

## CHAPTER V

### *The Annals of Tennessee: Letters of a Historian*

Draper Manuscripts<sup>1</sup> 6 XX 12

Mecklenburg

September 20, 1845

My Dear Sir

Your kind and valuable favors of February 19 and of August 11 were received by due course of mail and I write now more to acknowledge their receipt than to reply to them. I would feel it necessary to make a long minute apology for so long delay in doing so and to ask you to forgive the apparent incivility—more, the absolute neglect—did I not recollect that you were in some degree acquainted with the incessant demands my business (chiefly professional) has upon my time. I intended to answer your letters in detail, and carefully and put off from week to week the business of replying to them, hoping every week to have a little more leisure. And now at the end of nearly seven months I can only excuse myself by the reflection that in that time I have not had *one leisure hour*—and especially since your last favor came to hand I have not set at my desk five minutes at a time unless when writing prescriptions. After I left the bank I found it necessary to *nurse* my practice a little which I necessarily had to some extent relinquished while financing. I advertised accordingly, and I have been overwhelmed with its duties ever since. And just now is our sickly season and I scarcely eat one regular meal at home or abroad—and some days do not even see all of my own family. Under these circumstances it would be injustice to you to myself, to the truth and accuracy of history to attempt to answer your inquiries etc., etc. But I will not lose the opportunity of telling you that *I will write to you* (I hope

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<sup>1</sup>Dr. Ramsey made but the most casual reference to his *Annals of Tennessee* in his Autobiography. That the work consumed much of his time and thought, however, is evident from the letters given in this chapter. Dr. Ramsey wrote frequently to his fellow historian, Lyman C. Draper, and they exchanged information and material. The letters in this chapter are from the Draper manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The cryptic symbols at the beginning of each letter refer to the library's classification of the material. Those labeled "XX" are the "Tennessee Papers," "C" are "Boone manuscripts."

some time soon) on the several topics of your letters [and] give you all the information upon them in my possession. It will not be of much importance or value to you but what ever I have will be very cheerfully communicated.

Do accept my thanks for your kindness, and do me the justice to believe that I duly appreciate it, and excuse me, I beg you, once more for any delay that may occur before I may find time to reciprocate your favors in kind. My family is well and myself better than usual. While all around me are sick I am constantly able to make visits to the extent of twenty or thirty miles daily.

Yours Respectfully and Sincerely  
*J. G. M. Ramsey*

P. S. I cannot omit to add how much we are pleased in Tennessee to feel ourselves again restored to the Republican family. Polk's administration is very popular. My "Annals" will come down to its close. *J. G. M. R.*

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 25

Mecklenburg  
 October 26, 1846

I have a proposition to make to you to which I invite your deliberate attention. I have in my possession *nearly all* the materials necessary for the (first volume of) History of Tennessee. The mass is so large, and the labor of arranging it for publication so Herculean that I advance so slow in its performance as to lead me sometimes to despair of accomplishing it till the shades of the evening of life shall begin to darken around me. My cares increase and my public and private duties multiply so as to leave me too little leisure to devote to a work that ought to be so well done as to reflect credit on myself—and upon my native State.

The proposition then I have to make to you in confidence is that we put our capital together, form a partnership in the work, and finish it at once. The proposition is a novel one to me. It is doubtless so to you. Still I see no insuperable obstacle. Let me hear in reply your opinion. Excuse me again for neglecting my last promise. I have a valid excuse. Not one hour of perfect leisure have I seen in the last year.

Draper Manuscripts 17 C 12

January 17, 1848

Yours of January 6 was received by last mail. I hasten to say in answer that the only narrative I can find (and I believe the only one I have) on the campaign to Point Pleasant, alias the Kanawha campaign, is one from Robert Campbell. You say "I recollect your reading to me some notes of Colonel John Sawyers about Point Pleasant Battle" etc., etc. As I read to you probably I accompanied it with some remarks or recollections of my own in which Colonel Sawyers' agency in that battle and victory was incidentally mentioned. Certain it is that after a pretty general search I cannot find any narrative from or of him except an excellent one relating to Kings Mountain. While therefore an amanuensis is copying from Campbell's narrative the part of it relating to the engagement, as being most relevant probably to your object, I add to it what I have heard from authentic sources.

The battle had continued all day with no decisive effect—certainly none assuring even ultimate victory to the whites. The night was approaching and it was evident that without a desperate assault made at once upon a defense from which the Indians were making their deadliest fire, the conflict would not be terminated in daylight and that in that event the result might be disastrous. Col. Sawyers (not then an officer, but a volunteer under Captain Evan Shelby from what is now Tennessee, then North Carolina) had observed all day that Cornstalk and his best warriors were giving a most destructive fire from a temporary breastwork to which, when driven from other points, they always rallied and from which they renewed the assault and prolonged the conflict, proposed to the commanding officer to lead an attack upon this strong position of the enemy and capture it. The suggestion was approved, and acted on. Sawyers, with less than eighty men who followed him, drove out the Indians and decided the fortunes of the day. I suppose your notes on the incidents, dates, etc., of that campaign are full. It would give me pleasure to add to them.

I have a facsimile of an inscription upon a tree still standing in Washington County—not far from Boon's Creek. N. Gammon, Esquire of Jonesboro Tennessee kindly procured it for me. It is about twenty inches by fifteen in tolerably plain letters yet.

DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY

D. Booncilled A. Bar on  
Tree

in the

year

1760.

This date is earlier by some years than that usually given as the time at which he first crossed the Alleghenies. I have no doubt of the authenticity of this singular memorial of the great western pioneer and adventurer. Tradition points out close by this tree his camp—a natural one made by rocks and in the center of what is known to have been fine hunting ground. I am trying to get an engraving or plate made of this inscription. Will send you a copy.

I am glad to hear you speak so favorably of your success in procuring matter for George Rogers Clarke. When I had the pleasure of seeing you here did I show you what the Blount MSS say of him? Write me and if I have anything you have not I will send it at once. I recollect that he mentions him with enthusiasm. Thank you for inquiring at Richmond for the Seviers, Robertsons, etc. Carter's settlement was believed to be in Virginia and I had hoped to find in her archives something about the temporary government that the first settlers adopted previous to the Revolution.

The preceding part of this narrative refers to the organization of the army—the wilderness it had to pass through, roads, mountains, supplies, etc., and not being very important is here omitted.

