newport.</i>	SAMUEL SCOTT,
ROBERT T. LYTLE,	JAS. F. CONOVER,
JOSIAH LAWRENCE,	J. HARLOW, <i>Covington.</i>
WILLIAM NEFF,	Z. BREAMS, <i>Covington.</i>
WILLIAM GREENE,	CALEB BATES,
GEORGE P. TORRENCE,	V. C. MARSHALL,
DAVID T. DISNEY,	CHARLES SHULTZ,
OLIVER M. SPENCER,	P. BENSON,
GEO. W. JONES,	DAN. J. CASWELL,
LEWIS WHITEMAN,	W. S. JOHNSTON,
HENRY STARR,	TIMOTHY WALKER,
WM. R. FOSTER,	CHAS. R. RAMSAY,
WILLIAM PRICE,	RICH'D SOUTHGATE, <i>Newport.</i>
J. H. LOOKER,	W. W. SOUTHGATE, <i>Covington.</i>
C. W. CAZZAM,	JAS. G. ARNOLD, <i>Covington.</i>
ALLISON OWEN,	JACOB STRADER,
JOHN P. FOOTE,	DANIEL GANO,
JOHN H. GROESBECK,	THOS. NEWELL,
ARCH'D IRWIN,	HENRY VALLETTE,
WILLIAM MILLER,	P. S. BUSH, <i>Covington.</i>
ROBERT PUNSHON,	GEO. B. MARSHALL, <i>Covington.</i>
GEO. W. NEFF,	G. M. SOUTHGATE,
N. GUILFORD,	CHAS. D. DANA,
SAM. E. FOOTE,	G. W. DOXON, <i>Newport.</i>
SAMUEL FOSDICK,	N. B. SHALER, <i>Newport.</i>

E. S. THOMAS, Esq.

Cincinnati, June 21, 1836.

Gentlemen — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult., and being upon the eve of my departure for Knoxville, I with pleasure take this opportunity of tendering to you individually, my most grateful acknowledgments for this mark of your regard, the more so as it was unsought and unexpected by me — particularly for the justice done me in stating that “*I was the first, as far as you understand, to move in this important subject,*” in which, had any one preceded me, it is improbable but that some of you must have heard of it.

You ask me “*to carry into the convention the same ardor and zeal which have distinguished my public course ever since I became an adopted citizen of the West.*” Be assured, gentlemen, that whatever of talent, of energy, or industry, I possess, will be brought into action, upon this occasion, with renewed “*ardor,*” to promote the great enterprise, and bring it, as I have no doubt it will be brought, to a speedy and satisfactory termination.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,

E. S. THOMAS.

To the Hon. JACOB BURNET, Hon. SAMUEL W. DAVIES, Hon. WM. BURKE, Gen. JAMES TAYLOR, Gen. R. T. LYTTLE, CHARLES HAMMOND, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

THE FIRST SUGGESTION OF A RAILROAD.

Written March, 1836.

The following article, I believe, contains **THE FIRST SUGGESTION OF A RAILROAD, FOR CARRYING FREIGHT AND PASSENGERS.** It was made near the close of eighteen hundred and twelve, or the beginning of eighteen hundred and thirteen.

CINCINNATI AND CHARLESTON RAILROAD.

During the last war between Great Britain and the United States, all communication by sea being cut off, the want of a system of internal communication was severely felt; after the first three or four months, when the supplies on hand at the commencement of the war began to fail, the only means by which to get a new one from such places as had to spare, was by wagon, and that too over the worst of roads; all the horses, wagons, and drivers in the country were put in requisition, and "*free trade and teamster's rights,*" became the order of the day. Then it was that even as high as *forty cents per pound*, for light goods, was paid freight from Boston to Charleston; a load of forty hundred weight thus yielding the teamster the round sum of sixteen hundred dollars, and from places less distant from each other, in proportion. There frequently arrived at Charleston from ten to fifteen, and even twenty wagons in a day, from Boston and the intermediate cities of New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, &c.

The immense sums thus paid for transportation, led the thinking part of the community to reflect, and to form

schemes and resolutions by which to avoid such heavy expenses in any future war, by internal communication, along the Atlantic coast, particularly, other than by wagons on common roads. Canals and turnpikes were the means intended to be used. Railroads, if ever thought of, were not mentioned. For myself, I had never seen any, with the exception of a very short one at Newcastle upon Tyne, England, which was used to convey the coal from the mouth of the shafts to the shipping at the river.

Then I made estimates of what the probable extra expense might be to the nation, for the mode of conveyance then in use, and came to the conclusion, that between those places of the greatest intercourse, such, for instance, as New York and Philadelphia, or Philadelphia and Baltimore, the expense would go far towards making *ruts* of silver — (no one spoke of *rails* then.)

Twenty wagons per day, loaded with forty hundred weight each, at an average of only ten cents per pound, and you have the sum of \$8,000 per day, which, multiplied by 365, gives an aggregate of \$2,920,000 per annum, which, for two years and a half, (the period of the war,) gives \$7,300,000, and this only for *one* city; from whence I infer that the extra costs to the people of the United States, for transportation during the last war, could not be less than \$100,000,000! which is about the sum that the Railroads and canals already completed and in progress to completion have cost, independent of those projected, which will cost as much more. Those all being finished, which will be the case in ten years

from this time, the means of internal intercourse will be complete, and our widely extended empire, in its most remote points, will be brought within a week's distance of each other, and in a condition to bid defiance to *external* foes.

Before, during, and after the war, I resided in Charleston, and was engaged in editing and publishing the daily "City Gazette," of that place, and the "Carolina Gazette," weekly. I used about sixty pounds weight of paper per day, which, while the war lasted, cost me from fifteen to twenty cents per pound, freight from Baltimore. I then projected a "*Railroad*" for the Atlantic coast, without calling it by that name; my plan was to lay the rails, which were to be of wood, upon piles driven into the earth.

I suggested my plan to the late governor, Charles Pinckney, Peter Freneau, Esq., and Col. Thomas Lehre, at one of our weekly meetings, at Mr. Freneau's house, when it met the fate of most projects that are new in their nature, and gigantic in their extent: it was laughed at, as being, if at all practicable, a hundred years too soon to be thought of. I gave myself no farther trouble, or thought about that, or any other Railroad, until the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was projected, when, being a resident of that city, and having lost my fortune, I had nothing to give but my time, and devoted two or three weeks of that, immediately preceding the opening of the books, to visiting the workshops and factories, and urging upon their inmates the great utility of the undertaking, and the propriety of every one becoming a stockholder,

if only for a single share. Whether I have received more curses than blessings from them since, I shall not stop to inquire, but from the present, and general price of the stock, I should not be at all surprised if the former preponderated.

In the fall of 1827, I came out to the Ohio, and went as far down as Louisville. On my return, I stopped a fortnight in this city. The idea then first struck me, of a Railroad from this city to Charleston, and the superior advantages it would have over all others, from the circumstance of its being from north to south, and thus bringing together people who are strangers to each other, and whose products are so admirably calculated for a beneficial exchange.

When I had been here about a week, a fellow boarder, with whom I had been walking, asked me if I would call in at Mr. Joseph Walker's, on Sycamore street, who was among the oldest residents of this city; there I spoke of the Railroad to Charleston, a circumstance which I had forgotten, until Mr. Walker brought it to my recollection some weeks since, and more recently gave me the following certificate:

Cincinnati, Feb. 20, 1836.

I hereby certify, that E. S. Thomas, Esq., was at my house, on Sycamore street, one evening in the early part of December, 1827, which was the first time I ever saw him. Mr. Thomas was then a stranger in Cincinnati; he mentioned the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, as one that would be of great benefit to Baltimore, if made before the western trade was diverted elsewhere. He then

spoke with much earnestness of the great advantages that would result to the West and South, by having a railroad from this city to Charleston, South Carolina, and the little difficulty there was in the way, in comparison with that from Baltimore to Ohio.

JOSEPH WALKER.

In September, 1829, I broached the subject of the railroad to a number of persons, among them, Morgan Neville, Esq., in the Ohio Insurance Office, but with no better success than had attended my former suggestion in Charleston, as his letter annexed abundantly proves.

Cincinnati, Dec. 24, 1835.

Dear Sir :— In reply to your note of the 22d ult., I have the pleasure to say, that you are the first person from whom I heard the suggestion of the practicability and expediency of a railroad communication between this city and Charleston. The idea then appeared to me to be a visionary one, and consequently made but little impression on my mind. The late movements on the same subject, have brought the conversation which passed between us, to my recollection. I think it took place in the office of the Ohio Insurance Company, upwards of five years since. I have the honor to be

Very respectfully, Your ob't servant,

E. S. THOMAS, Esq.

MORGAN NEVILLE.

P. S. On further reflection, I believe it was in 1829–30, that you were attempting to create a feeling in

favor of your Charleston rail road *project*. You declared yourself perfectly convinced of its being carried into successful operation within a few years.

Some gentlemen, to whom I spoke on the subject, about the same time, have authorized me to use their names ; among them, Dr. O. Fairchild, Messrs. Allison Owen, William S. Smith, Hugh McLean, (who was pilot on the boat in which I left this city on my return to Baltimore,) and Francis Shields. Mr. Smith procured a map, on which I pointed out the route to him. Finding it useless to attempt to get up an excitement on the subject, at that time, I dropped it, and nothing more was said about it until early in December, 1830, when I observed in the Louisville papers, that the citizens of that place were at variance with the "*Lexington and Ohio Railroad Company,*" on the subject of its passing through their city. I deemed this a favorable opportunity to get the road brought to the river at Covington, to form thereafter a part of my great enterprize, and drew up the following notice for a town meeting accordingly, to which I procured the signatures of forty-seven of the principal business men in the city.

NOTICE.

We, the subscribers, request a meeting of our fellow citizens, at the Council Chamber, on Saturday evening next, at 7 o'clock, to take into consideration, the subject of the "*Lexington and Ohio Railroad,*" which, if proper

exertions are made, it is believed, may be brought to this city.

The meeting took place—the Council Chamber was crowded; Joseph Gest, Esq., was called to the chair, and Major Wm. C. Anderson appointed Secretary. The Chair stated that the meeting was organized, and ready to proceed to business; when, to my astonishment, not one had any thing to say. I was called upon, and in a few remarks, stated the object of the meeting, and the great benefit it would be to the city, to bring the road to Covington. A Committee of fifteen was appointed, consisting of the following named gentlemen:—Robert Buchanan, Joseph Lawrence, Wm. Neff, Joseph Gest, George Graham, Wm. Greene, Wm. C. Anderson, Alex. McGrew, Wright Smith, E. S. Thomas, Wm. Tift, Maj. Gwynne, Wm. Hartshorne, John H. Groesbeck, and David Griffin, who appointed a sub-committee of three, to correspond with the company, viz.:—E. S. Thomas, William Greene, Esq., and Wm. C. Anderson, Esq., and a committee of two, viz.:—William Greene, Esq., and Major Gwynn, to proceed to Lexington, and confer with the Board of Directors. This was the first railroad meeting held in the State of Ohio. The next morning I wrote a letter to “*The President and Directors of the Lexington and Ohio Railroad Company,*” which was signed by the three members of the Committee, and included the Resolutions passed by the meeting. The answer of the Board, by their President, Mr. Winter, was all that could be asked until something

definitive was proposed by Cincinnati. The answer bears date, December 30, 1830, and, with all the other papers, is in my possession. Had Cincinnati been true to herself then, the road would have been brought to Covington, and in operation, long since.

In December last, I addressed a note to the Hon. Jacob Burnet, and a similar one to Morgan Neville, Esq., simply enquiring of them if they recollected any conversation which I had with them on the subject, and, if so, when, and where. Mr. Neville's answer is given above, — Judge Burnet's follows :

Cincinnati, Dec. 21, 1835.

Dear Sir : — In answer to your letter, just received, I take pleasure in saying, that in the summer and fall of 1832, at your office, on Front street, I frequently heard you speak, with much interest, on the subject of a railroad between Cincinnati, and Charleston, South Carolina. You expressed your conviction that the work was practicable. You spoke of it as one that would be of incalculable advantage to this section of the country, and you seemed to be quite confident that you would live to see it commenced, if not finished.

Very respectfully, Your friend,

E. S. THOMAS, Esq.

J. BURNET.

Thus having redeemed the pledge we gave, some short time since, we quit the subject.

"I TAKE THE RESPONSIBILITY."

Written February, 1838.

No other words that ever escaped the lips of man, in these United States, were ever so pregnant with mischief, as those, from the lips of Andrew Jackson, which form the caption of this article. They have now been in vogue for a number of years, during which period, crime of every species has increased a hundred fold; political honesty has almost ceased to exist; while conscience has swung from her moorings, and moral honesty remains in quantity barely sufficient to save us from the fate of "*the cities of the Plain.*"

I have frequently had occasion to notice the progress of crime, since this never-to-be-forgotten declaration of a man, who had solemnly sworn to be governed, in his official duties, by the constitution and laws; yet in the face of that oath, and in defiance of that constitution and those laws, not only made this vile declaration, but carried it into full and complete effect,—thereby setting an example which has been followed by every political knave, cut-throat, and assassin, in the Union. The noon-day murderer says mentally, if not openly, while he aims the deadly pistol at the breast of his victim, "*I take the responsibility;*" and the midnight assassin makes use of the same exclamation, while he sheaths his bowie-knife, or his dagger, in the heart of one who never did him injury.

I kept a memorandum, for a time, of some of those atrocities, until the number increased so fast upon me,

the average being more than two a day, that I ceased to note, in any way, any but those that were signalized by uncommon marks of wickedness and depravity. But great, and unprecedented, as has been this moral depravity, and dreadful as are its effects upon society, it is punishable by the laws, if those whose duty it is to see them executed, perform that duty.

Not so with your political knaves. Where the assassin destroys one life with his knife or his dagger, the political knave, directly or indirectly, destroys a thousand, inasmuch as he deprives them of the means by which they live; — HE “takes the responsibility” with impunity, and laughs at the wide-spread ruin he has made, having no conscience to check; no principle to guide; and no LAW to punish him.

We are struck with horror at the crime of the murderer, although, perhaps, he may have, but for a few days, shortened the life of his victim, and that without a protracted suffering. Yet we behold with indifference, or barely censure, the political villain, who brings ruin, distress, and ultimately death, to thousands. He still holds his rank in society, and enjoys, as far as heartless knaves are capable of enjoying, his ill-gotten means, although sometimes, when “solitary and alone,” he may feel the stings of the worm that never dies. It is this description of men, that have brought our once happy and prosperous country, to its present degraded, poor, and suffering condition; and, although no statute can be made to reach them, derision should laugh, scorn point her finger, and contempt knit her brows, as they pass,

until there is "put in every honest hand a whip, to lash the rascals naked through the world."

It has been said, and well said, that "when knaves combine, honest men should unite." If ever that was the situation of affairs in any country, it is now in this; a combination of base, designing men, have usurped powers unknown to the constitution, and in the very face of the law seized upon the national treasure, and scattered it to the winds; until, from having many millions of surplus, but a few months since, they are now involved in debt to the amount of millions, with a revenue already reduced more than half, and daily lessening; with the prospect before them that, (without the aid of a foreign war,) they will have incurred a debt of at least a hundred millions, before the operation of the ballot box can drive them back from whence they came;—come that day when it may, a nation's curse will follow them; they have "taken the responsibility," and they should be made to *feel* the consequences.

Would a high-minded, honorable, and politically honest man, who had been for many years pursuing, from principle, a course which he conscientiously believed to be correct and patriotic, receive instructions the reverse of his whole course, and hold on to office with the tenacity of death to its victim? No! he would resign. The man that acts otherwise, is a knave, in whom the love of country, if he ever felt it, has long since been merged in the love of office; and it is such men as these who have in their hands the destinies of this great *country*—I wish I could say *people*—but they were infi-

nity greater when only three millions, than they are now that they are fifteen. A great nation does not consist in the number of its inhabitants, but in their patriotism and devotion to their country and its institutions. We are comparatively but an infant nation, yet we have surpassed older ones in every act of greatness, as we are *now* doing in every act of debasement and corruption. As a people, we literally rose like a rocket, in a blaze of glory, and have fallen like the stick.

The theme is endless, but his country's shame can never be a grateful one to the heart of the patriot.

DRUNKARDS AND GLUTTONS.

Written May, 1829.

How does it happen, that amidst the everlasting din and cry against drunkenness, we never hear a word against gluttony? Is it because the latter produces no evil? So far from it, there are *three* die of gluttony, or over-eating, where *one* dies of drunkenness! Whence come your apoplexies and your paralytics, your dyspepsies, and a host of other diseases, but from *over-eating*? Yet I hear of no societies formed against this vile and prevalent vice; while even the ladies, God bless them, have got to forming temperance societies; and it is to be hoped they will not confine them in their operation to the rougher sex, but let them extend to their own. I once knew a lady, yes, reader, *a lady*, both by education, manners, and appearance, who was so excessively

fond of good eating, that when she sat down to a favorite dish, she ate so unmercifully, that she was compelled to call her female domestics to her aid, who rolled her upon the carpet, until she recovered from the effect of the excess. Now, I do not *know* that she does, but I think it is quite likely she belongs to a temperance society; at any rate, she would make an excellent member! If a fellow eats until he cannot walk, and drops down and expires, in an apoplexy, by the road side, up comes the coroner, and with a jury of twelve good men and true, pronounce that "he came to his death by intemperance;" and so he did, but they take especial care not to tell you by what *kind* of intemperance, as if there was none but what consists in excessive drinking. I have heard more than one minister in the pulpit, expatiating with the utmost vehemence against the sin of drunkenness, whose very appearance was proof positive, that he was guilty, pre-eminently guilty, of the sin of gluttony!

I have been led into the above remarks, at this time, more particularly, from having seen an account, in the Charleston, South Carolina, papers, of the formation of a Temperance Society in that city, who go so far as to pledge themselves to use the influence of their society with the legislature, to repeal the law granting licenses for the sale of spiritous liquors! The excitement occasioned in that city by the formation of a society, taking such liberty with the rights of their fellow citizens, may be judged of by the following, which I have selected from among the many communications with which the papers of that city abound.

By the way, I happen to know most of the prominent gentlemen of this Temperance Society, and they have changed most marvellously, in the last dozen years, if they are not as fond of a glass of good "*straw colored Madeira*," as any of the sons of labor are of a glass of whiskey, and who thinks the less of them for it? None, surely; but then they should not be so ready to deprive the laboring man of his drink.

FROM THE CHARLESTON COURIER.

To drink, or not to drink — that is the question :
Whether 'tis better for the poor to drink
Of *slings* and *cock-tails*, made of *gin* or *brandy*,
Or take a cup of generous *Madeira*?

MR. EDITOR. — I am no advocate for intemperance; still I would not be one of those who endeavor, for their own private purposes, either from an inordinate ambition to appear conspicuous, and to rule over the many, or from a dastardly spirit of avarice, to deprive thousands of their fellow citizens of the few enjoyments which they now possess, by appealing to the government of the country to enact laws, depriving us of the means by which we obtain a scanty, but comfortable subsistence. I observed in your paper of yesterday, a forced defence of the *Temperance Society*, by a professed young man, who, according to his own account, has, as yet, hardly "slipped his leading strings," proving from the celebrated DR. RAMSAY, that South Carolina is a state formed of drunkards, and, according to "R. B's" own knowledge, even some ladies cannot do without their three or four *gin cock-tails* before breakfast; and that they were utterly astounded

when he refused to drink his *grog*. (It must be himself,) for he tells us that he has looked around for his cotemporaries, and finds that "hundreds of them" are destroyed by the powerful effects of whiskey, gin, brandy, &c., while he alone is left to tell the story. And he further states, that our legislature acts under the influence of heated and intoxicated brains.

But this piece tells more than what its words intend to show. There have been ardent, energetic, and persevering attempts made by a set of men, under the cloak of religion, to drive from office, power, and honor, all those who differ from them in opinion, (witness the refusal of men called orthodox, to act as Chaplains to the House of Representatives, because a Unitarian minister was appointed with them,) and to obtain the ascendancy in the councils of the nation. (Witness their recent attempts to have the wheels of government "*chocked*," by preventing the transportation of the mail one day in seven.)

This author, following the plan laid down by his predecessors, has ventured to hold up one to public view, who has dared to express opinions in opposition to his assertions, and who dares to differ from the immaculate members of the "*South Carolina society for the promotion of Temperance*."

The only true reason for the *pious* attempts of this society, is to prevent the laboring classes from obtaining that stimuli, in a humble form, which they themselves can quaff from "golden goblets," in the form of Madeira wine, earned by those whom they wish to proscribe. For this purpose the strong arm of legislative power is to be

appealed to, to deprive me of one of the dearest privileges which I possess, that of choosing what I shall eat, and what I shall drink. But let them go on; the people have now opened their eyes, and have proved that neither demagogues nor hypocrites can enslave them.

A CITIZEN.

Let me not be misunderstood, and taken as the apologist of drunkards; all who know me, know that I despise it; but, I think there are other excesses that require reprehension as well as excessive drinking. It happens, (whether fortunately, or unfortunately for our country is a *moot* point,) that we have a vast number of persons in the United States, who, from their excess of patriotism, and having little to do, hit upon various modes of making themselves conspicuous, and the one of all others, in which they appear to succeed the best is, **IN MINDING EVERY BODY'S BUSINESS BUT THEIR OWN.**

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM WASHINGTON.

The following highly interesting and important proceedings, were had in the House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, on Saturday, the second day of February, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-nine, and in the sixty-third year of the Independence of the United States of Amer-

ica. These proceedings illustrate the following highly interesting fact, that a Sub-treasurer, or Post-master, at the town of Cumberland, in the county of Allegheny, and State of Maryland, at a conflagration of said town, some half dozen years ago, did, then and there, have his store burnt, in which the post office aforesaid, was kept, by which sad catastrophe, the government of the United States lost funds, in said Post office deposited for safe keeping, to the astonishing amount of *three dollars and seventy-five cents!!!*—which loss the said petitioner prays to have forgiven him. And the House of Representatives aforesaid, after spending the day aforesaid, in debate, at an expense of *only twenty-five hundred dollars*, to the Union, were not able to come to a decision on this most momentous affair, but did, then and there, adjourn, that they might the more maturely consider the great question—so that a farther opportunity will be furnished to “*the legal gentlemen of the House*” to discuss this all absorbing subject; but as the session is fast drawing to a close, and the *pay bill* not yet passed, I would, with the most profound respect, suggest the calling of an extra session of Congress, to assemble in the House and District aforesaid, on the first Monday succeeding the fourth of March next, coming, then and there to deliberate on this great question, which, having finally decided, they shall order five millions of copies to be printed and circulated, in order that none may plead ignorance of so great and momentous a business. But to the subject:

“The calendar of private bills was then taken up, and and a number of bills passed and sent to the Senate. The

House then took up for consideration the bill for the relief of James P. Carlton, which had been postponed until this day.

“ [A long debate ensued on this bill, on allowing a credit of *three dollars and seventy-five cents*, claimed by a postmaster at Cumberland, Md., whose store was burnt in the conflagration of that town, and the public money consumed in it. The legal gentlemen of the House, discussed the evidence for the claim with much earnestness, chiefly on the ground that the bill contained an important principle, and would be drawn into precedent hereafter, perhaps, by other sub-treasurers.]

“ Those who opposed the bill were Mr. Russell and Mr. Reed, and those who supported it were Messrs. Thomas and Petriken.

“ Mr. Reed moved to re-commit the bill to the committee that reported it, with instructions to report the facts of the case to the House.

“ A further debate ensued, in which Messrs. Sibley, Chambers, and Reed, spoke in favor of the motion to re-commit, and Messrs. Corwin and Hamer advocated the passage of the bill; and after several divisions, on motions to adjourn, and finally to re-commit, the House found itself without a quorum, and,

“ On motion of Mr. Hall, the House adjourned.”—*Baltimore Patriot*.

"ANCIENT STAGES."

Written January, 1838.

I have before me a paragraph on this subject, from the "Boston Traveller," which is given at the bottom of this article. The first *line* of stages in the United States, was established soon after the close of the Revolutionary war, by Captain Levi Pease, of Boston, Mr. Evans, of Baltimore, who built the Indian Queen Hotel, on Main street, in that city, and a third gentleman, whose name I have forgotten. This line extended from Boston to Savannah. The carriages made use of, must be still fresh in the memories of many, if from no other cause, from the dreadful shaking they got when riding in them. They were long bodied carriages, on very low springs, having five seats, and no doors — you entered by crawling in at the front, upon your hands and knees, and proceeding aft in that way, until you reached the seat you were to occupy. *Brissot de Warville*, the celebrated leader of the Brissotine party in France, in her *first* Revolution, and who, with his party, afterwards suffered under the guillotine, made a tour of the United States in 1787–88, and, like a true French gentleman, as he was, in speaking of these carriages, in his book of travels, said, "They were admirably calculated for the country in which they were made use of," as if a better and more convenient kind might not have been used. They did not give place, however, to a better kind, for many years; the progress of improvement was then slow, and I had

many a shaking in them, on the same roads, many years after the polite Frenchman had given them a good name. But there is another way to account for Brissot's being pleased with them — they were at least as pleasant and convenient to travel in, as those then, and for many years after, made use of in France, for public conveyance.— Handsome and convenient public *diligences*, did not find their way into France, to any extent, until after the field of Waterloo, when they commenced adopting the English fashion.

Stage coaches, for the conveyance of the mail, and passengers, were introduced into England but a very few years sooner than *stages*, for the same purpose, were introduced into the United States. In 1803, on my way to Edinburgh, I travelled into the city of York, with a team of horses, one of which had performed a *daily* task on that road, from the commencement of running mail coaches upon it, the astonishing period of twenty-seven years!—and, to add to the singularity of the fact, the man, who was then driving, had driven the same horse seventeen years of the time, and not lost a day! These facts I had from the driver himself, and they were fully confirmed to me by the keeper of the Swan Inn, at York, where I stopped, in the presence of a number of others, who vouched for their correctness.

In 1803, the mail was taken only once a week, from London to St. Ives, in Cornwall, and that on horseback; and so little did the people there care for the government, and the government for them, that they sold hats, and other articles subject to stamps, openly without them.

I purchased a hat out of a parcel of several dozens laying upon the counter, not one of which had any stamp ; on asking if the duty was taken off, the answer was, " no, but if the government don't meddle with us, we don't with them." There was not a stage coach, a post chaise, or any other vehicle of public conveyance, in the town, and I was obliged to send to Penzance, on the other side of the land's end, distant fourteen miles, if my memory serves, for a post chaise, (there were but two belonging to that place) to take me on my way to London.

At Truro, a beautiful town, about twenty-eight miles from St. Ives, on the great road from London to Plymouth, plenty of carriages were to be had. From thence, for many miles, through Cornwall, the country is barren and dreary in the extreme, upon its surface, but from beneath come copper, tin, and other minerals, in quantities that greatly swell the amount of British wealth. But the miners.—I would especially recommend it to British tourists intending, or, having made a tour in the United States, to visit that region of their own country, and I think they would have little to say of Corncrackers, Hoosiers, Wolverenes, Mississippi wood choppers, or Yankee pedlars, all of whom are polished and genteel, in comparison with the miners of Cornwall, who are savages, in every sense of the word. I met hundreds of them, driving their *donkies* heavily laden with ore, to the smelters. Their language was scarcely human ; their appearance savage, with manners to match. It was upon a Saturday ; the next day (Sunday) I saw hundreds of the poor beasts turned out to

glean a miserable subsistence from the scanty herbage the country affords, *with their huge pack-saddles upon their backs*; thus withholding from them the possibility of laying down to rest. None but savages would do this.

Improvement travelled very slow, until the last thirty, or forty, years; and none more slow, than those for travelling purposes. The United States have made greater progress in the period above mentioned, than any nation in Europe ever made in three hundred years, previous to that period. In eighteen hundred and twenty, when the waters East of the Alleghany had been covered for years, with steamboats, and those of the great valley were rapidly becoming so, there was not a solitary steamer between England and France, notwithstanding the great daily intercourse between the two nations. I was from Friday afternoon, until Sunday, three o'clock, passing from Brighton, on the coast of Sussex, to Dieppe, on the coast of Normandy, a distance of only eighty miles, which steamboats *now* pass in seven or eight hours. From Dover to Calais, a distance of only twenty miles, packet boats were frequently from seven to ten hours in passing; it is now frequently passed in an hour and a half. Forty years ago, the Bridgewater canal, in England, and that of Languedoc, in France, constituted more than half the canal there was in Europe and the United States, although the Santee canal, in South Carolina, was then in operation. Thirty-five years ago, paved roads were not known, on some of the great thoroughfares of England; I well remember having to

alight and to hold up the carriage, to prevent its overturning, as I went down to the Tweed, at Burwick.

