

days employed in an argument whether the waiver of the accused would justify the court in trying for offences charged beyond the limit, etc. The court continued on this trial nearly four months. The court acquitted General Wilkinson of all the charges. Many very queer transactions of a political and mercantile character were exposed, but neither military offence nor official or personal corruption, nor any act of treason or conspiracy thereto, or with Colonel Burr, were proved. In reference to Colonel Burr, no fact of a treasonable character was established against him in his trial before Chief-Justice Marshall at Richmond in 1807. It was testified before the general court marshal that the expedition of Colonel Burr had for its object the conquest of Mexico, in which no doubt General Wilkinson, General Jackson and many other prominent men of the United States would have been engaged; in fact, the purpose of such a conquest, to proceed from the United States was known to General Hamilton and Colonel Pickering, and to William Pitt and others in England.

During the trial Colonel Williams, Macomb and myself and other officers renewed our pleasant intercourse with the social and hospitable residents of Fredericktown, and in the course of which many ill-natured and silly rumors were circulated of an unbecoming intimacy with the ultra-Federalists of that place, on the part of the officers, and especially was it censured that General Wilkinson should have been invited to the same parties where were found officers who were daily on his trial.

On 16th September Colonel Williams and others observed the comet that was brilliantly seen in the north in this season, which observations were sent to Mr. Garnet in New Jersey, together with others made upon the annular eclipse the next day, 17th. The day was clear and the observations satisfactory.

October 4th, I received from Colonel Williams an account of the barometrical measurement of the height of Catskill Round Top, three thousand five hundred and sixty-six feet, and White Hills in New Hampshire, six thousand two hundred and thirty-four feet, and other minor points, by Captain A. Partridge, United States engineers.

October 10th made a report of the ordnance and of the defences that

had been completed in Smithville, Fort Johnston, to Colonel Burbeck, as the chief of artillery, United States.

November 14th. To Harper's Ferry to examine the workshops of the United States arms, and to explore Jefferson's Rock there with Lieutenant-Colonel Macomb, and the next day to measure the barometrical height of the Colocton Mountain; broke our instrument; the view admirable; counted some two hundred and seventeen cultivated fields. These excursions were pending adjournments of the court. Among Macomb's and my excursions we several times visited Monsieur Payer, or Vaneaudier, an emigrant from France, who with his family had erected a chateau, of style similar to such buildings in France. They were living in genteel elegance, but maintained a species of *incognito* that no one was allowed to question—a sort of nonsense that is very striking and romantic to young people.

November 17th, Colonel Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel Macomb, Major Armistead and myself sent our opinion of the bill for the improvement of the corps of engineers to the Secretary of War. It embraced a corps of sappers and miners.

The general court martial brought its proceedings to a close on 24th December, and every member signed the same, and they were sent by an officer to the Secretary of War at Washington. The members of the court soon dispersed, and on 26th December I paid my respects to the Secretary of War, Washington, and found myself not as graciously received as was the wont of that gentleman, who had favored me with his intimacy. I also found in this place of large gossip, especially so in the time of the session of Congress, that the acquittal of General Wilkinson was received with disappointment by the executive, and it was rumored that some charges had been made by an underling of the War Department adverse to the impartiality of some of the older officers on the court, but that Mr. Madison would not consent to any such mode of impugning the right of opinion, and thus the charges were suppressed.

The sentiment among congressmen was of a conflicting nature on what were to be the results of debates upon the orders and decrees of England and France. Receiving from the War Department no especial orders for

duty, I returned to my family, then in Wilmington, North Carolina. I still retained my quarters at Fort Johnston, where I found the family of Lieutenant Roberts in deep distress, he having died in the previous month of November. I had written to the Secretary of War to have his accounts settled, in order to pay off his debts and afford some relief to his family, and this was accomplished. On my return to North Carolina from Washington I was informed that the daughters of my friend Major Gibbon, of Richmond, were at their uncle Duval's, in Washington, and had just received the mournful account of the destruction of the theatre in Richmond on 26th December, in which their brother, Lieutenant Gibbon of the navy, had been one among the seventy burned to death in that fire. I waited on these ladies, and escorted them to their father's in Richmond, and met a scene of distress that cannot easily be described; and early in January reached my family in Wilmington.

WILMINGTON, NORTH CAROLINA, }
February, 1813. }

1812. At the close of January arrived at the fort with my family, and found there Lieutenant J. Ewing of the United States Artillery, with orders to report to me for duty. Received from him a box of public papers, being the unsettled accounts of Lieutenant Roberts with the United States, with good and imperfect vouchers amounting to fourteen thousand eight hundred dollars. Sent these papers to the account office in Washington, claiming as balance due on them eight hundred and twenty-eight dollars and twenty-seven cents, and one hundred and forty dollars on a recruiting account. The auditor replied that the claim cannot be allowed until further vouchers be found.

February 1st, gave orders to Lieutenant Ewing to detail a party to work daily in the block-house, cleaning the arms, etc., received there in the previous year. This was in pursuance of orders received from the War Department, together with the appointment of myself as military agent for the coast of North Carolina, and was the first intimation in orders of *haste*, in preparation for war!

February 21st, the United States brig "Vixen," commanded by Lieutenant Charles Gadsden, arrived at Fort Johnston on public business with me.

In March I received orders from the Secretary of War that the state of public affairs required an inspection of the fortifications on the coast of Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia, and requiring me to make the same as soon as my present duty permitted.

On 1st April proceeded on this inspection in the packet to Charleston, South Carolina, (at the same time escorting the daughter of Colonel De Bernier on a visit to her friends in South Carolina. This lady is the wife of Harper Harper, Esquire, of Wilmington,) leaving the command of Fort Johnston to Lieutenant Ewing. Bad weather delayed my arrival at Charleston to 6th April.

The next day, 7th, inspected Fort Johnson on James Island, and the day following, the Palmetto Fort of 1780, now called, for its brave defender then, "Fort Moultrie," and heard from General Pinckney the story of Sergeant Jasper's heroism in that defense and repulse of Admiral Parker. By invitation, the day after, met the two Generals Pinckney on the subject of the defenseless state of the coast, from the Chesapeake to Tybee. The elder general, C. C. Pinckney, commented on the recent laws appropriating seven hundred and ninety-six thousand dollars for fortifications, and providing for calling out one hundred thousand militia, and the organization of a quartermaster-general's department as convincing to him, though not in the secret of the cabinet, that war was at hand.

On 11th examined Castle Pinckney, and on 13th proceeded to Savannah, and with Captain William McRee, United States engineer, examined Forts Jackson and Tybee on 15th. On 16th returned through the Sound, and on 17th examined Beaufort, South Carolina; arrived on 20th at Charleston; on 24th at Fort Johnston, North Carolina, and found letters with Lieutenant Ewing from the War Department advising my postponing a visit to the fort at Beaufort, North Carolina, until after my inspection at Norfolk, in Virginia. After inspecting Oak Island and the New Inlet with Lieutenant Ewing, I proceeded to Wilmington, on my way to Washington, with A. F. McNeill, Esq., as far as Warrenton, where his daughter Mary was at Mr.

Mordecai's school. Leaving Wilmington on 1st May, on 7th arrived at Petersburg, and viewed the Appomattox River below the town, also the "Punch Bowl of Pocahontas," and by the Isle of Wight county arrived at Norfolk on 10th. The following day, with Colonel Freeman, the commandant of the post, Commodore S. Decatur and L. W. Tazuell, Esquire, examined the harbor of Norfolk, having reference to the expected war with England; wrote to my chief, Colonel Williams, my views of defending this harbor, and by a packet from Norfolk to England wrote F. R. Hassler to procure for me one of Troughton's circles of reflection. The following day, 13th, examined the navy yard and Hospital Point with Lieutenant Thomas R. Swift of the United States marines, and found him to be a far-removed cousin; consulted also with Captain Evans, of the navy, on Norfolk defenses, and found him a very highly informed person, whose opinions I respect.

On 15th proceeded up the bay by packet, to Baltimore, and, after an inspection of Fort McHenry on 20th took the stage for Washington. A fellow-passenger observing me reading a work of Dr. Doddredge expressed his good opinion of the book. He was Hon. James Millman, on his way to Congress from Philadelphia. That has commenced a pleasant acquaintance. Arrived in Washington the same day in season to attend the levee of Mr. Madison, and to arrange joining the mess of the Hon. Samuel Smith of Maryland, Nicholas Gilmore of New Hampshire, and Charles Goldsborough of Maryland, at O'Neal's. At breakfast the following morning the conversation was upon the effect of the embargo law recently passed. A majority of the mess, including John Polk, Esq., of Kentucky, were adverse to war, but in favor of ample preparations, as for instance, the fortifications, the corps of engineers, and the ordnance department.

On 21st made my report to the War Department upon my inspections in Georgia, South and North Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and dined with the President at a private dinner on 23d, when he expressed the highest respect for the patriotism of General Pinckney, and for his eminent ability. I commended to the President Major Duncan Moore and A. F. McNeill, Esq., as in every way worthy of the attention of the government for military

service. A regiment was at my command if I so desired. I preferred the prospect in my own corps, and mentioned the chief of my corps as in every point of view worthy an elevated command in the new organization of the army, etc.; with the Secretary of War, and met there the notorious Jacob Lewis, making pretensions to military and naval command combined; a man of many words, and of no consequence. The Secretary gave me orders to return to South Carolina and report for duty to General Thomas Pinckney *via* Norfolk. On 26th dined with Hon. William Lowndes and Colonel George Izard, my former captain at West Point, and discussed the probability of a campaign into Canada, and the mode and route. The Colonel was for Quebec, Mr. Lowndes was for not going into Canada at all, and my idea was to organize a campaign in Lake Champlain and divide the two Canadas, etc.

On 3d June took leave of the mess at O'Neal's, where I left Mr. Curtis and Colonel Lloyd Halsey of Rhode Island, and his daughter, and *via* Baltimore and the Bay arrived at Norfolk on 8th. There gave Colonel Freeman a requisition on the War Department for the quartermaster-general to supply intrenching tools, etc. From Fort Nelson I sent orders to Captain William McRee in Savannah, and Captain John Niex at Beaufort, in North Carolina, to prosecute the works at those places with all the means in their control. Wrote to Major W. H. Armistead at West Point to advise me, through Colonel Williams, of the condition of the Military Academy. This was done in consequence of letters from the colonel that evinced some disgust at the neglect of the War Department.

On 12th June by Petersburg, and, meeting Mr. Miller at Mr. Mordecai's, in Warrenton, arrived at Fort Johnston, Cape Fear, on 19th, having with me the amount as exhibited on the auditor's statement of differences, and I disbursed the same (one thousand three hundred dollars,) among the creditors of Lieutenant Roberts, saving the amount due to Benjamin Blaney and myself. Loss of, and imperfect vouchers, and want of books, have deprived Lieutenant Roberts' family of much of his claim.

The day after my arrival at the fort was joined by Captain Dent of the United States navy, and employed in arranging to proceed to South

Carolina. On 26th June, with orders from both Navy and War Department, Captain Dent and myself proceeded to sea in a whale-boat; overtaken by a gale of wind and driven into Little River through the surf on the bar, and thence on horseback to Georgetown, where we met the eccentric Colonel Peter Harney in his cottage, formed after the fashion of a ship's cabin. He was full of patriotic feeling on reading the declaration of war that Captain Dent and myself had received at Fort Johnston, North Carolina, and the colonel expedited our journey to Charleston on 29th. On the 30th June reported myself to General T. Pinckney, as chief engineer of his department of the army.

July 1st, commenced tours of inspection with General Pinckney, in which he associated his brother, C. C. Pinckney, and the governor, Henry Middleton, and at my request Captain William McRee. The subject at first was the association of the militia under Colonel John Rutledge for coast defense, with the Eighteenth Regiment of United States Infantry, Colonel William Drayton, and Lieutenant J. Hamilton, adjutant. Several of these consultations were held at Mrs. Horry's, the sister of the Generals Pinckney; a lady of extensive knowledge with great simplicity of manner; and I observed that both of her brothers paid great respect to that lady's opinion on every public subject discussed in her presence.

At this time a singular occurrence gave the character of some of our newly-appointed officers. By the general's order, I sent an order to Colonel Welborn and Colonel Pickens, then at Salsbury, North Carolina. These gentlemen acknowledged the receipt of the order, but, from some view they had taken, said "they had concluded not to obey the order, and to divide the responsibility between them." They were arrested, but on explaining restored.

The last of the month of July made an excursion to Fort Johnston, North Carolina, and returned to Fort Moultrie 10th August with Lieutenant Ewing, and also my man Jack and my horses. Since 20th July had been performing the combined duties of chief engineer and of aid-de-camp to General Pinckney, having in the same period received my promotion to lieutenant-colonel of engineers, on the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel

Macomb to the command of a regiment of artillery. I found on my table at headquarters letters from Washington, advising of the resignation of Colonel Williams, but no order signifying my consequent advancement. This resignation of Colonel Williams was induced by the neglect of the War Department in selecting general officers for the new army. A subordinate position of brigadier was mentioned for the colonel—he did not choose to accept. I notified the corps of engineers of the great loss we had sustained in the retirement of our friend and commander, and accompanied the same with my views of a suitable arrangement of the respective officers to various posts of duty, which would be issued in orders as soon as the War Department sent me official notice of the event; which notice was received on 19th August, on which day I notified Captain William McRee to report himself to General Pinckney on 28th of that month, and assume the chief engineership of the southern department, and also orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead to report to me in season to meet me in Washington before the last of October.

Was necessarily detained in General Pinckney's department, to close up the public business in my two departments, until the last of September, when I took my leave of General Pinckney, in whom I had found a wise and discreet commander, a gentleman of moderate and firm mind, and of all those qualities that constitute an accomplished gentleman; and of whom it is also said that in character and manner he resembles General Washington more than any man at this time living. His brother, Coatsworth, a most delightful companion and intimate with Washington, said he was his brother Tom's model. Neither of them credited the story of Washington *swearing* at Lee at Monmouth.

On 4th October arrived at Fort Johnston, North Carolina, on my route to the city of Washington, and there, by appointment, met General Thomas Brown of Ashwood, to arrange with him the mode of calling out the militia of the State, under the order of the governor, to guard the coast on the plan adopted by General Pinckney. Reported the result of this interview to the last-named gentleman; occupied a few days in arranging my official affairs at the fort, and on 10th October left Lieutenant Ewing in command,

and, having arranged for my family to move to Wilmington at the close of the season, proceeded with my man Jack to Fayetteville on the 14th. The next day wrote General Pinckney my views of the mode in which General Thomas Brown would, under the governor of the State, execute his plan (General Pinckney's) to embody the militia at the coast. In the night at nine o'clock proceeded in the stage to the north. At midnight, while crossing the Cape Fear near Averysborough, our heedless driver discovered that the water had risen during the day, and we found the stage floating and the horses swimming. Fortunately the stage wheels caught in the branches of a tree called a planter. I took off my upper garments and succeeded in cutting clear from the harness one of the wheel horses, and with the aid of my man Jack and this horse we saved the passengers and United States mail and part of the baggage, when the stage swung clear of the planter and was swept down the river, drowning the three other horses. The distance from the stage to the bank of the river was about twenty yards. The passengers arrived at Averysborough about daylight, and there dried their clothing and such baggage as had been saved, and thankful to God for deliverance from peril. At this place the succeeding stage from the south brought Langdon Cheeves and John Galliard, Esquires, from South Carolina, on their way to Congress; the former a native of Ireland, came a boy to Pennsylvania, and by his own powers became a very distinguished counsellor, and moved to South Carolina. As a traveling companion, sociable and full of wit, he gave us recitations pathetic and ludicrous, to make the lumbering way short. This meeting commenced a very agreeable acquaintance with him. Mr. Galliard is from an old Huguenot family, not brilliant nor strong but of unassuming good sense, a gentleman of bland and kind deportment. I found him to be a relative of the wife of Professor Hassler of the coast survey. Our party arrived at Washington on 21st October. The War and Navy Departments much employed in reference to the supplies called for by law, the former department especially in procuring the ordnance stores with the one million dollars appropriated therefor, and with a very capable officer at the head—Major D. Wadsworth, aided by Captain Bumford; and also in filling vacancies in the thirteen newly appointed

regiments, and fifty thousand volunteers. In my department, estimates for the coming year, in addition to five hundred thousand dollars recently appropriated are needed, to which work I immediately went by examining the reports of my late chief, Colonel Williams, and Lieutenant-Colonel Macomb, and gave the estimate to the Secretary of War amounting to four hundred and ninety-seven thousand dollars, exclusive of any field works which might be called for in any campaign, referable to the quartermaster-general department.

At the request of General W. H. Harrison, sent an order to Captain E. D. Wood to join the general as an aid-de-camp at Cincinnati as well as his engineer. From the time of my leaving West Point in November, 1807, I had been without account of the progress of the Military Academy save the cursory views given in the letters of Colonel Williams and Major Armistead, accordingly I wrote to Captain Partridge for a full report thereof. My name was now before the United States Senate to fill the vacancy of chief engineer. On 10th November General Samuel Smith and Governor Gilman of the Senate informed me that Dr. Eustis was privy to a plan to supercede me in that office, by appointing, under the provisions of the law to promote without regard to rank, and that Robert Fulton, the distinguished civil engineer, was the candidate that he preferred. This sacrifice of the continued intimacy between the doctor and myself may have been just in estimating the relative ability of Mr. Fulton and myself, but it met no support from Mr. Madison, and both General Smith and Governor Gilman state that my nomination passed unanimously 4th December, 1812, and with expressions from senators commending nomination, etc. Whether the disappointment that the acquittal of General Wilkinson produced had any influence in this matter I have not the means of knowing with certainty, but it is certain that from the date of that acquittal the department of Dr. Eustis was less friendly than previously. Early in December the doctor resigned the War Department of his administration, for the foregoing causes. I omit remarks upon his official course. The slanders at Washington about an undue partiality on the part of four members of the court that tried General Wilkinson had been traced to Mr. Simmons of the War Department, and

referred to parties and feuds in the army that commenced between General Wayne and General Wilkinson. In the consultations of the court such gossip had very properly no influence. At Washington, however, now, in December, 1812, more rational views of the matter had commenced in the cabinet, where all but one said that "if General Wilkinson had been indiscreet, the testimony before the court was not of a character to justify a verdict of guilty." The war was commenced and it was needful to make the best use of our few officers of any experience, and it is observable at Washington that as trouble presses, military men have become more important than previously in the estimation of members of Congress, to judge from their speeches and personal deportment to officers on the floor and in the lobbies of the hall.

In this month of November Commodore Stewart gave a gala on board the frigate *Constellation*, then lying before Washington. The President and heads of departments and many others witnessed this exhibition of that fine frigate. Many members of Congress had never before seen a "man of war." This is a very sensible piece of tact on the part of Stewart to overcome the influence of Mr. Gallatin, who was of the opinion in the cabinet that our ships should be laid up in safety. Thanks to Stewart, Bainbridge and Mr. Madison, such counsel, however patriotic, was neglected, and Hull captured the *Guerrier*, and now on 8th December I had the pleasure to be present at a ball given in honor of Hull, where we had a second trophy scene. Lieutenant Hamilton in the name of Commodore Decatur laid the flag of the *Macedonian* at the feet of Mrs. Madison. With characteristic delicacy this lady said, "raise the flag; such a humiliation is not due to a conquered foe."

At the close of the month received letters from my family informing of the birth of my son Thomas Delano, at the residence of his grandmother Walker in Wilmington, 23d November, 1812.

November 22d sent to Major Gibbon and General Marshall at Richmond, and to General Pinckney in South Carolina, maps and descriptions of the points of opening war on the lakes, etc., etc.

Wrote to Colonel Williams 18th December of my having orders to return

to Carolina for the winter, and enclosed his son's (Alex. I.'s) commission in the army. On 17th December sent orders to Captain Partridge in reference to opening the Military Academy next spring, and with orders to Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead, Major McRee and Major Bumford, Captains Willard, J. G. Totten and S. Babcock, Lieutenants Thayer, De Russy, Cutbush, Lewis and Findley to be ready to take the field early in the spring, and also sent them their commissions. The same evening waited on the President to introduce Colonel Wadsworth and to consult on the services of our respective departments. A very interesting conversation, Mr. Madison being in favor of a total change in military operations for the next campaign.

Received a present from Colonel Gilman of New Hampshire of a silver drinking tube for the wounded.

December 22d wrote Governor Turner of North Carolina on the defenses of Cape Fear, at his request, to be laid before the Legislature of that State, Proceeded to Wilmington and Fort Johnston, North Carolina, and arrived there on 30th December, 1812.

Before leaving Washington I observed that great difference in opinion prevailed among the prominent men there, the President being in favor of a change in our plans of operation upon Canada, while others thought the Detroit system the preferable direction of attack. A species of apathy that it was hoped would be changed for action if General Armstrong accepted the War Department.

Definite orders to the engineer department were deferred for the present, and I pursued my way to my family, stopping in Raleigh, North Carolina, to confer with the military committee of the Legislature in reference to the subject of the coast defences, contained in my late letter to their senator, Governor Turner.