“At the levels of Green Briar, it was judged, that the necessary supply of provisions was not obtained. Colonel Christy and his division were ordered to remain till they could make up the desired amount and then to follow the main body. The whole amounted to fifteen hundred men, under the command of General Andrew Lewis. The object of this expedition was to burn up the Indian towns on the Ohio and its tributaries, and compel the Indians to sue for peace. The main body advanced to the fork of land included by the rivers Ohio and \_\_\_\_\_ and took station on this level, guarded on both sides by the rivers, which were too wide for the enemy to shoot across. Here they lay in waiting for Christy, with his supply of provisions to join them.

The country was full of game, and individuals were permitted, at their personal hazard to rove in its pursuit. On the tenth of October nearly by

daybreak, two men had advanced a mile from the camp, and ascending a piece of ground, at its first rise from the river bottom, when they were suddenly met, and fired upon by the Indians. One of them was killed. The other succeeded to run back to the camp. A regiment was quickly ordered to advance. It did so in two lines. The Indians met them in a numerous body, fired and shouted to the charge. The first line of our men was driven back to the second, and this stood and begun the fight. The second regiment was ordered to support it, and then the third, which made up the whole army present, except the guard, which remained with the general camp. The battle lasted with various fortune till dark, when the fires on both sides gradually ceased. The Indians drew off with what dead they could throw into the river. And our men kept possession of the field.

Our men fought to great disadvantage through the day. The Indians, at the first of the action, possessed themselves of a natural breastwork consisting of a bank, ten feet high, of a winter rivulet running into the Kanawha, but at this season of the year dry. From this position they fought with security. For the British commander Lewis took not the precaution to send a party of Americans to ply their rifles from the heights behind. Had this been done, little chance would have remained of an action so long continued, and so deadly to the ranks of the American soldiers. He remained in camp at no other risk of personal safety, than what might arise in the event of a total defeat of his troops. His brother Charles Lewis fell bravely in the first onset of the battle. The Indians here were estimated at one thousand and our own men numbered about the same. The loss of the Americans was \_\_\_\_\_

In the meantime a runner had gone from the main body to meet Colonel Christy, and apprise him of the presence and attack of the Indians. Receiving this intelligence he left his baggage and cattle unprotected, and by a rapid march, arrived at headquarters late at night. Fortunately the Indians had no notice of his baggage, and left it unmolested. The next day he returned, collected his provisions, and brought them to the camp. Our troops now rested, made a block-house for their sick and wounded men and proceeded eighty miles to Scioto river. Governor Dunmore in the meantime, advanced with an equal army to Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, descended the Ohio, made peace with the Indians, and thus opportunity saved them from the havoc of our men. Hostility was growing between the British and Americans, and it was policy for the former to keep

peace with the Indians. When our troops returned to Kanawha, they were disbanded. And in groups of five or six, as they could best agree with one another, retraced their path, at immense hazard, privations and toil, through this desolate wilderness.

The pay of a common soldier was a quarter of a dollar; that of the commissary a dollar more. This payment was made in specie. End of Mr. C's narrative.

I shall have a broken link in my annals if I cannot supply it in Virginia. Pray keep the subject in mind and if even a ray of light dawns upon it let me hear from you. I thank you for the list you have enclosed me of new works. I shall order some of them. I add something daily to the material of my work but am sorry to tell you that other pursuits have still so much engrossed me that I have done very little on the work itself. And worse, my notes, papers, etc., are exactly in such a condition that if Providence should in his wisdom cut short my life, the *full* history of Tennessee will never be written. This reflection sometimes makes me feel unhappy. The president kindly gave me an appointment and I would have accepted and gone to Mexico but that I would have had to drop my pen for a few years at least, and perhaps forever.

Our Society did receive some of the papers of the Maryland Historical Society. Its first volume of transactions will be interesting.

My family reciprocates your remembrance of us. When will you visit the West? Excuse my haste and if I ever appear—what I am sensible I never am—not punctual or tardy on my answers ascribe it, I beg you, to no unneighborly feeling or disesteem of your *realized* correspondence and believe me ever yours gratefully.

Draper Manuscripts 17 C 13

September 18, 1851

I was glad to learn your whereabouts and your welfare by yours of July 29 which I found on my table on returning from one of my rambles. I have so much to do lately with locomotives that my movements have become erratic and ubiquitous. Am seldom long enough at home to write any but business (railroad) letters. Hereafter I will be more stationary.

Facts are so stubborn that we cannot, even when we would, alter or accommodate *dates*. It is so with my Boon inscription. I can't make 1 out of the 0. No way I can fix it. I could easier make 9 out of the last figure

in the date by supposing the lower part of it to be obliterated by the growth of the bark and the progress of time. And that date 1769 would well correspond with the first settlement of other pioneers of Tennessee on our upper tributaries. What do your contemporaneous narratives do in support of that reading? Tell me. Also how does 1760 correspond with the true period of Boon's nativity? (for I notice accounts differ on this subject). I have not yet had it facsimilied. The state of hostility at that time between the Indians and Carolina and Virginia has not much in it. The country on the Watauga was never in the occupancy of the Chero—but was a hunting ground common to Cherokees, Shawnees, traders, and hunters, Spanish, French and American—and Boon cared for neither. That place was not one hundred miles from the border settlements—head of Yadkin and Kanawha.

I am progressing so well as to contemplate the issue of my volume (at Charleston) in 1852 and but for my agency in the service of Tennessee would have printed this year. That agency will absorb me less hereafter and will cease altogether, I hope, in six months. What takes you to Cincinnati? Hang them free-soilers—let them publish for the Mormons and abolitionists. No *Union* loving author should go there.

The Historical Society at Nashville had a hasty accouchement, breathed once after it got into its nurse's lap, gave a convulsive gasp to let its aunts and its cousins know that it had vitality enough to squeal, gave a wild stare upon its seniors, and suddenly swooned away. Some of the doctors say expired. I hear nothing of it since. Don't you observe that *Commerce* chokes the growth of any such infants? It does not furnish the pabulum by which science and literature are nourished. A wealthy merchant here the other day asked me what would be the price of my volume? "I want," said he, "to get one if the price is not too high—put me down for one anyhow." I replied, "If you want to act your part *gracefully*, take at least fifty—a free Negro if he could read will take one." I want no such patrons. Let my book rot first on the shelves. He represents the commerce of the country. Yankeedom is taking a vigorous growth everywhere.

Excuse this irrelevancy. Call to see us on your way West. We should compare notes. Let me hear from you soon and often.