To return to the United States. In 1812, it took me a day and a half, in a light coach, with three good horses, to go from Washington to Baltimore, and the mail coaches that left Pennsylvania Avenue, at four in the morning, did not reach Baltimore until ten or eleven at night; the distance is now performed daily in two hours, and frequently in less time. Thirty years ago, such a thing as a railroad was not known, now there are upwards of twelve hundred miles in operation in the United States, and about *half* that quantity in Europe. Thirty years ago, the most splendid hotel in the United States, was the City Hotel, in New York, now there are a hundred superior to it, and a number that surpass any in Europe. Planta, a British under Secretary of State, who wrote the *Picture of Paris*, in 1818, after a year's residence, pronounces *Meurice's Hotel*, in that city, the best in Europe; yet there are, now, fifty in this Union, that greatly surpass it in size, beauty and convenience, and equal it in every thing else, but its wines.

ANCIENT STAGES.

“ It has been stated, that the first stage coach drawn by four horses, in this State, was established in 1774, to run between Boston, Salem, and Newburyport. But it is the opinion of Judge Daggett, of Connecticut, who, a little prior to the Revolution, lived in Attleborough, that Dexter Brown, an enterprising man, set up a stage coach, with four horses, between Providence and Boston, as

early as 1772. When well regulated, it left Providence every Monday, and arrived in Boston, on Tuesday night; returning, it left Boston on Thursday, and reached Providence, Friday night.

“It was supported chiefly by persons who visited Newport for their health, who could go to Providence by water in two or three days, but had no conveyance to Boston. This stage is said to have excited as much wonder along the route, when accomplishing the distance in two days, as did the locomotive, when the railroad was first opened, by flying to Providence in two hours. A four horse stage is about as much of a novelty to the route now, as it was before the Revolution.”

CONSUMPTION OF BREAD STUFFS.

Written in 1837.

I am drawn into the consideration of this subject, at this time, by an article which I see quoted from the “*Genesee Farmer*,” containing as many gross blunders, with as few facts, as I ever remember to have met with in the same space. I estimate the population of the United States, at this time, at fifteen millions, which I believe is as nigh as can be come at, without actual enumeration. Of this fifteen millions, it is a fair estimate, to say that *one third* do not eat wheat bread, but use the substitutes of corn, rye, buckwheat, &c., leaving ten millions to be supplied with flour; which, at five bushels of wheat to

the barrel, the regular allowance of merchantable wheat, requires fifty millions of bushels of wheat, or its equivalent, ten millions of barrels of flour, for the consumption of the Union for one year. *I know, from experience,* that a barrel of flour is a fair estimate for a family of ten persons, of *all* ages, for one month; (with a family of twelve persons, and all *full* hands on the bread list, a barrel of flour lasts about twenty-three days.)

The writer above referred to, gives the population at fourteen millions, and the consumption of wheat at one hundred millions of bushels, without any regard to corn, or other grain; he also allows seven bushels per head, whereas experience proves that five is the average of wheat; of Indian corn, used by itself, eight bushels; of corn and rye mixed, in the proportion of two thirds the former to one of the latter, not to exceed six bushels; — this used to make the bread of nine tenths of the people of the New England States, but they are become more luxurious latterly. The "*Farmer*" gives the wheat, imported since last harvest, at less than a million of bushels. The custom house returns, if my memory serves, gives the quantity of wheat and rye imported, at nearly three millions and a half, being equal to about twenty days consumption of the wheat-eating portion of our population. Did not our exports far exceed this? I believe they did, consequently there would have been no want of bread stuffs, had there been none imported, or exported.

It must be in the recollection of all, that the abundance of the crops, the last season, were never surpassed; such at least were the accounts from every district in the Union,

with the exception of a small portion of Virginia, another in Maryland, and a third in Pennsylvania, in which, if their accounts are to be believed, a beneficent Providence never blest them with a crop; at least we have no recollection of their ever having acknowledged it. A gentleman who has recently travelled through several of the middle States, says, "*the quantity of wheat in stack is immense.*" The same remark has been made as to Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. In Maine, I noticed yesterday an account of a large quantity of wheat on its way to market, from portions of that State, that never sent any before. In Massachusetts, also, I notice, a considerable portion of the flour consumed in the State, was from wheat grown in it. Maine gives a bounty for wheat, and will hereafter, in all probability, judging from the success of last year, not only supply her own population, but have some to spare. So that there will be no want of bread stuffs, even if there should not be another bushel imported. But whilst wheat can be purchased in the great corn marts of Europe, at the price it was at, not only last year, but at the last dates, it affords the merchant the best return freights for his ships, and will continue to arrive in considerable quantities. The crops all over Europe, the last season, were represented as unusually productive, and from Odessa and Dantzick may be expected to find their way to Liverpool and London, for re-shipment, in immense quantities.

THE WONDERS OF NATURE.

Written December, 1830.

For want of a more appropriate, I give this name to the BONES that have been lately dug up at Big Bone Lick, Boone county, Kentucky. I have seen two skeletons of the mammoth, the skeleton of the whale, and the elephant, besides numerous living whales and a number of living elephants; but the sight of neither of them created any of those sensations of the mind which I felt at beholding these wonderful productions of nature.

To reflect for a moment, upon the appearance of a living animal, which, from the skeleton, is proved to have been at least *sixty* feet in length, upwards of *twenty-two* in height, and *twelve* across the hips, the upper bone of whose head weighs *six hundred*, and grinders *eleven* pounds each, and this after having undergone the decay of many centuries — must fill the mind with astonishment and reverence for that Being who said “*let there be light, and there was light.*” This animal as much surpassed the mammoth in size as the elephant does the ox, and was of the carnivorous species.

With the bones of this *non-descript*, were found the bones of several other animals, some of which were of the herbaceous species, as is proved by their teeth, of which there are a number; and to add to the singularity of the discovery of these bones, among them are two of the foot of the horse, which those skilled in comparative anatomy pronounce a third larger than those of the present race of horses. The peculiarity of this circumstance consists

in the fact that horses were not known on this continent at the time of its discovery by Columbus; nor was there any tradition among the Indians of such an animal ever having existed.

I shall conclude my remarks upon the subject by stating, the bones were found embedded in black mud, upwards of twenty feet below the surface. The first eighteen inches is alluvial, then yellow clay to the depth of twelve, or fifteen feet, and then the black mud in which the bones were contained. The proprietor has brought a large quantity of them to this city, among which are the head and tusks of the non-descript; the latter measuring *twelve* feet in length! It being impossible to erect the entire skeleton without a building for the purpose; he intends taking them from this to New York, and from thence to Europe.

ABOLITION.

Written December, 1837.

☞ The news from Washington, under our express head, will be read with absorbing interest by every one, who feels that the permanency of our institutions depends upon *union*. However unexpected and startling this movement on the part of the Southern members may appear to the majority of readers, I, for one, am not surprised. I have watched closely the progress of the

inflammatory question of abolition from its commencement, and I have long since expressed my deliberate convictions, that if our beloved country was doomed to go the way of all republics, this would be the rock on which she would split, — the maelstrom that would swallow up the ship of state, and destroy the last hope of the patriot in every land.

I was not one of those who despaired of the Union, when John C. Calhoun set up his god of Nullification, and called upon his disciples to worship it: — I knew, from a long residence among the people of the South, that their patriotism was superior to the unholy machinations of disappointed ambition, and that the threatening storm would pass away. In this I was not disappointed, and the man who would rather “reign in hell, than serve in heaven,” was, with a few choice spirits, left “alone in his glory.”

I am not so sanguine with respect to the question of abolition of slavery. The land of Marion would willingly sacrifice all for the perpetuity of our glorious Union, but the rights secured it by the social compact, and these *it will never yield up*. No thundering declamation can intimidate — no array of force can coerce — its defenders would die on the ramparts, with their country’s banner for their winding sheet, rather than compromit in the least “their lives, their property, and their sacred honor.” They know and feel that slavery is an evil — a stain on their fair escutcheon — but as it has been entailed upon them by their ancestors, — men who lived in the days “that tried men’s souls” — men whose lives and deeds

they have been taught to venerate ; — and as they came into the confederacy, with a perfect knowledge on the part of their brethren of their peculiar institutions, — they cannot submit to any interference *now* on the part of sister States. They know their own condition, and are the best judges what remedial measures to take. It is their own business. No free State has any right to meddle with it. Reason has triumphed over fanaticism, and, for the present, at least, this exciting question is settled. God grant it may never again be resuscitated.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT.

Written March, 1838.

I love to look back upon the days of other years, and contrast them with those of the present. There were giants in those days; not in person, but honor, honesty, greatness, and goodness, and all those qualities that adorn the man, and constitute the patriot. *Then*, men lived for their country, and for their country only ; *now*, they live for themselves, and too often for themselves only. Talk to men of the present day of the sacrifices made by our fathers on the altar of patriotism, and they stare at you in astonishment, as if you were speaking to them in some unknown tongue. The idea of men sacrificing their individual interests, for that of their country, appears new to many of them, and no doubt it is so. *Then*, the race

of office-hunters had no existence — they came in with the march of mind, — the office sought the man, not the man the man the office — the exact reverse of the present day. *Then*, those who dispensed office, from the people at large, to the executive of State, or Nation, sought for the most worthy to fill them — and among the most indispensable qualifications, were honesty, both moral and political.

I will pause here for a moment, to ask the question, how many of the present incumbents in office, whether in the State or general government, at this time, could stand the test of an inquiry extending no further than this? The answer is in the list of public defaulters to the amount of millions, and of culprits to the number of many thousands; to which there are not only daily, but hourly additions. But, to proceed, *then*, it was frequently difficult to find men honest and capable, (no others were ever thought of,) who would accept office; having been all their lives accustomed to provide, by their industry and enterprise, for themselves and families; they had no idea of living out of the public crib.

Always before, and for many years after the revolution, in Massachusetts and some other, if not all, the New England States, public officers, both civil and military, were appointed by the executive, and held their office during good behavior, which *then* was equal to a life estate in it — for we have no recollection of the impeachment of but one civil officer, and that was 'Squire Hunt, of Watertown, (a justice of the peace;) the result I have forgotten. *Then*, there was no necessity for such

a society as my *Every-man-mind-his-own-business Society*, for no man thought of minding any thing else. *Then*, the farmer attended to his farm; the mechanic to his shop; the merchant to his merchandise; the physician to his patients; the lawyer to his clients, and the parson to his parish;—there were neither Conventions, Presbyteries, Synods, nor Conferences, in those days. The minister was beloved and respected by his congregation, to whom he preached the religion of his master, not from sectarian newspapers, (these came in with *the march of mind*;) but from sacred writ; he not only pointed out the path to Heaven, but *led* the way. The pulpit was not then a rostrum from which to thunder party politics; that, another of the evidences of "*the march of mind*," was introduced by *Morse* and *Osgood*, in 1798. I heard them both. *Then*, men did, (in as great a degree as they were capable of,) as they would be done by; for instance, when, from sickness, a man was not able to work and cultivate his fields, his neighbors made common cause, planted, cultivated, and harvested his crop.

I have wrought, when quite a boy, with my venerated parent, more than a fortnight, in one season, to carry out this part of our holy religion *practically*. *Then*, legislation was confined to a few laws necessary for the good of the common weal, and they were unsparingly executed. *Then*, murders were seldom heard of; if my memory serves, there were only two or three in the great state of Massachusetts, from the murder of Mr. Spooner, at Worcester, about the year 1780, for nearly twenty years. There were neither "*Bowie knives*," nor "*Ar-*

kansas tooth-picks," in those days; they, also, came in with "*the march of mind*."

The criminal code of Massachusetts was severe, and punishments were inflicted unknown to the laws now; for instance, I saw a man and woman set one hour upon a gallows, with ropes around their necks, at Worcester, in 1791, for adultery; but then, "*the march of mind*" had not commenced. *Then*, men could do acts of charity and kindness to their fellow men, without being obliged to join a society for that purpose. *Now* men are so given to acts of kindness and benevolence, that they give bonds to each other to limit the exercise of their heart's overflowings. *Then*, the school-master was at home, minding his business; *now* "*the school-master is abroad*;" so is the assassin; the murderer; the robber; the thief; and the gambler.

MR. DROMGOOLE'S RESOLUTION.

Written March, 1838.

When will American Statesmen, or, rather, Congressmen, cease their interminable rigmaroles, and learn to speak and write directly to the purpose — not using more than *five* or *six* times the words necessary, as in the Resolution alluded to, where there is more pains taken to make a plain proposition unintelligible, than would have made it distinct and clear, ten times over.

One thing strikes me in the Resolution, as deserving

the most marked rebuke ; that is, the idea that all the votes for President, shall be sealed up and sent to the President of the United States, or to the person acting in that capacity, to be opened and examined by himself. Look at the late and present incumbent of the Executive Chair, and say, ought they to be so trusted? I say, not — and as similar men will, as they have done, find their way to the Presidency, no such power ought to be granted ; they have a great deal too much power now, unless they make a better use of it, for I am of Pope's opinion :

“ About forms of Government let fools contest ;
Which ever is best administered, is best.”

We are blessed with a Republican *form* of government and a *Democratic Administration* of it ; but, were it not for those facts, who would suspect we were not living under a monarch? Where is there a limited monarch, who exercises half the power that was exercised by Andrew Jackson, and *is* exercised by Martin Van Buren? The one seized on the public treasure, and the other retains it. Would a King of England, France, Holland, or any other than the most absolute monarch, like him of Russia, for instance, dare do such a thing? If they did, their lives would pay the forfeit ; and as for the exercise of the Veto, a constitutional right, I admit, it is the vile abuse of it, of which I complain, although I think the power should never have been delegated. Andrew Jackson exercised it with as much indifference as he read his morning paper, or more so. Yet an

English King has not had the temerity to exercise it, I believe, for upwards of a century ; this proves one of two things, that an American Congress do not understand the interests of their constituents as well as a British Parliament do theirs, or that an American President dare take the responsibility, when a British King dare not.

I hope there never will be an alteration in the mode of electing the President and Vice President, but upon these terms ; that they shall be elected by the people, without the intervention of those *nests of corruption*, the Electoral Colleges, voting all on the same *day*, throughout the Union ; and should no choice be made, take the two highest on the list voted for, as President, and if no choice of Vice President, the two highest of them, also, and send them back to the people to choose one of the two. It would scarcely be possible there should ever be a tie, but, admitting there should, let the two Houses decide upon joint ballot between the parties.

The only objection, I see, that can be made to this mode, is its simplicity. Political knaves do not like simplicity. They like to fish in troubled waters, and stir the political cauldron until they have an opportunity of rising, with the rest of the scum, to the top. I believe that this tub to the whale, has been thrown out at every session, for the last twenty years, and always in the same *lucid* and *brilliant* light, as on the present occasion ; but, being brought in and laid on the table, I do not recollect an instance in which it was ever called up. The whale was amused with the prospect, and tickled with

the expectation of the amendments, and the ends of the movers were answered; so it will be now, or I shall be greatly mistaken. I do not believe that any possible good can come from the present Congress. If the patriots who have seats there, can prevent the mobocracy from totally ruining the country, it is all that can be expected of them, and I am fearful it is more than they can accomplish.

Among the Resolutions moved on Monday last, was the following, by Mr. Dromgoole, of Virginia :

Resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in relation to the election of President.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following amendment to the Constitution of the United States, be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the States, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution :

“ The electors shall meet in their respective States, on such day as Congress shall determine, and vote for President and Vice President, in the manner prescribed by the twelfth article of amendments to the Constitution. In addition to the lists required by the said twelfth article of amendments, the electors shall make distinct lists of

all persons voted for as President, and of the number of votes for each ; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of Government of the United States, or, if there is no President, to the person exercising the powers of said office, within days, to be opened and examined by him. If it shall appear, upon examination, that no person has received a majority of the votes of the electors, appointed, the President of the United States, or the person exercising the powers of said office, shall forthwith, by proclamation and by notification of the Executives of each State, publish the number of votes given to each person as President. Whereupon, the said electors, or such others as may be appointed in their stead, by each or any of the States, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, shall meet on such day succeeding the first meeting, as Congress shall determine, and vote for one of the two persons having the highest numbers on the lists of those voted for as President at the said first meeting. Or if it should happen that more than two persons shall have received the highest, and also equal number of votes, the said electors shall vote for one of them as President. Or if it should happen that one person shall have received the highest number, and not a majority of the whole number of votes, and two or more persons shall have received the next highest, and also equal number of votes, the said electors shall vote either for the person having the highest number, or for one of those having the next highest number of votes as President.

“ The electors of the said second meeting should it take

place, shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes given by the electors, at their first meeting, shall be counted, and also the votes given by the electors at their second meeting, should such second meeting have taken place; if it shall appear that any person has been duly elected President of the United States, according to the Constitution, by the electors at their first meeting, such person shall be the President; if not, and it shall appear that any person shall have received the greatest number, and also a majority of the votes of the electors at their second meeting, such person shall be the President; but if it shall happen that no person is duly elected President of the United States, either at the first or second meeting of the electors, then the Senate and House of Representatives shall immediately, by ballot, each member of both Houses giving one vote, proceed to elect a President of the United States, from the persons duly voted for at the second meeting of the electors. The said joint meeting shall consist of at least a majority of the members of each House, and a majority of the votes of all the members present at the said joint meeting, shall be necessary to a choice of President of the United States. But if no person shall receive such majority on the first, or

on a second ballot, then a plurality of the said votes shall decide the election."

The Resolution was twice read, and referred to the Committee of the whole House on the state of the Union.

EXTRAORDINARY PRODUCT.

Written October, 1837.

On eighteen square feet less than half an acre of ground, Jacob Resor, Esq., at his residence, about seven miles below this city, (Cincinnati,) on the river, has raised this season, of the Isabella, Cape, and Catawba grape, sufficient to make *six hundred and sixty-seven gallons of pure wine!!!*—besides a large quantity consumed in the family, and otherwise disposed of, estimated to be sufficient to have made the amount full seven hundred gallons. It is to be remarked, that this is the *first* bearing season of the vines. The Isabella and Cape, yielded at the rate of fifteen hundred gallons to the acre!—the Catawba was less productive, from the rot having destroyed many of the grapes. Mr. Resor values this crop of wine at *one thousand dollars*; a pretty handsome remuneration for half an acre of ground and ten days' labor.

Farmers of Ohio! if the above facts will not stimulate you to go into the cultivation of the vine, what will?—Your hill sides, that have a southern or western aspect,

and are too steep for ordinary cultivation, are, above all situations, best suited to the cultivation of the vine; and there are none so steep that vines may not be cultivated on them, and none so poor they will not produce them. Here you have facts, susceptible of judicial proof, that less than half an acre of ground, with the labor of a few days, has produced more, much more, in value, than one farm in a hundred throughout the State. If you would promote your own interests; if you would promote temperance; cultivate the vine, and you will do both; you will banish the whiskey-still, and the brandy-bottle, for who would drink either, if a good, wholesome, and cheap wine, was to be had? There are many kinds of light, pleasant wines, making a delightful drink, and causing none of that excitement which creates thirst, instead of allaying it, as ardent spirits do — and which a man could not hold enough of, if disposed to drink to excess, to make him intoxicated.

It is a fact, worthy of all observation, that in tours made through various parts of France, to the amount of many hundred miles; — that in several weeks at a time, spent in Paris, visiting public places of resort daily, and on great *national festivals*; — in visiting every place of curiosity throughout that great capital, from the bottom of the Catacombs to the top of the Observatory, I have no recollection of ever having seen a drunken person! — although the best brandy may be had for three cents a glass, a bottle of pleasant wine for twelve and a half cents, and, outside the city gates, for half the money: — and that is the reason that drunkenness is less known in

France, than in any other country in Europe. Cultivate the grape — be rich and temperate — or, make whiskey and make drunkards. “*The bane and antidote are both before you.*”

“To reign is worthy of ambition, though in Hell.”

“Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.”

Milton.

TO THE HON. JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Written July, 1837.

SIR: — No circumstance, that has occurred in these days of political misdoings, is calculated to cause so much grief to the breasts of real patriots, and true friends of their country, as your recent political tergiversation. — Know, sir, that *six* years ago, you could not have numbered *six* political friends in this city; but that, since that period, your political ERRORS have been forgiven, and in a great measure, forgotten, by a large portion, I believe I may safely say majority, of the voters of this large and growing city; and that many of them already have, with others who were continually joining them, fixed their eyes upon you, as one of those destined to redeem our common country from that thralldom into which it has been brought by wicked and unprincipled rulers — with a view, ultimately, of elevating you to the highest situation in the gift of man. Judge, then, of their astonishment and regret, at beholding you “*return like the dog to his vomit, and the sow that was washed, to her wallow-*

ing in the mire." Yes, sir, you have come out alike in boastful defiance of your foes, and regardless of the feelings of your friends. Sir, does such a reckless course become the great statesman—the "*man of gigantic mind,*"—to whom all have at times looked up with fear, or respect? Permit me to say, sir, it does not; for by it you have betrayed the good opinion of your friends, and gladdened the hearts of your foes.

In your recent letter to the Editor of the Alexandria Gazette, there is this paragraph:

"How strange, that any man who knows me, should imagine it possible for me to be driven, or seduced from my position! I live but to carry out the great principles for which I have been contending since 1824; and which I have maintained under every danger and difficulty."

Now, sir, will you have the goodness to tell the American people what these "GREAT PRINCIPLES" are, for which you have been contending so long? I for one, sir, have looked in vain for them in your speeches, spoken before, or since you wrote the letter. The next paragraph, or, more properly, a part of the same just quoted, is in these words:

"In their defence, I have acted with, and against, every party, *without blending with any.* Mr. Van Buren has been driven into a position favorable to their advancement, and shall I not avail myself of the opportunity which it affords me to accomplish my object? Shall I permit him to drive me from my position, because he has been driven on it? All I ask is to be heard."

Sir, I speak of what I know. when I say that the people of this Union have been divided into parties ever since the organization of the federal government; and when those parties have been nearly equally divided, as they frequently have been, and are at present, the individual who sets himself up in DIRECT opposition to both of them, even if it be *John C. Calhoun*, does little good for himself, and less for his country. A deceased Virginia (I was going to say statesman) orator, afforded as striking an evidence of the folly of such a course, as is to be found in the history of politics. I pray you, sir, adopt it not.

Although, sir, you have never told us what those "*great principles*" are, for which you contend, I thank you, that through your own acknowledgment, and the agency of Mr. Van Buren, we are likely to arrive at a pretty tolerable knowledge of them, inasmuch as you admit that he (Mr. Van Buren.) "*has been driven into a position favorable to their advancement;*" and you proceed, "*shall I not avail myself of the opportunity which it affords me to accomplish my object?*" Now, sir, I understand you; you have become jealous of Mr. Van Buren, and will not permit him to "*drive you from your position, because he has been driven on it.*" Now, Mr. Van Buren has broached, distinctly, but one subject in, I had almost said, his interminable message; and what is that, which has thus driven him upon your position? *An increase of executive power, by adding the purse to the sword.* In doing this, it seems he treads upon your toes, I beg pardon, "*is driven upon your position.*"—

This, then, is the "great principle" which you have been contending for since 1824. It is well, sir, that the American people have, at length, arrived at a knowledge of this fact, for which, it appears, they are indebted to Mr. Van Buren, and the more to be estimated on that account, as it is, probably, the only obligation they will ever be under to him.

ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FLOOD OF THE OHIO AND
ITS TRIBUTARIES—FEBRUARY, 1832.

Written February 27, 1832.

I have heretofore witnessed the operations of that **BEING**, in the hollow of whose almighty hand the waters of the ocean ebb and flow, in the conflagration, and in the hurricane; in the tornado, and in the earthquake; but never until *now* in the **FLOOD**. The windows of Heaven have indeed been opened, and the waters have been poured out until the want of an Ararat of rest has been felt by thousands—yes! I greatly fear by tens of thousands. I lose sight of the city's situation, calamitous as it is, in my apprehensions for the thousands who inhabit towns and villages upon the river, from Pittsburg to New Orleans; such as Marietta, Lawrenceburg, Shawneetown, and many others, which have always been subject to be overflowed by *ordinary* rises of the water. What must be their situation *now* that it has risen several feet higher than *ever was known before*?

I published on Monday, the 13th inst., an article which contained the facts of the rise of the river up to Sunday afternoon preceding, from which I now re-publish them, for the information of the public: particularly as my paper of that day was the *last* I published to this date, and owing to the unprecedented rapid rise of the waters, it had but a partial circulation.

On Friday evening, the 10th inst., the Ohio, which had risen to within five feet of extreme high water, (having reference to the great rise of 1815,) came to a stand, and fell in the course of Saturday five inches, but began to rise again on Saturday night, during which an immense quantity of rain fell, and on Sunday morning, the 12th, it rose at the astonishing rate of from three to four inches per hour, and continued at about that rate until 4 o'clock P. M. Heretofore it had never been known to rise more than six to ten inches in twenty-four hours, after it had risen to within ten or twelve feet, of what had uniformly been termed "*extreme high water.*" I measured it at four o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, and found it to be within three feet three inches of that mark. The store and coffee-house keepers next to the river had to move out on Thursday, the 9th. The building, in which I had my office, is six stories to the roof on the river; my printing office is in the fifth and my counting room in the fourth story. When I left my office on Sunday evening at ten o'clock, the water was just coming on to the floor of Mr. Valentine's store, (through which I pass to my counting room,) and was then within about two feet four inches of *high water*. Before I left I had taken the

precaution to put a trunk, containing valuable papers, upon a table, several inches above high water mark, and my account books I placed upon shelves still higher, by nearly two feet. On Monday they were all in the water, and so remained, floating about, until Friday last—twelve days. During Sunday night, the back water, which came up to Second street, from Mill creek bottom, increased to such a degree that I was roused from my slumbers, at my residence at the corner of Front and Elm streets, before 3 o'clock in the morning of Monday; when I arose, I found the water had approached me from Second street, and was then within about twenty feet of the corner of Front and Elm. About five o'clock, several men came up from Mill creek bottom to solicit assistance and skiffs, to save women and children, who they stated were then on the tops of the houses waiting for succor. At seven o'clock, passengers were landed from boats on the corner of the pavement within twenty feet of my door!

In the afternoon of Monday I was invited by a gentleman who occupied the steam mill at the time, to go with him and see the high water mark of 1815, on the sill of a window in the mill. By going round the head of water on Sycamore and Broadway streets, I reached the mill, and found the water at precisely the high water mark. About three o'clock P. M. I reached home, and found it just passing the door sill on the floor of my dwelling, where it rose to above six feet before it began to subside. It continued rising, sometimes an inch, and at others half an inch per hour, until the night of Friday, the

17th inst., when it came to a stand, and on Saturday morning at seven o'clock, began to recede; from which time up to Tuesday, at seven o'clock, seventy-two hours, it had fallen but little more than three feet. It afterwards fell faster, and on Wednesday morning it had left Main street, with the exception of the intersection of Second street, and the warehouses and stores on Front, from Walnut to the Old Miami Bank, were re-opened and occupied by their proprietors.

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 15th, 16th, and 17th, before the water had reached its height, many frame dwellings, probably not less than fifty, (many estimate a much larger number,) and other buildings, below Elm-street, upset, and not a few of them floated away. In several very extensive lumber yards, the lumber was raised by the water until it fell over, and floated in one promiscuous mass, making it impossible to distinguish to whom it belonged; in some instances, entire yards of lumber were swept off into the river and lost.

The number of families that were driven from their dwellings by the flood, including a few who remained, and took refuge in the upper stories of their houses, I have no means of ascertaining, but I should think it could not be less than *five hundred*; some of whom have no dwelling left to return to. A meeting was held, and committees appointed; one to provide house room, and others to make collections for the relief of the necessitous, who were provided with food and fuel, which was served out to them at the Council Chamber. Many of the citizens who lived upon the high ground, with a liberality

that did them great credit, received whole families into their houses, besides rendering every service in their power to relieve the distressed, whose great numbers required the exertions of every feeling heart in their cause.