HEADQUARTERS ENGINEER DEPARTMENT, BROOKLYN, N. Y. }
10th March, 1814. }

1813. On my arrival in January at the residence of my family in North Carolina, and by the approbation of the President of the United States, I

submitted a memoir to the military committee of the State, through their chairman, General W. W. Jones, embracing views of the defence of the two entrances into Cape Fear Harbor, and a plan of organization of the militia to guard the sea coast against predatory assault from Bermuda, etc. In the middle of the month went to Ashwood to confer with General Thomas Brown upon this plan. I was accompanied by my friend, Dr. Daniel McNeill, who visited my companion, Major Alexander C. Miller, to reduce an imposthume in his thigh, and succeeded in the operation.

In the month of February visited the sound, inlets and Smithville anchorage with Lieutenant T. N. Gautiere, United States navy, in reference to the coöperation of gunboats for the protection of the coast, etc.

On 1st March the expected orders came from the War Department to take charge of the defence of New York Harbor as chief engineer. On 2d, with my man Jack, proceeded to Raleigh and on to Fredericksburg, Va., where Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead joined and accompanied me to the city of Washington, from whence I sent him to conduct the works at Norfolk.

On 12th, consulting with General Armstrong, the successor of Dr. Eustis in the War Department, in reference to my future functions in New York and at the Military Academy, and upon the application of the four hundred and ninety-seven thousand dollars that had been appropriated for fortifications on my estimates made last fall; which, with the twenty new regiments of infantry, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for barges for harbor protection, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for hulks to obstruct the harbor channels at points where the defences were insufficient, ten companies of sea fencibles and ten companies of rangers, with also a newly organized staff and a commissariat of purchase and supplies, evinced the influence of our new secretary and promised vigorous operations.

On 24th arrived at Baltimore and consulted with General Samuel Smith upon militia and other defences of the Petapsco, and we inspected Fort McHenry and gave directions for repairs of the same.

On 26th to Philadelphia, and passed a day with my late chief, Colonel Williams, at Mount Pleasant on the Schuylkill, who though retired was

deeply interested in plans for protecting the Delaware, in reference to which, and my own views for New York, I remained a few days for the benefit of the counsel of this patriot. April 1st at Mrs. Wilkinson's, No. 40 Broadway, in New York, that had been for years the city quarters of Colonel Williams and other engineer officers.

On 6th April reported myself for duty to General George Izard, the commandant of the department, and by an especial order of the President, received the command of Staten Island with a brigade composed of Colonel Samuel Hawkins and Colonel Alexander Deniston's regiments of infantry, the 32d and 41st, in addition to my duties as engineer, and also such occasional visits to the Military Academy as my duties may permit, and for which purpose I required Captain Partridge at West Point to man the engineer yacht and send the same to me, which was done, and the yacht used for the double purpose of exploring the waters adjacent to New York, and making occasional inspections of the Academy at West Point. April 15th I commenced repairing all the forts in the harbor, and also a system of block houses at Utrecht Bay, west end of Long Island, Princess Bay on Staten Island, at Sandy Hook and Jamaica Bay, to prevent surprise from the English squadron of three "seventy-fours," two frigates and a sloop of war then laying off the Hook. Employed Mr. Cropsy of Utrecht, a very industrious and intelligent mechanic, to construct these buildings, and also Mr. John Tisdale as clerk to the engineer department. He had been similarly employed by Colonel Williams. To aid this protection we had a fleet of gun boats in the Sandy Hook cove. Despatched the yacht with orders to Captain Partridge at West Point to call on Colonel Snowden, the military store-keeper, with my requisition for the wall pieces in the United States stores, which on their receipt were distributed to the several block houses before mentioned, each block-house having a guard formed by detachments made by General John Swartwout from his brigade of militia quartered at Perth Amboy. We had discovered that from the Romilles, seventy-four, a nightly intercourse was maintained with spies in the city. I had arranged with General Swartwout to transport his forces at short notice to the Hook or Long Island, having also an understanding with the commander of the

flotilla of gun boats and barges, Captain Jacob Lewis, to furnish barges, relying, however, for efficiency on his second officer, Captain J. B. Cooper, in Armand's corps, and who though never a sailor, had been a cavalry officer at the age of seventeen in the War of Independence; a man of mind and great activity.

On 25th May reported to the Secretary of War that all these temporary defences of New York Harbor were defensible, having cannon mounted in all of them, and supplies, etc., etc. Also reported to the Secretary that I had ordered Major McRee to the northern frontier as chief engineer there and Lieutenant S. Thayer to General Bloomfield for similar duty on the Delaware river and bay. I also sent the Secretary my plans for new buildings at West Point, regretting that the appropriations did not permit architectural taste, space of rooms and despatch in building being essential to the increasing wants of the Academy.

At the close of the month of May the governor of the State and the commandant of the department accompanied me on an inspection of the forts in the harbor and of the temporary works before mentioned. These various employments had postponed my visit to West Point into June, when I went thither in the yacht and inspected the Academy. Among the experiments, found the magnetic variation to be four degrees and fifteen minutes west, and traced on the ground the foundation for the new buildings. Finding some impediment to the execution of my orders at the Academy, arising from my absence and Captain Partridge's idea of his own responsibility in my absence, by the permission of the Secretary of War I remodelled the functions of the Academic staff, assuming to myself the inspectorship of the institution, [at the same time providing for the functions of a professor of ethics, history and geography combined with the duty of chaplain] that had long been wanted at the Academy, and for which the Secretary of War permitted me to employ a divine of the Episcopal church. On my return to the city I found my son, James Foster, at No. 40 Broadway, brought from Wilmington, North Carolina, by my friend John Fanning Burgwin, with letters from my wife that the rest of my family would soon come on by land also, under escort of my friend Major Alexander C. Miller.

On the occasion of arranging for the celebration of 4th July on Staten Island, General Izard deemed my views as interfering with his command. In referring him to the orders of the President and the 63d article of war, I also stated that my arrangements were of detail, and that I should adhere to them unless he chose to assume the command by his presence on the Island, or by general orders, and that it offered me an opportunity to gratify any wish he might have in reference to those details, if he would signify the wish. No farther discussion or action on this point of command arose while General Izard was in command of the department.

On 17th July Mrs. Swift and my sons William, Alexander and Thomas, and my servant Nancy, arrived from North Carolina under the care of Mr. Miller, in twenty-one days' travel from Wilmington. They found Julius H. Walker, James Foster Swift and myself at housekeeping in Washington Street, Brooklyn, in quarters fitted by my friend George Gibbs, and by the aid of another friend, Major Fanning C. Tucker, found an excellent school for my sons James and Willy, taught by a Welch scholar, Evan Brynon. Soon after my family was established in Brooklyn, the Society for Manumitting Slaves called (by their deputy, a Quaker gentleman,) in my absence, on Mrs. Swift, and informed her and my servants Jack and Nancy, that the two latter could not be held in bondage. The servants replied that they wished not their interference. I, however, found that the doctrines of these philanthropists had disturbed the quiet of both Jack and Nancy, and I told them that I would give them their freedom as soon as they chose to require it.

The principal object for which I had been on duty in New York Harbor, (to repair the forts, and to construct such temporary works as the time permitted,) having been accomplished, I wrote the Secretary of War that I was ready for duty on the frontier, knowing that an army was to be concentrated at Sackett's Harbor for some movement on the St. Lawrence.

On 9th August I received orders to report myself for duty to General Wilkinson as the chief engineer of the 9th military department. On 14th General Wilkinson arrived in the city, and the same day I had an interview with him, and received instructions in relation to the contemplated campaign.

On 17th I accompanied him and General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, Governor Tompkins and Colonel Gilman of New Hampshire, to Albany, landing my brother, William H. Swift, at West Point, a cadet for the Academy, and giving him letters to Captain Partridge. At Albany I found Major George Bumford industriously and usefully engaged in preparing ordnance stores for the Ontario frontier. The transportation of these ordnance stores and cannon to the lakes had become an exorbitant expense, frequently in amount exceeding the value. The roads were bad, and the Mohawk at so low a stage of water that flat boats could not be used; all indicating the neglect of preparation for war previously to its declaration, and also the need of those improvements which the growth of the country demanded, and which had been ably presented to Congress six years ago, and which also had become in New York the theme of conversation among such men as Gouverneur Morris, Thomas Eddy, Gideon Hawley, John Swartwout, De Witt Clinton, Elkanah Watson, etc. From the first movement of military stores to the lakes, for naval as well as army purposes, transportation has been the heaviest item of expense.

At Albany were at this time assembled numerous army officers *en route* for Sackett's Harbor. On 25th August the adjutant-general, J. B. Walbach, General L. Covington with other officers, including myself, *en route* for the harbor, and arrived there on 31st, and found the army much distressed by disease from using bad bread; one of the great evils that arise from the contract system in furnishing supplies for an army, especially bread and pork. Renewed my acquaintance with Commodore J. Chauncy, now the naval commander on the lakes, and made the acquaintance of Brigadier Jacob Brown, a self-taught, active, and highly intelligent officer; also found the marquee of Colonel Alexander Macomb, graced by his accomplished and exemplary wife, the only lady in camp, General Brown's family being at Brownville. I had left my own family at Brooklyn, having arranged with my friend John F. Burgwin to supply Mrs. Swift with money in case of interruption in my sending supplies, and commending my family to the courtesies of my friend Fanning C. Tucker and his family, and that of his father-in-law, Joshua Sands, Esq., and also the family of George Gibbs,

Esq., all of Brooklyn, and in the city the family of Captain James Farquhar, whose hospitable lady and daughters made Green Hill (the "Sailors' Snug Harbor" estate left by Captain Randall,) one of the most agreeable circles of domestic happiness that I have ever found.

On 6th September my assistants, Lieutenant James Gadsden and Lieutenant R. E. De Russy arrived, and commenced a reconnoitre of the waters of the bays and the approach to the St. Lawrence.

General Wilkinson's headquarters was the daily point of assembling the staff, and of conference on the duties that were opening the campaign at this time. On 5th September General Armstrong was escorted, as Secretary of War, into the cantonment, the interview at headquarters being too formal for that ease which is desirable for the interchange of opinion among chieftains. I was invited by the Secretary of War to accompany himself and General Brown, mounted, to the battle ground where Colonel Backus fell in the moment of victory, and where General Brown won the commission he now wears by his timely arrival in the action at the head of a band of militia. A line of our troops extending from the block-house at the harbor toward the lake shore, south-east of Horse Island, the point where the British troops landed and made the assault, General Brown's militia arriving through the woods in the rear of Colonel Backus' left flank and thus assailing the enemy on his right flank, which caused the halt and precipitate retreat of the enemy, and thus the winning of the day by Brown.

I was now joined by Brevet-Major Totten as my first assistant engineer, and, with General R. Swartwout, examined the stores of the quartermaster-general's department. At headquarters I observed an inactivity that, as it seemed to me, arose from some doubts as to who was in command, General Armstrong or General Wilkinson. In my occasional excursions with these gentlemen I observed that they did not ride at the same time. In my interviews with General Wilkinson his expressions implied a strong dislike of the interference of the War Department, and in fact the presence of the Secretary did lessen the influence of General Wilkinson. The contemplated junction with Hampton was a subject of discourse, and General

Wilkinson indulged in a too public expression of his dislike to General Hampton, which, on one occasion gave me a fair opportunity of saying to General Wilkinson that his remarks tended to revive the feuds and party feelings of the army that had been described before the court martial at Fredericktown in 1811.

Whatever may have been the influence of General Armstrong's presence there was no increase in the activity of preparation to move the army, which condition of things continued until the 8th October; when a sudden council of war was called and I was questioned as to my opinion of attacking Kingston. My reply was that I would not attack that place at all if the army was ready to move down the St. Lawrence, but if not ready, that Kingston might be surprised and the public stores burned in a couple of days by one thousand men, if my intelligence was to be relied on, as I believed it was.

On the same day I presented Mr. D. B. Douglass with letters from the War Department, informing him that the Secretary of War had acceded to my request to appoint him second lieutenant of engineers, and that he would repair to West Point for duty at the Military Academy, and by him I sent supplies to my family at Brooklyn.

Up to 19th October heard no more of an assault upon Kingston, on which day General Wilkinson directed me, with Brevet-Major Totten, to reconnoitre the St. Lawrence river in the vicinity of Prescott, and plan an attack upon that post, and to sound the river with a view to a rapid passage down the river. On 20th Major Totten and myself were on our way as far as Brownsville, leaving my military cloak in the care of Lieutenant Beverly Randolph, aid-de-camp to General Lewis, and also some books. On 23d, near Oswagatchie, met Colonel Sackett of the United States dragoons at the Bend, and with him arranged to be furnished with escort, and thence we proceeded to Ogdensburg and Morristown, opposite Brockville, in Canada. We here met Arnold Smith, who, with Mr. York of Ogdensburg, gave us much assistance. By 31st October I had procured a plan of Fort Prescott and sounded the channel of the river, and sent my plan of attack to General Wilkinson by express, whose reply was that he should enter the

river with his force by 3d November. On 4th instructed Colonel Sackett and Major Woodford to collect the boats that were near Hamilton for the use of the army.

Our reconnoitering was much annoyed by a party of Glengary Fencibles under Ruben Sherwood, a very active and shrewd refugee from Connecticut, so that our movements had to be made at early dawn, and our passage from place to place effected by night. At the close of this day (4th) Major Charles Nourse met me at Ogdensburg with advices from General Wilkinson, then at Grenadier Island, the army on the river. On 5th I met General Wilkinson in his boat on the river near Morristown, and he determined to pass Prescott at night. We were here joined by Colonel W. Scott and Colonel E. P. Gaines as volunteers. On 6th the main body of the army landed to march through Ogdensburg, and at night General Wilkinson directed me to conduct him in his boat past Prescott, which was done, the baggage following, the cannonade from the fort commencing as soon as our boat was under way. Little damage was sustained by the boats owing to the random fire from the fort, and, as I presume, from neglect of ranging their guns by daylight. Many of our officers and men, particularly the aged, were suffering from disordered bowels from the use of bad bread, especially General Wilkinson and General Lewis. The former sought relief in the use of opium, and soon after passing Prescott it was necessary to land, which was done at Sharp's farm, in whose house under the influence of laudanum the general became very merry, and sung and repeated stories, the only evil of which was that it was not of the dignified deportment to be expected from the commander-in-chief. At early dawn on 7th we reached the Indian village on the American shore, followed on the opposite bank of the river by light artillery from Prescott that annoyed our march somewhat. Our force, seven thousand rank and file. General Wilkinson here informed me that he expected soon to meet General Hampton and his four thousand troops. In the evening of 7th we arrived at the Narrows and remained till 9th, sending Colonel Alexander Macomb in advance, and crossing the dragoons from the American shore, our videts informing us that twenty-

three boats loaded with troops, protected by two gun boats, commanded by Captain Mulcaster, were following us at a distance of four miles. The evening of 9th we passed the Rapid Platte opposite Hamilton, and put to at Williamsburgh near Chrysler's farm. On the morning of the 11th November detachments were debarked from Boyd's, Swartwout's and Covington's brigades to lighten the boats, and to pass the dangers of the Long Sault. As these detachments were about to move down the margin of the river the enemy was seen advancing in column, their advance guard opening a light fire on us. Orders were given to face about and advance on the enemy in three columns, outflank them, and capture their artillery, each of our columns five hundred men. The enemy retired and formed behind a ravine at Chrysler's farm with their right wing forward, as our movement was to turn the left flank, their force about one thousand six hundred, their right supported by four pieces of artillery aided by eight gun boats in the river, that maintained a constant fire, though ill-directed. Our columns drove the enemy back across a ravine west of the first, and formed line on the brink of the ravine opposite the enemy, our left supported by four pieces of artillery and a reserve of one hundred and fifty dragoons. Both lines opened a fire on each other, and no attempt was made by our generals to charge until Colonel Walbach put the dragoons in motion. They were arrested by the fire of grape from the gun boats, killing some eight men and wounding many at the head of this charge. Both sides ceased firing at the same moment for no apparent cause, as neither side made any forward movement to charge further. Our columns, after having every fifth man killed or wounded, (one hundred and two of the former and two hundred and thirty-eight of the latter,) leaving our dead on the field, marched deliberately to our boats, pushed off and descended the river and the Long Sault, arriving on the morning of 12th at Barnhard's Bay, and were there joined by Colonel Macomb and General Brown of the advance, who had had an affair with the enemy at an adjacent bridge. During the action of the 11th November my duties were two-fold, that of engineer and aid to the commander-in-chief, therefore, being at various points in the field with orders, saw every movement and every neglect of movement that

I have noted. On this same day (12th) Colonel H. Atkinson, General Hampton's inspector-general, arrived at Barnhard's Bay with a letter from his chief declining a junction of his army at St. Regis. This declension put an end to the campaign. Our army left Barnhard's Bay 13th November, crossed the St. Lawrence and ascended the Salmon River six miles, to the French Mills. On 14th we buried with military honors General Leonard Covington, who had been mortally wounded on 11th November at Chrysler's farm. The general died on 12th. He requested me to send his sword to his son, and to give his horses to his servant, both of which were done.

After making proper arrangements in my department I received the following order in a letter from General Wilkinson:

"FRENCH MILLS, 17th November, 1813.

"COL. SWIFT: *Sir*,—You will please to proceed to General Hampton with the general order now delivered to you under seal, and having delivered it will communicate to me the result, to which you will be pleased to add freely and confidentially every observation material to the service which you may have made. You will employ an express to bear this communication to this place. You will then proceed to Washington, having leave to call on your family, and deliver to the Secretary of War the letter you have; and should he encourage it give him a detail of the affair of the 11th, and also of all our measures and movements. At Washington you will be able to learn what may be my destiny. Any communication you may make to me on this subject will be gratefully received. I shall also be glad to hear from you on your route through the great towns.

"With unfeigned friendship,

"Your obliged and faithful

"JAMES WILKINSON."

I proceeded to Plattsburgh with caution, having to evade the videts of the enemy, and arrived at General Hampton's headquarters on 19th November, and on 20th I wrote to General Wilkinson by express, as follows:

“PLATTSBURGH, 20th November, 1813:

“*Dear Sir:* I enclose an official report of my progress. I found General Hampton in bed, who said he was ready to obey your orders, with an army out of spirits, not more than one thousand six hundred effectives. I learn from the general that it was not his intention to disobey any order of yours, and that his non-junction was in consequence of the opinion that he was required to act upon your letter of 6th; and from General Armstrong's letter to him, which he showed me, there was no intimation of joining you above Chataugay. General Hampton pledges his sacred honor to me that it was his desire to have formed a junction with you. The last letter of General Armstrong to General Hampton has this expression in it: ‘The enemy have been able to overtake General Wilkinson and detain him as high up the river as Cornwall; it is evident that the movement below cannot safely be more than a feint.’

“On passing through Chataugay Four Corners I find all consumed by fire. From General Hampton I learn that all below has been burned by the English. All your supplies, then, must come from this point, Plattsburgh, and unless a force be left here to guard this pass and depôt the enemy can come upon General Hampton's rear and cut off future supply. I therefore think that General Hampton had better remain here. General Hampton is of opinion that the enemy cannot get up to you. He gives me a copy of his order for the march, (enclosed,) and entreats of you to allow a few days' delay. He furnishes relays of express horses to get my letter to you, in order that you may be acquainted with the nature of the country through which the enemy must march to make an attack on you. The roads are so bad on the Chataugay that the English cannot transport their artillery and necessary provisions. Captain McDonough is superior to the enemy on this lake in broad water with a working wind, and inferior under all other circumstances. The enemy could be in this place in twelve hours after General Hampton moves for Chataugay Four Corners. I am fully of the opinion that the government will make the best of our affairs, and I have been thinking of the plan, to wit: Sink all the boats in Salmon River, take sleds and move your army and stores to this place, ordering General

Hampton to build huts for your troops. Make from this an attack over the ice upon Isle au Noix, carry it and St. Johns, and determine in the spring to transport boats overland fourteen miles and make a descent on Montreal, or wait, with the command of these passes till our army be renovated for an efficient assault. This plan may be varied. The main reasons that influence my mind in this are: the necessity of doing something before spring, and of being in the best possible position for action then. General Hampton has sent his sick and convalescent into quarters at Burlington, Vermont."

The next day I again wrote to General Wilkinson as follows:

"PLATTSBURGH, 21st November, 1813.

"*Dear General:* Yesterday I wrote you a hasty memorandum, wishing to get off the express without delay. Though hasty, the more I reflect on the plan of your army moving to this place for winter quarters, and more especially as a new line of operations—the line that, in the end, must be adopted—the more am I impressed with its importance. From the French Mills the campaign of 1814 will be difficult in operation, and may be, if the enemy manage well with gun boats, defeated; difficult from the distance of army supplies, etc. Suppose in the spring that our usual tardy supply of recruits prevent any certain operation against the enemy. In such case this position on Lake Champlain would be preferable far to French Mills. Hold Sackett's Harbor, Fort George, and Plattsburgh with strong garrisons till our army has time to be reformed."

General Wilkinson's letter to the Secretary of War, mentioned in his order to me, is as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS FRENCH MILLS, 17th November, 1813.