P. S. What do you think of engravings in such a work as mine? Whom would you recommend? Will woodcuts detract from the value of my volume? Such as you see in *Howe's Virginia*.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 31

November 4, 1851

I have lately visited in person all the Franklin counties. Amongst other places of interest which I examined was the "Long Island" and the battle ground near it. I can't understand it satisfactorily. You once told me you had found an official account of the Island Flats battle in an old file of newspapers for 1776. Can you favor me with your notes and accounts of it? Especially its exact *date*? Is there in your possession anything essential about *Donelson's* voyage omitted in his journal?

I am progressing well and without saying one word as to the *manner* of my book I can promise you in advance much really new and interesting.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 32

January 30, 1852

Yours of January 5 is before me—received two mails back (probably detained by ice) and found me absorbed in the closing up of disbursements to the amount of \$343,216.50 leaving me yet to disburse \$11,437.67 before I am through my agency for state expenditures on E. T. & G. R. R. I mention figures to excuse myself for even a day's delay in replying. Money is out of my mind now and I can write *ad libitum*. If you sent me official account of Long Island Flat battle it miscarried and I am sorry to trouble you for another. It will still be in time. Your date of that affair, July 20, 1776, conflicts, as you observe, with Haywood—and (I add if you do not correct me) with me too. You will find in Howe's *Virginia (Washington County)*. I have lent the volume and cannot therefore cite the page) that in a small attack near Abingdon, Virginia, July 4, 1776, William Cresswell was killed there and his ashes repose in the graveyard—indicated by a stone with his name and this date. Now I have known his son Andrew Cresswell all my life and he has told me frequently that his father William Cresswell was in the battle of the flats—that he was the man who accused one of the captains (who is in my notes nameless) of cowardice—that the said captain, after he reached the fort, became very brave and wished to vindicate his honor by a fight with W. Cresswell

when he, Cresswell, struck him with his gun, etc. My narrator, Andrew Cresswell was the best authority I could ask for and I suspect *July 20* is a mistake for *June 20*. How is it? Do put me right if I am wrong. Other circumstances favor the earlier date. After the Long Island affair the Indians went up Clinch and fell upon the settlements north of Black's station and the fourteen days would about be required to reach there July 4 when William Cresswell was killed. This investigation will cost you some trouble, but the date is important and I beg you to look into it. Does the official account you allude to mention the day? The date of the affair between Tipton and Sevier is erroneously given by Haywood and others as February 3. It was the last day of February 1788 of which I have full proof. My work is unlike those you mention and does not go by counties. The annals of Tennessee in exact chronological order. I had not intended many plates or cuts and no profiles or portraits. Will be obliged for the name of a good and cheap engraver in wood. Must I see him to give the outline of say King's Mountain, Knoxville as it was in 1791, and Nashville in 1783 or 4, and such places? Could one be induced to go to my publishers, say Charleston? Again. Whether I have plates etc. or not, I intend to accompany or have inserted in my book at least three maps; 1770, 1780 and 1790 and perhaps 1800—showing the progressive settlement up to that time. How will I get that done and by whom? Can that be done without an interview with the engraver? or the cerographer? Morse? These will add greatly to the interest and value of my several decades. I have not a single number of the (Nashville) "Museum." I have not seen Peck's Boone—Howe's Great West, nor Parkman.

One word on politics. Chaos reigns in our party—not so much in Tennessee as in the Union throughout. No one of the present more prominent aspirants can be nominated and if he were has not availability enough to be elected. Butler possibly might be, but even his chance is questionable. I am for him and so is Tennessee. But it will be at Baltimore in June as it was in 1844. The convention will not harmonize but will have to take up a *new* man. That is Trousdale. Mark what I say. I said this in 1843 and that Polk would *be the nominee*.

When you go West again come by me. You cannot believe how such a visit would please and help me. I have mentioned you in my *Annals*. Come this spring and let me show you some of my chapters. I have an invaluable and interesting work. I mean to say nothing by this of the manner of it—but the material. Excuse haste—as I am interrupted by an

unexpected call since I began. My family reciprocates your civilities. We celebrated the eighth by giving away another daughter. This one to T. H. Dickson, M.D., late of Charleston S. C. Write me if I can return any of your historical favors, and believe me.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 34

February 20, 1852

I cannot express my obligations for your last favor—favors rather. The official account of the Island Flat battle is the very thing I needed. That as given by Haywood and others is not satisfactory. The date of it, July twentieth, is undoubtedly correct. Still you will not wonder at my skepticism when I tell you that I *knew* Cresswell was in the battle and as the inscription on his tomb says he was killed July fourth. I was hesitating how the dates could be reconciled. Your solution of the difficulty is doubtless correct—that the error is on the tombstone which is easily accounted for. It was put down from memory, or perhaps tradition. I will make the official account you sent me the basis of my pages about it. I feel relieved by knowing it is correct. I have not Force's work, and may not soon have an opportunity to examine it, and will therefore be greatly obliged if you will send me as you kindly intimate the documents about the origin of the Cherokee outbreak. I am sorry to impose so much trouble on you. Perhaps a sketch of them and dates would suffice (I have the evidence, etc., of the course Captain John Stuart and Cameron adopted to incite the Cherokees against the whites. Is that *Henry* Stuart?) I would like though, very much to have the letter of Henry Stuart to the frontier people—a copy of which was sent to Watauga—and will thank you for it. By a singular piece of good luck I have the original reply of Colonel William Preston to the Watauga Committee dated June 3, 1776. He promises them lead and powder and gives an order on Colonel Callaway at Fort Chiswell for them and acknowledges receipt of the deposition of Bryan (much the same as that of Janett Williams). If it would be at all desirable to you to have it let me know and I will forward you a copy. I observe what you say of Captain Gist. Let me copy for your eye just here a few lines (and if you desire it I will hereafter send you the whole) from the "Instructions to Colonel William Christian commander-in-chief of the forces on the expedition against the Cherokees" . . . : "you must insist on their . . .

and giving up to justice all persons amongst them [the Cherokees] who have been concerned in bringing on the present war—particularly Stewart, Cammeron, and *Gist*, and all others who have committed murders and robberies on the frontier." Do you say *he* joined Christian?