Any estimation of the loss of property is entirely beyond my reach, and it is a subject on which I discover the greatest possible difference of opinion ; but, all things considered, I do not think that half a million of dollars would place the city in a better situation than it was before the late calamitous flood, which in its consequences has created a mass of distress altogether unprecedented, by conflagration, or frost, or any other calamity by which this city has ever been visited.

From Mill Creek to Deer Creek, a distance of nearly two miles, and from the river up to Lower market and Pearl streets, was one continued sheet of water, excepting only where the walls of the buildings hid it from the sight, varying in depth from one foot to five and twenty feet, and upwards, which, from Tuesday the 14th to Tuesday the 21st, was covered with boats, arks, and rafts of every description, from the huge flat boats of 1000 barrels burden, down to the light Indian bark canoe, with its single navigator, with his single paddle, wending his way along the streets, to note the progress of the flood.

During the three or four last days, before the water began to recede, it is believed that not less than from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, skiffs and boats of various descriptions, were built within the city, which,

if not as splendid and rich in their appearance, were at least as useful, as the far famed *gondolas* of Venice.

Among the *public* losses sustained on this occasion, is Mill Creek bridge, a substantial covered building, which, if I am correctly informed, cost the county \$13,000, — it got under way on Wednesday, the 15th, and the next I heard of it, it was landed on six mile island, being that distance above Louisville. Deer Creek bridge began to rise, but was secured in time.

Severe losses have been sustained by some of our merchants on Front and Main streets, from having placed too much confidence in what was heretofore known as high water mark; had it not been for this, ample time was afforded, to have placed every cent's worth of moveable property beyond the reach of the water, and at a trifling expense — consequently similar losses can never occur in future, as the innumerable number of marks of *high water* which the *present flood* has established, will put every one on his guard, long before it shall have reached to what has been heretofore considered “extreme high water.”

Before the flood began to abate, the large *horse* ferry boat came up Main street to Second, and discharged her passengers, and the still larger *steam* ferry boat, came up Plum to Second, and discharged hers; and on Friday, the 17th, the steam boat Daniel Webster discharged her cargo at Tatem's foundry, on Plum, above the line of Pearl street! The water on Thursday morning the 23d, had so far subsided as to be about ten or twelve inches below the old high water mark; but it began to rise

about eight o'clock, and had risen about two inches up to ten o'clock, A. M., when it began to recede again. The largest steam boats might have passed from Vine-street down Second, where, at the intersection of Elm, it was upon the roof of Mr. Tatem's house; in front of my door, upon Front street, just below Elm, there was about seven feet, which became deeper from there every yard to Mill Creek, a distance of upwards of a mile.

When the site of Fort Washington, which stood near where the Bazaar now stands, was fixed upon, the Indians were called upon to show high water mark; and they pointed out a tree which grew on the bank near, or on the spot, where the pump now is, in Lower Market street, as one to which, *tradition* informed them, their ancestors had tied their canoes. There has been much cutting down of the bank, and filling up of the ravine since that period, notwithstanding which the water flowed within six feet of the designated spot, and two or three inches more rise would have brought it to the place.

The following are the highest places to which the water came on the different streets, commencing with Broadway, and ending with Western Row, viz.: at Broadway it reached the South side of the Market house, over the curb-stone, about twenty-five feet of which was covered; near the corner of Sycamore it crossed the curb again; between Sycamore and Main it came up Produce Alley, and nearly crossed Market-street, coming within six feet of the curb on the North side. Mr. Henry Clark, Druggist, with several other gentlemen, went on

board a boat at his door, within seventy feet of Main-street, and went out into the Ohio river.

On the East side of Main, it came within eight inches of Messrs. Schultz's floor ; on the opposite side it came exactly to the corner of Pearl-street. On Walnut-street, East side, it reached to within twenty-eight feet of Pearl ; at the intersection of Vine and the line of Pearl-street, it crossed entirely over the latter ; at the intersection of Race and Green-streets, (the latter is a continuation of Pearl) it rose to the upper side of Green ; on Elm, at Green-street, it came within five feet of Green, within the curbs ; outside of them, it crossed and came above the steam saw-mill ; at Plum, within the curbs, it came within fifty-feet of the lower line of Pearl, or Green-street, outside of them, it entirely crossed the upper line and reached the bank, by Tatem's Foundry, where the *steamboat Daniel Webster discharged her cargo !* It came to about the same line on Western Row. East of Broadway, at the South-west corner of Front and Butler streets, it was six feet eleven and a half inches deep upon the floor (entering from Front-street) of the new brick buildings. At Cromwell's Cincinnati Hotel, it was twenty inches deep upon the bar-room floor, and at the Broadway Hotel, seventeen inches.

The effect, on property West of Walnut-street, will be felt, for some time to come ; from Walnut-street to Broadway, where the heavy business always has been, is, and must continue to be done, it is not reduced a cent in value. The site for the intended Exchange, proved

to be the highest ground on Front-street, the water there rising about fifteen or eighteen inches only in this unprecedented flood.

Suppose it possible for a flood of ten feet more rise, plumb water, and it would not reach the second story of the buildings on the upper side of Pearl and Market streets; the ground rising so fast from that point, it could never reach Third-street, except in a *general deluge*. I mention these facts, to show the very favorable situation of the city, the lowest part of which is not half as subject to inundations, as most of the Atlantic cities are from high tides and heavy gales of wind.

The weather, during the fortnight of the flood's continuance, was, with the exception of two days, every thing but pleasant — rain, sleet, hail, and snow, alternately; while the water was rising, there were two cold nights, which made ice half an inch thick, and greatly added to the distress. On Thursday morning, the 23d, we had a severe snow storm, which lasted through the forenoon — it then became clear, and was followed by one of the coldest nights of this cold winter. The water during the night receded from many of the houses on Front and Water streets, leaving a sediment of three inches in depth, which, where there was no one to take advantage of the moment, by sweeping it out, froze as hard as the street, and required warm weather, or *large quantities* of boiling water, as I know by experience, to remove it.

Feb. 29. Every day brings me, and every day *shows me*, further ravages of this great and sweeping calamity. A gentleman of unquestionable veracity informs me that in one hundred miles distance, above the mouth of Cumberland, he counted *sixty-nine houses afloat on the Ohio, in a single day, between sunrise and sunset.* Lawrenceburg, only about twenty miles below, I am informed, was so completely inundated, that not a family was left in the place, all having fled to the high ground in the neighborhood, and in that distressed situation, compelled to "abide the peltings of the pitiless storm," and endure the severe cold which followed it.

The streets of the city begin to show the wreck it made in the numerous cellar doors, with their frames, which it swept away, and the falling in of the pavements, and gulying of the streets in almost innumerable places, as well as in the damage done to buildings, by the long continuance of water in them.

I learn from good authority, that the late rise exceeded that of 1793, by three feet six inches, and that of 1815, by five feet ten inches. In my counting-room, 4th story, Latham's buildings, the water was eight feet two inches deep.

Pittsburgh, Feb. 14.—On Friday last, Pittsburgh, Alleghany town, and the low lands bordering on the rivers, were visited by the horrors and devastations of the greatest flood that ever occurred since the erection of Fort Du Quesne by the French.

On Thursday evening last, in consequence of the immense rains that had fallen, and the rapid thaw, the rivers rose to an unusual height — many houses adjacent to the rivers became untenable. During the night many families were awakened by the flood pouring into their dwellings, many effected an escape at the risk of their lives. The shrieks and cries of the women and children, could be heard throughout the night. On Friday, the rivers rose with astonishing rapidity, and deluged parts of the city with such celerity, that the inmates of dwellings were obliged to fly for personal safety, without stopping to save their moveables.

It is impracticable to estimate the precise amount of damage; but it will not surpass the reality to say, it exceeds *two hundred thousand dollars*. Several weather boarded houses were carried away, or displaced; bales of cotton, and cotton manufactory machinery damaged; lumber, dry goods, groceries, and furniture, &c. &c., destroyed or injured; and the foundations, and the superstructures of brick houses sunk and rent, to such an extent that the above sum will hardly repair the loss.

The rivers rose above *thirty-one feet* above low water mark; of course this flood exceeded the memorable "*pumpkin flood*" of November 10, 1810, by about two or three feet. The first flat of Alleghany town was completely inundated. In this city the following ground was submerged, viz: the whole "Point," to Union-street, and generally north of Liberty. The water ascended Wood-street, to the middle of Second, the corner of Diamond

and Jail Alleys, and the corner of Market and Liberty-streets.

There are numbers thrown by this sudden calamity on the sympathy and charity of their neighbors. Let us indulge in the noblest dictates of humanity, and relieve speedily the wants of the poor and needy.

FROM THE BEAVER, PENN., ARGUS.

The Flood. — Such a scene has never before occurred in our neighborhood, as that produced by the rise of the Ohio river, and Big Beaver creek, on Friday and Saturday last. The water, at the junction of those streams, was seven or eight feet higher than ever was known before. Bridgewater, Sharn, and Fallston, were all inundated, as well as the buildings up and down the river. In some of the houses the water was up in the second story, and most of them near the ceiling in the first. A great many light buildings were carried away, together with grain, hay stacks, and fences. The loss in the range where the water flowed is incalculable.

Among the sufferers in this vicinity, Stephen Stone, Esq. is the greatest. He estimates his loss at ten thousand dollars. His old dwelling house and stable were all carried away, and a large new brick house, lately finished, and which cost \$4000, is so much injured, that it is believed it will fall; a brick kitchen attached to it was torn away. Messrs. D. Minnis, and H. J. Wasson, suffered considerable loss, the dwelling house of the latter being swept off.

The water was up to the ceiling in Gen. Lacock's

house, and his stable and other outhouses, fences and hay stacks, were all carried away, and his valuable library destroyed. At Sharon, the foundry of Messrs. Daragh and Stow was torn away, and at Fallston, the scythe manufactory of Mr. D. S. Stone was destroyed, and Messrs. Pughs, Wilson and Co. have sustained considerable loss. The islands above and below, have been stripped of every thing, their occupants barely escaping with their lives.

The public works on Beaver creek have sustained little, or no injury.

Notwithstanding the uncommon rapid rise of the water, and the distress produced by it, it is with gratitude we have the pleasure of stating there were no lives lost.

FROM THE WHEELING GAZETTE.

The Flood. — We mentioned in our last, that the river was, on Friday noon, thirty-six feet above low water. It continued rising until Saturday evening, and was then *forty-nine feet above low water mark*, and four feet ten inches higher than the celebrated flood of 1815. In South Wheeling the water was several feet deep in most of the houses, and there being a powerful current, fifteen, or twenty frame dwelling houses, besides some other buildings, were swept off.

FROM THE MAYSVILLE EAGLE.

Great Flood. — The Ohio river has swollen to a height altogether without a precedent. The town of Aberdeen, on the opposite side, is partially inundated, and

many of the citizens have been compelled to seek safety with their neighbors who occupy higher ground. In Maysville, owing to the height of the bank, but partial injury has been sustained. On Monday, the river presented a melancholy evidence of the destruction of property caused by the freshet. One, or two dwelling houses and two stables, greatly wrecked, with a large number of hay stacks, were mingled with the immense mass of floating rails, saw logs, planks, &c. &c. with which the southern side of the river was constantly lined through the day.

On Tuesday, several dwelling houses floated past, and we learn that one, containing a large amount of furniture, was towed into a safe harbor about two miles above. The river is now higher by several feet than ever before known, and it is doubtful whether the water has yet reached its acme. Most of the towns on the Ohio, it is believed, are partially or wholly inundated. The loss of property, and the amount of individual suffering, are altogether incalculable.

Thursday morning, 10 o'clock.—The river is now about four feet higher than during the memorable flood of 1815 — and what is most alarming, is still rising. The bottom on which Maysville is situated, is supposed to be from ten to fifteen feet higher than the sites of the majority of the river towns — and here, the water now covers the lower part of the line of Front or Water street; and many of the citizens who occupy less elevated situations, were compelled to abandon their dwellings.

A part of Aberdeen is almost entirely submerged, the roofs of the houses alone being above water.

We learn by a gentleman from the steamboat Amulet, which arrived from above last evening, that seven houses had been swept from Wheeling, and that seven were left standing in the town of Warren, 10 miles above. A man, woman, and two children, were found dead in a house above Wheeling, which was floating down the river.

FROM THE LAWRENCEBURGH PALLADIUM.

The late flood in the Ohio, and its disastrous and ruinous effects, being subjects of painful interest to all, we have collected a number of statements from different towns on the river. From Pittsburgh, and as far down as we have been able to learn, the destruction of property has been great beyond a parallel in the West.

The height of the water in this place, over the great flood of 1815, was five feet nine inches, and over that of 1825, about eight feet. High street, the most elevated part of the old town, was covered with from four to six feet water its whole extent. On some of the cross streets the water was still deeper, and the inhabitants compelled to seek refuge in the buildings along High and Walnut streets. All the two story buildings on these streets were filled to overflowing — having three, four, and five families in them. The injury done to the buildings in this part of the town was trifling; and not one removed from its foundation, notwithstanding several were light

one story frames. Several frame stables situated low, were either floated into other parts of the town, or displaced from their foundations; but not a single building of any kind, we believe, was carried off entirely. The principal loss sustained by our citizens is in fences, corn and hay. The stock was all secured in boats, or removed to high ground as the water rose. On Thursday week, the water left High street, and at this time business is as brisk in the stores and trading houses, as if it had not been interrupted. The water for one or two days was about three feet deep on the lower floor of the store rooms on High street, but the merchants having removed their goods to the higher shelves, or to the second story, none were injured, we believe.

FROM THE LOUISVILLE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

Louisville, Friday, Feb. 18, 9 o'clock P. M. — In the last twenty-four hours the rise in the river has been about sixteen inches. It is now rising at the rate of about half an inch per hour. We erred last evening in stating that it was about one foot above the extreme high water mark. Some of our oldest inhabitants say it is four and a half feet higher than it was ever known to be. It is probable it will soon be "at a stand."

FROM THE LOUISVILLE FOCUS, FEB. 27.

The Flood. — The river having fallen about seven or eight feet, we are enabled to resume the publication of the Journal, although with considerable inconvenience, the water being about four feet deep on our lower floor.

The rise commenced about the 10th inst., and continued until the 21st, having obtained the unprecedented height of fifty-one feet above low water mark. Our oldest inhabitants agree, that, within their recollection, the Ohio had never been so high by four or five feet. The destruction of property in this city has been immense; and all classes and professions have felt the effects of it. The country merchants being unable to reach the city, and our farmers being unable to bring their products to market, an almost total cessation in business has been produced, and our markets have been miserably supplied.

Nearly all the frame buildings in the lower part of the city, have either been carried off by the water, or have been raised from their foundations, and turned over. The banks of our river present a picture of destruction and distress never witnessed before. Never has our city been visited by a calamity more calculated to excite the sympathies, or to call forth the generous assistance of the community, than the present. Our citizens have been very liberal in providing shelter for those driven from their homes, and will, no doubt, use every exertion to alleviate the distress, and afford their assistance to such others as may be found to need their aid.

From the towns below this place, we have no information, excepting from Shippingport and Shawneetown, both of which have been completely inundated. In the former place, we are told, there are very few frame houses left standing; most of them having been carried off by the flood.

Lawrenceburgh, Indiana, is wholly inundated. Several dead bodies have been found in the floating houses. A *cradle* was seen floating, and in it was found a child, alive and well. The young sailor is said to be doing well, at Cincinnati.

A letter from Blairsville, of the 16th, says: Many distressing circumstances occurred to families compelled to fly from their habitations, in order to escape a watery grave. Many have lost their houses, and all their furniture. Property that could be rescued from the raging element, was carried to the high ground, where the owners were shivering over a cheerless fire, in the open air, waiting, with intense anxiety, for the subsiding of the waters.

In some instances, the rise was so rapid, that the inhabitants had scarcely time to save themselves. One case is related, of a family on the shore of the Kiskeminetas, who had to open a passage in the roof of the house, and in that way release a sick woman, who had been confined, only two days before, from her perilous situation.

Many of the inhabitants of Freeport were compelled to leave their houses. The salt works above and below that place, on the Alleghany, we are also informed, have been seriously injured.

FROM THE STEUBENVILLE HERALD OF FEBRUARY 15.

High Water.—The Ohio river rose, on Saturday last, several feet higher than it has risen within the mem-

ory of the oldest inhabitants, and on that night began to subside. It is now confined within its banks. Much injury has been done, by the overflowing of the river bottoms, and the backing of water up the creeks; but we have not heard of any loss of human life in this neighborhood. The lower street of Steubenville, which lies from thirty to fifty feet below the main body of the town, was overflowed to the depth of perhaps eight or ten feet, but no buildings were carried off.

FROM THE COLUMBUS (OHIO) JOURNAL.

By the Ravenna Courier, we learn that great destruction of property, by the rise of water, took place along the Cuyahoga river, on the 10th, 11th, 12th and 13th instants. From this, we may infer that the Muskingum and Scioto rivers will contribute their full shares to the already overwhelming volume of the Ohio. The rise of Monongahela and Youghiogany, gives us an assurance, which experience forbids us to distrust, that the Kenhawa will also contribute largely to the work of destruction. We have, therefore, great reason to expect most disastrous intelligence from below.

FROM POULSON'S PHILADELPHIA ADVERTISER, FEB. 22.

Great Western Flood.—An intelligent gentleman from the west, who has recently travelled from Cincinnati to Wheeling, in a steamboat, brings distressing intelligence of the destruction sustained from the flood on the Ohio river and its tributaries. Among other scenes of suffering, loss, and distress, he counted upwards of *two*

hundred buildings, filled with flour, furniture, &c., floating upon the river, and borne onward by the waves.— From one of the houses projected the arm of a dead man, a mournful indication that loss of property was not the only calamity which befel the unfortunate settlers on the banks of the river. The Ohio is supposed to be fifty feet above low water mark, and the gentleman above alluded to, on his journey up the river, frequently travelled over inundated corn and wheat fields; at one period, it was necessary to cut a passage for the steamboat through the trees of a forest.”

The extreme high water was sixty-eight feet some inches perpendicular height, above extreme low water, at Cincinnati.

REMINISCENCES OF ASHER ROBBINS.

This profound scholar, able statesman, and genuine philanthropist, (whose beautiful and classical sketch of Washington, will be found with my *Reminiscences of the father of his country*, in the preceding volume of this work,) was born at Wethersfield, in Connecticut, in 1761. After the usual preparatory schooling, he entered Yale College, under the Presidency of Doctor Styles where he laid the foundation for that mass of learning which has been increasing ever since, securing to him the respect of the learned, and the admiration of his friends. He graduated in 1782.

Providence College was suspended during a part, or the whole, of the war of the Revolution. On its revival, after the peace, President Manning wrote to Doctor Stylès, of Yale, to send the Institution a tutor, whom he could recommend. Mr. Robbins was at once fixed upon, and appointed, and continued in the place until 1788. Soon after which, he removed to Newport, to complete his law studies, which he had been pursuing, in his hours of leisure, while a tutor. He then continued them under the direction of Mr. Channing, then Attorney General of Rhode Island.

After he had closed his legal studies, and was admitted to the bar, he commenced the practice of his profession, at Providence, where he continued until the death of Mr. Channing, in 1795, when, by the advice of his friends, he returned to Newport, and soon found himself engaged in an extensive practice, to which he closely applied himself, not in Newport only, but in all the courts of the State; and it was not until 1818, that he could be prevailed upon to enter into public life, which he then did, by being elected a member of the Legislature, where his services proved so valuable, that his fellow citizens would not dispense with them, until they found he was wanted in a higher sphere, where his usefulness would no longer be confined to a single State, but extended to the whole Union.

In 1825, while he was yet a member of the State Legislature, he was translated to the Senate of the United States, where he continued twelve years, performing all the duties of his high station, with an ease and assiduity

only to be acquired by those who devote themselves to their duties.

So useful did he render himself as a legislator ; so amiable in his disposition ; so modest in his deportment ; so unassuming in his manners ; that his declining a re-election was a subject of regret among all the members of that body, and participated in, by the great body of the people throughout the Union.

Mr. Robbins is now seventy-nine years of age, and in the enjoyment of much better health than was to have been expected in one of his years, whose constitution was naturally weak, and is racked by lameness ; but if I am correctly informed, his fellow citizens are determined to have the use of him, while there is any of him left, for they have got him again into their State Legislature ; there, being near home, should he be taken suddenly ill, and not able to go to his family, they can readily go to him. May his life still be spared, for while he lives he will be useful, and no good man should wish to live any longer.

The venerable, and learned Doctor NOAH WEBSTER, in a letter of July, 1840, received too late to be inserted in their proper place, and too interesting to be omitted, has favored me with the two following anecdotes, for which he will please accept my thanks. The first, in relation to

Hancock, I have known for more than half a century ; and know, further, who wrote the oration ; it was written by the then celebrated, Rev. Dr. Cooper ; but any man who ever heard Hancock address a public assembly, as I have, could not for a moment doubt his *ability* to write such an oration ; the object was, to get him committed, beyond the hope of pardon, and that oration did it completely.

New Haven, July 29, 1840.

MR. THOMAS :—

I see in the sheets of your Reminiscences, which you have been so good as to send for my perusal, that you have mentioned the electric effect which the oration of Mr. Hancock, March 5, 1774, had upon the audience. This reminds me of an anecdote related to me by the late Judge Trumbull, of this State.

In the year 1774, Mr. Trumbull was a student of law in the office of John Adams. Mr. Hancock was, at that time, a wavering character ; at least he was so considered by the leading whigs of that day. It was a matter of no small importance to bring him to a decision, as to the part he was to take in the crisis then approaching. To effect this object, the more stanch leading whigs contrived to procure Mr. Hancock to be appointed to deliver an oration on the anniversary of the Massacre ; and some of them wrote his oration for him, or a considerable part of it. This policy succeeded, and Mr. Hancock became a firm supporter of the American cause. Judge Trumbull related to me these facts, as from his personal knowledge ; and no person will question his veracity.

I have another anecdote, derived from the late Rev. Nathan Strong, of Hartford, and coming to me through the Hon. Elizur Goodrich.

When the question of taking arms to resist the claims of Great Britain was to be decided in Connecticut, the Legislature held a secret session, and debated the question a whole day. The result was in favor of resistance; and it is said the most influential character in deciding the question was the Hon. Titus Hosmer, the father of the late Chief Justice Hosmer, of Middletown.

I give you these anecdotes as I have received them; and if you deem them of any value, they are at your service.

I am, Sir, with respect,

Your obedient servant,

E. S. THOMAS, Esq.

N. WEBSTER.

REMINISCENCES OF NOAH WEBSTER.

At a Sunday School celebration of the 4th of July, 1840, held in a grove, near New Haven, the venerable Dr. Webster briefly addressed the children. "In the year 1775," said he, "I was a freshman in Yale College. In June, of that year, Gen. Washington passed through New Haven, on his way to take command of the army at Charlestown, (Cambridge,) and lodged at the house of Deacon Beers, now occupied in part as a store by Mr. Bryan. In the morning he reviewed the military company of the college. Gen. Lee, who accompanied him,

and who had been a British officer, cried out with astonishment at their promptness. That company of Yale College students, had the honor of first escorting Gen. Washington after his appointment to the American Army. They accompanied him out of town as far as Neck Bridge, and he who now addresses you, went with them as one of the musicians.

“Sixty-nine years ago, I shouldered my musket to go to Albany to meet Burgoyne. My father and two brothers were already in the army, and thus my mother and sisters were left entirely alone. Provisions at that time were very scarce. The steward of the college, I well remember, could not procure enough for the students to eat, and many, on this account, were obliged to return to their parents. It was a common thing to cut up corn-stalks, and by boiling, to make a kind of syrup, for sweetening.

“After the Revolution, I turned my attention to compiling books. They have been extensively used in this country, and thus, in one sense, I may call most of you my pupils. Permit me, in conclusion, my young friends, to wish you much happiness and usefulness.”

In my Reminiscences of Washington, I have said there were many who were ready, and willing, to array him in the purple, and among them, some of the purest patriots in the land. The following article, from “Thomas

Massachusetts Spy," printed the fourth week in October, 1789, which I had entirely lost sight of, does not go that length, but it has a look that way. I perfectly remember, now that I have met with the article, in "Lincoln's History of Worcester," that I put it in type, from the manuscript written by my uncle. I recollect, further, that there was great dissatisfaction expressed upon the occasion, and Mr. Thomas vindicated himself, in part, by saying, that it would create confusion, inasmuch as the heads of colleges were all called Presidents, beside those of other institutions. The article follows:—

"Information being received on Thursday evening, (October 22,) that *his Highness* would be in town the next morning, a number of respectable citizens, about forty, paraded before sunrise, on horseback, and went as far as Leicester line to welcome him, and escorted him into town. The Worcester company of artillery, commanded by Major Treadwell, were already assembled; on notice being given that *his Highness* was approaching, five cannon were fired, for the five New England States; three for the three in the Union; one for Vermont, which will speedily be admitted; and one as a call to Rhode Island to be ready before it be too late. When the President-General arrived in sight of the meeting-house, eleven cannon were fired: he viewed with attention the artillery company as he passed, and expressed to the inhabitants his sense of the honor done him. He stopped at the United States' Arms, and breakfasted, and then proceeded on his journey. To gratify the inhabitants, he politely passed through the town on horseback,

dressed in a brown suit, and pleasure glowed in every countenance ; eleven cannon were again fired. The gentlemen of the town escorted him a few miles, when they took their leave."

THE GREAT VALLEY.

Written August, 1837.

In an editorial article of the Baltimore American, I find the following remark —

“The time is not far distant, when the balance of power will probably be transferred beyond the Alleghanies, and the old thirteen States be regarded as appendages of the Union, instead of controlling, as they have done, the destinies of the confederacy.”

My dear sir, permit me to observe, that your information is entirely behind-hand. The time that you speak of, so far from not being “*far distant*,” arrived years since, as you will learn most emphatically, from the census of eighteen hundred and forty. The “*Sceptre has departed from Judah*,” and the days of her power have fled. The “Queen of the West,” is destined to be the seat of government of the Empire of the West, and millions, *now living*, shall behold it. The occurrence of such an event is, comparatively, nothing to what has occurred within our memory. The United States came out of the Revolutionary war with a population *less* than three millions ; and in a period of little more than half a

century, and while many are still among the living, who fought the battles of that Revolution, she can count her *sixteen millions*; and before the expiration of another half century, it will be swelled to *sixty*—*forty* of whom will be located west of the Alleghanies.

THE CANADAS.

Written November, 1837.

I cannot reconcile to my feelings, the cold indifference of some, and marked hostility of others, towards the people of the Canadas. Their situation, in my view, is so similar to that which brought our fathers in collision with the mother country, that, as a whig, and the son of a whig, I cannot withhold from them my sympathy; but, what is unaccountable to me is, that, so far as I have been able to observe, a large portion of those who are opposed to the Canadians in the struggle which they have commenced for their independence,—for that is, and long has been their object,—are old federalists, of the New England, "*Essex Junto*" school! These men, one would suppose, would view the struggle with a more favorable eye, and, at least let their sympathies go with them. But not so; they do not even attempt to hide their feelings of satisfaction at the calamitous situation in which many of the Canadians are already involved, by their love of country, and hostility to a government in which, like our fathers, they have no voice.

When the Greeks threw off their Turkish chains, and waded through blood to freedom,—when the Pole, at every hazard, resisted the Russian tyrant, and became involved in defeat, in suffering, and unutterable woe,—and more recently, when the Texian rose in arms against his Mexican oppressors, — ALL these received, not merely the sympathies, but, in many instances, the most substantial aid from those very men who, now that their Canadian neighbors, many of whom speak the same language, and are sprung from the same common stock with themselves, have become involved in revolution and civil war, will not wish them even God speed! “’Tis strange, ’tis passing strange.”

For myself, I have not so soon forgotten the sufferings of my father-land, in its struggle for independence. I cannot hide from myself, that their oppressors were our fathers’ oppressors, — that, as a people, we are in numerous instances, not only bound to them by every tender tie, but by interest also. The Canadians independent,—for, let it be distinctly understood, I am not in favor of their annexation to the United States,— would be among our best customers, and greatest consumers of our manufactures; but I despise these suggestions, although I have made them. It is the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor, that I would sustain. That is the cause which, in every instance, has been sustained, both by the people and government of this union, from being the first to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish American States, down to that of Texas,— and are we under less obligation to our Canadian *brothers*, than we are to

strangers of other lands, and people of other tongues? Success to the struggle of the Canadians. Their cause was our fathers' cause; the cause of Spanish America; the cause of Greece; the cause of Poland; the cause of man. May God speed it.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY.