TO GENERAL ARMSTRONG. *Dear General:* This will be delivered to you by Colonel Swift, who took the boldest and most active part in the action of 11th instant of any individual engaged except Adjutant-General Walbach, who is now ill in consequence of his exertions and fatigue. Colonel

Swift, from his personal observations on the ground, is able to give you many details which I deem improper to commit to paper, and for this purpose I have directed him to wait on you at Washington after he has seen Hampton with the order of which I yesterday transmitted you a copy. Your military system requires thorough revision, and your military establishment great reform, before we can put to the best advantage the natural force and courage of our countrymen. Since the action of 11th, British officers have acknowledged our dauntless courage, but observed we were undisciplined and fought without order, and indeed the scenes of that day justify these observations. Give Colonel Swift your confidence, and I pledge myself to you that he will not abuse it. God bless you my dear general.

“JAMES WILKINSON.”

On the day of the date of my letter to General Wilkinson, 21st November, after ordering Major William McRee and Captain S. Thayer of the engineers, then at Plattsburgh, to meet me in New York as soon as General Hampton could spare them, I left Plattsburgh and crossed the lake to Vermont and arrived in Albany on 25th, and by invitation at Governor Tompkins' as his guest, and where I found General Armstrong, Secretary of War, and also General William H. Harrison from our western army. The Secretary of War was in his chamber and on perusing the despatches he enquired into the condition of the forces, etc. I gave him in detail the condition in which I had left them, and of the movements on the St. Lawrence. He attributed the result to the negligence of both the generals. I gave him the substance of my letters to General Wilkinson from Plattsburgh and my reason for changing the course of our error that had been existing from the first year of the war, namely, inviting the enemy to the west instead of keeping him to the east by our operations on the natural line through Lake Champlain, and thereby compelling him to pass to and from Upper Canada by the Ottawa River, etc. These views could not have been novel in such a mind as General Armstrong's, and when at table the conversation was between him and the Governor and General Harrison, and

it was jocosely remarked that western war did not occasion John Bull to bring over veterans, as he would do if the war was pressed to the east, the Secretary turned the subject. General Harrison had been a pupil of General Wayne and though not of equal genius or reading with General Armstrong, he had sound military views, and he sustained the point of Governor Tompkins' waggery. The latter never spared a joke because it was true, save when it might injure feeling. There are few of larger generosity of feeling than Governor Tompkins. The power of calling out the militia was also a topic at table after dinner, and United States authority denied, by all, to make the call save through the action of the governor of the State, whose right and duty it would also be to designate the general and other officers until the body joined the army of the United States in the field. As to the causes of failure of the campaign on the St. Lawrence, the sojourn of General Armstrong on the frontier in the autumn had excited the jealousy of General Wilkinson. As the event is, both of the generals and Secretary would gladly attribute the failure to any other cause than their respective errors. The immediate cause of the failure is the delay on the river; overtaking our army by the British on 11th November ended the campaign. My impression is that a junction of Wilkinson and Hampton was not intended, and by consequence an assault on Montreal was not purposed after October, if previously. One of the main causes of delay is bad bread, and its consequent bad health. Our chiefs were old, and from the date of the movement from Sackett's Harbor the two oldest, Wilkinson and Lewis, had not a day of sound health until winter. If the army had been led by General Brown the end had been better than it is.

The evening of 25th, agreeably to his request I wrote to General Wilkinson my idea of his prospects, and mentioned my main views of 20th and 21st on his movements. As I could not with propriety mention the Secretary of War's conversation about himself and Hampton, I briefly said I found him dissatisfied with both.

At the same time I wrote Sheriff T. J. Davies on Black Lake that the Secretary of War had acceded to my request to send his son Charles to West Point as a cadet. I had given the Secretary an account of the zeal

that this youth had exhibited in the campaign on the St. Lawrence, and also of the service that the father had rendered to the march of the army between Ogdensburgh and the rapids below, in foraging, etc. The same evening I wrote Mr. Arnold Smith, who had been a very able guide on the St. Lawrence, that the Secretary of War offered him the post of assistant deputy quartermaster-general.

I found in Albany a letter from Professor Mansfield at West Point on the subject of his going to Ohio, and sent him leave to be from the Academy through the vacation of course, and also to 10th April, 1814.

On 26th my faithful and fearless man Jack arrived from Plattsburgh with my horses Scott and Flim Nap; placed them at livery with a cavalry soldier of the Revolutionary War, Mr. Gregory, to await orders for my return to the north, in case that my ideas of a campaign should be adopted.

On 27th November, with General Armstrong and General W. H. Harrison and other officers, taking a steamboat to ourselves and stopping at West Point to make an inspection, and on 28th found my family all in health at Brooklyn, in Washington Street. Thanks be to God!

On 30th November General Dearborn, the commander of the department, and General Harrison, dined and passed the evening at my quarters, and with my cousin, W. R. Swift. General Armstrong could not stay to dinner. The conversation was upon the mode of conducting the campaign of 1814.

We had that morning inspected the forts on Staten Island and west end of Long Island—a British squadron cruising off Sandy Hook.

On 9th December, with Bishop Hobart consulting on the subject of inviting the Rev. Adam Empie to take the chaplaincy of the Military Academy, the Secretary of War having in the previous summer given his consent to offer that appointment to Mr. Empie, and having learned that he (Mr. Empie) had determined to leave Wilmington, North Carolina, I now wrote to Mr. Empie that the Bishop highly approved the plan, and that the selection of an Episcopalian had been made because, aside from my own views, the service of that church was deemed to be the most appropriate to the discipline of a military academy.

December 11, the Secretary of War invited me to accompany him to the War Office at Washington, and on 15th with Mrs. Armstrong and her daughter, Miss Margaret, the journey was commenced. At Princeton, with the general, looked over the battle ground where General Mercer fell in the Revolution, and to whom the Secretary had been an aid-de-camp on that day, the Secretary marking the positions and movements of the American and British forces in that conflict.

We occupied until 24th in looking at the Delaware and Patapsco with military views, and in reaching Washington I found Mrs. Armstrong an amiable lady, and her daughter handsome and intelligent. The general has a fine mind, though personally of very inert habits, abounding in knowledge of the past and strong views of the future operations on the frontier. He spoke of General Washington in highest terms of respect for his integrity and patriotism, but not respectfully of his genius. We discoursed on the "Newburgh Letters." The general said that had he been one year older he would not have written them; that they had been a mill-stone hung about his neck through his life. He corroborated Dr. Eustis' saying that Colonel Pickering was on the committee which appointed him (General Armstrong) to write, and that Dr. Townsend had also been on that committee.

At Washington, on the presentation of my reports and estimates for fortifications and the Academy for 1814, I recommended that the chief engineer should have his office in the city of Washington. The objection was that the station of the corps of engineers was, by law, to be at West Point. My reply to this was that Congress could remedy that by a very brief resolution; that the necessity was apparent in the fact that the adjutant and paymaster-general's departments were established there for easy communication with the War Office; and that the functions of both of those offices were very simple, while those of the engineer department involved frequent elucidations to the Secretary of War upon expensive plans of construction, etc. There seemed to me to be an impression that having a military staff at Washington would be placing a personal influence there not congenial with our institutions. The wise and worthy President Madison, able to conduct the affairs of the country in times of peace very success-

fully, found himself oppressed by the disappointments that resulted from the imperfect composition of our army, and of operations concocted by his inexperienced counsellors, which were evinced by failures of campaigns. Neither himself nor his congressional intimates, nor his cabinet, fancied the proximity of a military staff as advisers in a war that had been commenced without preparation, a neglect that had much of its origin in a just though misdirected dread of a standing army; which error had also been accompanied by an omission of competent provision for the construction and keeping in good condition the machinery of war. That is, providing and classifying arms and munitions under the care of competent and responsible officers to conserve the same, and including in said provision a corps of instructed administrative officers with a comparative small number of men as a nucleus upon which may be predicated any force that a war may make needful.

The habits of the nation, for more than a quarter of a century previously to this war, had been that of peaceful commerce; now disturbed by the aggression of foreign powers that had made retaliation necessary, these habits in peace had become so moulded by demagogues that the people were more influenced by personal objects and small party politics than by views for the public good; a course of conduct that had thronged the halls of Congress with representatives, a large majority of whom had but slender mental endowments. In the progress of the war a better state of things was dawning. The pressure of the war had turned quiet and intelligent minds of men at home to reflect gravely on the lack of talent in Congress, and in the cabinet also. The elections began now to return better informed citizens to Congress. The experience of Mr. Madison had been comparatively great, but it had been altogether of a civil character. In appointing military officers, resort was had to those who had survived, and who had held subordinate offices in the great struggle for independence; even these were too aged for prolonged activity in the field. The subject of change in the selection of officers for the army as leaders had become a common topic at Washington, and it was admitted that too much favor to party had been exercised in making army appointments. Such men as General John

Brooks in Massachusetts, and Colonel Jonathan Williams of Philadelphia were now thought of, as of the youngest on the Revolutionary list who were competent to lead.

WEST POINT, December 31st, 1816.

1814. January. On 3d of this month, at the request of Governor Worthington of Ohio, I gave him a plan to form a military academy in that growing State. My view of the use of such institutions in the several States is that it is the best mode to interest militia officers to train no larger body of militia than a battalion; that no larger force of militia could be usefully assembled, and consequently no higher grade of rank should be conferred in the militia than that of major. The duty of a freeman to defend his country could be best initiated at such schools. But by no means to interfere with the Military Academy at West Point.

The appropriations for 1814 were to raise three regiments of riflemen and ten companies of rangers, also five hundred thousand dollars for floating batteries—contemplating the steam frigate plan of Mr. Fulton—and five hundred thousand dollars for fortifications.

In this month of January, at Washington several highly talented gentlemen of Congress, together with some citizens sojourning there, and including some officers of the army, held meetings to consult upon measures to be recommended to the country through the gazettes and by correspondence with citizens in all the States of the Union, to commend General John Armstrong for the next presidency, under the conviction that to carry on the war with success to attain peace the President should be a military man. Jeremiah Mason of New Hampshire, then in the Senate, was the leader of this plan, and I was myself an humble agent to promote the purpose. The "Newburgh Letters" were the chief obstacle to our essay. But General Armstrong was the strongest mind of the party in power, and it had been useless to have wasted our efforts on General Pinckney; he had the curse of Federalism attached to his most honored name. The subject subsided. It was impracticable from the lowness of motive that had to be addressed to a misguided public. Popularity of a

mean species was needed to sustain a fresh candidate. But the essay had one good influence upon the cabinet, to spur it on to make new and suitable appointments, and to adopt a plan of campaign that promised useful success, namely, by concentrating our forces upon Lower Canada.

On 20th January my orders sent Colonel Armistead to inspect and repair the fortifications south of Maryland, and Major William McRee to Sackett's Harbor to construct defences there, taking upon myself the direction of the repairs on the Delaware, and thence eastward to Maine. On 28th January arrived at headquarters at Brooklyn, and until 24th February engaged with General Moses Porter, the officer of ordnance, in commencing the repairs at Fort Mifflin and in New York Harbor. On 24th February my father, Dr. Foster Swift, received the appointment of surgeon in the army, through the efforts of his former schoolmate in Boston, Hon. H. G. Otis.

On 25th February received my commission from Adjutant John B. Walbach, as brevet brigadier-general in the army. Its date, instead of 14th February should have been 11th November, 1813. This omission I have attributed to General Armstrong's dislike of my friendly regard for General Wilkinson.

On 28th February to Philadelphia, to meet the committee of defence there, my former chief, Colonel Williams, its principal counsellor, and by order of the Secretary of War, and with Colonel Williams' advice, formed a plan for the Delaware, and to defend the approaches by land. On the 2d of March proceeded with the committee down the Delaware in the revenue cutter to Fort Mifflin, and to the Pea Patch, accompanied by the veteran Colonel Allen McLean and Commodore Stewart, and selected the Pea Patch and a point opposite on the Delaware as sites for works of defence, to be occupied at once. Commodore Stewart's views are of a true military character, both for land and sea. Reported the result of this examination to the War Department on my return to Philadelphia, where, in consequence of letters from Washington, on 4th March I wrote Mr. Ferdinand R. Hassler, then in London, under cover of Hon. Jonathan Russell, and also through Mr. Gallatin, that his long absence from the

United States was commented upon, and that I hoped he would return to the United States to resume the coast survey as soon as possible. Among the rumors was one that he was dabbling in politics, and corresponding with the enemies of England on the subject of the oppression that his native land (Switzerland) was sustaining. Mr. Hassler was conducting the construction of mathematical instruments for the survey with Mr. Edward Troughton.

On 6th March I went to Germantown to consult with Major Roberdeau on the topography of the Delaware shore, and there met Mr. Stephen H. Long, and examined his successful hydraulic machinery; gave him my aid to enter the corps of engineers as a second lieutenant, and employed him to join me at Brooklyn as an assistant engineer. Returned to Delaware River, and on 9th of March, after consulting with General Bloomfield on the military defences, returned to my family at Brooklyn. On 19th proceeded to West Point to examine the cadets and other matters about the Academy, that employed me there for one week. On 3d April Mrs. Swift and myself were confirmed at St. Ann's by Bishop Hobart, at Brooklyn, L. I.

On 4th April received from Major John J. Abert a letter, enclosing a present from Robert Carey Jennings, of an original letter of three pages, fool's-cap paper, blue, and English make, from General (then Major) Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, dated 3d June, 1754, speaking of an expected battle with Jumonville, and having a remarkable expression in it as coming from *Washington* to a *governor*, to wit: "If Jumonville behave no better than he did last week I shall have little difficulty in driving him to the devil." Which letter may not have been copied by General Washington in his then position, and which therefore may serve to elucidate the slander cast on Washington by the French governor, of cruelty, etc. This letter R. C. Jennings received from his father-in-law, the Rev. Neidler Robinson, living not far from Petersburgh, Va., and who had been a personal friend of Washington's. I, for safety, deposited this letter, by the hands of John Pintard, in the archives of the Historical Society of New York. Of the authenticity of the letter, from the hand-writing, some careless orthography and its whole aspect, not a doubt existed.

April 9th, with my cousin William Roberdeau Swift, and my brother-in-law, Julius H. Walker, proceeded on a tour of inspection to direct the repair of all the fortifications east of New York to Maine.

April 13th we arrived at Boston; met there my father at his post as United States surgeon, the family residing in Sudbury Street; my mother in excellent health. I had not seen my parents for four years and five months. The time had been gentle in its effects on my parents. Examined the works at the Castle and on Governor's Island, and the waters to the lower anchorage.

April 16th, to General Brooks in Medford, to consult about obstructing the channel of Boston Harbor by hulks sunk with care. My cousin W. R. Swift was with me, and after dining with the general we were returning to Boston in our hired chaise, and driving at good speed encountered a country wagon and broke its fore axle, capsized our chaise into a hollow, which instantly killed our horse. The expense of this drive was one hundred and sixty dollars, and we both escaped with very slight contusions.

April 19th, leaving Mr. Swift and Mr. Walker to visit the *alma mater* of the latter at Cambridge, I proceeded with Commodore Hull, United States navy, to Portsmouth, N. H., and on board the frigate Congress there met my cousin John Lovering, a fine scholar, but by dissipation reduced to a clerkship on board this vessel; made arrangements for his discharge, and to return to his excellent mother in Boston. Examined the new seventy-four on the stocks; renewed my acquaintance at the Langdon's and Sheafe's, and with Commodore Hull examined the harbor to plan means of protection against sudden incursion from the British cruisers; gave orders for suitable repairs on Fort Constitution, and a covered battery at Kittery on the Maine shore. The works at Portland being deemed by General M. Porter in as good condition as they could be placed, I went no farther east.

April 21st returned to Boston, and on 23d with General John Brooks, T. H. Cushing and Colonel Sullivan attended an experiment at the navy yard, where one hundred and seventy-five balls of lead, of two ounces weight each, were discharged from seven gun barrels hooped together, each barrel containing twenty-five balls, and the whole discharged at a

target two hundred and fifty yards off, the balls penetrating to various depths out of sight into the target. Chamber's repeating gun. Three days after, with Governor Brooks, General Cushing and Colonel Sullivan I inspected the channel-way down the harbor, with a view to planning a system of hulks to obstruct the same. Found Colonel George Sullivan an active and intelligent aid in this matter, giving the subject his whole time.

April 27th, with my mother and sister, Sarah Adams, cousin W. R. Swift and Mr. Adams, on my way to Rhode Island Harbor. Passed a couple of days at Taunton Green, at the academy and other nooks of William R. and my boyhood scenes, meeting Dr. Doggett and the Leonards, and Crockers, and Tillinghasts, Cobbs and other early friends, greatly to the pleasure of my mother, and to all of us. I here finished my plan for so sinking the hulks in Boston Harbor as by aid of pumps to float each vessel at will, and sent the same to Colonel Sullivan to be laid before the gentlemen before mentioned, by the hands of Justice Parker, on the last day of April; the same day saw my mother, etc., off for Boston, and, with W. R. Swift left for Newport, R. I. After examining the forts, gave to Captain Julian F. Heileman directions for the repair thereof, which occupied me to the 3d May, when, with W. R. Swift, proceeded over to Conanicut, and by the ferry and road thence to New London, where, with General H. Burbeck arranged for the best that could there be done to repel any sudden assault of the enemy, then laying off in Gardner's Bay.

Found Colonel Roswell Lee an excellent volunteer officer, abounding in military resources for plans of defence, and an indefatigable and able executor of the field works to enclose old Fort Griswold—the key of the position. To the work done here I have attributed safety from marauding parties, such as succeeded at the mouth of the Connecticut River.

On 7th May, *via* Fort Hale in New Haven Harbor, arrived at my headquarters, Brooklyn, where the Rev. Adam Empie reported himself for duty at the Military Academy. I found on my desk letters from the War Department in reply to my request to be assigned to duty on the lake frontier, which in my opinion could now be done, as every arrangement had been made to repair and arm the fortifications on the seaboard. My

request was declined, though General Brown had asked that I might be sent to Niagara; the reason assigned—the need of my services on the seaboard—may be sufficient, they were not so deemed by me. However, General Dearborn proposed examining all the defences of New York Harbor, in which I accompanied him. The spirit of the war of '76, and his experience therein, gave a zest to the reconnoitre, and interest to the opinion of this veteran. We were a week employed in this service, to 17th of May. On 20th of which month I accompanied Rev. Mr. Empie to West Point, and inducted him to his office, that of chaplain and professor of ethics, and also treasurer of the Academy; a novel junction of functions, but rendered needful by the want of officers.

My cousin, William R. Swift, was with me, and with a corps of cadets we ascended to the summit of Crows' Nest Hill, and measured its distance from Fort Clinton by the sound of its cannon, having with us a time chronometer. At one thousand one hundred and forty-two feet the second for the passage of sound, the distance is eight thousand two hundred and seventy-nine feet.

On my return to headquarters, Brooklyn, 29th, was called on by Colonel Nicholas Fish, formerly the adjutant-general of the United States army, who informed me of the apprehension of the citizens of New York, and his wish to consult with me on the mode of communication with the War Department on measures needful to defending the city.

This conference resulted in the appointment of a committee of defence by the city corporation. At this time a British squadron was cruising off the harbor. On 10th I met Governor Tompkins and the mayor, De Witt Clinton. By their advice funds were furnished by the corporation and *spies* were employed by me to visit the squadron off the Hook, who brought me a sketch from the cabins of Sir John B. Warren and Sir Thomas Hardy, which, whether real or speculative, contemplated a descent at some point on the coast between Rhode Island and Chesapeake Bay, and which I reported to General Armstrong at Washington. Upon this I invited the governor and mayor to examine with me the East River to Throg's Point, and the main channel to sea by Sandy Hook, giving them my opinion that the

citizens might be invited to construct a line of defence in the rear of Brooklyn, and another from Hallet's Point in Hell Gate across York Island to Mount Alto. These gentlemen approved the idea, and at their instance six thousand dollars were placed at my disposal to commence the plan. I was at this time joined by Lieutenant James Gadsden as my aid-de-camp.

General Morgan Lewis was ordered to relieve General Dearborn in the command of the third department at New York.

On 22d June Robert Fulton, Esq., Commodore Decatur, Hon. Oliver Wolcott, General Lewis and myself witnessed an experiment made by Mr. Fulton at Governor's Island, to show the effect of discharging a cannon under water. Mr. Fulton placed a thirty-two pounder five feet below the surface of the water, and the muzzle five feet from a target composed of oak plank five feet thick, the passage to the vent being secured from dampness and nealed powder packed in a box leading to the vent, the piece charged with twelve pounds of powder and one thirty-two pound shot secured with plenty of wadding. On giving fire no sound was produced, and no violent action of the water. Numerous air bubbles came to the surface. The shot went through the five feet of water and through the target, tearing it in many pieces. In the open air on Governor's Island the same day, a thirty-two pounder cannon was charged with twelve pounds of powder and one shot, and fired at a target of the material and dimensions just mentioned, at two hundred and fifty yards distance. The shot penetrated four and a half feet, and much shattered the frame of the target. This experiment was made to show what could be done by suspending cannon over the side of a ship and running close alongside an enemy's ship.