I am daily expecting Wheeler's volume. I have corresponded with him since '48. Will I get anything from it? Your letters always give me something valuable. I am relieved by seeing William Cocke signed to that official report. *He* wrote Haywood's account of the battle and I had heard of his conduct there as rather disparaging him. But he fought so well afterwards in South Carolina and in the Creek war of 1814 that I was and still am unwilling to believe he faltered. He would scarcely have been allowed a participation in officially communicating the report with Thompson and Shelby if he had not behaved well. Still Cresswell told him differently at Heatons the same day. I cannot get you to say whether *illustrations* would become my book. I have somehow got the impression that they are considered as an essential appendage to works of no solid and genuine merit, but that books of sterling value are not expected to have them. Am I correct? I want no one to buy me merely for the *pictures*. Maps are a different thing, and some of my pages are almost unintelligible without them—especially my account of the settlement of the county south of French Broad and Holston and west of Big Pigeon. I saw Orr last year in New York. He seemed to think that I would have to get an artist first to daguerreotype for me or something of the kind and he could then engrave the battlegrounds, court houses, etc.

You can hardly get me into politics this fight. I want to be not on the pensioned but retired list. Our Democratic State Convention will not agree to it though, as they on the eighth of January assigned me again the position of chairman of the central committee—a place they have imposed on me since 1839. I must leave it to the younger Democrats to do the labor. I will be one of the council. I do not think Mr. Cass has much chance for the nomination and less for success if he should be the nominee. He is not available, was once badly beaten and is no stronger now. He is not new nor fresh enough for a good leader. His strength is amongst the politicians and that is defeat itself. The masses north, south, east and west are not for him. They are against him. Your New York friend and correspondent I think is greatly mistaken. In all this I speak only for myself and not for Tennessee. Polk's friends here are not for anyone specially but I think our platform will be the doctrines of 1798. State sovereignty,

state rights, anti-consolidation, strict adherence to the constitution. If Mr. Cass would plant himself manfully on this platform we may go for him but not otherwise. I still believe all the old set should be dropped—Douglas and Houston, too, and either Trousdale, Butler or some new man put on the track. Kossuthism is a weight no one can carry south of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and no one can get along without some help from that quarter.

I will be careful in the allusions I make to you in my book to mention your intended publications on Tennessee, her pioneers, and the Southwest in general. Be as specific on the subjects, plan, etc., in your next letter to me as you choose and I will make the reference accordingly.

I am sorry you postpone your visit to us till steam will unite Knoxville and Cincinnati. We will both be old men before that time. Knoxville will soon be a terminus on a railroad and I hope the facility of reaching it will some day soon give me the pleasure of welcoming you at our home. My family and myself will be always pleased to see you.

P. S. I placed the date 1799 at the head of my pages yesterday. You see I am almost through—my first volume terminating with that year.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 35

March 18, 1852

Yours of March third reached me a mail or two since. I reply before I file it away and in its order. Am greatly obliged for the whole of it. The letters from Stuart to Gage I had seen and commented on. Your remarks on them however are new and of course useful. I had also the depositions of Aaron Smith and David Shettise. But the letter of Henry Stuart and the deposition of Nathan Read *are entirely new* and are the very things I needed. I cannot tell you how much you have obliged me by sending them.

I knock under about Gist. I have no alterations or erasures though, to make about him as I had used none of the *censuses* made by Preston and other narrators in my possession to his disparagement. Preston, May 1775, classes him amongst "our worst enemies." Lane imputes "most of the mischief" to him. I have no need to assail or criminate him. Now you have got him vindicated by Evan Shelby and Russell. I feel disposed rather

to mention him favorably as some of the same name were the pioneers and soldiers of upper East Tennessee.

*Martin's* Campaign of '81. I know no authority for this but Haywood. He gives it in February. This is hardly probable, though as he confines the expedition to "between Little Tennessee and Tellico" it is possible a short excursion that far may have been made by him. Not one of *my* narratives mentions Martin or his excursion then. I said hardly probable because as late as January fourth Sevier, Arthur Campbell, and Major Martin (as agent) held a conference with the Cherokees at Coyata in their nation stipulating that they should meet early in the spring and form a treaty (see Campbell's letter to Governor Jefferson) out of which grew the treaty. Commissioners appointed by General Greene (see Johnson's life of Greene). But Sevier had two campaigns very much alike as to the amount of men and their results. Both pursued the same route, both had battle on Boyd's Creek. All my narratives agree in this—the captains were different and prisoners taken different—number of killed nearly the same. One in 1779—the other in November and December 1780 and part of January '81 just after his return from King's Mountain. Indeed, as the army returned from there as soon as it had crossed Catawba and the prisoners were safe, Sevier sent one of his captains (Russell) direct home across the mountain from an apprehension that in the absence of so many men and guns from the settlement the Indians would break out and destroy them. Russell retained his command as then organized and the moment Sevier reached home he went forward at the head of Russell's company and a few others, had his hard battle at Boyd's Creek and there waited for Colonel A. Campbell to come on with supplies and reinforcements—and then went as far south as to see Cypress swamps and long-leaved pines—Oustinalla and Coosa. It could not have been William Campbell that is mentioned as being at Patrick Henry in '81—as he was then with his regiment with or marching to General Stevens' command preparatory to Guilford Court House battle.

It is very hard to make all these narratives in books and manuscript dovetail. I am trying to be accurate and minute. I have got Wheeler and have read it. As to Franklin he gives nothing new. I wonder at this the more as many materials were in his reach at Raleigh. It gives me the more room though and I have taken it.

You say you will draw on me and with interest too when you get to the Tennessee pioneers. I will be ready for your drafts, especially when my

first volume is off my hands. There is a good deal of material which I cannot insert. It would make my volume too clumsy. My figures were 1799 not 79. If the latter I would give up and quit, as everything nearly follows that date. Still with all that progress I am still busy. I wish to *locate* some facts—particularly in Cumberland—examine some old maps, get more information about distances from point to point, etc. You see in the *Whig Review* the massacre and captivity of Brown. I had that narrative six years ago, verbatim and literatim as far as it is accurate. You have much about *General* Martin of West Tennessee. I am promised the narrative of a *Martin*. I suppose the same. Has it much general Tennessee history in it? I won't let Sevier's own letters go out of my hands till I hear from you what will be of most service to your work.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 39

April 15, 1852

Yours of March 28 is received. I have persisted in writing to you for the purpose specially of getting you to be more specific (as you promised in your second letter that you would be but which you have failed to do) as to the *announcement* I might make in reference to your forthcoming publications.<sup>2</sup> Twice I have referred to you gracefully for information and connection of dates received from you. If I could serve you by stimulating public expectation and avidity to read you by a less general reference, a more specific enumeration of the subjects of the work you are preparing, it would give me a most real pleasure. Think of it and if you think proper send it before I go to press. (October 1852.)