Written July, 1833.

“There is no man in this Union, to whom the people of the country, as a body, owe more than to Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.” — *Correspondent of the Baltimore Chronicle.*

No! nor the tenth part as much; this man, this single individual, has done more for the *people* of the United States, than the entire representation of any one State in the union, himself being excluded. He is not an *honor* to Ohio merely — he is an honor to the whole human family — and worth as many of your eight, ten, and twelve column speech makers, as would cram the legislative halls to suffocation; yet they, and they only, are the men for whom *the press*; aye, the *whig* press, is continually pouring forth its laudatory columns; — although, with the exception of HENRY CLAY, they never did any thing but *talk!* He is a great, an illustrious exception, and has done as much, to promote the happiness of his race, in a national point of view, (by which I mean other nations, as well as our own,) as any other

man that can be named ; yet he, nor any other individual, has, by his individual exertions, promoted *individual happiness* to any thing like the extent MR. WHITTLESEY has done. And how has he done it? Simply by the exercise of a sound judgment ; a regular, undeviating application to business, and a patriotism, pure and unmixed as the fountain of eternal life. I never saw MR. WHITTLESEY, but I would rather make his acquaintance, than that of any other man in the union with whom I am unacquainted. He is a legislator without example, — a patriot, without reproach. I love utilitarians, and hold other men as mere make-weights and stoppers of gaps, in comparison with them.

CONGRESS.—EXTRA SESSION.

Written October, 1837.

I give the last day's proceedings of this body, who were called together to deliberate on "*great and weighty matters.*" They have deliberated, and behold the result. The people robbed of nine millions of dollars, in the withholding of the fourth instalment of the surplus ; robbed of as many more millions by the executive departments of the administration, which amount is totally unaccounted for, in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury ; nor have I seen any attempt made by congress, to compel this officer to account for this immense deficiency. Thanks to a few, a very few, who, for a

moment, suffered themselves to lose sight of "*the party,*" and join the friends of the country, the constitution, and laws, — they were not able to pass their "*sub-treasury scheme,*" which was the great executive object when they were called together; so that, in the end, the people have triumphed. For this, they are indebted to the operations of the late elections, on the minds of some who begin to see the writing on the wall. Of this congress, it may, emphatically, be said, "*they have left undone those things which they ought to have done, and they have done those things which they ought not to have done, and there is no health in them.*"

It appears the majority of them are not only wanting in every thing which constitutes the patriot, the statesman, or the legislator, but they are wanting in common decency, of manners and conduct. The correspondent of "*The Baltimore Transcript,*" who is a Benton administration man, thus describes the representative hall, after the modern Goths left it on Monday last. These facts are corroborated by other accounts.

"I went on the floor afterwards, and I wish you could only see the state of the whole hall — a hog pen is actually a drawing room, compared with its abominable condition. The beautiful straw colored matting, which at the beginning of the session was so much admired for its neatness and coolness, is now in such a plight, that not all the soap and scrubbing-brushes in christendom would make it fit for a peasant's hut. Its whole extent is covered with a disgusting compound of tobacco juice, wafers and sand, making it so slippery as to endanger

the necks of those walking hastily on it. In fact, I have observed for the last two weeks, that the boys in attendance, whenever going down the main aisle in a hurry, would always secure their footing by sliding over the unstable surface! The marble bases of the columns, too, once of a Parian whiteness, are now streaked with the same brown liquid; while in the interstices of their sculptured work, are lodged sundry enormous *quids*, thrown there by these legislative Goths! It is utter desecration!"

I believe this is the *first* House of Representatives who have been publicly denounced as deficient in common decency; God grant it may be the last of that description. They are now, some of them, returning to their homes, while others will go a-frolicking to the eastern cities, until the December session, charge *constructive journeys* home, and receive their mileage!

CONGRESSIONAL MORALS.

Written November, 1837.

I rejoice to see that there are *two* presses, besides my own, that have dared to speak out on this subject. The "Baltimore Transcript," and the "Philadelphia Public Ledger," have come out; the latter speaks from his own observation, and a pretty account he gives of them. I may be permitted to ask, what subject is there that more immediately concerns the American people,

than the conduct of their *Representatives*? Will not the host of foreigners, members of the diplomatic corps, and others, who congregate at Washington during the sitting of Congress, judge of the people by their Representatives? Most assuredly they will, and when they see men conducting with a total disregard of *common decency*, as some have done, they will naturally conclude that those who are *prominent* in bringing forward, and in promoting the election of such men, are no better than the men themselves, and the conclusion will be a just one. It is a melancholy fact, that in the selection of candidates for members of Congress, little or no regard is paid to their *moral* character, — the question is, are they available? That being answered in the affirmative, there is nothing more said. This remark applies to *all* parties alike. It will be recollected, that at the late session, a resolution was passed, prohibiting the sale of spirits any longer in the “*groggeries*” of the capitol; — I have it from *good* authority, that this was a mere trick to gull the people, and that under the name of “*Sherry*,” spirits continue to be sold there as heretofore, to the great neglect of the public business, and the destruction of the morals of members. Let those who keep up such an everlasting racket in all our cities and towns, look to this, and petition Congress to do away with the use of any thing but water, under the roof of the capitol. With these remarks, I give the article from the “*Ledger*,” with the introduction by the “*Transcript*.”

Congressional Morals. — “ We are glad to see several papers out upon the private deportment of the representatives of the sovereign people, at Washington. That members of Congress habitually indulge in vices there, which would cover them with infamy, if practised at home, is a notorious fact. We see no remedy for the evil, but for the press to speak out in exposition of their immoralities.

“ Who governs freemen,
Should himself be free,”

and the people have undoubtedly a right to be acquainted with the moral qualifications of those they elect to govern. The following is from the Philadelphia Public Ledger, the editor of which was formerly a resident at Washington, and at the time, one of the editors of the Government paper. He speaks from his personal observation.”

“ We have often said, that members of Congress behaved at Washington, openly and in broad day-light, as they would not dare to behave at home, even in secret. We have seen intoxication the most shameless, on the very floor of the Representatives Hall; we have seen from the boxes below, Senators and Representatives in the third row of a theatre, in company of those with whom they could not be seen at home, with any hope of going to Congress again. We have heard from authentic sources, for we never saw it, that members of Congress very openly attended gaming houses, and played with notorious blacklegs. We have seen abandoned

women enter some of the committee rooms, from windows on the east front of the capitol, and have immediately seen high officers of the House, leave their seats, and enter these rooms. In short, if the sovereign people of the United States could observe for one week the private deportment of members of Congress, at Washington, they would think that some very rigorous measures were necessary to enforce some regard to *appearances*, if not to principles.

“ During the session, Washington swarms with Faro banks, gamesters and courtezans, and the quantity of wine and spirits consumed in the course of a long session, by public officers would exceed belief. A good ‘run of custom,’ in selling wines and spirits to public servants, is a fortune to any dealer in five years.

“ A principal cause of such scandalous behavior in public servants, is the want of any thing like a respectable public opinion, to keep them in awe. Washington has not, like our great commercial cities, a numerous body of men and women, who erect a standard of propriety, and compel allegiance to it.

“ The resident population of that city are completely dependent on Congress for daily bread, and consequently consider any manifestation of displeasure at the scandalous scenes, as little less than high treason. They feel that they dare not complain, and must therefore connive at what they cannot approve. No standard of public opinion being raised by the resident population, the members of Congress feel irresponsible, and conduct accordingly. They know that their constituents cannot see

them, and that the Washington press will not expose them ; and feeling safe, they act as many others would do under similar circumstances.”

CONGRESS.

Written in 1837.

It is not a little singular, in my opinion, that amidst the everlasting propensity to find fault with our rulers, a trait in our national character the most prominent, perhaps, of any, that this propensity has uniformly confined itself to two out of the three branches which compose our government — the executive and the judiciary — whilst the legislative, whose sins of omission and commission are infinitely more numerous than both the other branches put together, go unwhipt of justice.

I have been led to the consideration of this subject, at this time, by a statement which I have seen from the National Intelligencer, (which I have mislaid, however,) but the prominent facts are the following :

At the close of the late session of Congress, there were **ONE HUNDRED BILLS** that had *passed the House*, and were not acted upon in the Senate ! and **THIRTY BILLS** that had *passed the Senate*, and were not acted upon by the House ! while the whole number of *public acts* passed at the session was *seventy-four*, and about *fifty-five* private ones. Thus it appears there were as many bills passed by one House, and not acted upon by the other, as the *whole* number that passed the two Houses, and became

laws. To add to this public grievance, for such it is, many of those bills were handed over from the preceding session—and a large portion of them for the relief of individuals, many of whom may be ruined by this delay, or have passed “to that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns,” for the want of the expected relief.

Even the venerable, the great and good MONROE, would have been left in this situation, but for the extraordinary exertions of some half dozen individuals, who only succeeded at the last moment—and why is this the case? Because congress almost uniformly waste their time the first half of every session; not meeting until twelve o'clock, and adjourning about three. But, then, we are told they are engaged upon committees. The business men among them no doubt are so; but many of them only rise and get their breakfasts in time to meet the House at twelve. How can it be otherwise? Out until two, or three o'clock in the morning, at balls, routs, and the gaming table. Do not stare, reader! There are men selected from among thousands, and sent to congress to attend to the interests of their country, and their immediate constituents, who spend their nights at gaming tables, and their days in bed, or in such exercise, or recreation, as is best calculated to fit them for the next night's debauch.

Every man of any observation, who ever spent a week at a fashionable congressional hotel, during the sitting of congress, knows this to be true; whilst their constituents, good easy souls! imagine they are attending to their

interests. Suppose half a dozen intelligent men from each congressional district, could be at Washington, *incog*, and see the doings of their representatives; how many of them would ever be re-elected? Not one in five! Who, that takes any notice of congressional proceedings, but must have seen how often it was necessary to have calls of the House, when those who did attend to their duty could not proceed for want of a quorum?

It appears from proceedings during the late session, that many members absent themselves for days together, make excursions of pleasure, as I have been informed, to Baltimore and elsewhere, and all without leave of the House, and yet have the hardihood to demand and receive pay for those days, at the close of the session, as though they had been attending to business. A bill to regulate this proceeding lies over, as does that also to establish a uniform system of mileage.

If I am correctly informed, there are members who receive pay for from ten to fifteen hundred miles going, and the same returning from the seat of government; which, *at eight dollars for every twenty miles*, amounts, in many instances, to more than their per diem for attendance in their seats; yet it is a fact, known to thousands, that a gentleman may travel, from Missouri, for instance, to Washington, in steam boats and stages, for about seventy-five dollars, and perform the journey in from ten to fourteen days. Say the mileage charged is *twelve hundred*, gives *four hundred and eighty dollars* for, say fourteen days, spent (with the exception of the last *sixty hours*, between Wheeling and Washington,) in

elegant rooms, with all the luxuries and elegancies of life about them, including "*good society*," so far as they themselves contribute to form it. In many instances they get *a hundred dollars* for a single day's travel, in one of our floating palaces; while a very large portion of their constituents can earn, by the sweat of their brows, but *one dollar*! When the allowance of a day's per diem for every twenty miles' of travel, to and from the seat of government was fixed, it was equitable and just; there were neither steam boats nor turnpike roads then, and but very few roads on which stage coaches were run.

At the next session of Congress, let some member, who does not go there for mileage, or per diem, (I believe there are such,) move for the amount of mileage paid to every member for going to, and returning from, Congress, at any one session, for ten years past, and if the result does not make the people stare worse than they did at the "*Veto*," "*The Correspondence*," or the "*Post Office erasures*," then, in the language of the punster, I will give it up.

But it is asked, how is this to be remedied? The answer is, send men of business to Congress — one such is worth twenty geniuses, or "*smart men*," as they are called. When you are going to vote for a member, if he be a lawyer, ask yourself this question, does he attend closely to the business of his clients, and when he has collected money for them, pay it over promptly? or does he spend it, and give them more trouble to recover from him than they had from the original debtor? If the latter, depend upon it, he will never render you any service

in Congress. If he is a *smart* man, he may make a speech, for the purpose of circulating among his constituents — but nothing more. In choosing members of Congress, two things should be principally regarded — first, is he a man of fair moral character? and second, is he a man of business? If these questions can be answered in the affirmative, and he has sufficient education to express his ideas in good plain English, he will make a useful member of Congress. There are many men, who cannot stand up in the legislative hall, and make a speech, who, in a committee room, with four or five others, will use arguments of the greatest force and brilliancy, and draw up reports, with a strength of reasoning, and elegance of style, that carries conviction along with it. Such was the great Addison, who made a most ludicrous figure the only time he ever attempted to address the House of Commons; yet with his pen, he was the greatest among the great.

As regards the unfinished business of the late session, little blame attaches to the Senate; the trial of Judge Peck consumed a large portion of their time — but there was no necessity for the House to neglect the public business, and attend as idle spectators of the trial, after the first day. The attention of the managers was all that was necessary; that a different course was pursued, is much to be regretted, as the national business was grossly neglected in consequence. I say again, wherever, or whatever business is to be done, let *men of business* be appointed to do it.

MR. CALHOUN.

I have read attentively this gentleman's "*sentiments*," upon nullification, in which he surpasses all who have gone before him, in the extent to which he carries the doctrine, as much as he does in talent. I have long been apprehensive of his entertaining these opinions, from the repeated calls that have been made upon him, and his continued silence, as well as from the manner in which he was toasted by the "*nullies*," on the anniversary of independence. I was still not without *hope*, that he might be found on the side of his country, and of that *Constitution* which he has taken a solemn oath to support, but at the very existence of which he has made a most deadly thrust. I will do him the justice to say, that he has so plainly and distinctly expressed his "*sentiments*," that there is no room for cavil, or dispute; there is not a loop left to hang a doubt upon. In his opinion, the Union is a rope of sand, which may be broken by any State, for any cause, at any time! I thank *God* that these "*sentiments*" have been proclaimed in time; the people will now act understandingly, and we shall have an opportunity of seeing what support an avowed nullifier will receive at their hands. For myself, my regard for the perpetuity of the Union of these States, is so much greater than my regard for *any* individual, that I would oppose the election to influential office, of the dearest friend I have upon earth, if that friend was in favor of nullification.

CINCINNATI IN NOVEMBER, 1829.

I doubt whether the history of cities affords an instance of greater and more rapid improvements than are made here in this "*Queen of the great West,*" for such she is, and such she will continue to be, whatever may be written or said to the contrary. I have taken no small pains to ascertain, as near as may be, the improvements made, and making, since the first of January last.

The number of private dwellings exceeds, in my estimation, four hundred and fifty; and of these a much larger proportion have been begun within the last two months, than in any preceding two; from which I infer, that there will be a large number more to add, before the winter sets in. There may have been as many buildings erected the last year, but this is certain, there never were *half* as many good substantial brick buildings erected in one year, as in the present; and the number of public buildings, the present triples those of any preceding year.

CHURCHES.

Among them are no less than *eight* churches, some of which are large and elegant, and all of them neat and substantial. Of the former class, is the Second Presbyterian — this is a large building, standing in a very elevated situation, with a lofty steeple, and will be highly ornamental to the city. Near to it, but of much more

humble size and height, stands the *First* Unitarian church, a neat building whose pointed arches and minarets give it an appearance which at once carries the mind back "to the days of other years," and constitutes a striking contrast to other buildings which are rising on every side of it. The new Baptist church on Sycamore street, is a large neat building; as is also the *Third* Presbyterian church, on Second street, which has been constructed with a rapidity that I have scarcely known surpassed. And though last, not least, the new Methodist Reformed church, on Sixth street, is a good plain building, well calculated for that simplicity of worship which distinguishes this denomination of Christians. Of the others, I have not had sufficient information to speak particularly, further than that they are *all* neat substantial buildings, and well designed for the worship of that Being who said, "*Let there be light, and there was light.*"

MARKETS.

There are *four* in all. Two new market houses, one on Fifth, and the other on Court street, near the canal, both durable, neat buildings, and well calculated for the purpose for which they are intended.

PRIVATE DWELLINGS, &C.

I now come to speak of the private dwellings, of which our city can boast a number of the productions of former, as well as the present year, which will bear a compari-

son with most others in the Union. Conspicuous among those of the present year, stands Mr. Foote's elegant mansion, on Third street, which, with its lofty and splendid portico, presents itself to the view of the passenger in all the lower part of the city. The beautiful pillars, of a single piece of stone each, which support the front of Mr. Raguet's house, upon Main street, are objects of general admiration. There are numerous other large handsome houses, that have nothing else particular to distinguish them from the generality of buildings. The warehouses and stores erected the present season, are, many of them, of a very superior description, surpassed by few, if any, in the eastern cities. Among the warehouses, Messrs. Máhard's, Gibson & Ewing's, Gröesbeck's, and Broadwell's block are conspicuous; whilst the range of stores on Fifth street, opposite the new market, twelve in number, erected by Mr. Wm. S. Johnston, would do credit to any city. Besides those, there are many others equally good, erected in different parts of the city.

When I look around me and see the great number of buildings that are rising in every direction, and the number of streets that are grading and paving, I am at a loss to conjecture where hands are obtained to accomplish such vast *improvements*. Improvements so extensive that those who have been absent only for a few months, behold them with astonishment. I know of no place where MECHANICS and LABORERS are better paid than in this city; and when I take into consideration the very low price which they pay for their board, (from one

dollar and a half to two dollars per week,) I doubt whether any place can be named, which holds out stronger inducements for the industrious and enterprising, as a place of permanent residence, than *Cincinnati*. Clothing of every kind may be had here at about the same price as in the Atlantic cities.

WATER.

Cincinnati is supplied with water from the river, by a company, who raise it by a steam engine to a height from whence it can be conveyed to every part of the city. The water is good and wholesome, and when cooled in summer with ice, is equal to any spring water.

HEALTH AND CLIMATE.

On these subjects I have little to say, but that little, I trust, will be satisfactory, as it has been obtained in the school of experience. I have resided here eleven months, with a family of twelve persons, and dwelt in the lower part of the city, during which period there have been but two sick in my family, and those under circumstances which in all probability would have been attended with similar results in any other place. The **CLIMATE**, for the last eleven months, of which only I can speak, is not surpassed by any in the United States, and by few, if any, in Europe. So far as my own experience goes, and I have visited a number of the kingdoms of Europe, I have never witnessed a more delightful climate than this has been during the above period; with the exception of three or

four days of remarkably *unseasonable* weather, during the last week. To the enterprising and industrious of the Atlantic cities and states, we say, in the language of holy writ "COME AND SEE."

SITE OF THE CITY.

The following particulars, with some exceptions, are extracts from the Cincinnati Directory, published the present year by Messrs. Robinson and Fairbank.

It lies in a beautiful valley, of about twelve miles in circumference, formed by the simultaneous divergence of the hills, which bound both margins of the river. The valley is so intersected by the Ohio, as to leave about two thirds of its whole area in the northern section, on which Cincinnati stands. This section, containing a superficies of about four square miles, is composed of two distinct plains, or tables, usually styled the Hill and Bottom, the upper table being elevated about fifty feet above the other. The ascent from the Bottom to the Hill, was originally abrupt, and washed into frequent ravines, but in the improvements which have been made in the city, the ravines have been obliterated, and the ascent graduated to an angle of about 6° . The lower plain, or Bottom, has a medium width of about eight hundred feet, and extends from Deer creek to Mill creek, which severally skirt the eastern and western, extremities of the valley, at an interval of about $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles.

The streets intersect each other at right angles, forming squares of about 400 feet each. Main street, and those

lateral to it, commence at the river and run N. 26° W. The cross streets, which are numerally named, run for the most part parallel to the river.

DESCRIPTION.

The first rude foundations of Cincinnati were laid within the memory of the present generation, in the midst of an unsubdued and unexplored wilderness, where the sound of the hammer startled the panther in his lair, and mingled its reverberations with the war whoop of fierce, inhuman, and hostile savages.

In 1789, Fort Washington was built, and garrisoned by 140 men, under the command of Major Doughty, and in December, of that year, General Harmer arrived, with about 300 additional troops. In January, 1790, Governor St. Clair, accompanied by the Judges of the Supreme Provincial Court, descended the Ohio, from Marietta to Losantiville, as Cincinnati was then called, and there constituted a Court of Common Pleas, the first civilized judicial tribunal, that ever sat in judgment within the Miami country.

At this period, and according to the tradition of the times, at the suggestion of Gov. St. Clair, who, notwithstanding his calamitous "defeat," was a gallant soldier, and an accomplished scholar, the unintelligible and far-fetched name of Losantiville, was happily discarded, and the little village was called, CINCINNATI. In the course of this year, it received an accession of about 40 families, and a proportionate number of cabins, together with *two*

frame houses, were erected. But from this increase of population, must be subtracted about twenty of the adventurous villagers, who fell victims to the vigilant and untiring ferocity of their savage enemies. Every copse, every fallen tree, every tangled thicket, afforded a covert to these stealthy messengers of death, who, like the "pestilence that walketh in darkness," incessantly hovered around the infant settlement, destroying all that chanced to stray, with unwary footstep, beyond the precincts of their village defences. The military excursion of General Harmer was performed in this year.

In the ensuing spring, (1791) Gen. St. Clair commenced his disastrous campaign. The memorable defeat which his brave little army sustained, and the awful massacre which ensued, contributed very much to retard the growth of Cincinnati. Many of her citizens were numbered among the victims of the tomahawk, in that dreadful catastrophe, and others, intimidated by the near prospect of an indiscriminate devastation that seemed to gloom the horizon of the incipient City, abandoned it, and retired to the more defensible settlements of Kentucky.

In 1792, between forty and fifty emigrants located themselves at Cincinnati. "Several cabins, three or four houses, and a Presbyterian Church, were erected. * * The citizens were compelled, by law, to take their fire arms with them when they attended church." A school, consisting of about thirty scholars, was established, and the place gradually, but slowly, improved.

In 1794, General Wayne achieved a signal victory

over the combined forces of the hostile Indians ; and in 1795, he negotiated a definitive treaty, with the principal tribes, at Fort Greenville, and thus terminated those protracted and barbarous hostilities which had so long harassed the new settlements on the Ohio. The restoration of peace gave a new impulse to the spirit of emigration, and Cincinnati received considerable additions to its population.

This year, (1795) the village contained 94 cabins, 10 frame houses, and about 500 inhabitants. In 1800, the population was estimated at 750. In 1802, Cincinnati was incorporated by the Territorial Legislature. In 1805, its population amounted to 950 souls.

From this period, we date the rapid and extraordinary advancement of our young city. The following table will exhibit the number of inhabitants at several successive periods :

Population in 1810,	2,320,	increase in 5 yrs.	1,370
1813,	4,000,	“ “ 3 “	1,680
1819,	10,283,	“ “ 6 “	6,283
1824,	12,016,	“ “ 5 “	1,733
1826,	16,230,	“ “ 2 “	4,214
1829,	24,148,	“ “ 3 “	7,918

The total number at this time, exceeds 25,000, besides a floating population of comers and goers, of upwards of 1000.

And it may be safely alleged, that the city has advanced as rapidly in all the substantial comforts, the luxuries, and the embellishments of life, as in numerical population. If the causes of this remarkable growth be

enquired for, we refer to the exuberant fertility of the country around it, the amenity of its climate, its easy egress to the ocean, and the *Americanism* of its inhabitants. The arms of her commercial relations are extended far and wide, laying hold of New Orleans, in the South, and New York and Boston, in the East. These are her extreme *depots*, from whence the redundant products of the rich valley of the Miamies, are freighted to the *hungry* in all quarters of the globe.

COMMERCE.

The imports of Cincinnati are so multifarious, embracing a countless variety of articles, of convenience and of luxury, from all quarters of the globe, that it is impossible to designate them with any thing like precision, even in general terms. And owing to our deprivation of the facilities of a custom-house record, it is exceedingly difficult to form an accurate estimate of their aggregate value. The following items are obtained, by diligent and careful enquiry, from the best authorities.

Imports.

Lumber.	Value.
Boards 12,000,000 ft., about 2,000,000 of which are sawed in town, the timber being floated from above, - - - - -	\$84,000
Joist and scantling, 1,000,000 ft., - - - - -	10,000
Shingles, 5,000,000, at \$1,50 per M. - - - - -	7,500
Timber for framing, 200,000 cubic feet, - - - - -	10,000
Iron, bar, sheet, and spike, 2,000 tons C. at \$1,40, - - - - -	280,000
Nails, 1,100 kegs, - - - - -	8,800

Salt, domestic, 40,000 bbls.,	-	-	-	\$80,000
Do. foreign, principally Turks Island, 25,000 bu.,	-	-	-	22,500
Queens ware, 3,000 crates,	-	-	-	150,000
Hardware,	-	-	-	400,000
Dry goods,	-	-	-	1,800,000
Coffee, 20,000 bags, 3,240,000 lbs.,	-	-	-	486,000
Sugar, 2,685,600 lbs.,	-	-	-	187,992
Teas, 303,285 lbs., principally young hyson,	-	-	-	272,956
Indigo, 230 ceroons, 23,000 lbs.,	-	-	-	46,000
Cotton, 1,057,600 lbs.,	-	-	-	95,184
Fish, principally mackerel, 6690 bbls.,	-	-	-	46,830

Any estimate that could be made of the value of the many miscellaneous articles imported, and not comprised in this list, would be altogether conjectural, and as vague as conjecture may be. We therefore omit it.

Exports.

On the subject of exports, we have to remark, in brief, that the subjoined memoranda exhibit the estimated value of the productions of Cincinnati, and its vicinity, in the several articles mentioned, and of this whole sum, about two thirds are probably exported.

Pork, 39,559 bbls., estimated at	-	-	-	\$356,031
Bacon, 5,779,422 lbs.,	-	-	-	346,765
Lard, 64,279 kegs — 2,071,160 lbs.,	-	-	-	124,269
Whiskey, 28,490 bbls., — 911,680 glls.,	-	-	-	182,236
Linseed Oil, 3,000 bbls., — 96,000 glls.,	-	-	-	67,600
Flour, 85,000 bbls.,	-	-	-	425,000
Beer and Porter, 12,000 bbls.,	-	-	-	60,000
Castings of all sorts, it is estimated that our Foundries melt 1,045 tons of iron,	-	-	-	85,700
The products of Engine manufactories, and Finishing Establishments, in steam engines, sugar mills, cotton and wool machinery, is, on strict inquiry, supposed to be equal to	-	-	-	225,800

Chairs manufactured,	-	-	-	-	40,500
Cabinet furniture,	-	-	-	-	83,500
Stone manufactured,	-	-	-	-	28,000
Clocks,	-	-	-	-	30,000
Paper, 20,000 reams,	-	-	-	-	60,000
Hats,	-	-	-	-	125,000
Books printed and vended in the adjoining States,					35,000
Horses, 2,500 head,	-	-	-	-	125,000

It is to be remarked, that the imports and exports are both estimated at their current wholesale value *here*, which manifestly increases the amount of the one, and diminishes the other, beyond the ordinary rule of such calculations. And further, that Cincinnati *imports* for a more extensive region than she *exports* for, which obviously affects the *apparent* balance of trade, and exhibits a seeming loss, where there is probably an actual gain.

Besides the above, there is a large aggregate amount exported in the following articles. To fix a precise sum to these, would be perfectly idle, as there are no definite means of ascertaining the quantity of the articles produced:— beeswax, cheese, butter, beans, feathers, ginseng, tobacco, bristles, clothing, soap, candles, beef, hay and oats, corn, corn meal, cider, cider oil, dried fruit, cooper's ware, tin ware, ploughs, joiner's tools, brushes, apples, stills, and copper ware, and divers others.

The number of *steam boats* arrived from the first of March last, up to this date, is 803, as I have ascertained by a reference to my files. But let it be kept in mind, that this is independent of *keel* and *flat bottomed boats*, of which there are no account kept, but which, it

is believed, the arrivals are, at least, one third equal in number to the steam boats !

The Post Office.

As a proof of the astonishing increase of the *commerce* of this city, there was received for postage, the last year, \$12,150, having increased, in three years, upwards of fifty per cent. !

“THE QUEEN OF THE WEST.”