The last of this month of June my cousin William R. Swift left us to proceed to the South, and I proceeded to West Point to inspect the Academy, and my family accompanied me. We returned 1st July, when, on reporting to the Secretary of War the condition of the Academy, I also stated the incipient measures of the corporation of New York, and received orders from the Secretary to render every aid in my power to such plan of protection as the city might adopt. On 15th sent Lieutenant James Gadsden to commence the works of Hallet's Point, a block-house on Mile

Rock, and a tower in the rear of the Point to cover the right of our line of defence. On the same day the mayor and my late chief, Colonel Jonathan Williams, Major Fairley, General Morton, (an industrious and most useful public officer and patriot,) were, with my father, Dr. Swift and General Stevens, assembled at the Point, and there named the position Fort Stevens in honor of the general, our companion, a patriot of the Revolution, and a prominent officer of artillery at Saratoga in 1777; who gave the party a dinner at Mt. Napoleon, his country seat, in honor of the occasion.

On 17th July commenced the works on Harlem Heights at Mt. Alto on the Hudson, extending thence by McGowan's Pass and the elevated ground that overlooks Harlem Flat to Hell Gate. The trenches were opened by a detachment of volunteers, citizens from the city, under Major Horn, a Revolutionary worthy. This line is taken in preference to an advanced one, because money and men are not yet at command.

On 26th July, with the committee of defence, urging the call upon the citizens to turn out and occupy Brooklyn Heights. A party of one thousand paraded at my quarters on August 6th, and broke ground on Fort Green. By 8th of the month the details became regular of citizen volunteers, each party working one day from sun to sun, yielding a force ranging from one thousand two hundred to two thousand per day, at Brooklyn and Harlem.

On 29th August Governor Tompkins and the mayor (Mr. Clinton,) with the committee of defence, adopted my organization of forces to man the works now constructing; General Armstrong assuring that one thousand six hundred regular troops would be at our command in a few days. We had an encampment of three thousand militia, a gun boat, and sea fencible force of five hundred men; Commodore Decatur had seven hundred sailors at command, General Morton had one thousand five hundred and General Mapes one thousand five hundred enrolled, at one hour's call. The exempts of the city enrolled themselves, one thousand five hundred; two corps under Samuel Swartwout and J. B. Murray, Esquires, were also formed. The steamboats were put in requisition to bring three thousand from Orange and Dutchess Counties; General Jeremiah Johnston, of Long

Island, had one thousand men under his very prompt and able command ; Newark offered three thousand and lower Jersey three thousand. Thus we had at call twenty thousand three hundred citizen soldiers. They were habitually under arms, and taught the ordinary marching and firing. I had the temporary office of inspector-general, and visited all these corps and examined their arms, flints, and ball cartridges, and established expresses. Addressed the citizens at the city hall, and counselled that no citizen should leave New York but on urgent necessity. In reference to the sick and disabled, caused the "Ten," and other public houses out of the city to be put in order with wards, nurses, stores and surgeons. The mode of defence was thus arranged in case the enemy landed. It was my part to lead to the shore, and Commodore Decatur to cover the flanks. The whole force encamped on Harlem Heights and at Brooklyn at any one time did not exceed twelve thousand rank and file. My functions in the busy scene were various. The committee of defence gave little heed to the regular functions of staff officers, and expected from me not only my own professional statement to them of the progress upon what they termed my lines of defence, but also an account of the progress of the ordnance constructions, the state of the artillery, the quartermaster-general's department and of the hospitals; in accomplishing which the aid of the officers of all departments was freely given, all of them estimating justly the exigency of the times, and waiving the observance of the ordinary routine of accountability to the committee, passed through my hands all the facts that were essential to enable the committee to estimate and acquire from the city corporate authorities the pecuniary means to execute our plan of defence. I had fine health and an excellent saddle horse, to whom the wags gave the name of "Flim Nap," after one of the heroes of the *Dean*, who carried me at half speed from and to Harlem and Brooklyn with ease, twice, and sometimes three and four times in a day, thus enabling me to forward the working parties of citizens. My principal aid-de-camp was Lieutenant James Gadsden of the United States engineers, who was of efficient and untiring ability. General Jacob Morton and General John Mapes ; the comptroller of the city, Thomas R. Mercein, and most especially General Nicholas

Fish, chairman of the committee of defence, and Major Horn were constant aids to my labors, and many others of the citizens of both New York and Brooklyn; in the latter, Joshua Sands, Esq., was prominent. My extra aids-de-camp were Messrs. James Renwick, John K. Bergwin, William Proctor, and William Kemble—the first and third topographers. Mr. Holland, the artist, volunteered his graphic services to avoid duty in the line of troops, and gave us more than twenty sketches of various parts of the line of works and adjacent scenery. The zeal of the citizens, led on by the most respectable gentlemen of the city in daily labor with the pick and shovel, had in a few weeks accomplished an incredible amount of work upon the lines. To these efforts the eloquence of the city, the patriotic song and thrilling story lent their aid and natural influence. Hawkins' songs, and the apt and facetious sallies of Maxwell were not among the least incentives to labor. The display of valor of our navy, and the heroism of our troops on the frontier gave vigor to the army of youth and age in our trenches, and finally the vandalic folly of Britain in burning the national archives at Washington in the month of September, topped the climax of feeling that kept our citizens with entrenching tools in their hands until the parapets across York and Long Island were bristling with ordnance, that gave token of our readiness for defence. This desirable state of our armament was attained by the close of the month of November, and the lines occupied by the troops from the several encampments of Brooklyn and Harlem.

On 27th December I received orders from the War Department to proceed in the ensuing January to Baltimore, as a member of a military board to revise the present, and form a new system of infantry tactics for the United States army.

In the two years past I have endeavored to promote the interests of the Military Academy by selecting the intellectual sons of my most respectable acquaintance, and inviting them to apply to the Secretary of War for cadet's warrants. Among the number is William McNeill, the son of my friend Dr. Daniel McNeill of Wilmington, N. C.; whom, meeting on my way to West Point, and he on his way to commence theological study with Rev. Mr.

Wyatt of Newtown, L. I., he (William) found my purpose suitable to his propensities, and so took him with me to the Point. He has been there now several months, and gives evidence of being suited to the place.

1815. In pursuance of the orders of 27th ultimo I proceeded from headquarters, Brooklyn, to Baltimore on 5th of January, where on 9th the board to revise, etc., assembled. Its composition was General W. Scott, Brevet-General J. G. Swift, Colonel J. R. Fenwick, Colonel William Cumming and Colonel William Drayton, with Captain John M. Glassell as secretary. This board continued in sessions until the 25th February, when it completed its duties and reported the same to the Secretary of War, by whom I was directed to have the plates executed and engraved, and six thousand copies of the new book printed at New York. While on this duty at Baltimore I received a summons from Judge-Advocate Martin Van Buren, Esq., to appear at the trial of General Wilkinson at Troy, N. Y., as a witness. I wrote the Secretary of War of my receipt of this order, to know whether I was to leave the board in obedience to the summons. No reply was made to my letter, and I pursued my duties at the board. I knew that the trial had no object of a national character in view. I did not feel inclined to recount at that trial the weakness exhibited by Wilkinson at Thorp's House on the margin of the St. Lawrence in November, 1813, because Wilkinson was no more in fault than Hampton for the failure of the campaign, and because Wilkinson had written to General Armstrong a favorable account of my conduct on the field at Chrysler's farm, and because I knew that the campaign was in no wise influenced by the scene at Thorp's, and I had so stated the facts of the day and night to General Armstrong. Mr. Monroe at this time discharged the double duty of minister of war and state. Between himself and General Armstrong there did not exist any amicable relations. The scenes at Bladensburg and Washington in the last year had embittered the feelings of each to the other, and General Armstrong had, by resigning the War Department, given strength to his opponents. On my way to Baltimore I had met him in Philadelphia, and said to him on perusing his memorandum of a letter of resignation, that "in my opinion that letter would place a cudgel in the hands of Mr. Madison."

However, a choice of duties being left to me by the War Department, I preferred the duty on the board at Baltimore. It is true that a summons to a court martial is imperative, and to neglect the mandate may expose one to arrest and trial; but knowing of the animosity subsisting between the parties to this trial at Troy, I had no inclination to appear for or against either as a witness, and heard no more of the summons.

The assembling of the military board at Baltimore had brought thither several prominent officers of the army in addition to the board, and to those who formed the general staff of the military command of the United States district in that city. The probable campaign in the ensuing spring was a general theme of conversation among us, in the midst of which, on 13th of February, came the news of a treaty of peace having been signed at Ghent. On the same day arrived the account of the defeat of the British army before New Orleans by General Jackson. The consequent illumination of the city, combining a double celebration of events, in a calm night when everything was covered with snow, formed a very impressive scene. In the centre of a window in Market Street I observed a brilliant star embracing the whole window, in the centre of which was a quotation from Shakspeare's *Henry VI.*: "Relieved is Orleans from the British wolves."

On 17th of the month I was called to Washington to consult with the Secretary of War upon a plan to reduce the army to a peace establishment. The board had also been called upon to report its opinion on that subject. On waiting upon the President I found him greatly improved in health, and overjoyed at the conclusion of the war.

The general idea of Congress seemed to be to reduce the army to a standard upon which an army of fifty thousand men might be engrafted, which the provisions of the law fell far below the proper scale to sustain. The old theme of competency of militia became rife, and Congress provided to resume the services of forty thousand thereof in case of need. An appropriation of the sums of four hundred thousand dollars, and two hundred thousand dollars, was made to carry on the fortifications. An extended organization of the Military Academy was proposed, and to that

effect I recommended that two of our best officers, to wit, Colonel McRee and Major Thayer, should be sent to Europe to examine the works of France, etc., and on the Rhine and low countries, and to form a library for the Academy.

After sending to the various officers of the engineers orders to inspect the condition of the works on the fortifications, in order to repair throughout the Atlantic ports, I returned on 3d March to my family in Brooklyn, with whom the Rev. Mr. Empie had passed the winter, and where Mrs. Swift had received the account of the death of her only sister, Harriet, Mrs. Osborne, in North Carolina. On my way, at Philadelphia, with my former chief, Colonel Williams, and examined the arrangements made to resist any land attempts that the British might have made, and gave him a description of the works erected around Baltimore for similar purposes; and also gave him a sketch of what had been done on York and Long Islands—positions well known to him—and the plans had his professional approbation.

On 7th of March, at Brooklyn, received from the committee of defence of the city the proceedings of the corporation in reference to my services in the past year. They had requested my portrait, to be executed by the executive John Wesley Jarvis, to be placed in the city hall as a memorial; and they resolved that I was a benefactor to the city. They also sent to Mrs. Swift my half-length portrait, also done by Jarvis, together with forty-three pieces of silver, and also presented me a case of silver drawing instruments, and a very handsome pleasure barge, by which to amuse my family and friends in excursions over the bay of New York.

On 15th of the month I presented to the committee of defence a general view of the system of defence, and the plans of all the works that had been constructed by citizen labor; the whole comprised in a folio atlas, with my report, containing also my acknowledgements of the aid that I had received from Lieutenant James Gadsden, my aid-de-camp. He was of the corps of engineers, and grand-son of the patriot General Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina; and also acknowledging the services of Messrs. Renwick, Proctor, Kemble and others, including the artist Holland. The artist Jarvis, before mentioned, is the grand-son of the great John Wesley, the leader of

Methodism. Mr. Jarvis has many fine qualities as an artist, and great social ability.

On 12th April gave instructions to Colonel McRee and Major Thayer to proceed to France as recommended to the Secretary of War and President in February last, and those gentlemen sailed from Boston on 10th June in the United States frigate "Congress."

On 20th June, returning from an inspecting tour to West Point, I met Captain John M. Glassel, the secretary of the board, and arranged with him to aid me in consulting the printer and engraver to print the work done in Baltimore upon infantry tactics. The work was immediately commenced by Mr. Mercein and others.

On 11th July, in pursuance of orders from the War and Navy Departments, proceeded to Newport, R. I., and met Commodores Bainbridge and O. H. Perry, the three forming a commission with instructions to explore Narragansett Bay and its tributary waters, with a view to the selection of a position for a navy depôt, which order was laboriously executed, including Providence and Taunton Rivers, Fall River and the Watupper Ponds. Our report to the department at Washington agreed in opinion that Newport Harbor was the most important post for navy refuge on the coast of the United States. The report also embraces a system for the defence of the depôt, including the various approaches by land and water, and also commending the closing of the passage between Conanicut Island and the main land by a dyke of large stone, that might afterwards be removed if found desirable to do so. On 24th July the commission returned to my office in Brooklyn, and thence forwarded our report to the War and Navy Departments. On 15th August I proceeded to an inspection at West Point, and found much difficulty in keeping the place furnished with needful supplies, and was obliged to incur many debts to sustain the Academy. Returned to the city early in September, and in correspondence with the War Department found that funds could not be sent from the treasury. By the authority of the Secretary of War I attempted to negotiate a loan from the banks of the city, which every one of them declined as unsuited to their mode of doing business. In fact they did not like the security—the pledge of the depart-

ment to pay the loan as soon as Congress supplied the means — a far-off event in the opinion of the banks in the then reduced value of treasury notes. In this dilemma I met Jacob Barker, who liked the security on the condition that I would draw upon him for not more than ten thousand dollars per week, and thus in the course of six weeks I received sixty-five thousand dollars from him in bank paper, and thereby prevented a disbandment of the Military Academy and a suspension of the repairs on the fortifications in New York Harbor. Taking the then condition of “public credit” into view I deem this act of Mr. Barker to be in a high degree patriotic. He is to receive seven per cent. per annum until the loan be paid.

On 5th September invited to a dinner given to Hon. Mr. Clay, Rufus King and Albert Gallatin.

In October sent my views to the Secretary of War for securing the fortifications of the United States from dilapidation pending the scarcity of money, and also in case of relief from the pressure, what new works might be commenced in 1816 if the view given met his approbation, and was sustained by Congress; the whole amount contemplated being eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars.

At the close of the month of October my father and mother came from Boston, to pass the winter in my family in Washington Street, Brooklyn. My sister Sarah and her son Julius also arrived in the month of November, leaving her daughter Louisa at nurse in Boston. My sister was confined at my house with her daughter Delia. My brother-in-law, Mr. Eli W. Adams, and my cousin, William R. Swift, were then establishing themselves in business in Baltimore. I gave them letters to Robert Oliver, Esquire, who aided them with loans. This course of Mr. Oliver was habitual with him toward young men of business. Adams and Swift were much benefitted thereby, and Mr. Oliver, on my thanking him for his volunteer aid in this matter, informed me that Adams and Smith had punctually refunded the loan.

On 21st December Lieutenant Gadsden and myself, accompanied by my sister Sarah and her children, took a private carriage to Philadelphia, where we were joined by Professor F. R. Hassler, and arrived in Baltimore on

28th. Gadsden, my aid-de-camp, and myself proceeded to Washington, and by order of the Secretary of War established the headquarters of the corps of engineers in a part of the house of Mrs. King, the widow of Nicholas King, long a draughtsman to the War Department; and after preparing the reports for commencing the works upon the fortifications I sent Lieutenant Gadsden to General Andrew Jackson, who had written me a request to select a suitable officer to serve as his aid-de-camp. Having entire confidence in the ability and character of Gadsden I thus deprived myself of his services, believing that the measure would promote the interests of a very deserving man, in a field of larger scope than his aidship to me could offer.

1816. In addition to the ordinary duties of my office in Washington I had many communications with the President and Secretary of War during the month of January, upon improvements and extension of the Military Academy, with a view to inviting to that institution some officers from the military schools of France. The question was whether to place these officers as professors at the Academy, or to attach them to the corps of engineers in a bill about to be prepared by the military committee of Congress.

In February I proceeded down the Potomac with Lieutenant Colonel Armistead and Major Roberdeau, to examine Cedar Point as a site for a fort. On our return to Washington in the sloop that had been chartered for this service, the ice cut the bottom of the vessel so that she sunk on a shoal below Alexandria, and we escaped to the shore, with some difficulty, with our instruments and papers.

While in conversation with the President on the subject of this defence of the approach to Washington, he expressed an opinion that Captain Partridge might be detailed on the duty connected with this contemplated work, or on some other duty that would relieve him from West Point. My reply to this was that to displace Captain Partridge suddenly, and without assigning the cause, could not be just to his official rights. The President assented to the correctness of this, but said: Captain Partridge is not deemed by the Secretary of War the most suitable officer of engineers for

duty at the Academy. I called immediately on the Secretary of War and stated these circumstances. He said the matter would be considered further, and that though he should not interfere with any order in reference thereto he would prefer that I should send some officer of engineers to relieve Captain Partridge. I then stated to Mr. Crawford that the service of superintending at West Point was not desirable to any officer of the corps. The subject was deferred until I had made my visit of inspection. I then departed for an inspection of Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, where, on my arrival, I took lodgings with my brother-in-law Adams, in St. Paul's Lane, and after visiting Fort McHenry proceeded to Fort Mifflin in the Delaware, and thence to my quarters in Brooklyn on the last day of February. Early in March found me at West Point with Captain Partridge, to whom I was not at liberty to communicate what had passed between Mr. Madison, Mr. Crawford and myself. I however said that he had enemies at Washington. I was at this time taken ill with ague, and detained at the hospitable quarters of Mrs. Mansfield, and was relieved by the extraction of my front tooth, and did not reach my family in Brooklyn until early in April; finding there our first daughter, Sarah Delano, born in my absence on 30th March.

On 22d April I was apprised by letter from Lieutenant S. H. Long, that the purpose of the President was to so conform to the new bill before Congress, by introducing a skillful engineer from France into the corps of engineers, and that it was rumored that the plan had received my approbation. By the return mail, on 23d April, I wrote to the Hon. Jeremiah Mason, and to the Hon. William Lowndes, an inquiry what was the actual purpose of the President, for I had received no intimation from the War Department in relation to this matter since the conversation before mentioned in January. Their replies show, that to expedite the passage of the bill before alluded to in January, members of Congress were informed that the bill was in accordance with my opinions. Without delay I wrote to the Secretary of War that the only accordance on my part in this matter was expressed in the conversation that I had with him and the President in January.

On 2d May the Secretary of War wrote me to assign the appropriation,

eight hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars, to the different works in the United States, "to facilitate operations," etc.

On the 8th of that month I returned to the Secretary of War my opinion on the subject of his letter, designating one hundred and seventy thousand dollars for repairs of fortifications and two hundred and three thousand dollars for finishing the works that had been commenced, leaving four hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars for newly projected works. A letter from the Secretary of War was now on its way to me, dated on the same 8th May, stating that at the close of the late session of Congress the President had been authorized to employ General Bernard, or some other "skillful engineer," through the agency of Hon. Albert Gallatin, and that until the arrival of that engineer the commencement of new works would be postponed. (See my files, A.) On 21st May I replied to the Secretary of War, (see B,) to which he rejoined on 11th June, (as in C,) and to which I replied on 1st July, (as in D,) which documents I requested my friends, Hon. Rufus King and Hon. Oliver Wolcott, to examine and favor me with their opinions. Mr. King invited Mr. Wolcott and myself to dine with him at Jamaica for the purpose of that examination; both of these gentlemen having been long conversant with governmental affairs, and both of them, by their conduct in the late war, not unduly influenced by party politics. They gave me the opinion that my views, as expressed in D, were sound and just. To this letter D, Mr. Crawford replied as in E; all of which are of record in the engineer department at the war office at Washington.

Pending these discussions the works on the fortifications of the United States were in no other way progressing than in the ordinary repairs.

In July a large meeting in the city to form the American and Foreign Bible Society; Joshua Sands and J. G. Swift members from Long Island.

The French engineer, selected by the Marquis de La Fayette and Mr. Gallatin, was General Bernard, who this summer arrived in New York, and had his interviews with the Secretary of War and the President, without my being informed of the nature of that intercourse. The general, however, when he came to the city, was, with his family, received by mine with hospitality, and by myself and the corps at large was treated with every personal

respect; and every facility in my power was offered to him, by a view of all our plans and reports, to enable him to acquire a knowledge of the military defences of the country, in order that so skillful an engineer—and one in whom Napoleon had reposed much confidence—might suggest the correction of any error that our young corps of officers might have committed.

This humiliating act of my country made me very unhappy, added to which the War Department made an essay to place me in a position where my sentiments might least influence my brother officers of engineers. Accordingly on 9th September the Secretary of War wrote me that Captain Partridge did not conduct the Military Academy satisfactorily to the President; that it was necessary for me to repair to West Point as soon as my official duties elsewhere would permit, and there to establish the headquarters of the corps of engineers, and to assume in person the superintendence of the Academy, in conformity with the laws that had been in a species of abeyance during and since the war, by reason of my absence in various parts of the Union, on duty. In obedience of which order, on 16th November, I went to West Point, and relieved Captain Partridge, and assumed the superintendence, etc., on 25th of that month.

Soon after this I received from the Secretary of War a letter of 19th November, informing me that a board of engineers had been formed by order of the President, and that General Bernard had been appointed a brigadier-general by brevet, as second in command, and that the general had been ordered to report himself to me at West Point, to receive my views of his functions on said board.