I say this before it is forgotten or omitted in what follows. In not a single narrative out of the hundreds I have read and have on hand in manuscript have I received the slightest allusion to Martin's separate expedition of 1781. Haywood alone mentions it. I have therefore omitted it, though I occasionally adopt him as authority in other cases. I have an

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<sup>2</sup> Even as Dr. Ramsey was finishing his *Annals*, his correspondent, Draper, who was looking for employment, wrote his old friend, former Congressman William B. Campbell, asking about a rumored legislative appropriation for a historian for Tennessee. Draper had heard of the appropriation from Colonel A. W. Putnam of Nashville. Campbell corrected the impression that the legislature had appropriated a thousand dollars for the purpose, but promised his influence to secure the appointment of Draper to any such subsidized task. "I think you would be able to produce a work far superior to any that could be prepared by Doctor Ramsey," said Campbell, while Colonel Putnam's contemplated work on Sevier would "be little less than a eulogy . . . with a great deal of romance and old Womanish traditions." William B. Campbell to Draper, March 23, 1852. Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 36.

official letter from Martin to Sevier giving an account of a short expedition which he carried on north of Clinch and in which on his return he diverged south nearly to *Chota*. He saw no enemy and of course did nothing.

But—Were the expeditions of 1779 and of 1780–81 the same? I have been perplexed with the coincidences that occur in each, but have greater perplexities when I assume that they are identical and the same affairs. All my narratives agree with Haywood on page 61 that Walton and Tipton commanded with him, etc., in 1779 and I can find nothing to conflict with that. There I have the military records or official proceedings of the officers called November 20, 1780, in which after enumerating the officers such as were to go immediately on the requisition of General Davidson across the mountain, and such as were to go on the “present expedition to rendezvous at Jonesboro on the 30th instant.” The names of Walton and Tipton are not mentioned in the latter. My narratives harmonize in giving the battle on the same creek (Boyd’s)—though not at the same place, but ambuscaded in the same way. Captain Elliott of Sullivan was the only man killed in 1780: nobody in 1779. Different captains and actors in the several parts of the expedition are given in each set of narratives and the two campaigns pretty well made out though not perfectly satisfactory. The case is very similar to Grant’s and Williamson’s invasions from South Carolina. They passed over the same war trace, were fought at the same point and ambuscaded in the same fortress precisely though carrying on separate campaigns and at different periods. The Big Island Sevier’s or Buckingham’s was the point of defense for the Cherokees—They told Christian in 1776 that he should not pass French Broad and assembled in the same island one thousand strong to resist him. They continued to be tenacious of the same policy of defending it as the key to their territory, and adhered to the illusive hope of doing so even after 1781. I still believe there were two campaigns, 1779 and 1780–81, but will examine further and scrutinize the evidence closely. I ought to say that my narratives are from the most reliable men, some of them officers in both.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 41

May 29, 1852

I appreciate very highly your favor of eighteenth instant and still more highly your strict regard to historical accuracy. We agree fully that Martin

took no campaign in February 1781. There is no authority for it but Haywood—nor that Isaac Shelby accompanied the expedition of *November* '80 and January 1781. I have the Shelby papers and there is no mention of that service by him. (I say *November*—because I have the proceedings of the officers who projected it. Will copy it and enclose to you herein). The testimony you address is more than sufficient to counterbalance that of Haywood and narratives in my possession going to prove *two* campaigns and *two* battles on Boyd's Creek. Like that of Gist and Pearson as cited by you they must have taken 1779 for 1780. I am nearly satisfied that it is so, though some of my narratives have the battle at Cedar Spring, others the Blue Spring—one three miles from mouth of the Creek, the other near its source. Still I think you are right.

As to Colonel Putnam. I think he ought to let you bring out the biography of Sevier—and at the time *you* may think best. What I will say of Sevier ought to satisfy Colonel Putnam till your Clark and Boone are out. As to what Putnam can give you it will be meager and some of it *tradition* only. His father-in-law, the late Colonel G. W. Sevier, son of John Sevier, gave me his father's papers.<sup>3</sup> As I was later in going to press than Colonel Putnam thought right, he has asked for the papers which will be given up to the Tennessee Historical Society soon as low down as 1800. Those after that period I will next spring copy or extract from and afterwards give them up too. As to any influence I could exert in getting him to give you up his proposed work to you I fear it would be small—still if you request it, I will do so cheerfully and promptly (write me). He cannot hurt you much if he should go to press before you. He writes badly and has little patience or industry in collecting anything. Still he ought to be induced to give up to you what he has collected. As a Tennessean proud alike of Sevier and Robertson I have a sincere wish that you may be their biographer. I think my book will aid you as to both.

I see General Joseph Martin was appointed by North Carolina agent to the Cherokees and was required to keep a journal of all he did and saw and furnish it to that government. Do you know where his journal is?

I sympathize in your feelings at the death of your friend and patron. I know how afflicting and overwhelming is the intelligence of the death of a friend and kinsman in a distant land. I may have told you before that I and my family have had our share of that almost intolerable suffering. We lost our most promising son W. Wilberforce A. Ramsey more

<sup>3</sup> See below, note 5.

than a year since in California. He was not only richly endowed and well educated but was amiable, moral, honorable, enterprising, affectionate, dutiful, and, we believe, pious. He was the favorite of the whole connection and *our* idol. God in His wisdom, perhaps in His mercy, has taken him. I feel it to be so. God help us! Write me if I can ever serve you. If you go to Mobile take us in your way. . . .<sup>4</sup>

[P. S.] The proceedings of the court martial are unimportant only as to date. Sevier was president. It was held November 20. Majors Robertson (Chas. I suppose) Tipton; Walton, adjutant; McNabb, Nelson, Brown, Williams, Newman, Trimble, Patterson, Bean, Jonakin captains. Nave, lieutenant; Roane, ensign. Captains Bowyer and Gibson, with their companies were ordered to march and join General Davidson, Captains Brown and Stinson for present expedition to rendezvous on thirtieth instant at Jonesboro.