HER IMPROVEMENTS, LITERATURE AND ARTS, IN
OCTOBER, 1837.

Cincinnati, amidst the wreck of matter of the last eight months, has kept on in the even tenor of her way, comparatively but slightly affected by the tempest that raged in, and prostrated other cities. Her march has been regularly onward, and although her building improvements have not been as extensive, as in some seasons, still their number is respectable — say about one hundred and fifty — and their quality good.

But it is not in the number and architectural beauty of her private dwellings, and public buildings, that Cincinnati alone excels ; it is in all that constitutes refinement and taste. It is in her Literature, her Authors, her Arts, her Artists, and her numerous Literary, Scientific, and benevolent institutions, that has given her a name,

not only among the cities of the great Valley, but of the civilized world, that will go down to the most remote posterity.

Her authors ; her sculptors ; her painters ; and her poets, both in number and excellence, vie with those of any other city in the Union. Her colleges, academies, and schools in science, arts and literature, are numerous, and well conducted ; but lest this should be thought too generalizing, I will descend to some particulars.

Cincinnati has four colleges, one of which has become a nursery, from whence similar institutions, in other States, are furnished with professors. She has a female academy, (Messrs. Picket's,) where *every thing is not attempted to be taught*, but where *all* that is useful, is. I judge from the *fruit*. She has her schools of law, physic, and anatomy, abundantly supplied with able professors in all their various branches ; her Mechanics' Institute, from which hundreds of this most useful class of citizens, have received valuable instruction. Also, academies exclusively for writing, and others for book-keeping. She has two museums, well stocked with the curiosities, both of nature and art ; and counts among her useful and benevolent institutions, *upwards of fifty societies*, devoted to all those objects, calculated to mitigate the sufferings of our race, "improve the morals and to mend the heart ;" and although last, not least, her *free schools*, unequalled in the number, (ten) size and elegance of the buildings — buildings that would pass for colleges in many places — and the number of their scholars.

The Commerce of Cincinnati is co-extensive with the Union, and consists, in part, of exporting the productions of upwards of one hundred manufactories, employed in almost every branch of manufacture, to an aggregate amount exceeding eleven millions of dollars. In the exportation of pork and bacon of about two hundred thousand hogs, and an unlimited quantity of flour, corn, whiskey, &c., forming an aggregate of many millions. The tonnage built here the last year, was nearly *eight thousand tons*, forming an item in the business of our city, that alone, is nearly adequate to keep it onward in its progress.

Such is Cincinnati, "*The Queen of the West!*" and *one* among the handsomest cities of the world. I have seen four fifths of the cities of this Union, and hundreds in Europe, and for beauty of surrounding scenery, of location, broad and handsome streets, of private dwellings, and public buildings, (population always to be taken into consideration,) I have never seen her superior, or one that had any claims to comparison with her, but New Haven.

SCULPTURE.

Written June, 1836.

About a year ago, I noticed, in passing a stone cutters' shop, at the corner of Seventh and Race streets, a grave stone, which had cut upon it a tomb, with a cherub hovering over, and dropping roses upon it; I was struck with the drawing and execution of the work, and enqui-

red, who did it? — a young man, one of the proprietors of the shop, answered, that he did. I remarked to him, that he could do better, and advised him to exert himself for that purpose; he took my advice, and every subsequent piece of his work, was better than the preceding. At the time above alluded to, I told him he could model a bust, if he was to try. He said he would try, if I would sit to him, which was agreed to; and he produced one that was instantly known by all who saw it, that knew the original. He then determined to try his chisel upon a piece of statuary marble, by transferring his model to that more durable material, but there was none to be had here; he sent to Philadelphia and New York, but could not procure any. I advised him to study anatomy, and he attended the anatomical course of the Ohio Medical College, the following winter.

Despairing of being able to procure marble to suit his purpose, he came to the determination of trying what he could accomplish upon the hardest free stone. The result is, a *bust*, which came out like magic, from under his chisel, and is pronounced by the many who have seen it, and know the original, to be a good likeness. It is the first ever executed in the Mississippi Valley. He invites his friends, and the friends of the Arts, to call and see it.

The artist is CLEVENGER, the future Canova of this country, who adds, to modesty and talent, the most untiring industry. Mr. Clevenger is a native of Hamilton county, and has never been any distance from it.

Having succeeded so well in the first instance, business poured in upon him ; and in the course of a few months, he had executed eight, or ten busts, out of the hard free stone. The last one before he left the city, was of that excellent man, and eminent physician, Doctor Eberle, since deceased. On this he spent much time, and took uncommon pains ; and a more perfect likeness, or a more finished piece of work, I have not seen. Had the material been marble, I should not have known where to find its equal. He then went to Lexington, and took Mr. Clay's and Governor Poindexter's, with many others in New York and Philadelphia, and lately, Mr. Webster's. The latter is very highly spoken of ; so was Mr. Clay's, who gave him a certificate to the correctness of the likeness. He is now gone, or is about going, to Italy, where he has been preceded by POWERS, another Cincinnati artist, who has already acquired great fame by a bust of the grand duke of Florence, which is pronounced to be superior to any produced by their own artists, since Canova. KING is another excellent artist, who has had great and deserved success in the southern States. Then there is WHETSTONE, scarcely out of his teens, who only wants encouragement to compete with the others ; he designs well. BROWN, both a sculptor and a painter, who has lately been selling off his productions, at Boston, preparatory to a voyage to Italy. I have not seen him, or any of his works, for two or three years. There is one yet to speak of, who came a sculptor from the hand of nature ; it is BRACKET. He began where others leave

off, an *artist*; his first production could not be found fault with, and he was not then twenty!

The following tribute to merit, upon his part, and of compliment to me, is from the "Louisville News Letter," a paper since discontinued.

"He (Brackett) was in a small room, in the third story of a house, on an obscure street, when that high priest of art — the venerable editor of the Evening Post — E. S. Thomas, Esq. — first heard of and visited him. Mr. T., during several European tours, has seen the renowned productions of the old masters, and the most beautiful specimens of modern statuary, and I am fully borne out in saying, that he is one of the most discriminating and genuine amateurs in America. It was he who first discovered and encouraged Powers, Clevenger, Beard, and Frankenstien; and to him belongs the honor of fostering the dawning genius of the young and highly gifted Brackett.

"At the time of which I speak, Mr. B. had seen but two or three pieces of statuary, and had only used his chisel during a few brief leisure days, in tracing the bust of a lovely sister; the face is remarkably beautiful, and I am told is a very true portraiture. In the space of a little better than three months — a part of which his chisel was idle — he has executed several admirable busts — among which is one of his early friend, Mr. Thomas, and has nearly completed the first statue ever modelled in the valley of the Mississippi. It is the statue of Nydia, the blind girl of Thessaly, around whom Bul-

wer has thrown such magical interest in his "Last Days of Pompeii," and during a brief exhibition in his studio, it has excited the admiration of connoisseurs, who have wafted most acceptable incense to the genius of the gifted sculptor."

PAINTING.

I come now to speak of painters, of whom our city is even more prolific than it is of sculptors. At the head of this branch of the fine arts, stands BEARD, eminent as a portrait and group painter. He has greatly improved in the last two years, particularly in his coloring, and some of his latest portraits might be hung up, to his credit, alongside of any that adorn the walls of Somerset House, at the annual exhibition of the "Royal Academy." His full length portrait of my late much lamented friend, Charles Hammond, Esq., is an admirable production, although not as highly finished as some of his productions of the last twelve months. But that branch of the art in which he outshines all his cotemporaries is grouping. The last finished production of his, that I have seen in that line, would confer honor upon any exhibition. I allude to the "Long Bill," which represents a man receiving such a bill from his grocer, who, while he holds the bill with one hand, scratches his head with the other, with the clerk at his elbow, referring to the day book, to show him that the numerous items are all correct. There are several customers standing at the counter, and the master with an assistant on the other side wait-

ing upon them. There are also some articles upon the floor, in the foreground; what they are I do not recollect. The poor fellow, with his bill in hand, has such a most woful countenance, that you cannot help feeling grieved for him in the first instance; but when you look again, you see so much more to laugh at, than to grieve at, that the former at once predominates. The coloring in this picture shows great improvement. The artist, if he had a little more industry, might soon cope with the first in his profession. He is also a good modeller of busts. I have one made by him, of himself, and an excellent likeness it is.

The next is the elder FRANKENSTIEN; his portraits are remarkable for being good likenesses. I have seen nothing from his pencil the last two years, during which period he has been absent in the eastern cities. He also is a good modeller, and would make a good sculptor.

The younger FRANKENSTIEN, brother of the above, is a good landscape painter. He copies from nature, and wants no better teacher. His coloring is good. He occasionally paints portraits, but he had better stick to landscapes, for there he promises to be great.

POWELL is a very good portrait painter. His likenesses are admirable, and his coloring is very good. He was at New York the last I heard of him, sometime in May, getting golden opinions, and a good share of the article itself.

TUCKER'S portraits are pretty good, but he wants stability, and they want finish. The last I knew of him, he was gone to Texas.

There is one other that I must speak of, and that too without naming him, for I have been trying to think of his name for eight and forty hours, and cannot do it, and as I write this eight hundred miles from home, I have no possible means of getting at it. He is a worthy *small man*, but a great artist, for one of his years. His portraits are good. I was particularly struck with one of the late Mr. Hammond, which I saw at his room, on Fifth street, a year ago. It was a spirited production, and well executed, both in the drawing and coloring.

There are others, no doubt, entitled to notice, and nothing would give me more pleasure than to notice them, if I had the necessary information, or was where I could get at it. I ever have been, and while I live, ever shall be, the artist's friend.

The following handsome notice of our Cincinnati artists, is a just tribute to their merit, and honorable to the writer. It is from the New York "Star," whose editor is ever ready to lend his pen, to the promotion of arts, literature, and science. With this I shall close the subject. It was written in April, 1840.

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

Cincinnati! What is there in the atmosphere of Cincinnati, that has so thoroughly awakened the arts of sculpture and painting? It cannot surely be mere accident which gives birth to so many artists, all of distinguished merit, too; what must be quite as gratifying to that city — all possessing high moral worth.

It would be quite honor enough for any place, to claim *one* eminent sculptor, or painter, but that favored spot has sent forth a number. Powers is actually astonishing all Europe; Clevenger is preparing himself for Florence, where he will receive his share of admiration; and Brackett who is now in New York, is steadily working his way to favor. As soon as circumstances will permit, he also will go to Italy.

The greatest difficulty with sculptors, is to embody expression, particularly when it is a mixed one; Brackett has been eminently successful in this way, and it is that which has brought him so immediately before the public. The very second bust which he made in this city, is a study for an artist. The likeness is excellent, and the expression beautiful; it combines gentleness, benignity, and benevolence, all characteristic of the man. He has been equally successful in the likeness of Mr. Charles F. Grim, Mr. Rufus Dawes, Mr. Grimes, the phrenological lecturer, and recently in that of a gentleman, whose name I dare not mention, lest he might take offence, for he

“Put out his hand, and art, which drooped her head,
Received new life, and round a lustre shed.”

Would to heaven that this generous, fostering spirit dwelt more frequently with the rich, we should then more than rival Rome and Greece in their best days.

Powell, as a painter, is winning golden opinions amongst us; he, too, is modestly and silently working his way to Italy. His portraits are excellent likenesses, and very

spirited, and his improvement in the art is very apparent. This young artist is blest with all the requisites which insure success, for independently of his skill, he is gentle and refined in his manners and disposition; so that truly, Cincinnati may say, that moral and intellectual excellence have been most happily combined, in all the artists which have sprung from her soil.

But is this talent exclusively confined to men—in painting, at least, there is a beginning. In the Apollo Gallery, there are specimens of all the Cincinnati artists, and among the miniatures there is an exquisite little picture, painted on ivory, and set in gold, as a breast pin. It was painted by a lady living in Cincinnati, who has executed a number of these beautiful little keepsakes, all destined for ornaments. This one now in the gallery, is a bouquet of flowers, but so minute and delicate, and so true to nature, that our attention is immediately rivited to it; it rivals the finest mosaic. As it is soon to be taken away, we advise every one to go to the Apollo Gallery and see it.

CINCINNATI IN 1840.

As I write this far from home, it is not possible for me to go into those minute details, of the present situation of the “Queen of the great West,” as I should do were I upon the spot.

I have not seen the amount of her population, as given by the census just taken, but the estimate, six months ago, was fifty thousand, within the corporate limits.

The amount of her commerce, from the deranged currency, and high premium upon exchange, from eight to twelve per cent., has been much less during the pressure of the last two years, than it was for some years preceding; but the city, as a community, has resisted the pressure, with a firmness, perseverance, and success, not equalled by any other city, with an equal population; as a proof of which, there were more good buildings, (frame buildings are not permitted,) put up in the last year, than in any preceding one. The number was between five and six hundred.

There are now about one hundred and twenty manufactories, in the city, a majority of which are employed upon iron, in some shape or other, when in operation, which a great many of them are not, and, those that are, do not employ more than one third, to one half, their usual number of hands. Add to this great mass of manufactures, the produce that is shipped from this port, a single article of which, (the produce of the hog,) amounts to \$2,500,000. As to flour, whiskey, corn, oats, with innumerable other articles, there is no means by which they can be separately ascertained; but, after much time spent in investigation, three years ago, including the produce of the manufactories, it was ascertained that the aggregate was *then* about twenty millions of dollars, and increasing rapidly, until the pressure came, which left them little to do but hold on, and they did that.

There are fifty-one, or two, churches of christians, of all denominations, and one synagogue for the Jews. I believe this is the greatest number of churches, in propor-

tion to population, that there is in any city, or town in the union, exceeding ten thousand inhabitants. Villages and towns, of five to ten thousand inhabitants, generally have a greater number of churches, in proportion to population, than those whose population is twice, or thrice that number. The same relative proportion, as to population, would give New York city, about three hundred. I do not know what number she has, but it cannot be any thing like that.

There are no dwellings to let in Cincinnati. I firmly believe, that a thousand houses, at rents of from two hundred, to two hundred and fifty dollars, suitable for small, genteel families, might be readily rented in six months, or a less time.

The post office receipts, in eighteen hundred twenty-eight, were twelve thousand one hundred and fifty dollars; they are now not less than *three*, and probably four times that amount.

BOSTON MASSACRE, MARCH 5TH, 1770.

From Snow's History of Boston.

The officers were apprehensive of difficulties, and were particularly active in their endeavors to get all their men into their barracks before night. *Murray's Barracks*, so called, where the 14th regiment was principally quartered, were in Brattle street, in the buildings directly opposite the little alley which leads from the bottom of

Market street. The 29th regiment was quartered in Water street and in Atkinson street. As a measure of precaution, there was a sentinel stationed in the alley before mentioned, (then called Boylston's alley,) and this very circumstance led to the quarrel which terminated in the *Boston Massacre*. Three or four young men, who were disposed to go through the alley, about nine o'clock, observed the sentinel brandishing his sword against the walls, and striking fire, for his own amusement. They offered to pass him, and were challenged, but persisted in their attempt, and one of them received a slight wound on his head. The bustle of this rencontre drew together all those who were passing by, and fifteen or twenty persons thronged the alley, and thirty, or forty more, gathered in Dock square, were attempting to force their way to the barracks through Brattle street, (which was at that time so narrow that a carriage could with difficulty pass.) Being foiled in this attempt, the party, which was continually increased by accessions, gathered in Dock square, round a tall man, with a red cloak and white wig, to whom they listened with close attention for two or three minutes, and then gave three cheers, and huzzaed for the main guard.

The main guard was regularly stationed near the head of State street, directly opposite the door, on the south side of the town house. To this place all the soldiers detached for guard duty were daily brought, and from thence marched to the particular posts assigned them. On this day, the command of the guard had devolved on Capt. Thomas Preston, and Lieut. Basset under him.

As the party dispersed from Dock square, some ran up Cornhill, others up Wilson's lane, others up Royal Exchange lane, (now Exchange street.) These last found a single sentinel stationed before the door of the custom-house, which was the building now occupied by the Union Bank, and then made one corner of that lane, as the Royal Exchange tavern did the other. As the sentinel was approached, he retreated to the steps of the house, and alarmed the inmates by three or four powerful knocks at the door. Word was sent to Lieut. Basset that the sentinel was attacked by the town's people. He immediately sent a message to his captain, who instantly repaired to the guard-house, where Lieut. Basset informed him that he had just sent a sergeant and six men to assist the sentry at the custom-house. "Well," said the captain, "I will follow them, and see they do no mischief." He overtook them before they reached the custom-house, where they joined the sentinel, and formed a half circle round the steps.

By this time the bells were set to ringing, and people flocked from all quarters, supposing there was fire. The soldiers were soon surrounded; many of those nearest to them were armed with clubs, and crowded close upon them. Those at a distance began to throw sticks of wood, and snow-balls, and pieces of ice at them, while from all sides they were challenged to *Fire, fire if you dare!* At last they thought they heard the order given, and they did fire, in succession, from right to left. Two or three of the guns flashed, but the rest were fatal. — Crispus Attucks, Samuel Gray, and James Caldwell,

were killed on the spot; Samuel Måverick, and Patrick Carr, received mortal wounds, of which the former died the next morning, and Carr on the Wednesday of the next week. Several other persons were more or less injured; the greater part, persons passing by chance, or quiet spectators of the scene. The people instantly retreated, leaving the three unhappy men on the ground. All this transpired within twenty minutes from the time of Capt Preston's joining the guard.

“On the people's assembling again,” says Capt. P., “to take away the dead bodies, the soldiers, supposing them coming to attack them, were making ready to fire again, which I prevented, by striking up their fire-locks with my hand. Immediately after, a townsman came and told me that 4 or 5000 people were assembled in the next street, and had sworn to take my life, with every man's with me; on which I judged it unsafe to remain there any longer, and therefore sent the party and sentry to the *main guard*, where the street is narrow and short; then, telling them off into street firings, divided and planted them at each end of the street, to secure their rear, expecting an attack, as there was a constant cry of the inhabitants, ‘To arms, to arms, turn out with your guns!’ and the town drums beating to arms. I ordered my drum to beat to arms, and being soon after joined by the several companies of the 29th regiment, I formed them, as the guard, into street-firings. The 14th regiment also got under arms, but remained at their barracks. I immediately sent a sergeant, with a party, to Col. Dalrymple, the commanding officer, to acquaint him with every

particular. Several officers, going to join their regiment, were knocked down by the mob; one very much wounded, and his sword taken from him. The lieutenant governor and Col. Carr soon after met at the head of the 29th regiment, and agreed that the regiment should retire to their barracks, and the people to their houses; but I kept the piquet to strengthen the guard. It was with great difficulty that the lieutenant governor prevailed on the people to be quiet and retire; at last they all went off, except about a hundred." This hundred was composed of some of the most distinguished inhabitants, who volunteered to form a citizens' guard.

A justice's court was forthwith held, and Capt. Preston surrendered himself, and was committed to prison at three, the next morning; the eight soldiers also were committed early in the forenoon.

At eleven o'clock, a town meeting was held. Various persons related to the assembly what they had witnessed of the events of the preceding day. A committee of fifteen was appointed to wait on the lieutenant governor and Col. Dalrymple, and express to them the sentiment of the town, that it was impossible for the soldiers and inhabitants to live in safety together, and their fervent prayer for the immediate removal of the former. The answer received to this application, was not such as was wished; and in the afternoon, seven of the first committee, (viz. John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Wm. Molineux, Wm. Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw, and Samuel Pemberton,) were again deputed with the following message:— "It is the unanimous opinion of this

meeting, that the reply made to a vote of the inhabitants presented his honor this morning, is by no means satisfactory; and that nothing less will satisfy them than a total and immediate removal of the troops." Samuel Adams acted as "chairman of this delegation," and discharged its duties with an ability commensurate to the occasion. Col. Dalrymple was by the side of Hutchinson, who, at the head of the council, received them. He at first denied that he had power to grant the request.—Adams plainly, in few words, proved to him that he had the power, by the charter. Hutchinson then consulted with Dalrymple in a whisper, the result of which was, a repetition of the offer to remove one of the regiments, the 14th, which had had no part in the massacre. At that critical moment, Adams showed the most admirable presence of mind. Seeming not to represent, but to personify, the universal feeling, he stretched forth his arm, as if it were upheld by the strength of thousands, and with unhesitating promptness, and dignified firmness, replied, "*If the lieutenant governor, or Col. Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two; and nothing short of the total evacuation of the town, by all the regular troops, will satisfy the public mind, or preserve the peace of the province.*" The officers, civil and military, were in reality abashed, before this plain committee of a democratic assembly. They knew the imminent danger that impended; the very air was filled with the breathings of compressed indignation. They shrunk, fortunately

shrunk, from all the arrogance which they had hitherto maintained. Their reliance on a standing army faltered before the undaunted, irresistible resolution, of free unarmed citizens.

Hutchinson consulted the council, and they gave him their unqualified advice, that the troops should be sent out of the town. The commanding officer then pledged his word of honor, that the demand of the town should be complied with, as soon as practicable ; and both regiments were removed to the castle in less than fourteen days.

The funeral solemnities, which took place on Thursday, the 8th, brought together the greatest concourse that probably had ever assembled in America on one occasion. Attucks, who was a friendless mulatto, and Caldwell, who also was a stranger, were borne from Faneuil Hall ; Maverick, who was about 17 years old, from his mother's house in Union street ; and Gray, from his brother's, in Royal Exchange lane. The four hearses formed a junction in King street, and thence the procession marched, in columns of six deep, through the main street to the middle burial ground, where the four victims were deposited in one grave.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1773.

From Snow's History of Boston.

On the first of December, Capt. James Bruce, in the ship *Eleanor*, arrived with another portion of the tea. On the 3d, he was ordered to attend the next day on a committee of the people in Faneuil Hall, where he was commanded, by Samuel Adams and Jonathan Williams, assembled with John Rowe, John Hancock, Wm. Phillips, and John Pitts, Esqrs., and a great number of others, not to land any of the said tea, but to proceed to Griffin's wharf, and there discharge the rest of his cargo. Capt. Hez. Coffin arrived in the brig *Beaver*, near the same time, and was ordered to pursue the same course.

It being perceived that Mr. Rotch rather lingered in his preparations to return the *Dartmouth* to London, and the twenty days being nearly expired, after which the collector might seize the ship and cargo, Mr. R. was summoned before the committee, and stated to them, that it would prove his entire ruin if he should comply with the resolutions of the 29th and 30th of November, and therefore he should not do it. A meeting of the people was assembled at the Old South, on Tuesday P. M., Dec. 14th, when Mr. R. appeared, and was enjoined forthwith to demand a clearance. It was ascertained that one could not be obtained till the next day, and therefore the meeting was adjourned to Thursday, at the same place.

On Thursday, there was the fullest meeting ever known; 2000 men, at least, were present from the country. Samuel Phillips Savage, Esq., of Weston, was appointed moderator. Mr. Rotch reported that the collector would not give him a clearance. He was then ordered upon his peril to get his ship ready for sea *this day*, enter a protest *immediately* against the custom-house, and proceed *directly* to the governor, (then at Milton, seven miles distant,) and demand a pass for his ship to go by the castle. An adjournment to 3 P. M. then took place. At three, having met, they waited very patiently till five o'clock, when, finding that Mr. Rotch did not return, they began to be very uneasy, called for a dissolution of the meeting, and finally obtained a vote for it. But the more judicious, fearing what would be the consequences, begged for a re-consideration of that vote, "for this reason, that they ought to do every thing in their power to send the tea back, *according to their resolves.*" This touched the pride of the assembly, and they agreed to remain together one hour.

This interval was improved by Josiah Quincy, jr., to apprise his fellow citizens of the importance of the crisis, and direct their attention to the probable results of this controversy. He succeeded in holding them in attentive silence till Mr. Rotch's return, at three quarters past five o'clock. The answer which he brought from the governor was, "that, for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit, until the vessel was regularly cleared." A violent commotion immediately ensued. A person who was in the

gallery, disguised after the manner of the Indians, shouted at this juncture the cry of war ; it was answered by about thirty persons, disguised in like manner, at the door. — The meeting was dissolved in the twinkling of an eye. The multitude rushed to Griffin's wharf. The disguised Indians went on board the ships laden with the tea. In less than two hours, 240 chests, and 100 half chests, were staved, and emptied into the dock. The affair was conducted without any tumult ; no damage was done to the vessels, or to any other effects whatever.

This was executed in the presence of several ships of war lying in the harbor, and almost under the guns of the castle, where there was a large body of troops at the command of the commissioners. We are left to conjecture for the reasons why no opposition was made to this bold adventure. The names of the men who dared to engage in it, have never been made public. Three or four of them are yet living. They had the honor of a part in the act which brought the king and parliament to a decision that America must be subdued by force of arms.

EVACUATION OF BOSTON, MARCH 17, 1776.

From Snow's History of Boston.

GENERAL WASHINGTON had taken command of the American forces, July 2d, and Gen. Gage had resigned the British to Gen. Howe, and sailed for England about

the first of October. As the winter approached, the scarcity of fuel began to be sensibly felt. The old north meeting-house, and above one hundred other large wooden buildings, were taken down, and distributed for firewood. Some of the wharves also, at the north end, were broken up for the same purpose. The British officers found little to amuse them, except the occasional performance of a farce, in Faneuil Hall, where they themselves were the actors. Their soldiers had enjoyed a single day of mirth, in which they were employed in felling Liberty Tree, and cutting it up for fuel. A squadron of cavalry, attached to the army, occasionally exhibited feats of horsemanship in that sanctuary of freedom, the Old South church, which was transformed into a riding school. Hollis-street, Brattle-street, the West, and the First Baptist meeting-houses, were occupied as hospitals, or barracks for the troops.

Both parties were dissatisfied with so inactive a service. Washington "had been some time contemplating an attack on Boston, as soon as he could be justified in attempting the execution of so bold a design. About the middle of February, 1776, the severe cold setting in, and the ice becoming sufficiently firm to bear the troops, he was disposed to make the attempt; but a council of war, summoned on the occasion, being almost unanimous against the measure, he reluctantly abandoned it.

"The effective regular force of the Americans now amounted to upwards of fourteen thousand men; in addition to which, the commander-in-chief called out about six thousand of the militia of Massachusetts. With these

troops, he determined to take possession of the heights of Dorchester, whence it would be in his power greatly to annoy the ships in the harbor, and the soldiers in the town. By taking this position, from which the enemy would inevitably attempt to drive him, he expected to bring on a general action, during which he intended to cross over from Cambridge side, with four thousand chosen men, and attack the town of Boston. To conceal his design, and to divert the attention of the garrison, a heavy bombardment of the town and lines of the enemy was begun on the evening of the 2d of March, 1776, and repeated the two succeeding nights. On the night of the 4th, immediately after the firing began, a considerable detachment, under the command of Gen. Thomas, passing from Roxbury, took silent possession of Dorchester heights.—The ground was almost impenetrably hard, but the night was mild, and by laboring with great diligence, their works were so far advanced by morning, as to cover them in a great measure from the shot of the enemy.—When the British, after day-break, discovered these works, which were magnified to the view by a hazy atmosphere, nothing could exceed their astonishment. No alternative now remained, but to abandon the town, or to dislodge the provincials. General Howe, with his usual spirit, chose the latter part of the alternative, and took measures for the embarkation, on that very evening, of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, on the important but most hazardous service. The transports fell down in the evening towards the castle, with the troops, amounting to about two thousand men; but a tre-

mendous storm, at night, rendered the execution of the design absolutely impracticable. A council of war was called the next morning, and agreed to evacuate the town as soon as possible. A fortnight elapsed before that measure was effected. Meanwhile, the Americans strengthened and extended their works ; and on the morning of the seventeenth of March, the British discovered a breast-work, that had been thrown up in the night, at Nook's Hill, on Dorchester peninsula, which perfectly commanded Boston Neck, and the south part of the town. Delay was no longer safe. By four in the morning, the king's troops, with those Americans who were attached to the royal cause, began to embark ; and before ten all of them were under sail. As the rear embarked, General Washington marched triumphantly into Boston, where he was joyfully received, as a deliverer."

The last three articles were intended for the Appendix, but by an oversight, are inserted in Sketches of my Life and Times.

A P P E N D I X .

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Written November, 1830.