On 2d December, General Bernard reported himself to me at the Point, and became my guest. At my instance we discussed the propriety of introducing foreign officers into the engineer department of any country; General Bernard maintaining that it had been the common practice of France and Russia. On my part it was deemed impolitic, at least, to place in the hands of any foreign nation a knowledge of all our assailable points of defence, and means to occupy them, however high and honorable might be the character of the individuals of any foreign nation so employed. This

argument was maintained in mutual good temper. I said to General Bernard that, lest he might misunderstand the principle upon which I acted, or be misinformed by rumor or otherwise, I placed in his hands the correspondence with the Secretary of War, A, B, C, D, E, before mentioned, and advised him to peruse them at his leisure before his return to West Point from Rouse's Point, where he was going to meet Lieutenant Colonel Totten to inspect the work in progress at that place. I gave him a letter of introduction to Lieutenant Colonel Totten, and the general departed on 6th December.

My reflections upon the course of the government in this matter are that my talents as chief engineer are assumed to be inferior to those of General Bernard, which may be a correct opinion, for I have not had the experience of that distinguished man; in reference to which I had stated to the government that the benefit of that experience could, with some deference to the pride of a corps that had been created at the Military Academy, be secured to the country by placing General Bernard at the head of an engineer professorship at West Point. To be sure the corps of engineers is composed of young men, nevertheless, during the late war they had been found respectable in their vocation, and all of the corps who had been in the field had been honored by brevets. Whether the forts on the Atlantic coast had been judiciously located and constructed, it was a fact that all the principal forts had kept the enemy at bay during the late war. On the whole I come to the conclusion that it is due to my country, and to the corps, that I command, so to coöperate with General Bernard, under the law of 16th February last, as to prove to the country that I am influenced by a sense of duty and not by mere selfishness.

On 21st December I wrote to the Secretary of War what had passed between General Bernard and myself, and also gave him my opinion that in reference to the commission given to General Bernard I doubted the power of the President to confer on him the rank expressed, which commands all inferior in rank to obey him. To this letter I received from the Secretary of War his reply of 30th December, which made it evident that the executive had purposed to place me in a position to make it difficult to

interfere with the professional functions of General Bernard as his superior officer. This determined me to adopt a mild and steady course of duty as chief engineer, to avert the tendency of the course of the executive so far as the law would sustain me, and if not successful to resign my commission. My purpose was not to retard or impede the public service, and therefore I sent to every officer of the corps, on fortification duty, my orders to receive and obey any instruction or order for the *progress* of the *works* that might emanate from General Bernard, as if coming direct from myself.

The establishing of my family at West Point, to wit, Mrs. Swift, my sons James and Williams, and my daughter Sarah, had occasioned me much additional expense; leaving my sons Alexander and Julius with my aunt Lucretia Lovering, at housekeeping in my quarters in Washington Street, Brooklyn, and taking the Rev. Leverett Bush into my family at the Point as a teacher to my sons. He also performed the functions of chaplain to the Military Academy, the Rev. Mr. Empie having returned to his former residence in Wilmington, N. C. My son Thomas D. was residing with his grand-father, Dr. Swift, the United States surgeon on Governor's Island. The winter a severe season, the Hudson closed by ice, thus rendering intercourse between the divided portions of my family tedious and very troublesome. The last day of the year, while a party of cadets were dining with me a fire broke out in my quarters, that soon assembled other cadets, who in a few minutes removed the furniture and books from the house, and on extinguishing the fire replaced the same, so that our dinner party enjoyed their feast in the hall where many a social party had assembled in the previous days of our then chief, Colonel Williams. These quarters were known as "The Colonel's Quarters."

1817. The new year was ushered in by a salute of twenty-four, eighteen and twelve-pounder cannon, in which, from the negligence of the gunner in tending the vent, fire was given the cartridge while in the act of "ramming home," which killed cadet Vincent M. Lowe, a promising youth of eighteen years, the only son of a widowed mother. His death was occasioned by concussion, and without any bruise. The funeral procession was one of the most impressive scenes in its march across the plain to the

burial ground on the extremity of the German Flat, in a gusty snow storm, which alternately concealed and exposed the party in its route.

On 6th closed contracts with John Forsyth, of Newburgh, to construct several brick quarters at the Point. On my return from Newburgh found "the Hills on fire" by the careless conduct of some boys, my sons James and Williams being the principals in the mischief; and which was extinguished with much delay.

On 7th January Lieutenant-Colonel Totten and General Bernard arrived at West Point from Rouse's Point, on Lake Champlain, to consult upon the further duties of inspection by the board of engineers. General Bernard returned to me the documents before mentioned, and declined any further discussion in reference to their subject; upon which I informed him that no change would be made by me in the course I had determined to pursue, the first act of which would be to attach myself to the board of engineers, unless forcibly prevented by the executive. In the pursuance of which purpose I wrote the Secretary of War that business of importance to the corps of engineers would require my presence in Washington as soon as the examination then in progress was completed at the Academy.

On 10th January General Bernard and Lieutenant-Colonel Totten left West Point to proceed to the Pea Patch in the Delaware River, to discuss a plan for a fortress for that place.

On 13th of the month, with my aid, Lieutenant George Blaney, left West Point, and proceeded by land to the city of New York, and visited my children in Brooklyn, and my parents and son Thomas on Governor's Island, and thence to Washington. Knowing that the administration of Mr. Madison would soon expire, I called on him and made known to him my views in a request that the functions of the board of engineers should be conducted under my orders, and not those of the acting Secretary of War, Mr. Graham, who had given instructions to the board, merely sending me copies thereof for my government. To this, my proposal, Mr. Madison consented, and I was relieved from personal superintendence of the Military Academy, and therefore sent my orders to Captain Partridge to resume his functions as superintendent; and to give attention to the progress of the

new Academy and the new brick quarters then constructing, under the appropriation by Congress of one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars. The library was enlarged, for which, and contingencies, Congress had appropriated twenty-two thousand dollars.

On 4th of March, at the accession to the presidency of Colonel Monroe, I went to pay my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Madison, from both of whom I had, for eight years, received kind attentions. Mrs. Madison, from respectable humble life had become not only an ornament to her husband's family, but also a beneficent dispenser of his bounty. This lady has a generous spirit, with bland and courteous manners, rather above the middle size, and very expressive blue eyes. Many an asperity of party, and its threatened personal consequences, have been averted by Mrs. Madison's timely and judicious interposition. Mr. Madison is below the middle stature of man, has a quiet, dignified deportment, and the aspect of one who had been long experienced in public affairs. His manner is easy and his language refined, of social qualities and fond of story-telling. The part he performed in the great constitutional convention, and in the convention of Virginia at the adoption of that instrument, and his papers in the *Federalist*, evince great wisdom. But one act of his life has marred the purity of his character, though that act elevated him to the presidency, namely, his abandonment of Federalism and adopting the utopian democracy of Thomas Jefferson, which has so precipitated democratic influence as to give public measures a stand too far in advance of the intelligence of the people.

Mr. Madison's mind and disposition are averse to military pursuits. During the war he had conceived no plan for its military conduct, evinced little talent in selecting commanders, and was far too exclusive in a party sense in those selections. The only exception among the generals was that of Thomas Pinckney, the force of whose national character could not easily be resisted.

It is, however, due to Mr. Madison to say that on the urgent views of Commodores Stewart and Bainbridge he opposed a major voice in his cabinet, and sent the navy to seek the enemy on the ocean. This was done

adversely to the steady advice of Mr. Gallatin not to expose our little fleet to the powerful navy of England.

On 11th March, by appointment with President Monroe, presented my views of a suitable position for General Bernard, namely, at the Military Academy as a professor of engineering. Mr. Monroe replied that under the resolve of 16th February such could not be done until the gentleman had examined our defences, but that he had determined that General Bernard should not exercise command in any case, and that he considered me to be the head of the board of engineers; therefore I gave the board instructions to proceed to the Gulf of Mexico, and there be joined by Captain Gadsden, the engineer in that department. On the return of this board to my office in Washington I exercised my function of supervision, and preferred Captain Gadsden's system of defence of the main passes into Louisiana. But the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, who could know but little of the science of the subject, rejected Gadsden's plans, which then and now are justly suited to the localities for which they are planned, and Mr. Calhoun adopted General Bernard's pentagons, that have since been found to be inappropriate in a military sense. In fact this error of Mr. Calhoun aided to infect members of Congress with an idea that General Bernard had a transcendent genius, and therefore he must be consulted upon all public works; as if he had been possessed of intuitive knowledge of a subject that could only be acquired by actual residence in our country a suitable period of time.

March 15th, by direction from the President, I surveyed the ruins in the capitol—the vandalic ruin of 1814. In this duty Colonel Bomford and myself formed a board. The question to be decided was whether the capitol should be rebuilt entire, or the existing walls retained and the interior repaired. We commended the latter, and on receiving from Mr. Latrobe the requisite plans and elevations for the senate chamber, I took them with me to New York, and employed Francis Kain to complete the marble colonade and other parts of that chamber, and shipped the same to Colonel Lane, the superintendent at Washington.

On 25th March, Bomford and myself accompanied the President to

explore the Bresica Quarries on the Potomac, and it was therefore decided to use the same for the colonade of the house of representatives. This excursion was made on horseback, and on the way back to the city the President informed me that he purposed making a tour of inspection of the fortifications and navy yards in the Union, and that he should require my services to aid him in that excursion. I am of course gratified by such an evidence of the President's purpose. But I on this occasion, and on several others, stated to him that my official relations had been much invaded by the resolution of 16th February, and that it would better comport with my own wishes and the interests of my family to seek civil life, if the President could place me in a suitable office with that view. His reply was kind. He said he hoped I would not leave the army, and that at any rate I would be patient and await events. I stated to him that I had already made some incipient arrangements to improve my fortune, with Gouverneur Kemble, to establish a foundry on the Hudson.

On 4th April arranged with the President to join him in Baltimore early in June, to proceed there and elsewhere on his contemplated tour, and after making all official dispositions of orders to the officers of the corps for the few works, as at Rouse's Point, etc., and small repairs upon the existing works pending the action and duty of the board, I proceeded to Philadelphia on 9th and arranged with an old friend of the President, James Gard, Esquire, to secure as quiet a sojourn in that city as his official station could permit, and on 14th April joined my family at Brooklyn, where Mrs. Swift, James, Willy and Sally had two days previously rejoined my aunt Lovering and my sons Alexander and Julius in Washington Street, having been separated all the winter by the closing of the Hudson. My son Thomas still with his grand-father on Governor's Island, in New York Harbor.

April 21st to West Point, and examined the Academy; thence with Gouverneur Kemble to Captain Philipse, who resided on the opposite bank of the river, and proposed to this worthy gentleman (the proprietor of the once manor of his name, and whose honor this gentleman maintained with steady hospitality,) that he should unite with us in establishing a foundry, and to which end we proposed to take about two hundred of his acres on

Margaret Brook as so much of his share of stock, and to which he assented, and agreed that I should survey and plot the tract. Accordingly, with my compass, I paced around a tract enclosing full two hundred acres, and to which hasty survey Captain Philipse agreed, and set to his hand and seal. Mr. Kemble and myself had formed a conditional agreement with the War and Navy Departments of the United States to supply the government with one-third of their ordnance castings; and subsequently he and myself visited the large iron works of Mr. Coleman in Pennsylvania, and the Salisbury works in Connecticut, to inform ourselves in iron making; and I imported from England through Mr. Hassler, a standard of measure, and from Paris the best works on iron and steel making.

On 24th April I laid out on the ground the new north and south stone barrack that had been planned by Professor C. Crozet, and contracted with T. J. Woodruff and John Morse, of the city of New York, to construct that building, and returned to Brooklyn early in May.

On 24th of which month went to Governor's Island, and thence with my mother and sister Mary departed for Baltimore; the latter on a visit to my sister, Mrs. Adams and cousin W. R. Swift, in St. Paul's Lane.

On 1st June the President arrived in Baltimore with his suite, to commence a tour of inspection.

TOUR OF PRESIDENT MONROE

IN THE NORTHERN UNITED STATES, IN THE YEAR 1817,

IN WHICH HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE WRITER OF THIS DIARY,

J. G. SWIFT.

I was in Washington in March and April of this year in company with Colonel George Bomford of the ordnance, examining the ruins of the capitol in order to its repair, in which we were assisted by Mr. Latrobe, the architect. This capitol, and other public and private edifices had been destroyed by the British army under command of General Ross and Admiral Cockburn in 1814.

President Monroe invited me to accompany him in an horseback excursion to the Bresica Quarries on the Potomac, from which it had been proposed to take materials to repair and ornament the hall of representatives and senate chamber of the capitol. This visit had decided the matter, and the material was used for those purposes. During this excursion Mr. Monroe mentioned his intention to make the tour of the Union, to examine its defences, navy yards, etc., and to see the people. He wished me to so arrange my official affairs as to accompany him in the examination, in order to do which I proceeded to New York to direct the continuance of the fortifications in that harbor, and visited West Point to direct the operations of the Military Academy for an inspection of the President, and returning to Baltimore on 1st June, met Mr. Monroe there, accompanied by a son of General Mason, of Georgetown, and Mr. Monroe and suite called to see Charles Carrol of Carrolton, the venerable patriot. He and Mr.

Monroe exchanged several remarks on the scenes of the Revolution. Then, with General Samuel Smith and N. G. Harper, etc., visited the battle ground of North Point, where, in September, 1814, General Ross lost his life by an accidental rifle shot. From the account given by General Striker to Mr. Monroe one would suppose both parties had been surprised. Returning, we viewed the misplaced lines of Baltimore, that should have occupied the passes of North Point, etc. The President passed on to review the militia, and to examine Fort McHenry with General Samuel Steritt— (very gentlemanly and accomplished in manner) —and also with Colonel Paul Bentalon, an officer of the army of Rochambeau, his aspect that of the old French *politesse* of 1780; full of memory of the scenes of Yorktown.

On 3d June the President went to Head of Elk by steamer, and was there received by the Philadelphia and Delaware delegations, and especially by Colonel Allen McLean, full of anecdotes of the movements of Washington to beleaguer Cornwallis. The colonel had been a distinguished and most useful officer, having still the fire of youth in his manner. Also General Moses Porter, whose giant person still wore a fresh aspect. He had been distinguished as an artillery officer in the discomfiture of Lord Sterling on Long Island, August, '76, and who had by merit and long service risen from a sergeant. Here also we met Commodores Murray and Stewart of the navy, and General Thomas Cadwallader, of Philadelphia—the thorough gentleman. At Newcastle we found Captain Babcock, of my corps, with all things ready to take barge to the Pea Patch, down the Delaware; a site which the Hon. Mr. Rodney informed the President had been taken up by Chief Justice Booth of Delaware in 1780. A useful position to defend the double channels of the river. Thence the President ascended the Delaware to the Brandywine, and with Colonel Allen McLean rode over the grounds where Washington incurred the censure of some congressmen for “extending his wing.” Colonel McLean pointed out the ground and the need of that extension, a just military movement.

The party visited Du Pont's powder mills, and General Cadwallader and myself tested the drying rooms for four minutes at a temperature of one hundred and forty-five degrees Fahrenheit. We were here joined by the

venerable Mr. Logan, of Pennsylvania, and passing the rich meadows of the Delaware, came by boats to Fort Mifflin, that had been well defended by Colonel Samuel Smith in the Revolution. From Fort Mifflin the party proceeded in barges to the mouth of the Schuylkill, at Gray's Ferry, and with a large militia escort, and the city committee, to the mansion house of Mr. James Head, there meeting the Society of Cincinnati, with addresses and reply and entertainment. The next morning—6th June—made an excursion to Red Bank, where the farmers met the President, some of whom were of the assailing party against Count Donop; and they mentioned that the timber felled at that time (in August) had endured many years, proving that to be a better felling season than the winter. The next day took a horseback ride with several prominent citizens to Germantown and Chew House, where General Howe should have conquered our army, and cut off their retreat. The interchange of courtesy of the President and the country people was very pleasant. He found the arsenal and navy yard in as good order as expected; aided by General C. Irvine and Commodore Stewart in the examination.

At the instance of the President I called on Messrs. Dachkoff, Ten Cate, Redemker, Peduson and other foreign officers, to say that it would be more convenient to receive them when he was not engaged with his fellow citizens. Mr. Monroe observed that for less causes he had been denied access to foreign courts when he was minister to England, France, and Spain.

Hon. Pierce Butler, General Cadwallader, Secretary Long, Commodore Stewart, Ingersoll, Bache and Todd dined with the President. One would have imagined the "blood of the Ormonds" had concentrated in Mr. Butler.

On 7th June the party was received at the Bridge at Trenton by the New Jersey delegation, congratulating Colonel Monroe "on the ground where Washington achieved an important turn in our affairs in the winter of '76; where Mr. Munroe, the second officer of the vanguard, and Captain William Washington, were both wounded in the shoulder." Mr. Monroe replied: "I feel sensibly this attention in this place from the citizens of Trenton; on the spot where the hopes of the country were revived by a

prompt expedition planned by Washington." The press of time prevented the President from visiting Commodore Stewart at his farm. Mr. Monroe remarking to say to the Commodore: "The country owed him much for encouraging Mr. Madison to send our ships to sea in the war with England in 1812, against the advice of Mr. Gallatin to keep them in safe harbor. The country owed both him and Bainbridge much for their zealous counsel before the cabinet on that momentous occasion." I bore this nice message to Stewart and dined with him.

The party made a call on Joseph Bonaparte *en route* to lunch. Joseph seemed an unpretending common sense gentleman, thoughtful face, and like his brother's busts. The President and Joseph were old acquaintances. Return to Trenton and Princeton, where Mr. Monroe was inducted to the Cliosophia, and from my relations to Mr. Monroe I was also inducted, after examining the Halls of Nassau. There with Governor Williamson and ex-Governor Aaron Ogden to Elizabethtown on the 9th June, and met the widow of Neursewitz, the friend of Kosciusko. The lady is the daughter of Governor William Livingston, and sister of Mrs. John Gay. At the Point took steam to Staten Island, and became the guests of Vice-President Tompkins for a part of two days, to rest, and on 11th landed at the Battery, meeting General Scott, General Morton, and the city authorities; then explored the lines of Brooklyn, refreshing with Mrs. Swift, who had Joshua Sands, Major Tucker and Mr. March to meet the President; and then to the city to encounter numerous entertainments. One at the Philosophical Society, when Hon. De Witt Clinton made an eloquent address, occupying 13th and 14th. The following day the party at West Point, and Mr. Monroe met the officials in the garden of Kosciusko, and there he related the following story of that Pole: When Kosciusko came from Europe wounded he seemed unable to move when applying to Congress, and received a grant of land. It was said lameness was assumed to excite sympathy among cool-blooded members. Mr. Monroe said it was not feigned, but to impress a Russian spy that he was no longer able to wield a sword, who was so impressed; and Kosciusko resumed his health lost in a Russian prison. Mr. Monroe said Kosciusko had been a faithful friend to

the American cause, and that he had recently remitted him several hundred dollars to sustain him in his retreat in Switzerland. This sojourn at West Point, and the examination of the cadets, was very refreshing after city fatigues. It was at this visit determined that Captain Partridge should be brought before a court martial in reference to his disagreement with the professors. My opinion of the captain was more favorable than Mr. Monroe's, but the Chief Magistrate was to be obeyed, and I accordingly proposed a substitute in Major Thayer, who was the officer named to me by Mr. Monroe; and I gave Captain Partridge choice of any duty or leave until the court could be convened. He preferred leave, and the matter rested for the present.

On 17th June the party returned to the city to inspect fortifications, navy yard, and the steamer "Fulton." At the west end of Long Island Mr. Monroe met Hon. Rufus King, and they witnessed the experiments of elongated shell at a target four hundred yards distant, on Robert L. Stevens's place. The shells penetrated the target but did not explode. On 20th June to Hell Gate and the entrance of the Sound, in reference to the location of a navy depôt at Barr Island; then by steam to New Haven. Visited the colleges and the "Groves of the Judges." Mr. Monroe was taken by surprise by a sermon from Rev. Dr. Taylor, an extreme Calvinist, much to the chagrin of the Rev. Horace Holly, a high Unitarian. One of the most interesting scenes we met at Hartford in the exhibition of the deaf and dumb, by Le Clerc and Gallaudet. Mr. Monroe had seen a similar exhibition in France. At Middletown the address of the citizens was emphatic, and national in every sense. A delegation from Massachusetts waited on the President at Hartford to escort him to Springfield, where, on arriving 24th June, an exhibition of five hundred school children met the President on the parade as a token of their respect for the Chief Magistrate, and evidence of adhesion to the Puritan law in favor of town schools. Thence Colonel Roswell Lee led the way to the well-arranged armory of the United States, of which he was superintendent, and had been my assistant engineer in fortifying New London when the British fleet were anchored in Gardner's Bay. Thence retracing his steps the President descended the left bank of

the Connecticut River to New London, at the residence of General Jedediah Huntington, of Revolutionary times, who addressed the President in touching allusion to "the war in their youth, and the happy results we were enjoying after surviving a second contest with the power of England." Here the party was joined by Commodores O. H. Perry and Bainbridge, and my father, the surgeon of the post at Fort Trumbull. Taking the revenue cutters at the fort the President visited the Sound and Gardner's Bay, where the navy officers explained to the President the importance of an armed vessel at Gardner's Bay by a view from the headland of the island. Returned up the Thames, and landed at the foot of Fort Griswold. At the old fort the President met Mr. Avery and others who had been among the defenders of that post when assailed by the British under then Major, now General Bloomfield, and explaining the scene that occurred when Colonel Ledyard surrendered his sword, and Bloomfield turned it and thrust it through Colonel Ledyard's body—a dastardly act—after all resistance had ceased; followed by the cruelty of trundling the wounded down the hill in carts, inflicting torture. Mr. Avery had lost an eye in the contest; the remaining one twinkled with rage as he described the scene. Here the celebrated Mrs. Baily came forward and recounted her well-remembered exploits, vouched for by the surrounding veterans, and of her disrobing her flannel to furnish cartridge to the artillery men.