Draper manuscripts 6 XX 43

Charleston, South Carolina  
January 14, 1853

Your favor of November 10 addressed to my home at Mecklenburg reached there in due course of mail, but in the absence of my son upon his circuit has been allowed to remain there till his return to Knoxville last week. He immediately enclosed it and it is this moment read and contents noticed. I wrote you at Leverington, Philadelphia County Pennsylvania which I hope you received, though I have been surprised at the delay. Not hearing from you I have occasionally through the progress of my *forms* credited to you the information you have been so kind as to furnish. I am now on Franklin (1787) and cannot recollect whether my sheets have any further reference to you or not but if they do not I will endeavor to make a suitable notice of your forthcoming work or works—for they are legion.

I have been here six weeks and am not yet quite half through my first volume—hope it will be out in one month more. The second will not go

<sup>4</sup>Peter A. Remsen, Draper's patron with whom he made his home, died in Mobile, Alabama, April 16, 1852. Draper's subsequent search for employment led him to Madison, Wisconsin in the following October.

to press for a year to come. The first comes to 1800. The second to 1836 or perhaps 1848. The great object was to get what was early, obscure and unknown, into a less perishable—much of it old and almost illegible letters and documents—form before I should die. Others can do what remains undone. Much of what I had no one could arrange but myself, and I am rejoiced that my labor in reading proof is half over. My health is poor or I would promise another volume next year. I rejoice with you at Pierce's election though Tennessee's position I both regret and repudiate.

Pray indicate how a copy of my work will reach you. I will have great pleasure in forwarding it to you. When you see it you will judge how much of benefit it may be to your larger enterprises. I have excluded one-third of what I brought from my study with me so as to compress my volume into a volume of 750 or 800 pages octavo. I am making a neat volume without plates—except King's Mountain. I think you advised that as the best taste.

I have written you in haste. The compositors give me two forms a day sometimes and I am too anxious to reply by this mail to your long unanswered letter to write more fully. After February 15 I expect to be on my way home. In the meantime I will be glad to hear from you as soon as this reaches you.

P. S.—If my Book has one fault greater than another it is the minutiae and details of Sevier. It reads too much like a biography of him rather than the history of Tennessee. But his life is the history of East Tennessee as Robertson's is of Middle.

What ought my volume to sell for?

Draper manuscripts 6 XX 44

Mecklenburg, Tennessee  
April 14, 1853

Yours of March 17 reached me today. Before this I hope you have received my volume by mail. You were the first nearly on the list I left with my printer to be furnished of those first out of the bindery. For fear it has miscarried I will order another from my Philadelphia house. You *must* have it—not that I consider it so *invaluable*, but I want to hear

your opinion of my *first born*. Here it is well received and sells well. The press in Carolina and Georgia notices it most favorably and that of Tennessee most complimentarily. The first three boxes are nearly sold. Two more arrived today, and others are on their way to Nashville and other points.

I am glad to hear of your progress and shall await your issue impatiently. In my preface I say you will be out next year—having been thus informed from Nashville.

The press calls on me for another volume—the first ending with the last century. The material is on hand and some progress made, but I have made no positive pledge.

“Smith’s Review of East Tennessee” I never saw nor heard of before I met it in your letter. It was certainly not a volume. I never heard of such a magazine or pamphlet. I regret that I can give you no account of it. “Life as it is” is the only thing besides Haywood which has seen the light in the way of a book in East Tennessee—and that is not worth sending to you.

P. S. I do little in politics but I must take time to say that Tennessee must be revolutionized this year. Pierce is adding to our strength. Look out for a victory in August.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 46

May 27, 1853

Your favor of the fifth instant is this moment received. I am somewhat surprised that the copy of my book which I ordered the publishers to send you by mail had not reached you. Should it not come let me hear it. You must see my bantling and examine its features and write me what you think of my first-born and tell me how to do better the next time. Thus far it is a favorite, especially with its Tennessee kin and its Carolina ancestors.<sup>5</sup> Its cousins in the west I hope will not be ashamed of it.

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<sup>5</sup> Colonel A. W. Putnam’s and T. J. Campbell’s reactions were not wholly favorable. They each assured Draper that the field of Tennessee history had not been closed by Dr. Ramsey’s work.

"Smith's Review of East Tennessee—map—1842." I collected everything since 1823. Can mind nothing of it. It must be either Nat. Smith—entry taker for our Hiwassee District—perhaps his report to legislature of townships and sections—or William Smith, a Yankee schoolmaster who *may have* made a geological map of East Tennessee. I will inquire further, but

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 45

Nashville, Tennessee  
May 4th, 1853

L. C. Draper, Esquire

Dear Sir,

I have for months awaited a letter from you, and indulged the hope that you would give encouragement to us of a *visit*.

Dr. Ramsey's "Annals of Tennessee" is a volume of some six hundred pages, published in Charleston, South Carolina.

But one copy has been received here—by his brother, Colonel W. B. A. Ramsey, secretary of state. I had but twenty minutes perusal of it. I think it a great mistake to have published by a house and in a place from which very little notoriety and influence can go forth to aid sales. I doubt not that one of the known and large publishing houses North could have brought it out and secured sales of ten to one that will now result.

I was pleased with the dedication and introduction, and hope to find pleasure in perusal of contents.

At his request, I sent to Charleston a daguerreotype of General Sevier's portrait to be engraved for the *Annals*, but he says it was received too late, to his regret; I am sorry too.

He has *not yet* returned me General Sevier's papers. I wrote him again last Monday.

The Watauga government makes a considerable chapter in the *Annals*. I had not the opportunity of reading it through but conclude it to be not as interesting and anomalous as is the "Provisional Government of the Judges or Triers at Nashborough," now in my possession, and which I wish you to avail yourself of fully, tho' I cannot send the volume out of the state.

Will you write me again whether there is any probability of your visiting Nashville; and how you will have manuscripts and papers that can be spared sent you hence.

I expect to go North before end of this month and be absent about two months.

Very respectfully,  
A. W. Putnam

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 53

Nashville, August 11th, '53

L. C. Draper  
Madison, Wisconsin

My Dear Sir,

I returned from the North a few days since and have today read your favors of 17th, 21st May. I had only finished the perusal when I met Dr. Robertson who immediately pulled from his pocket your letter to him under date of 20th June . . . I had to say several things to pacify him: He is not pleased at what he considers the prospect of publication of the life of his father—(in his own lifetime,)—thinks or fears that you are more ambitious and engrossed in collecting manuscripts, etc., than in preparing and writing history. . . . I mention this *entre nos*,—believing you will make due allowance for the inevitability of age: His impatience is not unnatural, nor unusual—but after Dr. Ramsey's measure of time,—'tis too soon to murmur, though anxiety be ever so great. . . .