THE Elections in this State are over, but the result is not yet fully known; enough is, however, ascertained, to induce me to believe, that the *Nullifiers* will have a majority in the Legislature, and that a Convention will be called, of course, as the election was made to turn upon that question, which is but another name for a separation from the Union! The great excitement which exists in Carolina, is the work of a few designing men, who are more or less known to every reader. These men appear to have taken their motto from one of Milton's devils, where he says,

“ Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven.”

It is well known to all conversant with the public prints of this State for three years past, that *the people*, as such, expressed little or no disapprobation of the Tariff, until goaded to opposition by their leaders. In fact, it has been a source of unwearied labor and pains

on the part of these men, to get up, and keep up, the present excitement. The people knew of no oppression — they felt none.

The decay of Charleston, the decline of her commerce, and consequent decrease of population and wealth, were seen and felt, not in Charleston alone, but to the remotest bounds of the State, years before the present tariff came into existence — and from a cause, plain, self evident, and easily to be understood — *the introduction of steam navigation*. Before that period, the produce of the interior was brought, by the growers, to Charleston, on waggons, which came into King-street, on the back part of the city, and afforded business and employment to a great number of merchants and laborers; the former had been at great expense in erecting ware-houses and dwellings, at hand, for the convenience of business — all these have been deserted, and become of little, or no, value. The long range of shops, for the retailing of goods of every description, (extending from Broad to Boundary streets,) where the countrymen, having sold the produce they brought in, laid out its proceeds in merchandise for their own and their neighbors' use. This business, with the exception of supplying the citizens, has gone with the rest. The produce is now collected at Augusta, Hamburgh, and other places in the upper country, from whence it is brought to *the wharves* in Charleston, on boats, towed by steamboats, where it is received by *a few* Foreign and American Agents, who are thus enabled to transact a business, which had before given life and wealth to every part of the city. The return boats take

back groceries, and goods of every description, which are furnished by these agents, or others, to merchants in the interior, where towns have consequently sprung up, like Hamburgh, Cheraw, and others, from whence the people in the interior obtain those supplies, which were before only obtainable in Charleston.

The consequence of this change in the system of trade, has been ruinous to *many*, while its benefits have, as yet, been felt but by *few*. Many, whose rents in Charleston gave them an entire independence, have been reduced to poverty; houses that rented for from ten to fifteen hundred dollars a year, are now tenantless, or rented for one fourth the amount. The uneasiness and dissatisfaction occasioned by this change in their city, has been *cunningly* made use of, by their leaders, to promote and support the present excitement against the acts of the General Government, which have had no more to do in producing these effects among the people, generally, than would the edicts of the Emperor of China, were he to issue them.

The people of South Carolina first exercised universal suffrage, (if my memory serves me) under their amended Constitution, at the election, in 1810; and from that time until the present, they have never polled higher than 2,200 votes in Charleston — the average, I believe, has been under 2,100; — *now*, with a decreased population of some thousands, they have polled almost 2,600! These facts speak a language that cannot be mistaken, and one not very favorable to the morals of a portion of that community, when I state, that every man there, be-

fore he votes, takes an *an oath* to the following effect — “ that he is *qualified* to vote at that election, and has not voted at any other place.”

Among those who have taken an active part in the recent excitement, is *Langdon Cheves*, (from whom better things were expected.) Mr. Cheves had recently returned to his native state and city, after a residence of many years in Pennsylvania — had been honored with a public dinner himself, and on the return of my patriotic *friend*, Mr. Poinsett, from Mexico, partook of one given to that gentleman. It was at *this* dinner, Mr. Cheves, in vulgar phrase, let the cat out of the bag; his toast brought upon him the reprehension of his *remaining* friends throughout the Union; it was the subject of just and severe animadversion.

I was among those who lent my feeble aid, solicited by his friends, against my better judgment, to bring this gentleman into the councils of the nation, in 1810. I was then editor of the Charleston City Gazette, and in favor of *William Laughton Smith*, for Congress, (a name that will long dwell in sweet remembrance with all the admirers of patriotism and talent.)

Mr. Cheves was elected, and took his seat in the eleventh Congress, with those great statesmen, Lowndes and Calhoun, who were then elected to that body for the first time. I have known him from his youth; his talents are shining, rather than solid, and his politics were always of a most *convenient* kind; so much so, that his friends said, you might as well attempt to hold an *eel*, (a very slippery animal,) as to hold him. This opinion of his politics, was fully illustrated, in his election to the

Speaker's Chair, when Mr. Clay resigned it, on accepting his mission to Ghent. Mr. Grundy, of Tennessee, was the Republican candidate to succeed to that elevated station, but the personal friends of Mr. Cheves, united with the whole Federal party, and placed him in the Chair.

He (Mr. Cheves) was the *Atlas* who carried the Merchant's Bonds Bill through the House of Representatives, by which the *People* of the United States were robbed of fifteen millions of dollars, which were given to about two or three hundred merchants, who had knowingly violated the laws of their country, and in consequence of which, the celebrated sixteen million loan was called for by Mr. Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury. It was this bond business, that afterwards made him (Mr. Cheves,) President of the Bank of the United States; it was the "*quid pro quo*," the one thing for another. His letter, dated Sept. 15, to the *nullifiers*, assembled at Columbia, follows this article. At present, I will give a short extract or two.

"I still entertain the opinion, and still think, that the evil ought not to be borne, but ought to be resisted *at the proper time, and under the proper circumstances, at any and every hazard*. It ought to be peaceable, if possible; and every means calculated to make the issue peaceable, ought to be patiently and judiciously employed, before we think of force; but if force be indispensable to effective resistance, I do not hesitate to say, we ought to suffer and employ it, rather than submit."

Again — “But, as I remarked on the public occasion on which I first expressed the opinion that the evils of which the south complains, ought to be resisted, so on this, I say, I deprecate all action by one State. I have no confidence in any resistance, peaceable or forcible, which shall not embrace a majority of the suffering States. I believe — I am sure, it will be abortive resistance. On the contrary, to will, by a united determination, a redress of southern wrongs, and the security of southern rights, will be effectually to accomplish both. Any measure, by one of the suffering States alone, will be a measure of feebleness, subject to many hazards. Any union among the same States, will be a measure of strength, almost of certain success.”

And again, he says — “Sovereign States may suspend or delegate the exercise of many of their powers, without a diminution of their sovereignty, under a compact with other sovereigns. But whatever name be given to this compact, if the confederate States remain sovereign, it is no more than a *treaty* of a solemn kind, which any State may withdraw from at pleasure.”

Now, I should really like to know, what Southern States Mr. C. counts upon. Georgia, it is *barely possible*, might be brought to act with South Carolina, provided a large majority of the people of the latter can so far be seduced from their duty, as to enter upon such a sea of trouble. But where else can they find an ally? Not in North Carolina, for an overwhelming majority of her citizens are stanch to the Union. Virginia — Does he

look to Virginia for aid in the treasonable purpose? He will look in vain, while such men as Madison, Marshall, and Monroe, are among the living. I have dwelt upon the part this gentleman has taken in this unhappy business, because I *know* the man, and I think I see the motive. When the Tariff law passed, Mr. C. was, and long had been, residing in the peaceful shades of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Why leave them, and return to Carolina, after so many years of absence, and at a period of such excitement, if not to take, so far as his juniors would let him, the lead in this unholy cause? He is much the senior of Pinckney, Hayne, Hamilton, &c. He was in public life in Carolina, while they were yet youths.

What was his object, then, in returning to Charleston, when he did, and taking the part that he has, if it was not the hope that he might "ride on the whirlwind, and direct the storm?" We may have hit upon his plan or not, but he may be assured, that long e'er the whirlwind shall become a storm, it will be far too powerful for *him* to manage; and I am mistaken in the man, if he does not wish himself again in the possession of ease and dignity at Lancaster.

Should these madmen so far succeed in their plans of disunion as to attempt to *enforce* their threats of separation, I trust that the President will redeem his pledge given in his toast at a dinner, in Washington — which was, that "*The Union must, and shall, be preserved.*"

JUDGE CHEVES' LETTER.

Charleston, 15th Sept., 1830.

Gentlemen — I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 16th ultimo, by which I am invited to participate in a “public meeting and dinner at Columbia,” on the 20th inst. You are also pleased to add, that “the meeting is called with a view to the discussion, and more thorough understanding of the important political topics which engage the attention of the people of the State.”

I regret that circumstances connected with my domestic concerns, will prevent me from enjoying the pleasure and honor, which your invitation puts in my power. But presuming that it will be in accordance with the objects of the meeting, to receive the views of those who have been invited to attend it, and are unable to do so, and lest it may be supposed I am unwilling to give publicity to mine, I will subjoin them in as few words as the nature of the subject will permit.

On the topics that now so much agitate the public mind, I have never had but one opinion, affecting as well the injury as the remedy. The injury, I think, far exceeds the common estimate. That considers it as an unjust, unequal, and oppressive tax, terminating in itself. The magnitude of the evil, in this view, would ordinarily be supposed cause enough for resistance, in the most extreme modes, when, as in this, it is obvious, the common remedy under our institutions — that of the ballot box — does not and cannot apply; and when to mention it is to mock the sufferer. But the evil swells, when we consider its

motives, tendencies, abuses, and probable duration, to a size and shape altogether alarming.

In these views we behold, among other evil results, a power in which we have no practical participation, and over which we have no control, to tax us, employed not simply in imposing the burthen of the day, unjust and enormous in itself, but in establishing at the same time, principles, which in their effect and tendency subvert, first, the great pecuniary interests of the South, and next, all the protective power, with which the scheme of our government had clothed them. For, while these burthens are imposed, to the great injury, and perhaps to the final subversion of those objects of our industry on which they bear, and not on the ordinary and legitimate purpose of revenue, but to build up new and artificial interests, supposed to be beneficial to other and distant portions of the union ; while, I say, they are imposed for such unjust and insufferable purposes, they are at the same time appropriated to interest other states, by the division of the spoil, in the permanency of the policy, and to deprive us of all hope, which might have grown out of the balanced interests of the community, through the disinterestedness and impartiality of the latter portions of the union. In this way, we behold the burthen fixed upon us with double power, and probably forever.

I believe this statement to be faithfully true, except as it shall be wanting in strength ; and if it be not greatly overcharged, does it not exhibit a case involving, most deeply and injuriously, the interests, the honor, and the

practical independence of the State? In the same manner it affects all the southern States.

On the only occasion on which I have expressed an opinion in public on this subject, I declared my belief that the southern States suffered all the evil legislation and ignominy of a colonial condition, without any of its advantages. The condemnation and vituperation which have been cast upon this opinion, have not changed it. I still entertain the opinion, and still think that the evil ought not to be borne, but ought to be resisted *at the proper time, and under the proper circumstances, at any and every hazard.* It ought to be peaceable, if possible; and every means calculated to make the issue peaceable, ought to be patiently and judiciously employed, before we think of force. But if force be indispensable to effective resistance, I do not hesitate to say, we ought to suffer, and employ it, rather than submit. Submit! Why, the question is, whether we will bear oppression, or not! And is this question submitted to a free people? Oppression, in the worst and most dangerous of all forms—oppression in the imposition of the great pecuniary burthens of the state, where tyranny, whether popular or monarchical, always begins its attack. Let government have the unlimited and unrestrained power to impose pecuniary burthens, and that government be not self-government, and what is left of liberty and independence? And will it be any mitigation of the reality or weight of the evil, that you suffer under the forms, without the power of self-government?

When I say this oppression ought to be resisted, at

any and every hazard, I walk on consecrated ground — that of our revolution — and am sustained by the general examples of history. The motives of that revolution, however just and satisfactory, are paltry, compared with the evils of these impositions, whether we consider them in their direct effects, or in their future tendencies; nor is there a page in the volume of history, that contains so foul a blot as the record of the final submission of the independent States, uncontrolled by power, to such unequal and unjust legislation.

But, as I remarked on the public occasion on which I first expressed the opinion that the evils of which the South complains ought to be resisted, so on this I say, I deprecate all action by one State. I have no confidence in any resistance, peaceable or forcible, which shall not embrace a majority of the suffering States. I believe — I am sure, it will be abortive resistance. On the contrary, to will by a united determination, a redress of southern wrongs and the security of southern rights, will be effectually to accomplish both. Any measure by one of the suffering States alone, will be a measure of feebleness, subject to many hazards. Any union among the same States, will be a measure of strength, almost of certain success.

The case must be one growing out of long suffering and deep tribulation, where a single State, forming one of the closely united family, (I mean not merely a political connexion, but one of sentiment, and feeling, and interest, and juxtaposition, such as the southern States eminently form,) can alone with spirit and success, when

it shall not have the sustaining approbation of the sisterhood; and still more so, if the cloud of their disapprobation shall cast its shadow on the effort.

The full power of public sentiment may be considered a sort of modern discovery, if it be not, in a regular shape, entirely a creature of modern institutions. It is at least, one of infinite influence, by which the conduct of every free State is absolutely governed. That public sentiment, however, is not the feeling merely of a part of the community, but of the whole of that aggregate people, however numerous, and though separated into independent states, who have a common identity. This common identity expands or is contracted by the subject which it affects. There is a common identity and a common public sentiment (the weaker, to be sure, when expanded) embracing all civilized people. In our external relations, there is a common public sentiment embracing the whole union. But in our internal relations, the States are divided into western, eastern, middle and southern sections. The south has thus a separate identity and a common public sentiment among themselves, (the stronger from the nearness and intimacy of their relations,) in reference to their internal or peculiar affairs. There may be cases where this common or peculiar identity may be confined to a single State — for example, that of Georgia, on the Indian question. Where this common identity and consequent public sentiment affect any subject, it is scarcely possible for any one member of the confraternity of feeling and character, to act alone upon it, because, according to our maxim of the power

of public sentiment, the conduct of the whole mass must be in conformity with the sentiment of the whole mass. It is in vain to say that each is a sovereign, and if others do not duly feel a common injury, or dread a common danger, it becomes the duty of an individual State, if it cannot combine with the others, to act alone.

The logic may be perfectly clear, (which, by the by, I do not concede, except as applied to extreme cases,) but it will be found impossible to be made practical. There is a spell which manacles the most vigorous. There is a forbidding aspect, not of terror, but of fraternity, which we cannot meet without relaxing our determinations, however fixed they may have been. Neither excitement, nor pledges, nor the sanctions of the soundest wisdom, (such, I mean, as would be so, if supported by the general adoption and approbation,) will sustain the actor, when unsupported by the public sentiment of the sphere to which he belongs. He may plunge in with the utmost determination, (desperation, if you please,) but if he be human and rational, he will be re-called by the cold or the forbidding regards of the public sentiment.

It may be truly said, then, I think, that all separate action by one of the southern States on this question, which is common to them all, however wise would be the same measure, if it were favored by the general adoption, will be feeble and unsuccessful.

I proceed now to notice some of the specific grounds which have been suggested for the action of this State. Among these, *remonstrances*, in the sovereign character of the State, seem not altogether to be discarded. These

I consider as worse than idle, for so ought all dependence on means so certainly deceptive and delusive to be considered. For the utter worthlessness of this mean, let our imaginations transfer us to Washington, on the occasion when the solemn protests of the State of Georgia were presented. They could not have been presented with more dignity, or with more eloquence, or in a more imposing manner. But did they attract any consideration, or produce any sensation? I appeal to those who were present on the occasion, whether the repose of the letter writers, at their desks, was broken by this awful presence of two remonstrating sovereigns?

A proposed appropriation of a few hundred dollars to indemnify a petitioner for a negro lost in the campaign of New Orleans, excited fifty — nay, I am sure I do not exaggerate, however hyperbolical the statement may appear, when I say fifty thousand times the sensation that was produced by the protests of these sovereign States. And will you remonstrate again under like circumstances?

On *nullification*, another of the specific modes of action which have been suggested, I think a construction has been put, in this State, different from that which Jefferson and Madison, and the Virginia and Kentucky legislatures, intended it should bear. I do not say a less correct one. They, as I suppose, considered it a mere declaration of opinion on the part of the invalidity of the law. Nullification in this sense has already been adopted by the State, and a majority of the southern States.

The “interposition,” of which these high authorities

speak, and which they hold out as an ulterior remedy, if the moral influence of the nullifying declaration shall not be effective, is simply the exercise of that power that belongs to, and cannot be separated from, a state which remains sovereign.

The books talk of dependent sovereigns, but the common sense of that is, that those who are so called, either from motives of interest, or policy, agree voluntarily, and during their pleasure, to suspend or delegate a portion of their power, or, are under forcible subjection to another power, and are in the latter case, not sovereign in a just sense. Sovereign states may suspend or delegate the exercise of many of their powers, without a diminution of their sovereignty, under a compact with other sovereigns. But whatever name be given to this compact, if the confederate states remain sovereign, it is no more than a *treaty* of a solemn kind, which any state may withdraw from at pleasure. One state of the confederacy may interpose by entreaty, by negotiation, or by remonstrance, with a view of obtaining redress of a particular evil, in the execution of the treaty, and still acknowledge the binding efficacy of it, or it may at once resume its power and exercise, and sustain all its original rights at pleasure, as if no such treaty had ever existed. It has precisely the same means to sustain itself, that all sovereigns have — the moral and physical force of the State. It is subject to the same control (and no other) which may be brought to bear on all sovereigns, namely, the like moral and physical force. But whatever be the true doctrine on the subject of nullification, there is too great

a diversity of opinion on the expediency of it, to authorize its adoption, at this time, in the sense put upon it in this State.

The last of the specific modes of action, which have been thrown out, is a *convention* of the people of the State, to be called under the constitution of the State. This I conceive to be equally impolitic, and still more unsuited to the occasion and the object, because (I speak with great deference, but not less confidence,) it can lead to no *authoritative result*, and it appears to me to be proposed for the worst reason imaginable — a want of any definite notion of a practical line of conduct. A convention, I conceive, should only be called for some great specific object. No one has, however, suggested any definite question of decisive character, on which this convention is to act, except that of nullification. And why should a convention be called on this question? It cannot even act upon it, in an authoritative shape. A convention employed according to the principles of constitutional government, can only act on the frame of the government, that is to say, give, take away, or modify its power. It cannot legislate! By what process, then, can it nullify? As to the authority of the government of the State, as it now stands, it is not in the power of the convention to increase it, with reference to the subject of sovereign rights, which are those in question.

No government which recognizes the right of the people to abrogate or modify its existence, can have greater power than the government of this State already possesses on such subjects. It has all the power that, on

such questions, can be conferred on a government. It is an unlimited sovereign government, in reference to all other states and governments. The convention, therefore, can do no legal or authoritative act, unless it assume a revolutionary vigor, dissolve the actual government, and invest itself with all power.

I know it has been said that the ligature of the union was tied by a convention, and that therefore our relation to it cannot be changed but by a convention. This doctrine is both fallacious and dangerous. It would be to impair, if not to deny our great first principle, that the union is a confederation of sovereign states. The conventions which ratified the constitution of the union, were instruments of the state sovereignties, called by their power, and responsive merely of the popular opinion. The people on that occasion neither dissolved, nor modified their corporate existence. It was a mere method of collecting the sense of the people, on a point that the corporate sovereignty was able, as in the confederation of 1779, to have decided without the reference. There is nothing in the nature of two instruments, which require the direct confirmation of the people in the one, and dispenses with it in the other. The greatest of all powers — those of peace and war — were invested in the confederation of 1779.

The people may annihilate or modify the state governments when they please, but as long as they exist and are sovereign, they not only represent the people, but are the people in their corporate capacity. I am constrained to believe, (though I confess the sin of having long wan-

dered from this good faith,) that there is neither safety nor truth in any doctrines, which do not recognize, in all external regulations, the governments of the states exclusively as the people of the states, and the only visible signs by which they can be seen or known as sovereigns.

But so very indistinct, and even wild, are some of the motives assigned for the call of a convention, that it has been gravely urged as one, that if a practical remedy cannot be struck out by it, it may be used to put an end to the excitement altogether, by a popular sedative, through some act of the convention! This does seem to be sporting in very wantonness, with the most serious and sacred objects.

It has also been suggested, that a convention may remonstrate, and that coming from such a body, it would command the attention of the general government. Such an act of the convention, for the reasons already suggested, would be merely popular, not legal—of the nature of a like remonstrance of any ordinary popular convention, though more solemn and comprehensive, and would be exceptionable, as it would have a tendency to invalidate the authority, legal and moral, of the regular government. Nor is it probable the influence supposed would be felt. Bodies acting out of their sphere, are likely in politics, as in nature, to lose their attraction. I am afraid a convention thus employed would be considered as a wandering planet. For who can seriously think of remonstrance after our experience of their inefficacy? For myself, I deem all remonstrances utterly idle and hopeless, when they come from a single state

But if the southern states will raise a united voice, I have no doubt it will not only command attention, but likewise acquiescence in the demands.

I differ, therefore, entirely from those who have recommended modes of separate action. But I must be understood as not meaning to join at all in the opprobrious censures, which have been cast upon these measures, or the distinguished men who have put them forth for the public consideration. All I mean is respectfully to submit my reasons for a difference of opinion. These distinguished men are the ornaments of the State, have hitherto been, and will continue to be, its truest, ablest, best, and most faithful advisers; and to withdraw the public confidence from them, would at once be ungrateful and unwise. The public is indebted to them for all the just views it has on the subjects which now so intensely agitate, and which must always so deeply interest it. They have been the faithful sentinels of the State, and if they be withdrawn from its watch-towers, I fear it will be a voice much less true to the interests of the people, and much less worthy of their confidence. Not to sustain them, would be little less than to abandon the struggle.

But it may be asked, "how is this union of effort on the part of the Southern States, to be brought about, and when is it probable they will effectually unite?" The first part of this inquiry is very easily answered. Any mean, (the simpler the better, for all incipient measures,) which will enable them to exchange their views on the subject, will be satisfactory. The remaining member of

the inquiry is much more difficult — “When is it probable they will effectually unite?”

Any one accustomed to the contemplation of public affairs, will see, at a glance, that the actual condition of the politics of the southern States, in connection of the politics of the Union, is not only the cause of the present apathy of the States, but in all likelihood, will continue to smother their feelings, and confound their views, for some time to come. But inevitable delays are no argument against union and co-operation among the aggrieved States. These means are indispensable — no others are either practical, or practicable; all others will be deceptive at first, and finally, abortive.

The southern States, on this subject, are one people — one in interest, in feeling, in suffering, in locality, and in power, and ought not to separate in resistance, whether peaceable, or forcible. Let them unite, and whatever they demand, will, in all likelihood, be peaceably granted, if they sustain it in a proper manner. Let them unite, and if their reasonable demands be not peaceably granted, they may be forcibly maintained. But when I talk of force, I consider it as a result altogether beyond the range of probability, if the southern States unite in their counsels, and their demands. The fear, however, of this result, has been arrayed in all the horrors of civil war and disunion, and has been the great engine which has been used against the cause and the friends of state rights — sometimes under the most honest conviction, but oftener with the most crafty designs. War, of any kind, if the South do not separate in their efforts, I con-

sider as altogether visionary ; but if it shall come, and we meet it under a united banner, it would be divested of all the evils of civil war, in the ordinary acceptation of the term. As to disunion, it is the most improbable of all events at this time. The motives to union are so strong, that it will resist the assaults, even of its worst enemies, who are those who would maintain it in its oppressive usurpations.

South Carolina will, on her part, allow no caprice of feeling, nothing short of vital, intolerable, and enduring evil to sever its bonds — disunion will not be her choice, but her necessity. But if such necessity should “fall on our times,” and drive the southern States, (South Carolina will not go alone,) for a moment, from the Union, it will be but for that brief space, which will be sufficient to show to other members the true nature of the confederacy of these United States, and how much more they are interested, than we are, in its preservation. We shall be called back by such an impatient wooing, as neither romance nor poetry hath typified. New England, for example, knows her interests too well, (if she does not, the event will teach her,) not to give up a brace of American Systems, rather than lose the advantages she enjoys from an union with the southern States.

Great as is the interest of the last mentioned States in the preservation of the Union, it is a simple and single one, neither more nor less than the love and happiness of peace with their sister States. It is merely a *negative* advantage, (but not the less, therefore,) to use the language of a very learned and elequent divine, (Dr. Chan-

ning,) who appears to think and speak like a great statesman, and who, were his countrymen counselled by him, would, at once, put an end to all speech, and all thought, on the subject of disunion. The South asks and enjoys no other advantage from the Union, and is ready to give for it a cordial return of the same great blessing; and, besides, without any further consideration, to make all sacrifices, beneficial to the other States, short of the surrender of its independent institutions, and its vital interests — any thing short of dishonor and degradation. In foreign wars it is scarcely possible the southern States can be involved *but by the union* — as to the insulting pretence sometimes put forth that we want the aid of our sister States to sustain a peculiar part of our *southern polity*, let the history of the Revolution give an ample refutation of the affrontive suggestion; and if there shall still any sceptics remain, let them look at the census, and discover a free, high spirited, white population, as brave and athletic, as any the Union can exhibit, mixed up with the subject of that policy, which, were the latter doubled in numbers, would be sufficiently numerous to put them down, before our self constituted allies in this peril, (which is the creature of their own imaginations,) could get intelligence of our danger, were it to arise. It is enough to say, that we fear neither foreign nor servile foes; and that the union is only valuable to us, (and as such we consider it above all price, short of the above named sacrifices,) as the best, if not the only, certain means of preserving the peace of our geographical fraternity. On the side of our associates, they have the

full enjoyment of this inestimable advantage, (not less to them than us,) and they have, besides, not a few, but a vast number, of great positive advantages, which they exclusively enjoy. Let them calculate, then, the value of the Union, and be instructed by the fable of the bird that laid golden eggs. Unless, then, some special visitation of Providence shall becloud the clear intellect of our principal adversaries in the present struggle, they will not force us out of the Union, and no other cause can sever us from it.

I am ashamed of the length of this communication ; but I was obliged to be silent — to be misunderstood — or to trespass in this manner upon your patience.

I am, gentlemen, very truly and respectfully,

Your most obedient servant,

LANGDON CHEVES.

To Messrs. John Taylor, Wade Hampton, jr., John G. Brown, Pierce M. Butler, and Wm. Harper.

MR. MADISON'S LETTER,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

Montpelier, August, 1830.

Dear sir — I have duly received your letter, in which you refer to the “nullifying doctrine,” advocated as a constitutional right, by some of our distinguished fellow citizens ; and to the proceedings of the Virginia legislature in '98, '99, as appealed to in behalf of that doctrine ; and you express a wish for my ideas on those subjects.

I am aware of the delicacy of the task in some respects,

and the difficulty in every respect, of doing full justice to it. But, having, in more than one instance, complied with a like request from other friendly quarters, I do not decline a sketch of the views, which I have been led to take of the doctrine in question, as well as of some others connected with them; and of the grounds from which it appears, that the proceedings of Virginia have been misconceived by those who have appealed to them. In order to understand the true character of the constitution of the United States, the error, not uncommon, must be avoided, of viewing it through the medium, either of a consolidated government, or of a confederated government, whilst it is neither the one nor the other, but a mixture of both. And having, in no model, the similitudes and analogies applicable to other systems of government, it must, more than any other, be its own interpreter, according to its text and *the facts of the case*.

From these it will be seen that the characteristic peculiarities of the constitution are, 1. the mode of its formation; 2. the divisions of the supreme powers of government between the States in their united capacity, and the States in their individual capacities.

1. It was formed, not by the governments of the component States, as the federal government for which it was substituted was formed. Nor was it formed by a majority of the people of the United States, as a single community, in the manner of a consolidated government.

It was formed by the States, that is by the people in each of the States, acting in their highest sovereign capa-

city; and formed consequently by the same authority which formed the State constitutions.

Being thus derived from the same source as the constitutions of the States, it has, within each State, the same authority as the constitution of the State; and is as much a constitution, in the strict sense of the term, within its prescribed sphere, as the constitutions of the States are, within their respective spheres; but with this obvious and essential difference, that being a compact among the States in their highest sovereign capacity, and constituting the people thereof one people for certain purposes, it cannot be altered or annulled at the will of the States individually, as the constitution of a State may be at its individual will.

2. And that it divides the supreme powers of government, between the government of the United States, and the governments of the individual States, is stamped on the face of the instrument; the powers of war and of taxation, of commerce and of treaties, and other enumerated powers vested in the government of the United States, being of as high and sovereign a character, as any of the powers reserved to the State governments.

Nor is the government of the United States, created by the constitution, less a government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are, within their several spheres. It is, like them, organized into legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. It operates, like them, directly on persons and things. And, like them, it has at command a physical force for

executing the powers committed to it. The concurrent operation in certain cases, is one of the features marking the peculiarity of the system.