On the following day the United States brig "Enterprise," attended by the cutters, (among them the aged Captain Cahoon, of privateer heroism in the Revolution,) took on board the President and suite, and by Gardner's Bay on 27th June crossed the Sound to Stonington, which the President especially visited to compliment the brave Captain Palmer for his townsmen—led by himself—in repelling the assault of the "Ramillies," seventy-four, Sir Thomas Hardy. My own interview with Mr. Palmer was interesting. I had succeeded in sending him some cannon and ammunition in 1814 from New York, by a cunning master of a sloop, which succeeded in escaping the enemy. The captain had ornamented the front of his house with a thirteen-inch shell from the "Ramillies," which had fallen through his roof to the cellar, fortunately without exploding, though it had shattered

much in its descent. On the following day the little squadron entered Newport Harbor, where most hearty feeling was shown without a shade of party. The President had a charming evening with the venerable William Ellery at the age of ninety. He remarked: "Ah, Mr. Monroe, we all had prospects of the death of rebels, especially such as myself, who had little of this world's goods to lose, but Hancock and Charles Carroll had launched both character and large estates in the cause." The patriot was reading Horace when Mr. Monroe called. He took a seat by Mr. Monroe in an excursion to the scene of Quaker Hill in Sullivan's campaign, and seemed familiar with the events of the day.

On 30th we proceeded to Fall River and the Watupper Lakes, as a source to serve machinery for a navy depot, and thence crossed Taunton River to Mount Hope Bay, refreshing and lodging with Lieutenant-Governor Collins and Mr. De Wolf, and thence onward to Providence. Here, Hon. H. G. Otis, Colonel Gray, General Blake, Colonel Sumner, Messrs. Thorndike and Oliver, (the colonel as aid of Governor Brooks,) came to lead the escort. Mr. Otis, in an eloquent address, alluded and compared the visit with its only precedent, that of Washington; accompanying the President to Brown University, and on 1st July to the manufactories of Pawtucket; meeting there General Dearborn and Justice Story—a rival committee of welcome coming expressly from the Democracy, giving me some trouble—but all that was said: "Gentlemen, be pleased to fall in and form a part of the cortége," which arrived at Dedham, and took lodgings opposite the residence of the great Fisher Ames. The next day ceremonial consultations as to the two committees at an old redout on Roxbury Neck, both committees desiring to take charge of the President. I took on myself to say to both: "Gentlemen, the care and conduct of this movement has been given to me, and I cannot surrender it without the President's order." Pending this interchange the salute opened from the old redout and the Boston marshals, and the committee, without further delay, moved on with the cavalcade to Boston Common, and the President was received by four thousand boys and girls and their instructors; a scene of courtesy well conducted, that the children will remember, and which served to occupy committees and all

until joined by ex-President Adams, Governor Brooks, Lieutenant-Governor David Cobb, Governor Phillips and General James Miller (the modest hero,) Rev. Dr. Kirkland, Daniel Webster, Isaac P. Davis and Rev. Dr. Freeman. The Governor opened with a word in his peculiar graceful style, followed by the address of the authorities in the area of the Exchange, which was followed by one of Boston's sumptuous entertainments in rooms ornamented with the works of Boston artists and citizens. The next day the President and Governor Brooks, etc., visited the fortifications of the harbor. The President was highly gratified by his reception in several families of Boston, and especially at Governor Brooks' in Medford, and his neighbor cousin. They rode over the scenes of Washington in his early command of the army, when Brooks was his youthful attendant. The ensuing day was Independence, commencing with a fine breakfast of some hundreds at Commodore Bainbridge's, in Roxbury, in this abundant season of strawberries and cream. Thence a sojourn to the gardens of Colonel T. H. Perkins; to Waltham, on a visit to Governor Gore; to the United States arsenal, and in the evening a pleasant meeting with the Society of Cincinnati. But the distinctive character of the Democracy revived, and the committee called for a reply to the separate address. Mr. Monroe calmly said: "Gentlemen, I will reply amply to your address, and in writing, at my earliest leisure." This was said while the procession was moving to the Old South with the Cincinnati, to hear the eloquence of Dr. Channing—a happy allusion to the visit of the President, not to a party, but to the whole people. Now came on a general meeting at the State House, where the influence of fruit and champaigne seemed to quiet for a time the ground swell of party. This indicated a fear lest the Chief Magistrate should compromise his Democratic duty. Hence to the "Cradle of Liberty," Faneuil Hall, and a display of arms. The next day to the navy yard and "Independence," seventy-four; entertained by the commandant, the gallant Hull, and thence to Bunker's Hill, where Governor Brooks explained with simple clearness the progress of the day and Warren's fall, that lighted a flame through all the colonies. In this scene several veterans of the Revolution were received and welcomed by the

President, and with him enjoyed the tasty light dinner and fruits of Governor Brooks, with ex-President Adams and Dr. Osgood. Monday, 7th, an early ride on horseback with Mr. Monroe to a sitting to the artist, Gilbert Stewart, who exhibited his original head of Washington. Thence to Harvard, where President Kirkland conferred the honor of LL. D. on Mr. Monroe, and then to a review of two thousand militia on Boston Common.

On 8th the President visited the venerable John Adams at Quincy. The ex-President said to Mr. Monroe: "Sir, I am happy to welcome you and your friends, and to acknowledge my high appreciation of the distinction which you propose to confer on my son as Secretary of State." But the gust of feeling that naturally flowed from the mother was thrilling. It overpowered Mr. Monroe, and every one present. His reply was simple: "I have but performed an act of justice to high ability and merit." Mr. Adams at first mistook me for the son of his brother lawyer, Samuel Swift, and poured out his commendation, saying: "I have written to Mr. Wirt my opinion of the merits of that Whig, who fell a martyr to the fury of Gage." I replied: "It was my grandfather, and you gave me my cadet's warrant eighteen years ago," upon which he was pleased to subjoin some civil commendation. The conversation naturally attracted the attention of the whole dinner party; and it was a scene of deep interest to hear the old man scan the days of his life in Congress, when he nominated Washington, etc. This closed the Boston reception — one of sleepless fatigue to me, in hearing and arranging with delegations and committees.

On the route east the President stopped to rest at Salem until the 10th, occupied in correspondence with the departments at Washington. The aged Timothy Pickering, and the mathematician, Nathaniel Bowditch, were among those who addressed Mr. Monroe, and much display of arches and festoons, with throngs of fine children, on whom such pageantry makes a long-lasting impression. Here the reply in writing was made to the Democratic committee of Boston, in substance saying that it was the President's design by this tour to avoid all party distinctions. With similar displays of good feeling at Newburyport and Portsmouth, Mr. Monroe was

met by the authorities at the latter place by Jeremiah Mason, in a powerful address of national sentiment, and on the following Monday (14th,) in barges to visit the navy yard and forts at the entrance of the harbor, accompanied by the patriot John Langdon, who had built the "America," seventy-four, that was a gift to France. The next day the octogenarian, Sewell, of York, in Maine, received Mr. Monroe in a fine address of reminiscences of their mutual services and anxieties of the war of '76; and so on to the bridge of Strandwater, Portland, across which was extended twenty arches, as insignia of our States, the centre for Louisiana crowned by a living eagle, and lined on either wayside by some one thousand five hundred school children with wreaths and scrolls—"Welcome to the chief of our choice"—about the most impressive display seen by the President. Here, after a sail in the harbor and a visit to the fortifications, the President concluded his eastern tour, and determined to cross the country through Vermont, of which I had only notified Colonel Totten at Rouse's Point to meet Mr. Monroe at Burlington. Before separating from Mr. Munroe he expressed his gratification with my services, and certainly no man can be easier to associate with in a similar capacity than Colonel Monroe. Here it was determined by the President that Commodores Bainbridge, O. H. Perry and Evans, with Colonel McRee of the engineers, and myself, should proceed to Penobscot Bay with the "Lynx," Lieutenant Stone, and "Enterprise," Lieutenant Kearney, and "Prometheus," Wadsworth, which was commenced on 17th June for the purpose of examining for a site to locate a navy depôt. We paid our respects and took leave of the Chief Magistrate.

During various evening conversations with Mr. Monroe I received from him, and noted down at the time, the subjoined facts of his origin and life:

His progenitors were from Scotland. His immediate ancestor was Captain Andrew Monroe, an officer in the army of Charles I., at whose overthrow he fled to America, anno 1650, and purchased a tract of land in Westmoreland, Virginia, of Lord Barclay, situate on Monroe Creek. The Colonel is the fifth in direct descent from Captain Andrew aforesaid. The Colonel was born 1759, and educated at William and Mary College. In 1776 he joined Colonel Weeden's regiment in the Virginia line, as a lieutenant. At the

battle of Trenton he seconded Captain William Washington in carrying the artillery of the enemy at the head of the street leading to the bridge, in which conflict both were wounded in the shoulder. On recovering from his wound in Trenton he entered the family of Lord Stirling as aid-de-camp, and in that capacity, and that of major, served in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. General Washington advised him to apply to the legislature of Virginia for authority to raise a regiment, but failing in his effort to do this, he resigned his colonelcy in 1780, and became a student at law in the office of Thomas Jefferson. In the following year sold his paternal seven hundred acres in Westmoreland, and with the proceeds purchased his estate in Albemarle called "Atamusquee," or The Lilly, and in company with his uncle Jones bought the London farm at Oak Hill, to which, on the death of that uncle he became heir, and commenced the practice of law in Fredericksburg. He was then elected to the Virginia legislature, and became a member of the council. In 1783 he was elected to Congress at Annapolis, and was at the session in New York when he and Rufus King were married. Mr. King married Miss Alsop and he married Miss Kortright. Soon after he made the tour of Lake Champlain, River St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, Big Sodus Bay and Niagara, purposing to go to Detroit, but his guide being killed by the Indians, he, from advice of Colonel De Peyster, abandoned the journey and returned south to Virginia, until the adoption of the Federal Constitution, which he opposed.

Soon after the establishment of the government, General Washington nominated him to the embassy to France, from whence he was recalled, as it was alleged he exhibited too strong favor to French politics. Mr. Monroe stated that the slander commenced thus: Some letters of General Washington had been wrecked on the coast of France; these letters indicated Washington's dislike of the French revolution, and Mr. Monroe was accused to Washington as having referred unfavorably to those letters. In the pending time Mr. Monroe was searching for the letters, and succeeded in learning their fate. This fact he immediately wrote to General Washington, but before his letter reached the General, an impression had been made on Washington's mind that Monroe had misused his letters, and his recall was

forwarded before his letter to Washington was received. Indignant at the injustice, he did not call on Washington on his return home. When Washington had read Monroe's letters he said he was convinced Mr. Monroe had done his duty. But Mr. Monroe's dislike of Mr. Jay's treaty with Spain about the navigation of the Mississippi seemed to sustain a coolness on the part of Washington. Mr. Monroe said his treaty with Mr. Fox for reciprocal commerce was interfered with, by Mr. Jefferson's sending William Pinckney of Maryland, which suspended the treaty; and that the treaty then made, was revoked by the omission of Jefferson to send the treaty to the Senate. This implication of Mr. Monroe was a sort of second presidential frown, and it caused Mr. Monroe to again set forth a defense of his embassy. His fellow citizens set their opinion upon his treatment by electing him governor of Virginia, which prevented Mr. Monroe from competing the presidency with Mr. Madison. "So far from that," said Mr. Monroe, "I publicly declined the competition, and also the Department of State." But these events in no way disturbed his friendly intimacy with Jefferson. Mr. Monroe said that during the presidency of Congress of N. Gorham, that gentleman wrote Prince Henry, of Prussia, his fears that America could not sustain her independence, and asked the prince if he could be induced to accept regal power on the failure of our free institutions. The prince replied that he regretted deeply the probability of the failure, and that he would do no act to promote such failure, and was too old to commence new labors in life. The residue of Colonel Monroe's life is in the history of his country. In stature Mr. Monroe is above the ordinary height, well formed, though his shoulders are somewhat high, fleshy, but in no wise corpulent, his complexion without muddiness, his demeanor grave, his eye blue, rather dull unless excited, his features strong, high cheek bone of Scotland, nose straight, lip rather thick, his gait quick and erect, deportment gentle and affable, his temper high but good, his judgment sound though slow and not quick of perception. Such are my observations of Colonel Monroe in an intimacy uninterrupted for ten years.

The little squadron before mentioned, arrived in Penobscot Bay on 18th July, at dark, and made a harbor at Owl's Head, and the next morning

commenced an examination of the shore, inlets and landings made, having our rallying point at Castine. Here I was entertained by Job Nelson and Mason Shaw, Esquires, who had known me a boy on Taunton Green; and they were intimate friends of my father. They received me with a warm welcome, and recurred to scenes of 1796, etc.

At the military post here, I found Captain Luther Leonard, of the artillery, in command. He had been a distinguished officer in the war of 1812 in the battle of Plattsburgh. Also met my protégé, Lieutenant Bonneville, on duty at the fort, to whom the celebrated Thomas Paine had bequeathed some estate. From the fort we received barges to explore the river and narrows to Bucksport. It was soon ascertained that the several anchorages were very deep, and from the openness of the bay would require extensive fortifications to protect them, and a depôt, and that the bay was, as yet, too remote from artisans and material for a depôt, etc.

Our party returned to Portland on a similar survey, and then proceeded to Portsmouth. Of the Lieutenant Bonneville above mentioned, I had, in 1814, procured for him a cadet's warrant, and sent him to the Military Academy at West Point. The commission found the Piscataqua a very rapid tidal river, with many easily defensible localities, and water for any machinery easily drawn from Lake Winnepiseogee, but concluded the post not to be suitable for a depôt, and the same result, from different causes, of Salem and Marblehead. In the survey of these two last, we had the company and counsel of Nathaniel Bowditch, Esq., who had made minute surveys of both harbors, and had often sailed into and out of them when he was a ship-master. We found him continuing his scientific translation of the great work of La Place, which few ever read and fewer comprehend. A gentleman of the most simple habits and most unaffected deportment, and very cheerful as a companion is Mr. Bowditch.

Our squadron proceeded to inspect Boston Harbor, and concluded that the present navy yard would be a valuable adjunct for repairs, but not for a principal depôt. We observed that the seaward side of all the islands in this harbor had been long sustaining an abrasion from the action of storms and water. The time when these islands had a complete form correspond-

ing to the slopes of the existing land and pastures, must have been very remote.

Governor Brooks and the Bostonians were very hospitably attentive to this commission. Among the amusements of the day, and which the President had also enjoyed, was the reading of Voltaire, and revelations by an admirable artist — M. Artiguenave.

The commission proceeded to Rhode Island, where I was to join them over a route of my own by Taunton Green, where, accompanied by my aunt Lucretia, we were received with great civility. An invitation to a public dinner, which, however flattering, I declined, in consequence of the illness of my early instructress, Miss Sally Cady.

My friend Marcus Morton, who had married my schoolmate, Miss Charlotte Hodges, conveyed me in his carriage to the commission, then assembling at Fall River on 8th August, and a survey was made of the Watuppa Ponds and their outlet, and fall, into Taunton River; an ample source to drive any desirable extent of depôt machinery. Thence we made an exploration of Mount Hope Bay. At Newport the commission divided, one part to complete the survey of Gardner's Bay, while Colonel McRee and myself explored the waters east from Sakonnet to Buzzard's Bay. Arriving at the river Pasquemonsett, McRee was astonished to see a miller run into the assemblage at the bridge, and in his mealy clothes clasp me in his arms, covering my military dress with meal, and excusing his joy to see me, whose life he had saved from drowning under the bridge on which we stood; I having fallen in and cut my head on a rock at the bottom, the scar of which remained for the twenty-six years that had intervened. There were present also the Tuckers and Macombs, friends of my father at that period. Hence McRee and I proceeded to Clark's Cove and the Acushnet River, and Elizabeth Islands, and rejoined the board at New London, exploring the Thames. These surveys had reference to the law of Congress on the subject of depôts, and we agreed to meet at my quarters in Brooklyn to complete a report to the Navy Department. On 26th August I found my family in health at Brooklyn. Thanks to God.

On 31st August, 1817, Colonel McRee reported to me that Captain Partridge had returned to West Point, and in defiance of my orders, had assumed the command over Major Thayer, the alleged purpose being to recover the quarters he had occupied, and which Major Thayer declined to assign to him. The next day I sent my aid, Lieutenant Blaney, to West Point with an order to Captain Partridge to deliver the command of that post to Major Thayer without delay, and to consider himself in arrest for disobedience. A few days previously to this, on 28th August, Captain Partridge had called and breakfasted with me in Brooklyn, and requested my authority to extend his leave so as to allow him to visit West Point for study. I declined any such consent, and said to him that such a movement would not only contravene the order of the President of the United States to me, but would also injure and defeat at once any purpose he might contemplate of restoration hereafter. The conversation dropped there, and I had not a thought that Captain Partridge would act in opposition to such purpose on my part.

On 2d September, Colonel McRee, Professor Mansfield and myself went to West Point, where, on meeting Partridge, I said to him that he had placed himself beyond the pale of my long-trying friendship to him. At his request I extended his arrest to New York, to allow him every facility to prepare for trial. I reported the case to the Secretary of War and returned to Brooklyn, to meet at my office navy officers on the subject of depôts. From 20th September to 6th October I was confined to my bedroom with fever. While thus confined General Benjamin Smith of Wilmington, North Carolina, called on me, and awaited my convalescence. My brother-in-law, Julius H. Walker, being my amanuensis, I dictated a letter of introduction of General Smith to the Secretary of the Navy, and recommended the purchase of Bald Head, North Carolina, because of the extensive growth there of live oak and cedar, and thus to enable General Smith to liquidate

the old bond of Colonel Read, late collector, for whom General Smith had become security.

October 13th Mrs. Swift, with her mother and brother Julius, and my son Julius and daughter Sarah left me, and by packet sailed for Wilmington; Mrs. John London and children occupying my house in Washington Street, and in lieu of rent boarded my sons Williams and Alexander, and my servant and slave Nancy until the ensuing spring. My worthy aunt Lovering having returned to Boston, and my son Thomas remaining with his grandfather, the United States surgeon on Governor's Island.

October 20th, the general court martial of thirteen members, General W. Scott, president, assembled at West Point for the trial of Captain Partridge. I went thither on 24th, with my aid, Lieutenant Blaney, and my son James. Hither Commodores Evans and Perry joined me to consult upon and report in reference to depôts and defences that we had explored from New York to Casco Bay inclusive, and we returned together to New York, and there met Commodore Bainbridge and Colonel W. McRee, and from thence on 30th sent our report to the Secretary of both the Navy and War Departments.

November 1st I returned to West Point, and on 11th the court martial terminated its proceedings. The court sentenced Captain Partridge to be dismissed from the army. On 14th November I returned to my office in Brooklyn, and commenced to remove the headquarters of the corps to the City of Washington. On 17th, my aid, Lieutenant Blaney, proceeded to that place with the books, plans, papers and instruments. I followed him on 20th, leaving my son James with Rev. Mr. Rudd at Elizabethtown school. I arrived at Washington on 25th November, and established the office in Pennsylvania Avenue and Eighteenth Street, east side. I called on the President in reference to the subject of Captain Partridge, and advised a remission of the sentence of the court, provided Captain Partridge would resign. The remission was noted in the gazettes. This case of Partridge is an incident in the history of the Academy at West Point, in which my official conduct was deemed to be a species of favoritism toward the captain. From the day I took command of the corps in 1812, to the spring

of 1813 I had had no opportunity to meet Captain Partridge. I then found him at the Academy, where he had been placed by Colonel Williams; an appointment that every officer in the corps would be disposed to respect, from respect to their chief. I made no hesitation to sustain him, and returned to my especial command of Staten Island by order of the President, at that time garrisoned by the 32d and 41st Regiments of infantry, when the harbor was blockaded by the enemy. In the month of August the Secretary of War sent me to the frontier as chief engineer to the army of General Wilkinson, and from thence to Washington. The following year, 1814, I was engaged in the defences of Long and York Islands. The year 1815 much engaged on the board for depôts. So that until 1816 it was not in my power to be much at West Point; and it was early in this year, as elsewhere noted, that the first intimation was made to me by the President that it would be satisfactory to have Captain Partridge superceded. I had no idea of doing that; and if I had purposed any such measure, there was not an officer in the corps of engineers competent to be superintendent who did not dislike that service, and none more than the gentleman who so ably succeeded Captain Partridge.