Colonel Joseph Brown *was alive* last May when I left home, and I believe is yet alive, notwithstanding Dr. Ramsey's book. That narrative received through hands of General Zollinger, is about the only communication for which he gives credit to others and in saying

I despair of finding anything historical or scientific. My "second volume"—I have not promised it yet. I have the material, but must rest till my first is out of the way a little. This far it sells well and I am impatiently waiting now for further arrivals. The binder has been unable to keep me supplied with it. Charleston is not New York as to pushing work off by telegraph.

Your *Boon* (so Daniel spelled it in 1760 on my beech tree) I hope to see in 1853. You will find little in the *Annals* to assist you there, but when you come to Sevier my book makes him its hero. Indeed, his life is Tennessee history itself. He is not only in every chapter, but every page. (By the way—it is proposed to celebrate next seventh of October at King's Mountain by Virginia, South and North Carolina and Tennessee. If it takes place I will arrange an invitation to you to attend. Will you come?)

You ask for specialties as to cost of my volume. I give them for your own eye. The edition is 5,000—printing, including composition, paper, press work, everything but binding—about \$3,000. Binding according to the style—cloth, leather, fancy—from 22½ per copy to 50 cents. Leather is the most demanded in Tennessee even at the higher price. A few fancy copies only are wanted—say five per cent of the whole edition. I published on my own account without the promise of a single subscriber. I failed to say engraving my continental bills of credit by North Carolina,

that the narrative "is now first published," he proved that *Mecklenburg* does not receive "all the papers and magazines and books that are published"—and so, in some other instances I could name. . . .

Dr. Ramsey promised me when I was at his house, and since then by letter, to send me the papers of General Sevier—that I might have them bound with those I have; but he has not replied to my two last letters asking for them and in his Book ventures to say "he found them in an old house in Knoxville!" I selected them 20 years ago when at Locust Shade, Colonel Sevier's residence in Overton, and he shewd me *very little* more than those I had furnished, and *on* which were many of *my endorsements* of contents made 20 years before. . . .

Putnam

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 56

Athens, Tennessee, 7 September, 1853

Lyman C. Draper  
Madison, Wisconsin

My Dear Sir,

To comply with your request will be to me a very grateful work, and I have already set about to get up the information you desire. I feel that Dr. Ramsey's work has not done justice to the memory of Colonel Outlaw, as he was one of the leading spirits of his day, and did much I am sure for his country at the time when that country needed the service of all her sons. . . .

Very Respectfully  
Thomas J. Campbell

the surrender at King's Mountain and the map of Cumberland and Franklin cost me above \$300.00. My retail price is \$3.00 cloth, 3.50 leather, 4.00 fancy. Book agents and booksellers have very high commissions for selling—such is the invariable custom of the trade—from twenty-five to fifty per cent. Otherwise the thing pays well. The first edition should never be stereotyped. An author sees many things—arrangement, words, sentences—which he desires to change after he sees it printed which in manuscript the most practical and critical eye passes over unobserved. My next edition I will stereotype and can sell lower. The Nashville Historical Society is doing nothing valuable as I hear, ours ditto. Money, railroads, towns, politics exclude science and especially history. I do not know where Mrs. Ellet resides. She writes me from Nashville, Baltimore and New York. She is a peripatetic and a cosmopolite, I think. I do not consider her very scrupulous or exact as to dates and facts. This is not *gallant* and I say it to no one else.

I am well, but a heavy domestic bereavement, which I know I must have mentioned to you at the time of its occurrence,—the death in California of my excellent son Wilberforce—weighs like an incubus on my heart. I shall meet him in heaven. The first proceeds of my sales I am devoting to the rebuilding of our (old) church. The second will be in removing his remains to our burial ground near it. His injunction written in poetry in a camp on his tour through the wilderness still rings in my ears. The end of every verse is "Oh carry me back—oh carry me back! To Mecklenburg once More!" Write me often and especially let me know whether my book has reached you.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 47

June 6, 1853

Your favor of the seventeenth ultimo is to hand. I am glad to hear that my volume reached you. Under the apprehension that it had miscarried I ordered you a second copy. If the supernumerary makes its appearance hand it over at your discretion to some reading emigrant from Tennessee—to the editor of some Wisconsin journal or to your state or other library. I am glad to have had an analytic reader. I hear every day "your book has mighty pretty reading in it—or it is very interesting—or contains new and valuable matter." This is some commendation, but when Mr. Draper says I have done my state a good service; have done it "in a manner really cred-

itable to myself," and that the arrangement of the work meets your approval, etc., I feel and appreciate the compliment.

To your inquiries, I say, page 66. Second visit of Dr. Walker to Kentucky is given on authority of Marshall, page 39 at that date. I prosecute the inquiry *now* no further but it is my impression that there is further authorities to this point besides the Boon inscription which is at least something in its favor.

Page 69. I give in support of the account, as given by Haywood, of Boon's 1764 trip the oral narrative of Mr. W. S. Callaway to me last November. He had from the lips of his ancestor that he was at the side of Boon when he made that noted declaration. I do not recollect that W. S. Callaway mentioned the date. That is given from Haywood, page 35. He was his companion and kinsman.

Page 109. In reference to *John* Boon being associated with Robertson in negotiating, etc., I conceive Haywood to be authority most ample and reliable. Robertson was his associate and neighbor and can scarcely be supposed to say John when it should be Daniel, but I have sought for and have, I believe, no further evidence than Haywood to whom I refer my reader on page 109. I think it satisfactory.

Page 109 and 139. I suppose all I showed you on the subject of Sevier's being from Williamsburg was the letter in manuscripts of an old settler informing his correspondent that "a portly youngish looking gentleman had come from Williamsburg named Sevier and had brought encouraging accounts to the frontiers." One of my narratives too, I believe that of Mr. George Hufacre, mentions his return from Williamsburg. Thither probably he had gone for supplies before the Cherokee outbreak in 1776. Dunmore commissioned him, I believe, in 1774 and he was probably if never a resident, occasionally a visitant, there. I have often heard my father Colonel F. A. Ramsey, deceased, in accounting for Sevier's urbanity, explain it by supposing he had seen good society at Williamsburg. He was exceedingly urbane, and, when he chose to be, genteel and accomplished. The inference—it is something more—that Sevier had been at Williamsburg is therefore legitimate.