Between these different constitutional governments, the one operating in all the States, the others operating separately in each, with the aggregate powers of government divided between them, it could not escape attention, that controversies would arise concerning the boundaries of jurisdiction: and that some provision ought to be made for such occurrences. A political system that does not provide for a peaceable and authoritative termination of occurring controversies, would not be more than the shadow of a government, the object and end of a real government being the substitution of law and order, for uncertainty, confusion, and violence.

That to have left a final decision, in such cases, to each of the States, then thirteen, and already twenty-four, could not fail to make the constitution and laws of the United States different in different States, was obvious; and not less obvious, that this diversity of independent decisions, must altogether distract the government of the Union, and speedily put an end to the Union itself. A uniform authority of the laws, is in itself a vital principle. Some of the most important laws could not be partially executed. They must be executed in all the States, or they could be duly executed in none. An impost, of an excise, for example, if not in force in some States, would be defeated in others. It is well known that this was among the lessons of experience, which had a primary influence in bringing about the existing constitution. A loss of its

general authority would moreover revive the exasperating questions between the States holding ports for foreign commerce, and the adjoining States without them ; to which are now added all the inland States, necessarily carrying on their foreign commerce through other States.

To have made the decisions under the authority of the individual States, co-ordinate, in all cases, with decisions under the authority of the United States, would unavoidably produce collisions incompatible with the peace of society, and with that regular and efficient administration which is of the essence of free governments. Scenes could not be avoided, in which a ministerial officer of the United States, and the correspondent officer of an individual State, would have rencontres in executing conflicting decrees ; the result of which would depend on the comparative force of the local passes attending them ; and that, a casualty depending on the political opinions and party feelings in different States.

To have referred every clashing decision, under the two authorities, for a final decision, to the States as parties to the constitution, would be attended with delays, with inconveniences, and with expenses, amounting to a prohibition of the expedient ; not to mention its tendency to impair the salutary veneration for a system requiring such frequent interpositions, nor the delicate questions which might present themselves as to the form of stating the appeal, and as to the quorum for deciding it.

To have trusted to negotiation for adjusting disputes between the government of the United States and the State governments, as between independent and separate

sovereignties, would have lost sight altogether of a constitution and government for the union, and open a direct road, from a failure of that resort, to the ultima ratio between nations wholly independent of, and alien to each other. If the idea had its origin in the process of adjustment, between separate branches of the same government, the analogy entirely fails. In the case of disputes between independent parts of the same government, neither party being able to consummate its will, nor the government to proceed without a concurrence of the parts, necessity brings about an accommodation. In disputes between a State government, and the government of the United States, the case is practically, as well as theoretically, different ; each party possessing all the departments of an organized government, legislative, executive, and judiciary ; and having each a physical force to support its pretensions. Although the issue of a negotiation might sometimes avoid this extremity, how often would it happen, among so many States, that an unaccommodating spirit, in some, would render that resource unavailing. A contrary supposition, would not accord with a knowledge of human nature, or the evidence of our own political history.

The constitution, not relying on any of the preceding modifications, for its safe and successful operation, has expressly declared, on the one hand, 1. "That the constitution, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land. 2. That the judges of every State shall be bound thereby, any thing

in the constitution and laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. 3. That the judicial power of the United States shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under the constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made under their authority," &c.

On the other hand, as a security of the rights and powers of the States, in their individual capacities, against an undue preponderance of the powers granted to the government over them in their united capacity, the constitution has relied on, 1. The responsibility of the Senators and Representatives in the legislature of the United States, to the legislatures and people of the States.—2. The responsibility of the President to the people of the United States: and, 3. The liability of the executive and judicial functionaries of the United States to impeachment, by the representatives of the people of the States, in one branch of the legislature of the United States, and trial by the representatives of the States, in the other branch: the State functionaries, legislative, executive, and judicial, being, at the same time, in their appointment and responsibility, altogether independent of the agency or authority of the United States.

How far this structure of the government of the United States, is adequate and safe for its objects, time alone can only determine. Experience seems to have shown, that whatever may grow out of future stages of our national career, there is, as yet, a sufficient control in the popular will, over the executive and legislative departments of the government. When the alien and sedition laws were passed, in contravention to the opinions and

feelings of the community, the first elections that ensued put an end to them. And whatever may have been the character of other acts, in the judgment of many of us, it is but true, that they have generally accorded with the views of a majority of the States and of the people. At the present day, it seems well understood, that the laws which have created most dissatisfaction have had a like sanction without doors; and that, whether continued, varied, or repealed, a like proof will be given of the sympathy and responsibility of the representative body to the constituent body. Indeed, the great complaint now is, against the results of this sympathy and responsibility in the legislative body of the nation.

With respect to the judicial power of the United States, and the authority of the supreme court in relation to the boundary of jurisdiction between the Federal and the State governments, I may be permitted to refer to the thirty-ninth number of the "Federalist,"* for the light in which the subject was regarded by its writer, at the period when the constitution was depending; and it is believed, that the same was the prevailing view then taken of it, that the same view has continued to prevail, and

* It is true that in controversies relating to the boundary between the two jurisdictions, the tribunal which is ultimately to decide, is to be established under the general government. But this does not change the principle of the case. The decision is to be impartially made, according to the rules of the constitution; and all the usual and most effectual precautions are taken to secure this impartiality. Some such tribunal is clearly essential to prevent an appeal to the sword, and a dissolution of the compact; and that it ought to be established under the general, rather than under the local governments; or, to speak more properly, that it could be safely established under the first alone, is a position not likely to be combatted.

that it does so at this time, notwithstanding the eminent exceptions to it.

But it is perfectly consistent with the concession of this power to the supreme court, in cases falling within the course of its function, to maintain that the power has not always been rightly exercised. To say nothing of the period, happily a short one, when judges in their seats did not abstain from intemperate and party harangues, equally at variance with their dignity, there have been occasional decisions from the bench, which have incurred serious and extensive disapprobation. Still it would seem, that, with few exceptions, the course of the judiciary has been hitherto sustained by the predominant sense of the nation.

Those who have denied or doubted the supremacy of the judicial power of the United States, and denounce, at the same time, nullifying power in a State, seem not to have sufficiently adverted to the utter inefficiency of a supremacy in a law of the land, without a supremacy in the exposition and execution of the law ; nor to the destruction of all equipoise between the Federal government and the State governments, if, whilst the functionaries of the federal government are directly or indirectly elected by, and responsible to, the States, and the functionaries of the States, are, in their appointment and responsibility, wholly independent of the United States, no constitutional control of any sort belonged to the United States, over the States. Under such an organization, it is evident that it would be in the power of the States, individually, to pass unauthorized laws, and to carry them

into complete effect, any thing in the constitution and laws of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding. This would be a nullifying power in its plenary character; and whether it had its final effect, through the legislative, executive, or judiciary organ of the State, would be equally fatal to the constituted relation between the two governments.

Should the provisions of the constitution, as here reviewed, be found not to secure the government and rights of the States against usurpations and abuses on the part of the United States, the final resort, within the purview of the constitution, lies in an amendment of the constitution, according to a process applicable by the States.

And in the event of the failure of every constitutional resort, and an accumulation of usurpations and abuses, rendering passive obedience and non-resistance a greater evil than resistance and revolution, there can remain but one resort, the last of all — an appeal from the cancelled obligations of the compact, to original rights, and the law of self-preservation. This is the *ultima ratio* under all governments, whether consolidated, confederated, or a compound of both; and it cannot be doubted that a single member of the Union, in the extremity supposed, but in that only, would have a right, as an extra and ultra constitutional right, to make the appeal.

This brings us to the expedient lately advanced, which claims for a single State, a right to appeal against an exercise of power by the government of the United States, decided by the State to be unconstitutional, to the parties to the constitutional compact; the decision of the State

to have the effect of nullifying the act of the government of the United States, unless the decision of the State be reversed by three fourths of the parties.

The distinguished names and high authorities which appear to have asserted and given a practical scope to this doctrine, entitle it to a respect which it might be difficult otherwise to feel for it.

If the doctrine were to be understood as requiring the three fourths of the States to sustain, instead of that proportion to reverse, the decision of the appealing State, the decision to be without effect during the appeal, it would be sufficient to remark, that this extra-constitutional course might well give way to that marked out by the constitution, which authorizes two thirds of the States to institute, and three fourths to effectuate, an amendment of the constitution, establishing a permanent rule of the highest authority, in place of an irregular precedent of construction, only.

But it is understood, that the nullifying doctrine imports that the decision of the State is to be presumed valid, and that it overrules the law of the United States, unless overruled by three fourths of the States.

Can more be necessary to demonstrate the inadmissibility of such a doctrine, than that it puts it in the power of the smallest fraction over one fourth of the United States, that is, of seven States out of twenty-four, to give the law, and even the constitution, of seventeen States, each of the seventeen having, as parties to the constitution, an equal right of the seven, to expound it, and to insist on the exposition? That the seven might,

in particular instances, be right, and the seventeen wrong, is more than possible. But to establish a positive and permanent rule giving such a power, to such a minority, over such a majority, would overturn the first principle of free government, and in practice, necessarily overturn the government.

It is to be recollected, that the constitution was proposed to the people of the States, as *a whole*, and unanimously adopted by the States as *a whole*, it being a part of the constitution, that not less than three fourths of the States should be competent to make any alteration in what had been unanimously agreed to. So great is the caution on this point, that in two cases, where peculiar interests were at stake, a proportion, even of three fourths, is distrusted, and unanimity required to make an alteration.

When the constitution was adopted as a whole, it is certain that there were many parts, which, if separately proposed, would have been promptly rejected. It is far from impossible, that every part of a constitution might be rejected by a majority, and yet taken together as a whole, be unanimously accepted. Free constitutions will rarely, if ever, be formed, without reciprocal concessions; without articles conditioned on, and balancing each other. Is there a constitution of a single State out of the twenty-four, that would bear the experiment of having its component parts submitted to the people, and separately decided on?

What the fate of the constitution of the United States would be, if a small proportion of the States could ex-

punge parts of it particularly valued by a large majority, can have but one answer.

The difficulty is not removed by limiting the doctrine to cases of construction. How many cases of that sort, involving cardinal provisions of the constitution, have occurred? How many now exist? How many may hereafter spring up? How many might be ingeniously created, if entitled to the privilege of a decision in the mode proposed?

Is it certain that the principle of that mode would not reach further than is contemplated? If a single State can of right require three fourths of its co-states to overrule its exposition of the constitution, because that proportion is authorized to amend it, would the plea be less plausible that, as the constitution was unanimously established, it ought to be unanimously expounded?

The reply to all such suggestions seems to be unavoidable and irresistible, that the constitution is a compact, that its text is to be expounded according to the provisions for expounding it — making a part of the compact; and that none of the parties can rightfully renounce the expounding provision more than any other part. When such a right accrues, as may accrue, it must grow out of abuses of the compact releasing the sufferers from their fealty to it.

In favor of the nullifying claim for the states, individually, it appears, as you observe, that the proceedings of the legislature of Virginia, in '98 and '99, against the alien and sedition acts, are much dwelt upon.

It may often happen, as experience proves, that erro-

neous constructions, not anticipated, may not be sufficiently guarded against, in the language used; and it is due to the distinguished individuals, who have misconceived the intention of those proceedings, to suppose that the meaning of the legislature, though well comprehended at the time, may not now be obvious to those acquainted with the cotemporary indications and impressions.

But it is believed, that by keeping in view the distinction between the governments of the States, and the States in the sense in which they were parties to the constitution; between the rights of the parties in their concurrent and in their individual capacities; between the several modes and objects of interposition against the abuses of power, and especially between interpositions within the purview of the constitution, and interpositions appealing from the constitution to the rights of nature, paramount to all constitutions; with an attention, always of explanatory use, to the views and arguments which were combatted, the resolutions of Virginia, as vindicated in the report on them, will be found entitled to an exposition, showing a consistency in their parts, and an inconsistency of the whole, with the doctrine under consideration.

That the legislature could not have intended to sanction such a doctrine, is to be inferred from the debates in the house of delegates, and from the address of the two houses to their constituents, on the subject of the resolutions. The tenor of the debates, which were ably conducted, and are understood to have been revised for the press, by most, if not all the speakers, discloses no reference whatever to a constitutional right of an individual

state, to arrest by force the operation of a law of the United States.

Concert among the States for redress against the alien and sedition laws, as acts of usurped power, was a leading sentiment; and the attainment of a concert, the immediate object of the course adopted by the legislature, which was that of inviting the other States "to concur in declaring the acts to be unconstitutional, and to co-operate by the necessary and proper measures, in maintaining unimpaired, the authorities, rights and liberties reserved to the States respectively, and to the people." * That by the necessary and proper measures to be concurrently and co-operatively taken, were meant measures known to the constitution, particularly the ordinary control of the people and legislatures of the States, over the government of the United States, cannot be doubted; and the interposition of this control, as the event showed, was equal to the occasion.

It is worthy of remark, and explanatory of the intention of the legislature, that the words "not law, but utterly null, void, and of no force or effect," which had followed, in one of the resolutions, the word "unconstitutional," were struck out by common consent. Though the words were in fact but synonymous with "unconstitutional," yet to guard against a misunderstanding of this phrase as more than declaratory of opinion, the word "unconstitutional" alone was retained, as not liable to that danger.

The published address of the legislature to the people, their constituents, affords another conclusive evidence of

* See the concluding resolution of 1798.

its views. The address warns them against the encroaching spirit of the general government, argues the unconstitutionality of the alien and sedition acts; points to other instances in which the constitutional limits had been overleaped; dwells upon the dangerous mode of deriving power by implication; and in general, presses the necessity of watching over the consolidating tendency of the federal policy. But nothing is said that can be understood to look to means of maintaining the rights of the States, beyond the regular ones, within the forms of the constitution.

If any further lights on the subject could be needed, a very strong one is reflected in the answers to the resolutions, by the States which protested against them. The main objection of these, beyond a few general complaints of the inflammatory tendency of the resolutions, was directed against the assumed authority of a State legislature, to declare a law of the United States unconstitutional, which they pronounced an unwarrantable interference with the exclusive jurisdiction of the supreme court of the United States. Had the resolutions been regarded as avowing and maintaining a right, in an individual state, to arrest, by force, the execution of a law of the United States, it must be presumed that it would have been a conspicuous object of their denunciation.

With cordial salutations,

JAMES MADISON.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Extracts from the proceedings of this Society, at their celebration on the 21st of April last, taken from the Hartford Daily Courant. The whole proceedings are very interesting, and abound with Reminiscences of the olden time. I regret I have not room for the whole.— Doctor Webster's discourse on the occasion, or some extracts from it, I have, in vain, endeavored to procure.— I have been given to understand it contains a history of the rise and progress of "THE HARTFORD CONVENTION."

"The two hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the first Constitution of Connecticut, by the towns of Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, in 1639, was celebrated in this city, on Tuesday, April* 21st, 1840, the anniversary of the election of John Haynes as the first Governor of the State, by a public oration and dinner, under the direction of a Committee of the Connecticut Historical Society.

The venerable NOAH WEBSTER, LL. D., a native of Hartford, and a lineal descendant of John Webster, one of the six magistrates, chosen with Gov. Haynes at the first election in Connecticut, was selected the orator of the day.

On Monday evening, the 20th inst., the members of the Historical Society, and their guests, met by invitation, at the house of Mr. Day, the President of the Soci-

*It was the plan of the Society to have the celebration occur on the 12th, (O. S.) 24th (N. S.) of January, but on account of the advanced age of Dr. Webster, it was postponed to a warmer season of the year.

ty, and were made welcome to an elegant entertainment; and introduced, not only to such venerable gentlemen of the "old school" as Col. John Trumbull, Judge Daggett, and others, but to ladies, who, as they swept by in their high-heeled shoes, with cushioned head-dress, frizzed and powdered hair, stiff-starched ruff and spangled stomachers, sack-backs, and embroidered skirts, the needle-wrought apron, and flowing robes of richly flowered brocade, were mistaken for the grandames of our colonial and revolutionary annals. It seemed as though the old portraits, in some high halls of pomp and power, had suddenly walked out from their frames, and leaving their *faces* on the canvas, had come in to grace the occasion. The skill of the toilet, and the treasured wardrobe,* had

* The following description of the dresses worn on this occasion is extracted from the New York Commercial Advertiser.

No. 1. "A fine old English gentleman," in small clothes, and a coat of brown silk — wide plaited ruffles, powdered hair and cocked hat.

No. 2. A gentleman wearing a vest of Governor Leete — knee-breeches, and top-boots.

No. 3. A gentleman in full white wig and cravat — personating a former clergyman of Wethersfield.

No. 4. A tall gentleman, personating an English nobleman of the 18th century, — buff small clothes — buff vest, embroidered with gold and silver; coat of changeable silk velvet, crimson and silver, — and powdered wig.

No. 5. A lad in the dress of a Spanish page, — his story, that he had come out with Ponce de Leon, in search of the Fountain of Youth, in Florida. He had strayed from his party, and had found and drank of the fountain, which his friends had sought in vain, and now he was an orphan. His part was executed to admiration.

No. 6. A lady in ash colored brocade, with white damask skirt. The dress had formerly belonged to Miss Scott, the young lady whom Dr. Doddridge was anxious to marry, but her attachment to an aged father, induced her to decline his proposals. Subsequently her father died, and she was married to Mr. Williams, Rector, or President, of Yale College.

done much. They had disguised the form, had gathered up the clustering hair, and scattered the snow-flakes of age thickly over the temples, but they could not shed over the face those "ripened charms" which TIME alone can give. The temples were still veined, like fields of snow, with the bounding currents of young life, — disimprisoned curls would shade the polished brow, the glowing cheek could not be made to fade like autumn's falling leaf, and such forms, and elastic steps, could not be trained into the staid, prim movements, of the matrons of

This Mr. Williams was a remarkable man. He was called from a parish in Wethersfield to preside over Yale College, which situation he filled with signal ability for about thirteen years. He was afterward a member of the legislative Council — a judge of the Superior Court — then a chaplain in the army, in the expedition against Cape Breton — and then a colonel in the army, — and always exemplary for his piety. Visiting England, at one period of his life, he heard of the death of his wife, after his arrival there, and was introduced to Miss Scott, by Dr. Doddridge. He married, and brought her to this country, and after his death, she became the wife of Judge Smith, of New York.

No. 7. A lady with a yellow brocade, now in the possession of Mr. R. R. Hinman, of Hartford, and Secretary of State. The hair was thrown loosely upon the shoulders, and a small cap, of muslin, trimmed with a rich antique lace, upon the top of the head, — skirt open in front, and flowing from the shoulder behind — under dress of the same material, flounced — sleeves short — high-heeled shoes, of white satin, with large buckles.

No. 8. A buff brocade silk, with long waist — skirt sweeping the floor with a train of half a yard. Hair combed back from the forehead, and falling in long curls upon the neck. White feathers. A mantle of black gauze, worn by a grand-daughter and resident in the family of Thomas Hooker, the first clergyman of Hartford. A wedding ring, worn more than a hundred years since, with the motto —

"God in Trinity,
Bless our Unity.

No. 9. A lady wearing the afternoon dress of the past century — of white linen, worked in silk, with churches, horses, monkeys, strawberries, birds and flowers, all in confusion. A pink quilted skirt, and white mus-

other days. The antiquarians, in their bewilderment, wiped the dust from their spectacles, but it did not help the matter. They were obliged, therefore, to conclude that the days of Connecticut witchcraft had returned, with this distinguishing difference — that instead of withered hags, with a crooked back and chin, a hitch in their gait, a croak in their voice, a hazle twig in their hand, and a broomstick nag at the door —

lin apron. A small mob cap, of linen cambric, and a little hood and mantle of black lace, wrought with red.

No. 10. A rose colored silk, with white stripes — very tight long sleeves, and an apron of brocade — formerly belonging to a niece of Lord Baltimore, first Governor of Maryland.

No. 11. A crimson damask, wrought with white silk, open in front, and skirt flowing from the shoulder on the back, with a very long train. White satin damask under-dress, and richly embroidered — high-heeled shoes — stomacher of white satin — muslin apron, trimmed with lace.

No. 12. A willow-green brocade, with white stripes, and large bunches of flowers — under-dress of the same material, flounced. Tight short sleeves, with ruffles at the elbow — hair frizzed, and bound in a knot behind; with a small flat straw hat, trimmed with rose colored crape, and wreaths of roses.

No. 13. A yellow brocade, with long waist — under-dress of the same — short, tight sleeves, and full ruffles — hair combed back from the forehead, over a high cushion, and powdered — a small round hat of silk, trimmed with lace and flowers.

No. 14. A pink brocade, with short waist, and white stomacher — hair frizzed, and dressed with white feathers.

No. 15. A dress of rich crimson silk — ruby necklace and ear-rings — hair curling upon the neck, and profusely powdered — white lace apron — ornaments for the hair, bracelets, breast pin and buckles of paste.

No. 16. A green silk, wrought with crimson and gold — long waist and sleeves — pink skirt, and white apron — shoes worn by the mother of John Ledyard, the traveller — white stomacher.

No. 17. A white silk, striped with green and purple — under-dress of the same — long waist — tight sleeves, with full ruffles — hair frizzed very much, and a flat straw hat tied upon the top of the head, trimmed with crape and flowers. A miniature of Gen. Washington, lent for the occasion by a grand-daughter of Mrs. Custis.

“ *Our* witches are no longer old
And wrinkled beldames, Satan sold,
But young, and gay, and laughing creatures,
With the heart’s sunshine on their features” —
“ Theirs are glossy curls and sunny eyes,
As brightly lit, and bluer than the skies ;
Voices as gentle as an echoed call,
And sweeter than the softened waterfall ;
And lovely forms, as graceful and as gay
As wild-brier budding in an April day ;
How like the leaves — the fragrant leaves it bears,
Their simple purposes and simple cares.”

On Tuesday, at ten o’clock, A. M., the society, with gentlemen from every section of the State, assembled in the Senate chamber, where they had an opportunity of paying their respects to the venerable orator, and of being introduced to the delegates from the Historical Societies of other States. At eleven o’clock, the company moved in procession to the Centre Church, where the occasion had brought together a large concourse of people. On the stage were seated the President and other officers of the Society. Col. John Trumbull, Dr. Palfrey, of Mass., Prof. Elton, Vice President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Dr. Wm. Stevens, of Savannah, Recording Secretary of the Georgia Historical Society, Col. Stone, George Gibbs, Esq., and George Folsom, Esq., delegates from the New York Historical Society, Hon. David Daggett, Bishop Brownell, and others.

At two o’clock, P. M., the company assembled at Gilman’s Hall, and partook of an entertainment provided by Mr. E. C. Thompson, and which was highly creditable to his taste and enterprize.

The President of the Society, Mr. Day, presided on the occasion.

The following are the principal toasts, with the remarks which preceded or followed them, as far as they can be presented in a hasty sketch.

The constitution of 1639, the foundation and the frame-work of the civil institutions of Connecticut in 1840.

The President of the Society remarked :

In this age of locomotion, when every one is looking and going ahead, (except those who miss their foot-hold and fall back,) when all are climbing some mount Gerizim of our country, to partake of the blessings that crown its summit, and cluster down its sides ; it is refreshing to look out, through an opening at the half way resting place, and view the plains, and fields, and streams, below. And how greatly would it enhance the interest of the prospect, if there were one of the party, who could point out, among the distant objects, here, a green knoll that was the scene of his earliest years ; there, and old elm that shaded the school house of his boyhood : and near by, a new meeting house, set a little back from the site of the old one, where he united with a former generation in prayer and praise ! Would it not animate every countenance, were he to say : “ My experience in that school house, suggested some improvements in elementary instruction, that resulted in a series of publications for that purpose, that have since been multiplied by millions, and circulated through successive generations of almost the entire population of our country ! In that paternal man-

sion, and in that old meeting house, I imbibed those principles and formed those habits, which, by the grace of God, have thus far guided my steps, and enabled me to gain this eminence, and enjoy, as I now do, the long retrospect."

Such a patriarch we have with us : I need not mention his name. It is a name that is associated with the English language, wherever it is spoken or written ;— in portions of the globe to such extent, that the sun scarcely sets on one before it rises on another. It is he, who, half a century ago, unaided and uncheered, excited in the community, by the publication of the first edition of Winthrop's Journal, a taste for historical enquiries, which, like the vine that our forefathers planted, has since taken deep root, and filled the land, sending out its boughs to the sea, and its branches to the river. We are met this day to regale ourselves with its fruit. Gentlemen, I propose to you,

The venerable Orator of the day.

Dr. Webster responded briefly, and concluded with the following memoranda and toast, respecting his adviser in regard to the study of his profession.

Titus Hosmer, the father of the late Chief Justice Hosmer, was a native of Hartford, born in West Hartford, about a mile north of the church. He settled in Middletown. He was one of the most eminent men which Connecticut has produced. As a scholar, a jurist, a statesman, he had few equals ; and he was one of the fathers of the revolution. He had been a member of congress, and at the time of his death, in August, 1780,

he was a member of the Council, and Judge of the Maritime Court of Appeals. He died in the 44th year of his age, and no memoir of his life has been written.

The memory of Titus Hosmer, a native of Hartford, the distinguished scholar, jurist, senator, judge, and one of the fathers of the revolution.

The President then gave the following toast, which was received with great enthusiasm :

Our distinguished guest — the companion of Washington — who has combined, with eminent success, the truth of history with the embellishment of art.

Col. Trumbull responded in a few remarks, in which he said, pointing to the picture of Gov. Trumbull and his wife, that it was glory enough for him to have been born of such parents, to have enjoyed the confidence, and acted as the aid of that man, (pointing to the portrait of Washington,) and to have served as the secretary of John Jay. He concluded with this toast.

The memory of the heroes and sages of the revolution.
(Drank standing.)

Judge Daggett, on being called on by the President, remarked, that the fact of his being somewhat of “an antiquity” himself, might give some shadow of propriety to his appearing before this company — he remarked that though Connecticut was his adopted State, and he had spent the vigor of his life here, still he was a native of Massachusetts ; and while he was proud of Connecticut as the state of his adoption, he was proud of Massachusetts as the state of his birth — he loved them both — he was in the latter when the revolution broke out, and

could remember well the enthusiasm that then prevailed — he heard the guns during the battle of Lexington, from time to time during the day.

The Judge then passed to a consideration of the first law which was enacted in Connecticut two hundred years ago, and which, for more than a century and a half, was printed as a sort of declaration of rights on the first page of the statute book, down, indeed, to the formation of the new constitution, in 1818, when it was ramified out into our present bill of rights — this statute he said was copied from the laws of Massachusetts. He concluded with this toast :

Massachusetts — the vineyard whence our vine was transplanted — dear to Connecticut as the first refuge and home of Hooker and Haynes, and precious in the eyes of all men, as a noble illustration of what Freedom, Education, and Religion, could do for a people.

Dr. Palfrey responded in a half serious, half humorous speech, of which it is impossible to give even a sketch, but all calculated to urge the necessity of keeping alive the New England feeling, of doing all that we can to keep the sons and daughters of New England at home ; and if they must and will pour themselves out into the broad avenues of wealth and enterprize in the West, so to imbue them with love to the old homestead, the old church, the old school house, the old pastimes, customs, and peculiarities of New England, that these shall all be introduced into Wisconsin, Iowa, or a still more western region.

He concluded with an anecdote told him by a gentle-

man from Norwich, respecting the old Connecticut fashion of ringing the eight o'clock bell on Saturday night, and the orthodox dish of baked beans and pork, still observed by the emigrants from this State, in some parts Ohio.

The remotest town of the far west, where the dish of baked beans and pork is regularly served on Saturdays, and salt codfish on Wednesdays.

Georgia — her colonial and revolutionary annals present many proud titles to the respect and gratitude of her sister States.

Dr. Stevens, the delegate from the Georgia Historical Society, of which he is Recording Secretary, replied as follows :

I rise, Mr. President, to tender my grateful acknowledgments to yourself, and this assembly, for the very cordial entertainment you have given of the sentiments just expressed. I need not say how delightful it is to my feelings, surrounded as I am by the learned, and the eminent, to hear Georgia thus noticed. It was to reciprocate these courtesies, to gather with you at yonder Temple, and listen to the sage of New England, as he discoursed of former times, that I came hither. Joyful am I in bearing this commission; joyful am I to meet you this day, and proffer the fraternal hand; joyful am I to tell you, that though we are separated by a wide arc of the heavens — though we are surrounded by different institutions, yet we here meet in one common brotherhood, in that republic of letters which knows neither kingdom nor climes, and where the jarring sounds of political

strife never venture to intrude. There is here, sir, no north, no south; we know not the terms; we recognize no technical jealousies — we are all one; united in one object, and laboring for one end, and that the glorious one of rescuing the past from oblivion, and making permanent the brilliant annals of our common country.