As soon as I knew that the captain had become unacceptable to the executive, it was my duty to seek the first opportunity to place him upon other duty; and this was done, as my journal with the President evinces. Ultimately I was forced to a conviction that I had misplaced my confidence in reference to Partridge, and finally his insane act of disobedience made it my duty to arrest him. The sentence of the court caused the captain to forget the long-trying confidence that I had reposed in him; he turned his pen against me and others, and one of his first acts was to accuse me of waste and peculation in the erection of the public buildings at West Point. These accusations the President and the Secretary of War deemed to be malicious and false, and all proceedings in reference thereto was denied. The vouchers, however, of the disbursements at West Point are among my files, and they were deemed by the accounting officers of the government to be just. I have received them from those officers, and have placed them on my files in case any one might be disposed to examine them — and

this unusual displacement of vouchers was made by the permission of the President. The circumstance that induced the Secretary of War to desire a superceding of Captain Partridge, was not his want of ability, for he was a good teacher of mathematics, and a good infantry and artillery drill officer; it was because his aspect was uncouth, a want of what is called genteel carriage, and awkwardness of manner that gave a repulsive first impression. But Captain Partridge had good qualities as well as good sense. He was said to be a graduate of Dartmouth College, and was there deemed a good scholar; and it cannot be denied that many of the youthful officers of the army in the war of 1812 owed much of their success in the field, to the patient training which they received from "Old Pewter"—Captain Partridge's soubriquet among the cadets.

December 6th, the President and the Secretary of War commended to Congress, then in session, the raising a corps of sappers and miners for the corps of engineers. On the same day was discussed and settled to establish a bureau of every department of the army at Washington.

December 7th, Colonel W. McRee joined me at Washington to consult on the duties of the board. We agreed in opinion that it was too late to explore northern positions.

On 19th we two proceeded to Baltimore to explore the harbor, and we selected Soller's Point for the site of the main work. Our board was here joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead, Majors Roberdeau and Kearney, and my aid, Lieutenant Blaney. On 26th December we proceeded to reconnoitre Annapolis Harbor, and on 29th we went to Norfolk, to meet Captains Warrington and Elliot, of the navy, in reference to exploring the James and other rivers of the bay, for a depôt for the navy, and on 30th commenced the survey of Old Point Comfort, and the bay towards Lynhaven.

1818. January 12th, the board of engineers, at the instance of the Secretary of War, postponed the examination of the Chesapeake waters until 1st May, for the purpose of then having the assistance of General Bernard, then employed on the Mexico Gulf reconnoitre. The board having thus far agreed to commend the occupancy of Old Point, and the

Rip Rap shoal opposite thereto. On 26th January the board met at Norfolk, and I reported this result to the War, and Captain Warrington did the same to the Navy Department.

Being thus released from pressing duty, I sent my aid to the office at Washington, and, by leave of the Secretary of War, made an excursion to North Carolina, with a view to meeting commissioners at Edenton, and to inspect the harbor of Cape Fear, and at the same time renew a long-suspended intercourse with friends at Wilmington. On 30th January I commenced my journey with a pair of horses, and at Edenton, North Carolina, met Messrs. Little and Treadwell, the State commissioners, on the subject of improving the navigation of the sound. Compared the maps of Morley's date, 1733, with that of Wimble's of 1738, with the recent surveys of Cole, etc., and appointed to examine the Old Roanoke Inlet in the coming spring, with a view to opening a channel from the Sound to the Atlantic. At a dinner given on this occasion I met my neighbor, Captain Henry Waring, of Brooklyn, whom I found to be a popular intimate of the gentility of Edenton, and who entertained the company with a history of his entering the United States navy in '98 as a lieutenant, and compeer of the now Commodore Chauncy, whom he then "outranked;" but finding that his "trade with North Carolina" was more profitable than his navy commission, he resigned its honors to his friend Chauncy, and contented himself with accumulating money as a merchant.

On 5th February crossed the Albemarle Sound to Plymouth, where the citizens received me under a salute of cannon, and which I acknowledged in a brief speech; and at Mr. Armistead's met the great farmer of that part of the State, Mr. Collins, who gave me a minute account of the culture of the "Scuppernong grape," so famous for its wine. This grape is described by Lawson, in his history of Carolina, early in the last century.

On 7th I proceeded to Newbern, where I met William Gaston, Esquire, whose very agreeable acquaintance I had made in the family of my father-in-law in Wilmington, 1806, when Gaston practiced in the courts there. At dinner I also met my friend John Guion, Esquire, and William Graham, and Mr. Donnel, and passed a few hours with John Stanly, Esq., one of the

brightest minds of the State. On 9th February arrived at Wilmington, finding Mrs. Swift and my son and daughter in health. Thanks be to God.

On 21st February the citizens of Wilmington gave me a dinner—a flattering token of the remembrance of earlier days. I attempted no speech in response to a complimentary remark, and gave this toast:—

“North Carolina and her liberal spirit, as evinced in her *carte blanche* order to Canova for a sculpture of Washington, at an expense limited only by the artist’s decision.”

February 26th, to Fort Johnson, Oak Island and Bald Head, and reported from Smithville my views to the War Department. Visited the grave of my friend John Lightfoot Griffin, in the garden that had been the care of its owner in 1805, Mrs. Sarah Dry Smith. I could find no stone in the public graveyard to mark the resting place of my early friend Benjamin Blaney, the friend also of the poor, and that especially of the sick sailor and stranger.

February 28th to Orton, the plantation of General Smith on the banks of the Cape Fear, and passed a day with Mrs. S. D. Smith and himself. The pleasures of our reminiscences of that spot, and of Belvidere, were clouded by the aspect of the failing fortunes of the general. Mrs. Smith presented us at the board, a bottle of the nearly consumed stock of old sherry, with which, and blue perch from the adjacent pond, we were used to regale in more prosperous days; Mrs. Smith evincing a well-balanced serenity, to cheer the gloom of her husband. On 1st of March returned to Wilmington, and found it a fruitless essay to liquidate the large claims of the general’s creditors.

Mrs. Swift and myself renewed our associations with the Lords, Mrs. Vance, Mr. Miller and the Browns, Wrights, Toomers, Londons, Hoopers, and other of the friends of our more early days. On 7th visited my correspondent, Alfred Moore, Esq., at Buchoi, and enjoyed a retrospect of our deer hunts with Duncan Moore, now laid low, and the Swanns, Hills and Burgwins, Richard Eagle, etc.

The recurrence among friends to the scenes of early life, when visiting,

form some of the finest enjoyments of mind that can be recounted, and probably one among the best of this world's good.

On 11th March, I purchased carriage and horses, and, with my wife, son and daughter, and maid Peggy, commenced a jaunt to Norfolk, leaving of our family in Wilmington, Mr. J. W. Walker and Julius, and their mother, Mrs. Walker — an exemplary parent, and true lady of the old school — and her sister, Mrs. Ann Quince, of equal virtues, and our *semper cadem* friend and cousin, and family physician, Dr. A. J. De Rosset. Mrs. Vance and daughters Mary and Jane took the road to Newbern by the Sound to Sage's, and to Colonel Shine's by Holly Shelter and Trenton. Detained some days by storm in Newbern, entertained by friends there already named, and by the Edwards; employed the rainy hours in reading to Mrs. Swift, whose piety enjoyed the "Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul of Man," by Doddridge, more than her less pious husband, who, however, found it among the best books he ever perused — thanks be to God. We arrived at the hospitable mansion of John Armistead, Esquire, in Plymouth, on 22d, thence sent my horses and carriage back to Wilmington to be sold, and crossed the Sound to Edenton in company with a very enlightened gentleman, Dr. Norcomb, whose knowledge of the Roanoke country, and its liberal planters, gave Mrs. Swift and myself cause to be thankful for his conversation in a long row in a barge that landed us at Edenton, from whence we took an extra Stage to Norfolk, arriving there on 25th, and by packet thence to Baltimore. On 30th at my sister's, Mrs. Adams, and on the 1st April I to my office in Washington City, accompanied by my father. Found good quarters by renting a house in Colonel Cox's row, in Georgetown, where on 26th my aid, Lieutenant Blaney, arrived with my son James, wounded in the head by a blow received from his inconsiderate teacher, Dr. Rudd, in Elizabethtown; also my sons William, Alexander and Thomas, and with Mrs. Swift, Julius and Sally, and maid Peggy, and my faithful man Jack, whose bravery and care in the St. Lawrence campaign of 1813 deserves my remembrance, and whose features Jarvis has preserved in the portrait that the corporation placed in the City Hall in commemoration of the Long Island and Harlem scenes of 1814. My man Jack brought

with him my well-kept horses "Fox," "Ned," and "Yorick." On 28th my friend, Captain John L. Smith, welcomed the family to our new quarters in Georgetown. Early in May my brother-in-law Adams and myself, with some of my brother officers, commenced to purchase military land warrants, with a view on my part to form some future settlement for my sons in Illinois, on some fine tracts, and to re-sell the balance.

On 26th May, with the engineer of that department, Lieutenant-Colonel Armistead, proceeded to Fort McHenry, Baltimore, and laid off a sea wall to protect the site from the waves of the bay that had been some time abrading the shore; Armistead commenced the work. The next day General Bernard, and Captain Elliot of the navy and myself proceeded to Old Point Comfort, and recommenced our examinations that had been commenced last winter at Gosport. Colonel Armistead joined the board, and we extended our explorations to York River, and from thence despatched Lieutenant Smoot of the navy, in the schooner, to meet President Monroe up the bay, and to signal the meeting by five discharges of cannon. The President and Secretaries of War and Navy having determined to see the several positions that the board had surveyed with reference to a navy depôt and the defence of Chesapeake Bay. *Ad interim* the board proceeded to explore the vicinity of Norfolk and Lynhaven Bay, Elizabeth River, etc. At a place called Cormick, on Trading Point, and also the settlement of Captain John Smith, of Pocahontas memory, we found moss-covered grave stones, one inscribed "Gookings, 1657," another "Hodges, 1687." Detailed Major James Kearney and Captain William T. Poussin to form a topographical map of these regions, by a compass reconnoitre.

On 30th May the board proceeded by a navy schooner and barges to the clay banks on York River; a point commended to examination for a depôt.

On 2d June we went in several boats up Queen's Creek to Williamsburgh, and thence explored Archer's Hope to James River. We visited William and Mary, and viewed the fine marble statue of Norbon, Lord Botetout, in the college land. Also a couple of large live oak trees standing in the corner of the land, the most northerly growth of this tree

that I have seen. Returned to Yorktown, and traversed the old lines of October, 1781. On passing the redout stormed by St. Simon and Viomenil, General Bernard, with quite an imposing air, took off his hat and made a profound reverence. While at the redout carried by Colonel Hamilton, we laughed at the fact that it was conquered by the loss of half a dozen lives in a very rapid movement, while Viomenil, more formal in his march, but with success, mastered his redout, leaving some sixty men dead in the trenches. We also looked at the old stone church of York, and found the tomb of Thomas Nelson, son of Hugo, of Penrith, inscribed "*Vitæ bene gestæ finem implevit.*" The stone of the church and the old mill of limestone taken from the banks of York River.

On 5th June the approach of the President was signaled by Lieutenant Smoot, who, with the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, and of the Navy, Mr. Crowninshield, and private secretary, Mr. Samuel L. Gouverneur, joined the board at Yorktown, and visited the site of the marquees of Washington and Rochambeau on the field of 1781, and the next day looked over the positions that the board had surveyed near York, and on 7th sailed to Old Point Comfort, and the next day the President and suite made a ceremonial entrance at Norfolk, as the commencement of the President's southern tour of inspection. He examined the navy yard and forts, and on 9th, with the board as part of his suite, took barges to Drummond's Lake *via* the Dismal Swamp Canal; in which excursion Captain Elliot of the navy amused himself and Gouverneur by upsetting the barge of the board in the outlet, sending Bernard and McRee to the bottom for a moment. The freak was, of course, taken in good part, and we hastened to Farages, on the canal, to dry our garments, and to partake of the fine cane-fed beef of the swamp, and to mix our brandy with the light juniper-colored water of the outlet—deemed especially wholesome.

On 10th the President, etc., visited Elizabeth City on the Pasquotank, and also became guests of Mr. Sawyer in the vicinity, whose accomplished daughter entertained the party with music on the harp. On 12th the President and suite returned to a public dinner given at Norfolk in honor of Mr. Monroe.

On 13th to Hampton and Old Point, examining the topographical maps and plans of the board, from whence, a further extension of the tour being postponed for a season, (Secretary Calhoun having gone to South Carolina,) the President, on receiving despatches from Washington, returned at once with the Secretary of the Navy and Mr. Gouverneur to that city.

On 18th the board proceeded to St. Mary's River on Potomac, where McRee and myself relieved the subalterns, and made in one day a triangulation of that estuary called a river, and extended the same to the banks of the Patuxent at Point Sewell.

On 21st the board examined the Patuxent, where Bernard met, for the first time in his life, the American black snake, a bold fellow of full six feet in length, that raised himself over a bush, and, with his brilliant eye, shook his forked tongue at the general.

On 21st the board arrived in Annapolis, and proceeded to examine that harbor and the Round Bay. From thence sent orders (24th) to Major J. J. Abert and Captain J. Le Conte, to make a topographical survey of Throg's Neck and Hell Gate, with a view to the action of the board.

On 27th we proceeded to Baltimore, and held our meetings at the Indian Queen, in Market Street. The whole board in favor of York River as a navy depôt except Captain L. Warrington, who preferred the present site, Gosport, in case that the Horse Shoe Channel should be found by the engineers to be defensible; but if the line of defence had to fall back to Old Point Comfort, then the whole board would probably select a site for the depôt on Burrell's Bay, or some other point on James River. The board here adjourned, to meet in Washington on 30th September next.

On my arrival in Baltimore I found my sister Sarah and my brother William arrived from New York. I had written Major Thayer to send my brother to me, that I might direct him as to his future pursuits. His fondness for sport had made him popular among the young cadets at West Point, and of course such a standing was accompanied by a low grade in the merit roll, which annoyed his father and myself, and gave the superintendent of the Academy trouble. It had become habitual at the Point in all doubtful cases of mischief, to attribute it to my brother, who, among other

freaks had commenced "messing by himself," as he termed his retiring to a lone room with a box of pies that he had purchased of one of the servants at that post.

On 30th June I took William with me to Georgetown, where, after a few days I advised him to return to West Point and apply himself to a better course, and by study to get ready to meet me there on my next visit of inspection; which he promised to do, and then returned to Governor's Island and to the Point. He has no lack of capacity, and will succeed if he apply himself to his books.

The months of July and August were busy days in the office on Pennsylvania Avenue, about one hundred yards west of the war office, in making contracts for the new works on the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic frontiers. We had a multitude of proposals from Messrs. Farrar, Goldsborough, Mix and others.

During the time I made official arrangements to place the engineer department in the hands of a successor, for I had made up my mind to seek civil service. I also, early in September, made a visit of inspection to West Point, and consulted my friend Thayer in reference to my brother William, who I found would not so pursue his studies as to secure him the proper grade as graduate, and determined to detach him on some duty that would promise improvement, and secure, if practicable, his commission in the artillery; for which object I had been also consulting the Secretary of War, in reference to examining the western rivers, recently commenced by my protégé, Captain S. H. Long, who had made a very interesting map of the Illinois and its tributaries.

In this visit to West Point I was accompanied by General John Mason, the proprietor of the Georgetown iron works, who came on to see Mr. Gouv. Kemble and our rising establishment opposite the Point at Margaret Brook. This was on 17th of the month. From thence to the city, where I met Mrs. Swift's cousin, Mrs. Mary Orme, who returned with me on 26th to my family in Georgetown; finding there my old friend General B. Smith, from Belvidere, on his way to Kentucky, to examine his lands near Henderson. My brother-in-law, James W. Walker, from Wilmington, had been

sojourning in my family on his way to seek a new residence on the Limestone River in Alabama, and to examine some lands in West Tennessee to which his father had claims for military service.

On 30th September the board of engineer and navy officers met at the department to finish the plans for Chesapeake Bay, that they might be redrawn by the officers engaged in the surveys.

The President returned to Washington on 11th October from his residence at Oak Hill, in Loudon, Virginia. On 15th October met him and the Secretaries of War and Treasury to consult upon my retiring from the army to civil service. I presented them my views in reference to General Bernard, and said that under the resolution of Congress, 16th February, I did not see how the executive could remedy the case. It was concluded to confer upon me the surveyorship of New York, the only place that would be vacant, and on 23d October Mr. Crawford informed me that I might take charge of that office as soon as I had made up my mind to leave the corps of engineers. Mr. Secretary of State J. Q. Adams gave his approval to this measure of my appointment.

Our friend Mrs. Orme returned home to Wilmington under the escort of Mr. ——. I wrote by her to Julius H. Walker, advising him of all the facts that had come to me from Lawyer Shight of Newburg, and from uncle John Du Bois of the same town, to wit: That all the children of John Du Bois (Mrs. Swift's grandfather,) were entitled to the said grandfather's rights in the "Minnesink land," and that under the will of Mrs. Swift's mother, Julius H. and Louisa M. Walker (my wife) were entitled to all the said lands that had belonged to Isaac Du Bois, the brother of the said grandfather John; which land had descended to the only child (Margaret) of the said Isaac and wife of the aforesaid John Du Bois of Newburgh, to whom was born one son, Isaac, who, dying before his father and after his mother, the said father, John, had conveyed by his will all the rights of said Isaac, his father-in-law, to his sister, the aforesaid M. M. Walker, mother of said Julius H. and Louisa M.: *i. e.*, all said Dr. Isaac Du Bois' rights in the patent of land called the "Minnesink Patent" aforesaid, which said Dr. Du Bois died in October, 1745, and was then seized with his brother, the aforesaid grandfather John, (who died December, 1767,) of all the Du Bois

right to the said "Minnesink lands," they, two brothers, being the only heirs and sons of the Rev. Gualthemus Du Bois, deceased in October, 1751. See *family Bible* of the aforesaid Louisa M. Swift, where these deaths are recorded.

I employed the latter days of October in removing my family from Georgetown to Mrs. Marvin's, number sixty-one in Broadway, where we had a comfortable suite of rooms, and in placing my sons James and Williams with Mr. Craig at Erasmus Hall in Flatbush, and depositing my funds of one thousand five hundred dollars in the United States Bank.

Early in November, on the 2d, I returned to Baltimore to meet General Bernard and Colonel McRee, to pursue the board duty; thence we three proceeded to Old Point in the schooner "Hornet," Lieutenant Ramage, United States navy, and also to Barnwell's Bay on James River, and Pargan Creek in continuance of our former incomplete surveys for a navy depôt, returning *via* Baltimore to Georgetown on 11th November, on which day I resigned my colonelcy of engineers, reserving all the rights of my brevet brigadiership, by understanding with Colonel Monroe (the President) that in case of war he would restore me to the line, as one of the rights of the brevet rank conferred by the United States.

In reference to my resignation it was said that I should have apprised my brother officers, that such of them as may have agreed in opinion with me might have united with me in leaving the corps. I avoided this to prevent the aspect of concert to interfere with the public service. It may also be noted that up to the day of my resignation General Bernard had not in a single instance objected to the selection of any site for defensive works, that had been occupied by any officer of engineers. He did deem all the works too small, and though they had thus far served the purposes for which they had been constructed, he was generally correct in that opinion. The chief merit of a military engineer is, first, selecting the proper position; next in order is the adopting a suitable plan to the position; and next, the ability to direct workmen to make the enduring walls.

On 13th November I notified the Secretary of the Treasury of my acceptance of the surveyorship, it having been required by the Secretary of

War that I should complete in the ensuing winter, the duty that had been assigned me on the board of engineer and navy officers.

The next day I proceeded to New York and appointed a very worthy man (Samuel Terry) my deputy, and on 19th of the month commenced my new official duty.

On 30th December, having arranged with the collector for my deputy to perform all the functions of office in my absence, proceeded to join the board of engineers at Washington; to Philadelphia in company with the Vice-President, Tompkins, and Commodore Chauncey, where I passed my birthday in company with the son-in-law of my former chief, and others of the families of Biddle and Cadwallader.

1819. Early in January arrived at Washington, and arranged an office for the engineer board at Hysonimon's in Georgetown, where were assembled General Bernard, Colonels McRee and Armistead, (my successor in the engineer department,) and Captain Elliot of the navy, and closed our work on 24th February, and laid the plans before the Secretary of War. On this board McRee and myself found Bernard rather shy in giving his reasons for the preference of any part of the plan that was his own; a glaring case was that of Saller's Point, below Baltimore, where Bernard preferred a front of much more exposure to enfilade fire than McRee and myself had commended. His uniform reply was "Gentlemen, your plan is very good, *mais*, I prefer my idea." We both said we had a right to his reasons in the spirit of his employment. McRee and myself also preferred a smaller emicute to the work at Old Point. I had so stated to Mr. Secretary Calhoun, but we deferred to Bernard's preference and popularity, and yet we did not receive his reason for so large an enclosure. The service on this board at Georgetown left an impression on the minds of McRee and myself that Bernard was not the genius he had been reputed, and that he was not candid or frank in his exchange of thought with us. I suppose he remembered my letters of objection to his service; but McRee was not as liberal in his views of that gentleman's course on the board. My opinion of Bernard is that he is an excellent bureau officer, a cold-hearted man; not in any sense a man of genius.

The 27th February I returned to my duties at the Custom House, New York, where the facetious Major Noah said in his *Advocate* that I had transferred my name from the army register to a hogshead of rum. He did not estimate the causes that drove me out of the army.