Page 234. *The Shelby Papers*—copied nearly entire by Haywood in his history on page 59 and one-half of 60, and resumed at bottom of page 63 and continuing to every part of our participation in the Revolution. These I have still preserved though most of my manuscripts were destroyed at Charleston when I came out of press. I have not alluded to Shelby's Pam-

phlet on King's Mountain. I had only a newspaper with part of it in it. Where do I say that *John Sevier* was in the battles of the Kanawha I have no positive proof that he was or was not. Some accounts, printed and written, say that Captain Shelby's company had in it the Robertsons and *Seviers*. It may be possible that some of the latter besides Valentine junior was there and it is not improbable that John Sevier was there in some other company, as he is not mentioned in the printed list of Captain E. Shelby's men—but being commissioned that year, by Dunmore—as Haywood gives it—he may have been under Sevier, Fleming or Christian. On my page 261 I don't say John *Sevier* flashed his maiden sword. Valentine was also a leader, though the reader might infer none but John was meant. I have already said that my evidence does not enable me to say he was or was not. I have heard that Colonel Joseph Brown is dead. How or when I know not. I hope he is still living. He is a remarkable man and will figure in the future *Annals of Tennessee*. On the authority of Willie Blount's papers, who knew Ore and Montgomery and Jackson like a book, I state that the latter was at Nickajack. You say Kendall confirms it and that Jackson himself so said also. It must be so. Nothing could have kept him out of just such a frolic. It was his element. When did you see a fish jump upon dry land and stay there when a single almost involuntary effort would place him in a lake? If Jackson said so to you, he was there and no mistake. Blount is too candid and truthful to have volunteered his statement that he was and his comment about his presence. My whole paragraph on page 614-15 is from Blount. I know nothing further of Samuel Newell than I say of him, nor of his descendants. I pass his old Station on Boyd's Creek every few days and will inquire further. His wife was a Montgomery. He was a good Presbyterian, a Franklin captain and a brave man. I know nothing further of Captain William Bean. General Kennedy lived and died near Greeneville. I have all his papers. Nothing of Colonel Roddye—John Anderson. Colonel Clark died above me on Pigeon. I got all his papers and recollections. The same of Colonel Samuel Wier—whose descendants are here and in Missouri. Colonel Kelly and Colonel Hubbard Do. of Outlaw. You have a bad record in American State Papers. Major Robert King has left nothing. You say Haywood is in error about Henry Scaggins, and that it should be Skaggs. That may be. Haywood is not always right, though there *was* a pioneer Skaggs.

You wish to hear of my sales. This far very good, exceeding the supply of the binder. I have not a dozen unsold in Knoxville. This happy state of

things may not last long, though I hope it may. The press reviews and notices me favorably, and calls for another volume. I must replenish my purse and rest a little before I say yes. I wrote you something on this subject a week or two since and need not enlarge now. I wish to realize at least cost this summer and then I can bear delay most patiently. If the public will let me off I prefer repose in future. Since 1820 I have not known one day's absolute quiet, rest, and leisure. I wonder in this hurly burly—this tumult of life—this constant and unremitting devotion to business, to the world, and to time—I have not wholly forgotten my Creator and my duties and service to him. Help me to praise him for even a small spark of love to him and for the feeble wish to serve him better.

P. S. I have here a receipt from the sheriff of \_\_\_\_\_ County Virginia for the taxes of Valentine Xavier. If you want it or a copy of it let me have the pleasure of sending it to you.

Draper Manuscripts 6 XX 57

September 9, 1853

Your favor of fifth ultimo was duly received. When I tell you that in one day of last week I visited patients in four counties, you will not consider me very negligent in replying to it. I have not time or patience just now to look over a whole shelf full of old letters to find McGaughey's (I believe) letter about Sevier's arrival from Williamsburg—nor is it necessary. I missed the line which informed his correspondent, my grandfather in Pennsylvania, that a portly stranger the name of Sevier is just in from Williamsburg and brought encouraging news about help, supplies or something of that kind. It was written about the time of the Cherokee outbreak of 1776 and mentioned that there was such danger that some talked of leaving the settlements. As I have heretofore said Sevier may not have been a resident of Williamsburg but an employee only of the Virginia authorities.

Willie Blount was the most *minute* man I ever knew—was Jackson's most intimate friend, knew all *his* neighbors and died surrounded by them—could not have been mistaken and he says not only that he was at Nickajack but *planned* the attack. I have no doubt of it. The *force* of that

campaign consisted of so many separate detachments from such remote sections that it was impossible for any to know all that were there and thus even those who knew J. so well afterwards might believe and say that he was not there. I believe he was and such is the general though not universal belief. Still, as the French say, "ne importe." The Shelby papers are at your service, but every word *verbatim et literatim* is in Haywood, not one line omitted—but not credited as you will see. So also of the Museum. All is exactly copied in Haywood. It is communicated by someone—Demumbrane, I suppose, or Mansco. Both are, however, at your service. If you still want to see them please indicate the channel by which they will reach you and they shall be sent. Please return them. I have inquired for the descendants of Samuel Newell, Charles Robertson, Roddye, Hubbard, Kelly, Crawford and King—without learning of their present residence. Colonel Kennedy's grandson is a respectable citizen of Greene County and had furnished to me all his papers. Colonel Wier's widow gave me twenty years since all his papers. His surviving son Pleasant M. Wier emigrated soon after to Missouri. P.O. not known.

Your expectations have been gloriously realized. Andrew Johnson is our governor. Tennessee is revolutionized. The Maine liquor law will never be a statute in any state two years. That is a hard saying for a Progressive Democrat and a friend of temperance who has never drunk in his life of fifty-six years to make—but mark the result. A law to prevent covetousness or adultery though sustained by Divine sanction could not be enacted or enforced. Much less a law to regulate men's diet, drink, etc. The only corrective of intemperance is the propagation of the religion of Jesus Christ, the spread of His Blessed Gospel, and the influence of His example and spirit. The Lord Help us to imitate Him in all His immutable perfections. . . .

P. S. The folding leaves me an unoccupied line. Be very careful at Cincinnati in your stipulations with your publishers. The *et ceteras* are to be carefully investigated or you will be wronged and deceived. Even in Charleston I got once or twice into the hands of Northern screws. Take care. I don't mean my publishers, Walker and James, but engravers and binders and packers.