It is unusual, sir, for me to address a public assembly. My profession leads me amidst the sad and sombre scenes of life; it holds no fellowship with noise and display; it takes me to the chamber of the invalid, to hear him sigh at the mockery of human wishes, and to the bedside of the dying, to see hope swallowed up in victory, or else extinguished in the gloom of unmitigated despair. Besides, sir, just arrived as I have, this very morning, from a voyage of unusual peril, and distress, and burdened with fatigue — demanding rest, both of body and mind, rather than exertion, I am the more unfitted to appear as the representative of the Georgia Historical Society; but on an occasion like this, silence would betray insensibility — and who does not feel the inspiration of this scene? Whose bosom does not swell with emotion as he casts his eye around this hall, upon the silent portraiture of the honored dead? No one! no one! Whose mind has not been carried back this day to Hooker, and Haynes, and Pynchon, the pilgrim fathers of Connecticut? Whose imagination has not this day portrayed the infant settlements of Hartford, and Windsor, and Wethersfield? Who has not, in fancy, heard the war-whoop of the Pequot, or witnessed the trials and sufferings of the early colonists? The page of history, blotted with the tears

and the blood of the puritan settlers, must be familiar to us all, calling up emotions of the most thrilling character.

It is one of the most interesting points, sir, in the study of colonial history, to trace out the various motives which originated the settlements of America. Nothing could be more various or contradictory than the causes which gave rise to them. Ponce de Leon came to search for that fabled fountain whose waters were the elixir of immortality; Willoughby, to discover a northern passage to Cathay; Smith, in the spirit of chivalrous adventure; Bradford and Carver, to enjoy purity of religion; Calvert, to extend the Papal faith; and Oglethorpe, to found a colony for the poor, and a refuge for those persecuted by the very religion which had prompted the settlement of Maryland.

And here, sir, I cannot but remark on the singular beneficence of the design of Oglethorpe. Persecution, from the time of Ishmael, had scattered its colonies in every land. Avarice had, for ages, unfurled its banners in every haven; but when, before the eighteenth century, was it ever known that benevolence and benevolence only, had founded and sustained a distant colony, to be the refuge of the indigent and distressed, and an asylum for the friendless and the persecuted? We challenge the annals of the world to produce such another instance of the political embodiment of charity! It stands alone, like the labors of Howard, sublime in its solitary greatness.

Far be it from me, sir, in the spirit of provincial pride, to eulogise this last colony of England's nursing, over

the older settlements of America. No, sir! A New Englander by birth, I shall never forget the Rock of Plymouth — a Georgian by adoption, I delight to remember the bluff of Yamacraw and the philanthropy of Oglethorpe.

But how, sir, shall I speak of Oglethorpe — him who was the grand mover in this scheme of humanity? Descended from titled ancestry, he received a higher patent of nobility from nature; a veteran in arms, while but a youth in years; the toga of manhood had hardly rested on his shoulders, ere he was found sitting in the councils of the nation; and maturity of years was yet wanting, when he conceived and executed this memorable design. Nor did he sit at home, in the retirement of affluence, waiting the issue of his undertaking. Far from it. He went forth with the first colonists, and shared the discomforts of the voyage, and the perils of the sea; gained for them the alliance of the neighboring savages, and repelled the invasion of the ruthless Spaniards; assisted in their councils, quieted their clamors, redressed their grievances, and, like Ulysses, “swayed his people with a father’s love.” Yea, more: when envy and ingratitude drove him from the province, his thoughts lingered with it; he watched its progress, advanced its interests, and when, on the breaking out of the war of the revolution, the ministry tendered to him the command of the armies destined to subjugate America, he thought of this his beloved offspring, his wonted humanity rose in his bosom, he refused the sword, and vainly struggled to shield the colonies from the impending blow.

It is unnecessary, sir, on this occasion, to trace out the progress of the settlement which he planted. In common with other American settlements, it had its days of darkness and adversity, and its seasons of sunshine and prosperity. It struggled into being burdened with the restrictive legislation of the trustees; it groaned under proprietary interference; it suffered the turmoils of invasion, the distress of famine, the evils of misrule, and all the miseries incident to a frontier province governed by a distant corporation, who were forbidden, by the express terms of their charter, to hold any property in the settlement over which they ruled. She did, indeed, pass under the cloud through the fire, but she came out triumphant; and though no colony had been more loyal or devoted to the interests of Great Britain, yet when she saw the hand of oppression uplifted in the stamp act, she promptly resisted such maternal usurpation; she joined in the cry of independence; she sent, at the first notice of the battle of Lexington, three thousand pounds of powder to the Bostonians, and the "Liberty Boys," as they were slurringly called, evinced the devoted spirit of freemen, not in the flaming declamation of demagogues, but in the resolute action of patriots. Need I tell you, sir, how Georgia conducted in that glorious war? Go to her battle fields, read of her exposures, listen to her tale of suffering, view the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, and regard the sacrifices of her citizens, and then tell me if Georgia did not fight nobly in the revolution!—if she did not win for herself a name dear to the heart of every American!

When the first provincial Congress was called, she, though so remote, sent her delegates; they were in Independence Hall when that "Declaration" was under discussion, and but for a single incident, beyond their control, the names of three Georgians, instead of one, would have been added to that memorable instrument.

It was to garner up events like these, to cherish the memory of the past, to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the history of our State, that the Georgia Historical Society was established. Two individuals who not a year since were lamenting the want of such an institution, and who were soon after joined by a third, like minded with themselves, originated the Society I humbly represent. Those three, after frequent and mature deliberation, called a meeting by circulars addressed to a number of gentlemen, at which the subject was freely discussed, highly applauded, and a committee of six appointed to present a constitution and by-laws for their government. That committee reported at a meeting convened on the 4th of June last, and upon the basis which they recommended, a society was then formed, officers elected, and it engaged, at once, in the active duties of its sphere. It was delightful to witness the harmony and interest which the topic produced — it congregated together the lawyer, the physician, the divine, the merchant and the planter — it excited a spirit of research. Many valuable documents and papers were placed in our library, and several of the most distinguished gentlemen in other parts of the State, enrolled themselves as members, and contributed to its archives. There was

one circumstance, however, which gave a spur to our operations, and which deserves to be recorded, as a noble example of legislative intelligence ; it was the depositing in our library, the colonial records obtained by the State, at a very great expense, from the foreign offices in London. By a resolution of the General Assembly of Georgia, in 1836, the Governor was authorized to depute a person to visit England, and procure every thing relating to the settlement and colonial existence of Georgia. That gentleman was the Rev. Charles Wallace Howard, who executed his commission with signal ability and success, by procuring twenty-two royal folio volumes of documents, replete with the most circumstantial details of the early history of our State. It is a collection of unrivalled value and richness ; it embodies every thing which the historian could desire, and places the annals of our State upon a sure and authentic foundation. This treasure, by a joint resolution of both Houses, the State has placed in our care. We point with exultation to those volumes, as the result of a wise and liberal legislation ; as showing a right guardianship of the annals of our State, and as evincing the interest with which the Assembly regarded our institution, when it confided these records to our custody. May this example be followed by every State ; may that enlightened spirit pervade the halls of every Commonwealth, until the records of colonial times shall be drawn out from the hidden repositories of European offices, and given to the world, under the superintendence of associations like those to which we severally belong. The first volume of our collections is now ready

for the press, whither it will be consigned this very month. It is made up, not of the records of which I have been speaking, but is composed partly of papers of earlier date, and partly from contributions from members. That volume will illustrate the origin and settlement of Savannah and Frederica; it begins with the beginning, and delineates, in a very graphic manner, what the colony was, under the personal supervision of its renowned founder. It is published in humble confidence that it will contribute to the historical literature of our country, and prepare the way for other volumes, of perhaps greater interest and importance. At all events, sir, it will be viewed with interest, as the production of a society, not yet one year old, and as being the first volume of the kind published by any similar association south of the Potomac. Think not, gentlemen, that while discoursing of Georgia and its Society, I have forgotten Connecticut, and this its learned association. No sir, far from it; I have ever felt a pride in the history of Connecticut. It is allied with every thing that is noble in patriotism, that is revered in piety, that is honored in learning; with every thing, indeed, that is good and great, and praiseworthy. Its institutions of literature, and its ordinances of religion, are its highest encomium, and the intelligence of your citizens, the universal dissemination of knowledge, and the elevated character of the popular mind, are better eulogies than all the rhetoric of eloquence. Happy, happy State, where these are the pillars of the Commonwealth, where the church and the school house are the fountains of virtue and renown,

where her sons are trained up in industry and intelligence, and her daughters are clothed with understanding and knowledge.

The State of New York — a worthy neighbor of New England.

William L. Stone, Esq., the senior member of the New York delegation, rose and spoke substantially as follows:

Mr. President — I rise with no small degree of emotion, and even of trepidation. How can it be otherwise, surrounded as I am, by such an array of the illustrious dead, whose forms are yet speaking to us from the canvas; — by the wise and venerable of the living, — and the eloquent of the young? In such an assemblage of the quick and the dead, and on such an occasion, it might well appal even a veteran debater to attempt an extemporaneous response to the toast that has just been given.

And yet, as my learned and eloquent friend from Massachusetts, (Prof. Palfrey) confesses to be the case with him, I cannot say that I did not expect to be called upon to say something at this festival. But, sir, if you know what it is for a printer to have his case thrown into *pi*, you can commiserate my situation, for my thoughts have been thrown into a like predicament. I did, as I confess, think it probable that I might be called upon to speak a few words; and for the want of time for preparation at home, I attempted to arrange a few thoughts while tossing upon the Sound in the narrow and sleepless berth of the steamboat last night. But my design, as

a New Yorker, was to speak *for New York*; and I attempted to bring together the legs and wings of a few ideas for that object. I thought I would discuss the **DUTCH HISTORY** of Hartford, and disclose to this assemblage the process by which you "came Yankee over us," and stripped us of our once beautiful possessions here.

Thus, sir, stood the case with me, until after I joined the procession of your Society to-day, — when a change was wrought in the current of my thoughts. And it was on this wise : — Soon after I entered the hall, my ancient and esteemed friend, (Colonel Ward,) — who is "a Guilford soul" — came up to me most pleasantly, and with a cordial shake of the hand, began to tell how happy he was to see me. "I am more glad to see you," he continued, "than any other stranger who has arrived — I was prodigiously afraid you would not come." Flattered by his kind and affectionate greeting, I was attempting to make my acknowledgments, but he continued — "The memory of Governor Leet is to be toasted, and if you had not arrived, as a Guilford man, I was to reply. Otherwise, the part was assigned to you." "O ho," I replied, "your joy, then, was not so great at seeing me, as at getting yourself out of a scrape."

Well, Mr. President, you perceive I was in a dilemma. All my steamboat cogitations might as well have been thrown overboard at once, for I was forthwith compelled to part with them, and set about drumming up such recollections as I best could, on the spur of the moment, in regard to the life and character of my venerable ances-

tor. And it was of him that I subsequently expected to speak, until when summoned upon my legs just now by a toast of New York!

Sir, I can perhaps best illustrate my present situation by an anecdote: We had in the New York legislature, some twenty years ago, a member from one of the western counties, — a very honest and worthy man, — who was returned several years by the influence of a large landholder in his county, whose interests he was accustomed to sustain in return. He was therefore familiarly called P—— C——h's member. And, as the old gentleman was not much of a speech-maker himself, it was slanderously reported that his patron wrote his speeches for him! This suspicion, or report, was more than confirmed by the following incident: His patron was interested in two bills during the session of 1820 or 1821, one of which related to the bounty for killing wolves, and the other was for the erecton of a bridge over the Alleghany river. He wrote for his member a speech for each of the bills, to be delivered at the proper time. But, as ill luck would have it, the old gentleman pulled the wrong paper out of his pocket, and delivered the *wolf speech* on the *bridge bill*! Now, sir, thrown into confusion as my thoughts have been, by the conflicting circumstances I have described, I fear that I, too, may make the wolf speech on the bridge bill, or commit some other blunder as bad.

But, sir, be that as it may, in reply to the toast in honor of my own State, it is as a New Yorker that I am bound first to speak. And here allow me to say, with all possible deference to yourself, Mr. President, and to gentle-

men present who may think otherwise, that I could not but remember, this morning, in the course of the steam-boat reflections to which I have already adverted, while winding our way along the upward course of your beautiful river, that this river, and the bright fields and rich intervals along its western margin, once belonged *to us* — **TO THE DUTCH**. Let me call your attention, sir, to the fact that it was **THE DUTCH** who were the first navigators of the Connecticut.

Before the colony was planted, they were invited to form a trading establishment here, by Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who then claimed to this river from the East, as the Dutch rightly did from the West; and they did so in 1633, under the administration of the renowned Walter Van Twiller. True, the Yankees of Plymouth interfered with their settlement very soon, and William Holmes and his company came creeping along up the river in a schooner, close at the heels of the honest Dutchman. The latter had built a Fort at the junction of the Little River, known to this day as “Dutch Point,” upon which they mounted two pieces of cannon; and when Holmes came along, they threatened to fire upon him. But their benevolence triumphed over their sanguinary designs, and Holmes passed on to the little river in Windsor, where he landed and erected a house, the adjusted timbers of which, Yankee-like, he had brought along with him — snugly stowed away under the deck! But the Dutch were here first, and erected the first building, and I would thank you, sir, to tell me how we were ever legally dispossessed? You did, indeed, “come Yankee”

over our Dutch simplicity. But how? There was once, Mr. President — so the legends tell — and honest Deacon in one of your Connecticut parishes — perhaps my reverend and venerable friend from Haddam, (the Rev. Dr. Field,) can tell which — who was sorely troubled at the Copernican system of the universe. He believed it to be unscriptural, and consequently untrue. He carried his doubts to the minister to be resolved. The latter, a scientific man, was of course a believer with Copernicus, that the sun was a stationary body, not revolving, as the deacon maintained, daily around the earth. In support of his opinion, however, the latter pointed the minister, with an air of triumph, to the story of Joshua, when he commanded the sun “*to stand still.*” “Very well,” rejoined the minister; “show me, if you can, the passage of scripture, where it is said that Joshua ever commanded the sun “*to move along again.*” Sir, in regard to this Dutch title, I ask you *to show me the papers* — **THE DEED OF CONVEYANCE OF DUTCH POINT TO YOU.** It cannot be produced. The Dutch were here first, and they maintained an independent government here, at the Point, for many years — until the fall of the “Niew Neitherlandts” into the hands of the English. And we were good neighbors on both sides. Very little difficulty occurred between the Yankees and the Dutch here, until the year 1646; and then neither party seems to have done much amiss.

The trouble arose in relation to a pretty squaw, who ran away from her employer, a Yankee, and was received into the Dutch Fort. I say “a pretty squaw,” although

the chronicles are silent upon that point. But had she not been pretty, I doubt whether the Dutch would have cared to receive her, or the Yankees made such an effort to get her back from them. This was under the administration of Governor Kiefft. But although an unkind feeling prevailed for a time, yet, four years afterwards, in 1650, when the brave and accomplished veteran, Peter Stuyvesant, came hither in person, the difficulties were all amicably arranged. And here I will take my leave of the Dutch history, in the hope that at least one of my colleagues, who is particularly well versed in New England and New Netherlands lore, will give it some further elucidation. I refer to my friend Mr. Folsom, than whom none can do it better. I am happy, also, to number as a colleague, a descendant of your own Wolcotts, a grandson of your last governor of that name, (George Gibbs, Esq.)

Meantime, Mr. President, allow me to advert to the other subject which was assigned to me, in the course of the morning, as I have already mentioned. I mean Governor Leet. William Leet, sir, was one of the ablest, most sagacious, and most learned, of the founders of New England. He was bred to the law in the parent country, and was, for a considerable period, clerk of the Bishop's Court, in Cambridge. It was while in that office, that, owing to the corruptions which he discovered in the church, and the oppressions of the Primate, Archbishop Laud, he felt it to be his duty "to come out from among them;" and he did so. In the year 1639, he led a band of about forty stout-hearted Puritans, to the New

World, and settled at Menunkatuck — afterward called Guilford. Never was a nobler band of men leagued together, than the founders of Guilford.

Among the associates of Leet were the learned and eloquent Whitefield, and the brave Disborough, who afterward returned to England, and figured splendidly in arms, in the armies of Cromwell. Mr. Leet was one of the “seven pillars” of the church of Mr. Whitefield. He was soon chosen a magistrate of New Haven Colony, afterward Deputy Governor, and was elected Governor in 1661. He was continued, by the people, Chief Magistrate of that Colony, until the union between the New Haven and Connecticut Colonies, in 1665. In 1669, he was elected Deputy Governor of the United Colony, to which office he was annually re-elected, until the year 1675, when, on the death of Governor Winthrop, he was chosen Governor. In this elevated station he was again continued by the people, until his death, in the year 1683. He was, sir, an able statesman, wise, and sagacious. He presided over the destinies of the Colonies — first of one, and then of the two united — in times of the greatest difficulties. He exercised an important influence in bringing about the union, although Winthrop was the agent who went abroad, and obtained the royal Charter, sanctioning the union, and guaranteeing the Constitution of 1639, the formation of which we are now celebrating.

He was a stanch friend of Cromwell, as the representative of the great principles for which Hampden bled, and Sidney died on the scaffold ; and when the pursuivants

of Charles the Second came to Connecticut in search of Whalley and Goffe, two of the regicides who had voted to send his majesty's father to the block, Governor Leet entertained the pursuivants in the parlor, while the regicides were in his cellar. He succeeded in spiriting them away in season, and the pursuivants followed them to New Haven. The regicides were kept by the Governor, for a considerable time, in the cellar of his barn — the sounds sometimes proceeding from which, and now and then the gleaming of a ray of light through the walls, gave rise to tales of the supernatural — to stories of witches and broomsticks — the circulation of which, for obvious reasons, the Governor did not care to discourage. — It kept prying curiosity at a distance. In a word, sir, Governor Leet was a remarkable man. A memoir should be written of him, and a history of Guilford, too, for its legends and its archives, are rich in historical materials. The people who planted it, were among the most intelligent, as they were the proudest of their race. In the language of one of the gifted men to which that fine old town has given birth — Halleck, the first of American bards — in whose veins also flows a stream of the blood of William Leet —

“’Tis a rough land of earth, and stone, and tree,
 Where breathes no castled lord or cabined slave;
 Where thoughts, and tongues, and hands, are bold and free,
 And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;
 And where none kneel, save when to heaven they pray,
 Nor even then, unless in their own way.

* * * * *

“ They love their land, because it is their own,
 And scorn to give aught other reason why ;

Would shake hands with a king upon his throne,
 And think it kindness to his majesty ;
 A stubborn race, fearing and flattering none!

* * * * *

“—————View them near

At home, where all their worth, and pride is placed,
 And there their hospitable fires burn clear,
 And there the lowliest farm-house hearth is graced
 With manly hearts, in piety sincere,
 Faithful in love, in honor stern and chaste,
 In friendship, warm and true, in danger brave,
 Beloved in life, and sainted in the grave.”

In the founding of the colony of Guilford, there was the same peculiarity, in one respect, that has been noted by the venerable orator to-day, in regard to Hartford.—The property was held in common by the colonists, or “planters,” as they were called, and for a long time afterwards — how long I do not recollect — but the ancient town records will show — no person was allowed to dispose of the whole, or any part, of his or her plantation, except by leave granted by a public vote of the town or colony. I say colony ; since Guilford, or rather Menunkatuck — for it was not called Guilford till 1643 — was in fact a colony by itself, for several years, having its own independent magistracy.

But to return to Governor Leet ; his whole official career gave demonstrations of a most excellent spirit — conducting himself with so much integrity and wisdom, as always to meet the approbation of the people. He died in Hartford, full of years and good works, leaving two sons, John and Andrew. The latter was a magistrate, and afterwards a Judge of the Superior Court, who

sat upon the trial of the witches, in Fairfield county, in 1692. Five years before, viz. when in 1687, Sir Edmund Andross came to Hartford, with a squadron of cavalry, to trample down the liberties of the people, and snatch from them the Charter of those liberties, when the lights were *accidentally* extinguished, to enable the bold Wadsworth to secrete the precious parchment roll, Andrew Leet is believed to have acted a prominent part in the stratagem.

And this incident, Mr. President, brings me, in the natural course of things, to speak of your own favorite CHARTER OAK, to which one of the speakers preceding me, has referred, and which is the theme of one of the beautiful odes sung during the exercises in the church.—The oak was a tree to which religious veneration was paid in the East, in the ages of the remotest antiquity, and it has ever been regarded as an emblem of durability and strength. It was not only because of their shade, always grateful in the hot countries of the East, that groves of the oak were highly prized. There was something sacred about them, in the estimation of the orientals.—These groves were esteemed proper places for religious services, throughout all the East, not only among the worshippers of the true God, but also among idolaters. Altars were set up under them; and appointments were made to meet under conspicuous oaks, for the transaction of business. Abraham resided under an oak, and planted a grove of oaks on the plains of Mamre. Rebecca's nurse was buried under an oak; and the same monarch of the forest spread his giant arms over Abimelech, when

he was anointed king by the Shechemites. Abraham entertained his angelic visitors under an oak. Indeed, the oak formed the favorite shade of the celestial messengers from heaven, to men, in those days, as we learn from the history of Gideon, who first discovered the angel who commissioned him as the Captain of his people, sitting under an oak. The oak of Abraham, was mentioned by Jerome and Eusebius, as remaining in their days, an object of profound veneration. Homer, Theocritus, and others of the ancient poets, consecrated the oak in their minstrelsy; and it was, doubtless, from the orientals, that the Druids imbibed their veneration for this tree, since their sylvan temples were formed,

“Where'er the oaks their branches spread
A deeper, darker shade.”

But there are historical, as well as poetical, associations, connected with the oak, which must ever endear it to the friends of chartered liberty in New England—especially to every son of Connecticut, and of Hartford in particular—wherever his lot may be cast, or however widely separated from his native land.

I need not remind this intelligent audience of the fact, that after the decisive defeat of Charles the Second, by Cromwell, at Worcester, he was indebted to the thick branches of an oak, in Boscobel, for concealment from his victorious pursuers, upon whom he looked down in perfect security. Now, had it not been for the Oak of Boscobel, Charles would have been taken and executed by the fierce and victorious presbyterian. Of course, in that event, he would not have granted the Charter of

1662, securing to the colony the constitution of 1639, and again, when in 1687, Sir Edmund Andross came hither to reclaim the Charter, had it not been for the dexterity of Wadsworth and his confederates, and the noble old oak, whose boughs, "moss'd with age, and bald with dry antiquity," yet braves the tempest, and "the scolding winds," what would have become of that priceless charter? Sir, I venerate "the gnarled and unwedgeable oak." I prize it for its poetical associations, and for its history. I prize it, because it sheltered the patriarchs — I regard it because the Anglo-Saxons loved and worshipped under it. I love it, because it saved Charles the Second, to give the Charter of 1662. And I value it still more, because it saved the Charter itself. Let me then give, as a toast —

The Oak of Boscobel, and the Oak of Hartford : — The latter saved the Charter of Connecticut, which but for the former, King Charles would not have lived to grant.

The toast was received with great enthusiasm.

Professor Palfrey remarked, that the toast and remarks of his friend from New York reminded him of a traditional anecdote, connected with the same subject — the Oak of Boscobel. It is well known to antiquarians, said Mr. P., that the colony of Massachusetts ventured upon the coining of money at a very early day — as soon indeed, as the accession of Charles II. On one side of their coin, was a pine tree. Charles was indignant at this bold interference with the royal prerogative, of which fact he became apprised while Winthrop was in London, applying for the charter, and he threatened

to *punish* his usurping subjects, instead of granting them further privileges. One of his courtiers, however, a friend of the Colony, called his majesty's attention to the tree, and assured him that it was intended to represent the Oak of Boscobel — being, in fact, (as he adroitly said,) a loyal medal, struck in honor of his majesty's preservation by that tree. This view of the case had the intended effect. The King was pacified, and granted the charter. Trumbull, the historian of Connecticut, relates a different circumstance as having had a favorable effect upon the mission of Gov. Winthrop to obtain the charter. "Mr. Winthrop had an extraordinary ring which had been given his grandfather by King Charles the First, which he now presented to the King. This, it is said, exceedingly pleased his majesty, as it had once been the property of a father, most dear to him. Under these circumstances, the petition of Connecticut was presented, and was received with uncommon grace and favor."

Extracts from the letter from the President of the "Pilgrim Society."

Boston, April 18, 1840.

* * * * *

The *Plymouth Pilgrims*, who were really the pioneers in the settlement of New England, visited Connecticut river at Windsor, two years before any of the people of Massachusetts, and exercised some acts of ownership in that vicinity. Nor should this be considered evidence of a grasping disposition in them. The spot where they settled was far from being fertile ; and they soon looked around for other places, either for future settlement by

their posterity, or for purposes of fishing and trade, to pay off the debt incurred by their emigration.

But there was no unpleasant collision, or rivalry between them and the companies under Warham and Ludlow, at Windsor, in 1635, or under Hooker, Stone, and Haynes, at Hartford, in 1636. The claims of the Dutch, set up a few years before, they did not admit; and had these insisted on holding the place and excluding the *Plymouthians*, it is not probable they would have quietly submitted. They might have sent the *brave Standish*, with thirty *smart lads*, (as Gov. Winslow called the men who composed his company,) and he, no doubt, would have dispersed them, as he did the enemies of the Pilgrims, on other occasions.

When the whole English settlements in New England were in imminent danger from hostile combinations and movements of the Pequots, in 1636 and '37, *Standish*, of Plymouth, was prepared to march with a company, as well as *Stoughton*, of Massachusetts, to assist in putting down the savage enemy, whose immediate object was the destruction of the settlers on Connecticut river. But the brave *Mason*, of Hartford, by his extraordinary promptness and heroism, defeated the formidable foe, and reaped all the glory of the conquest. In the subsequent periods, when one colony was in danger, the people of the others cheerfully rallied for its defence and safety.

* * * * *

The union of the four colonies in 1642, and for many years following, was evidence of the similarity of their views, as well as proof of their wisdom in providing such

a measure for the common safety. In the critical period of 1775, when the capital of Massachusetts was in possession of a military force from Great Britain, with a view to deprive the people of the province of their liberties, Connecticut was among the first to send forth its brave sons for their defence.

* * * * *

ALDEN BRADFORD.

CORRECTIONS.

I am requested to correct the following errors ; I do so with pleasure, with the single remark, that I got my information, in *every instance*, in New Haven, from those who ought to have known when they were stating facts, and when not.

First, Col. Gibbs' collection of minerals, (see page 264, vol. 1.) I am instructed to say, "*it was gratuitously loaned to the college during 15 years, and in 1825 it was purchased for \$20,000, of which sum, \$14,000 was pledged by individuals, both in and out of the State.*" See the same page, (264) leave out after professor Silliman, to the bottom of the paragraph. The arrangement was upon a plan adopted by Col. Gibbs.

Page 265, vol. 1. At the close of the paragraph on the library, read as follows : "This is a great mistake — until recently there was hardly the shadow of a library fund, but now a donation of \$10,000 from the late Dr. Perkins of Norwich, is beginning to be productive."

"The account of the libraries is very deficient.

"The society libraries belonging to the students contain many thousand of volumes, and several of the professors have extensive private libraries — probably 35,000 to 40,000 volumes in the whole." I was shown a catalogue, and I asked the number of volumes. The answer was, about 10,000.

Page 266, vol. 1. Judge Baldwin ; after the word "formerly," in the second line, say, "a Judge of the Superior Court of the State, and a member of Congress."

Page 26, vol. 1. Read, free schools established in Boston, in 1640.

☞ After the author's letter to General Jackson. (page 95, vol. 2,) read, — To this letter no answer was returned.

Page 171, vol. 2. Reminiscences by Doctor Webster, instead of "1769." that he shouldered his musket, read 1777. The error was in the copy.

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