I passed the winter, or rather March, in applying myself to becoming acquainted with the theory of commerce and its relations to my vocations; purchased the six musty 8-vos. of Anderson, and read on revenue laws.

On 1st April commenced housekeeping at two hundred and thirteen in Duane Street, and made an agreeable associate in my neighbor, Henry Cruger, Esq., who had formerly been a member from Bristol in Parliament. He gave me a corrected reading of the story of his being on the hustings with Edmund Burke, whose declamation so dumbfounded his mercantile ideas that he did not presume to follow the speech of that great man by any effusions of his own, and said to the audience: "Your Mayor can do no more than say ditto to Mr. Burke." Mr. Cruger appeared to be a very highly informed person, and a thorough gentleman.

On 15th April my son McRee was born, and named for my friend Colonel McRee; and which son and the daughter Louisa of my friend Thomas March, and the son John Ireland of my friend Fanning C. Tucker, were baptized at my house in Duane Street, by Rev. H. G. Feltus, on 28th day of the following month of June. In the month of May Colonel McRee visited me, and to see his namesake, and on 15th of that month he left us to seek a farm in Indiana, having resigned his commission in the engineers in consequence of the course pursued by the executive, in giving General Bernard rank and employment not by any means contemplated by the resolution of 16th February. In the month of May I visited the West Point foundry, and witnessed the first delivery of ordnance castings to the United States agent. On my return 10th May placed James, Willy, Alexander and Tom at Mr. Pickett's school. In the month of April my brother William at Pittsburgh with Major Long, on Yellow Stone expedition. In the following month of June, by invitation of the Secretary of War, John Garnet of New Jersey, James Renwick of New York, Richard Patterson of Pennsylvania, Colonel Fenwick, Colonel Totten, Colonel

Archer and myself formed the board of visitors at the Military Academy, and made our report on 19th June.

The 4th of July was celebrated this year with much *éclat* by the Society of Cincinnati in New York, to which my father and myself were invited, and on which occasion it was agreed that my father had a just claim to a membership of that society, by reason of his naval services as surgeon on board the "Portsmouth" ship of war that was captured by the "Culloden," seventy-four, of Rodney's fleet, 1781.

On 19th of July the Rev. Thomas C. Brownwell went with me to my father's quarters on Governor's Island, and baptized my sister Sarah Adams' two daughters, Deborah Delano and Mary Harper, both born there in my father's house.

July 29th, the families of my friends Fanning C. Tucker, Thomas March and my own, twenty-six in all, on board the revenue cutter, Captain Cahoon, to Oyster Bay, and with Captain George Rogers we passed some pleasant weeks at this watering place; where my son James encountered a hornet's nest, and after much battling, with the aid of Captain Rogers, the nest was conquered after receiving several severe stings.

August 2d, on a visit to Captain James Farquhar at Green Hill—"Sailor's Snug Harbor." I used his telescope to observe the balloon ascent of M. Guilles, and his descent in a parachute to Bushwick on Long Island, landing near Newtown. I estimated the height ascended in a brief space of time at six thousand feet. The whole time occupied in ascent and descent was about three-fourths of one hour.

Although my functions in the army had ceased, I could not become indifferent to the action of the government in reference to fortifying our harbors, and other national improvements, and was glad to find that half a million of dollars had been appropriated for harbor defence for the current year.

From Oyster Bay I had placed my family to board with Mrs. Ross of Jamaica. She is the daughter of the former friend of Colonel Williams and myself, Mrs. Wilkinson, at number forty, Broadway—the headquarters of our engineers in the city. At Jamaica I was within easy ride of my

city duties, and early in September established my family on Brooklyn Heights at the house of a friend, George Gibbs, Esq., and placed my sons James, Williams and Alexander at Mr. Armour's school; my son Thomas with his grandfather, the surgeon at Governor's Island.

On 4th September the mayor of the city, Mr. Colden, invited me to aid the corporation in examining sources of a supply of water for the city. Accordingly on this day, accompanied by Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell and Robert Macomb, Esq., we proceeded to the Rye Ponds, and by the usual mode I determined the flow of water from the upper pond to be two thousand one hundred and twenty-eight gallons per minute into the lower pond, and thence into the Broux two thousand four hundred and eighty-four gallons per minute were discharged. I gave Mr. Colden a report of a plan to convey this water to the Harlem River, and across the same to a reservoir of deposit on the Heights, deeming them to be far below the point where the aqueduct should cross the Broux not far below the pond; and that as the season was ordinary in its character, calculated that three millions of gallons of water might be daily received into said reservoir of deposit, at an expense of about two millions of dollars. The amount of the estimate was deemed to be too large by the wise men of the corporation, and the report soon went to sleep in the pigeon-holes of the mayor's office. I neither charged nor received any fee for this service.

Early in October John and Robert Swartwout, two enterprising gentlemen of the city, consulted me on a plan to bank and ditch the Newark meadows, and we explored them, and the meadows near Hackensack bridge and Hoboken. Those gentlemen offered me an interest in these low lands, and I went with them to Philadelphia to consult Langdon Cheeves, Pierce Butler, Thomas Cadwallader, Thomas Biddle and Stephen Girard to form a company to complete this work, and thereby supply the market of New York with beef and a dairy. Those gentlemen were not prepared for the enterprise, but took time to consider the matter, and I proceeded no further, and thus one of the best plans for public and private utility was suspended on 7th October, 1819.

On 14th of this month I purchased from George Gibbs the place where I

was living with him on the Heights, for ten thousand dollars— sixteen lots, forming a square overlooking the East River and the city harbor—and on 1st November took possession, and commenced housekeeping there with my family, and commenced trimming a large grape vine that Mrs. Gibbs had transplanted from General Smith's garden in Smithville, North Carolina, and I gave the cuttings of the vine to William Prince, the florist and gardener at Flushing, who wished to name the grape "The Louisa," for my wife, but both she and myself deemed Mrs. Isabella Gibbs entitled thereto, and accordingly the vine was named "The Isabella," and I gave the cuttings to many of my neighbors in Brooklyn. Thus originated the Isabella Grape, 1824.

November 5th wrote the Secretary of War, J. C. Calhoun, Esq., that Robert Tillotson and Colonel Samuel Hawkins had purchased of Roswell Hopkins the contract to build forts at Mobile Point, that had been contracted for while I was chief engineer; and that I had agreed to furnish professional advice to execute these works on condition of receiving one-fourth of the net profits.

November 13th my aunt, Lucretia Lovering, became a member of my family at Brooklyn. She is of Boston, and my father's favorite sister.

December 14th, wrote Colonel McRee at Natchez that five hundred dollars had been deposited for him in the Bank of New York, and that eight hundred dollars had been sent to him from the War Department, the proceeds of the sale of his library.

During the months of November and December much of my time had been employed in comparing the weights and measures, and in the Revenue Department. My report thereon in my files, and in Congressional Document.

In 1820 eight hundred thousand dollars appropriated for United States fortifications.

1820. January, Charles Snowden of Philadelphia proposed to sell to me a large tract of Schuylkill coal lands, and with Professor Hassler and his large carriage, and Mr. Charles Loss, a miner, Mr. Snowden and myself, proceeded on 8th January to Orwicksburgh in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, and

found the mines very promising, and in presence of Mr. Hassler and Mr. Loss, Mr. Snowden sold me twenty thousand acres of coal land for twenty thousand dollars. We returned by Philadelphia, and there met Samuel Mifflin and Cadwallader Evans, Esq., and consulted on a mode of transporting this coal to market by improving the canal; and on our arrival at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, met Governor Williamson, who agreed to present to the legislature of New Jersey my plan of a canal from the Delaware River to New York Harbor, to transport anthracite. On arriving in New York, the first fire in that city made of this coal was made in my office. The next day Snowden declined to execute the sale he had made to me, and made a bargain with a new association at two dollars the acre, owing me two hundred and sixty dollars, cash lent to him 17th January.

February 1st, Alexander Macomb, Esq., father of the general, mentioned to me that while he was a merchant in Detroit in 1778, Captain Bard of the 8th British infantry captured Daniel Boon of Kentucky, and marched him to Detroit, where the governor (Hamilton) treated Boon kindly, and gave him liberty to return to his family, and to aid him gave an order on Mr. Macomb's store for such supplies as he might require on his march. Boon said: "I cannot accept more than is absolutely necessary, and will take but twelve shillings for myself, and a pound of tea for my wife." What moderation and self respect!

In this year, Mr. March, Major Tucker and myself employed Mr. Samuel Seabury to teach our boys. He is a well informed young man, the son of a clergyman and grand-son of Bishop Seabury. I gave him the range of my library, and found him an interesting companion. He was spoken of as a suitable assistant in the newly projected theological seminary advocated by Bishop Hobart, O. B. Ogden and others, and in which I was a trustee, but opposed to the location of such an institution in such associations as the city of New York must yield to youth.

February 6th, an interesting meeting with many, including Captain E. Trenchard, United States navy, on the subject of the colonization of free colored people in Africa. The captain was on the eve of sailing in the United States ship "Cyane" for Africa with the ship "Elizabeth," having

the first gang of such people set free to commence this great project.

February 8th. In reply to an enquiry from Hon. John C. Calhoun on the subject of our relations with Spain, having reference to the island of Cuba, I wrote as may be seen in the Appendix.

March 7th, attended a large political meeting at Flatbush, Long Island, with Lefferts Lefferts, Jeremiah Johnston, Jehiel Jaggar, etc., and addressed the meeting on the inexpediency of moving in the presidential question that had been commenced by Mr. Crawford's friends in Washington, where the Radicals had assailed Mr. Calhoun, charging the war department with malversation on the part of Mr. Calhoun and General Swift in reference to contracts with Elijah Mix, which contracts had been made by me before leaving the army, and approved by Mr. Calhoun.

On 22d April I proceeded to Washington, and notified the committee of Congress of my readiness to show that the engineer department had done its duty in reference to that contract. The committee did not report, and I returned to New York, escorting Mrs. Grace Magruder and Miss Mary E. Roberdeau to Brooklyn as guests of Mrs. Swift, and found there my worthy mother-in-law, Mrs. M. M. Walker, and my aunts Lucretia and Philomela, sisters of my father, on a visit; the former from Wilmington, North Carolina, the two latter from Boston.

May 12th. By direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, commenced a chemical examination of the sugars from Cuba and the teas from China, to decide on their respective qualities to regulate the duty, and the qualities and proper names of all the wines imported, and made my report on the same to the treasury department.

June 7th, as president of the Handel and Haydn Society, with F. C. Tucker, Dr. Oakey, B. Armitage and S. Taylor, got up the first oratorio in the United States at St. Paul's Church, and raised eleven thousand dollars for the Orphan Asylum and rebuilding Zion Church. This was a great improvement to the musical taste of our country.

June 8th, Nathaniel Prime and myself were appointed by the legislature of New Jersey to superintend the plan to open the Morris Canal improvement. This was delayed.

June 10th to 28th, at West Point by invitation of Mr. Secretary Calhoun, with Generals Brown and Jessup, Dr. S. L. Mitchell, James Renwick and Captain Le Compte, to examine the Military Academy.

July 18th, Rev. Dr. Ireland, Colonel Totten, Mr. March, Major Tucker and myself had a fine excursion to the Fire Place, on Long Island, where a trout, or more probably a salmon, came up to the mill race of the river, and was captured, weighing thirteen pounds.

August 20th, reported to the Secretary of the Treasury on a plan to modify the tariff on wines, sugars and teas; that a reduction of duty would tend to increase the quantum of importation, and consequently the revenue; and that in reference to spirits, the proof should be high to insure a good quality, and to injure less the public health. It was at this time that Major Noah published a diatribe on my "transferring my name from the army register to hogsheads of rum and boxes of champagne," in allusion to my custom house functions, and in *ignorance of the causes* that had induced me to leave the army, but in reality to assail me as a political friend of Mr. Calhoun.

October 7th, received from the United States Comptroller a deed of trust of Bald Head, Mallory and Blue Banks lands on Cape Fear River, North Carolina—several thousands of acres—with the directions to have the same acknowledged before the mayor of the city, and which was done as agent of the United States Treasury, to aid in suing a debt of General B. Smith as security for Colonel Read a defaulter, and late collector of the port of Wilmington, North Carolina.

This matter involved many difficulties, and final loss by false records.

October 17th, my venerable mother-in-law, Mrs. Walker, returned to Wilmington to live with her son, Julius H. Walker.

November 1st, commenced our Brooklyn meetings of a Social Club: Commodore Evans and Captain Rogers, United States navy, Colonel Totten, F. C. Tucker, Thomas March, Thomas J. Chew, J. Jaggar, G. S. Wise. My brother William returned on Long's expedition to the Mississippi, and laid up the steam engine at the mouth of the Cumberland.

1821. January 23d, my sister, Mary Roberdeau, married to Lieutenant G.

W. Whistler, United States army, by Rev. Dr. J. B. Romeyn, giving my father great uneasiness, as they were without adequate means of house-keeping. However, my mother and myself had a favorable estimate of the worth and ability of Mr. Whistler.

In the previous December, and in this month, a political accusation was made on the part of Governor De Witt Clinton, charging me, as surveyor of New York, with action under the influence of the general government, especially Mr. Monroe, to "oppose State authorities in the elections." This was termed the "Green Bag Essay," and was signally defeated by the oath of every officer of the department under my official control, as the documents of the State at Albany may evince to any reader. In fact Governor Clinton admitted to me that the whole had been the result of misrepresentation to him, and of which Colonel Ferris Pell was too conversant; and I was glad of this explanation at a dinner party given by Consul Bogoot, restoring a pleasant personal relation between Governor Clinton and his less important friend; for friend I had in reality been during the canvass, as also had my deputy, Samuel Terry, Esq.

February 27th, my brother William arrived in Philadelphia on horseback from mouth of Cumberland.

March 21st, William McRee passed some days with me discussing the cause which had driven both of us from the army; the very improper relation that the government had established between a foreign officer, General Bernard, and the corps of engineers. The government made him (McRee) surveyor-general of Missouri, and which office he found he could not hold consistently with his ideas of propriety and the habits of land speculation then prevailing in Missouri. I had a profound respect for Colonel McRee; he had a superior military mind; I named a son for him.

During this spring a general inspection of the revenue service was made by Mr. Edward Jones of the United States treasury; a gentleman of high honor and ability. He found, as had been represented by the three branches of the revenue in the United States custom house, that higher moral qualities were needed in the subordinate officers, to secure the revenue.

Three hundred and two thousand dollars appropriated for United States fortifications for 1821.

In the month of June, by invitation of the Secretary of War, I attended as a member of the board of visitors the examination of the Military Academy, and found great improvement made by the judicious administration of Major Thayer, but not coinciding in views with a majority of the visitors I made a separate report to the War Department, as the United States documents exhibit, and my own files contain. Brother William mapping in Philadelphia till June, then to my father's at New London.

In this month I wrote the Hon. Henry Clay my views of the tendency of the importation of a foreign officer, and interpolating him into the corps of engineers, as may be seen in the Appendix.

In this summer I became interested in some of the stocks of Wall Street, and with Henry Eckford, Esq., the distinguished navy architect, applied to the legislature to incorporate a Life and Fire Insurance Company, to be connected with the coal speculations in Pennsylvania that had caused Prof. Hassler and the miner, Mr. Loss, to explore the anthracite region in the year 1820.

September, brother William to Maine with Major Abert, surveying.

1822. In the spring of this year with the Rev. Dr. Ireland, Colonel Totten, Mr. March and Colonel J. T. Jones, had a successful trouting excursion at the Fire Place on Long Island, and for the first time used Limerick hooks from Dublin, furnished by Colonel Jones. Totten and myself, while busily engaged at the sport, our boat "sprung a leak" and sunk from under us, and we were drenched, though our sport was not spoiled. Remember Martin Kelly, Sackville Street, Dublin, for Limerick hooks.

The last of April I was summoned to Washington on a revival of the allegation of the Radicals of Mr. Calhoun's alleged malversation in the (now become celebrated) Rip Rap contracts with Mix, accusing the minister and the chief engineer, Swift, of partaking. See the congressional documents respecting this infamous calumny, and also my files.

An attempt was made this season by the economists of the Radicals in Congress to reduce the expenses of the government by the diminution of the personal force of the custom house, in New York especially. It was

found on inspection that the only change which true economy would justify was to substitute inspectors of ability, and who would not spend their time in porter-house politics.

In this summer I took my family to New London, where my father had been some time stationed as surgeon in the army after leaving Fort Columbus. With him and Captain Rogers of the navy, Captain Way, formerly of the army, and Hon. Lyman and Captain Richard Law, made an excursion to the Rocks in Long Island Sound under the lead of General William North, formerly adjutant-general United States army; and where the aboriginal mode of cooking blackfish, called "totogue," (taken then in large quantities,) between heated flat stones, which made a very acceptable feast.

The legislature of New York had, in the April past, made a law to regulate the streets and drainage of the city of New York east of the Bowery and north of North Street, appointing Professor Adrain of Columbia College, James Renwick, Esq., and myself the commissioners for this purpose; and our essay was to accomplish the same by a minimum of expense to the owners of lots consistently with a thorough attainment of a healthful result—all of which was spoiled by speculating aldermen.

James Renwick, Esq., and George McCulloch of New Jersey and myself explored the country to decide on a route for a canal from Easton, on the Delaware River, to New York by the Hopatcong Lake and Rockaway River, and the Muconectcong River, and deemed the same suitable for canal and inclined planes. This service was performed while the yellow fever had driven the whole population of the lower city to Greenwich, and the custom house to rooms in the State's prison.

While in New Jersey I met Miles Smith, Esq., of New Brunswick, to whom I had given an Isabella grape vine, and visited his residence at Ross Hall to witness its great growth. Upon his farm I found the ruins of an old fort of Revolutionary times, an outpost of the British army, and at the site of Colonel B. Tarleton's marquee, at a grotto of tree roots, found a barrel set in a fine spring of water that had supplied the troops with water, still flowing in abundance and purity.

In the month of July, with General Scott, visited Sunswick, the seat of Colonel George Gibbs on Long Island, to compare his Tokay grapes with Isabellas that had been furnished in roots from my garden. Both growing luxuriantly. Concluded it well to engraft the hardy Isabella on the delicate Tokay. We returned to my house at Brooklyn, and found my father and aunt Lucretia, and my brother William arrived. The latter had become a grave, experienced traveller, from Long's expedition among the Pawnee and other Indians, and an expert horseman and rifle shot, having sustained Colonel Long's party some weeks with buffalo and venison by his rifle. My brother had command of the military guard of the party.

In December met at Mr. Renwick's Captain Sabine of the English engineers, and Captain Chauncy of the navy, and witnessed experiments on magnetic intensity, and on the vibrations of Captain Kater's pendulum-point of suspension and oscillation, practically, as they are in theory, convertible points, and gave them the result of my examination of the weights and measures as existing in our revenue offices.

As a member of St. Ann's in my parish in Brooklyn, gave an estimate to rebuild that church for twelve thousand dollars. Twelve of us loaned each five hundred dollars for the object. One hundred and two pews and seventy in the gallery. On the completion and sale every expense was covered by the price paid for the pews, and leaving the church free from debt.

Three hundred and seventy thousand dollars appropriated for fortifications in the United States in 1822.

1823. On the death of my neighbor, Rev. John Ireland, myself and Robert Bach became his executors, and sold his personal estate for five hundred and eighty-two dollars. Sent his library to his step-son, Major Tucker, the plate to the children, and the gold watch of Mr. Ireland to his namesake, John Ireland Tucker. His real estate were lots near the navy yard. With this accomplished gentleman I had enjoyed a very agreeable and friendly intercourse for ten years.

During this winter the Handel and Haydn Society, *i. e.*, a portion thereof, to wit: Daniel Oaky, F. C. Tucker, Benjamin Armitage, Clement Moor,

Rev. J. M. Wainwright, John Delafield, Walter Phelps, John Chesterman, C. W. Taylor, with a new list of subscribers, formed the Philharmonic Society of the city: Dr. Post, president; J. G. Swift, vice-president; John Delafield, secretary and treasurer. At the opening of its meetings the president and vice-president made each an address. This society did much to improve the public taste in music.

In June my mother-in-law and grand-daughter Mary Ann, and cousin Mary Orme, John Q. McNeill and Mrs. S.'s brother-in-law, Edwin Gay Osborne, returned to North Carolina. Mr. Osborne, a gentleman of fine mind, attempted, by aid of my friend Cadwallader Colden, Esq., to establish himself in the city as a counsellor of law, but did not succeed.

On 10th July I went to Washington to confer with Mr. Calhoun and Virgil Maxey, Esq.; carried with me for him, and set out in his garden, the first Isabella grape of Washington; the next was W. W. Seaton's. The plant flourished there exceeding well, and grew forty feet the first year.

Here it was agreed that I should collect materials and publish a pamphlet to promote the election of John C. Calhoun to the presidency, and which was published by me under the title of "Principles, not Men." Returned to New York after having arranged to correspond with Samuel L. Southard, New Jersey, George M. Dallas, Pennsylvania, Judge Gibson, John Conrad and William Fitzhugh of Virginia, Benjamin Howard of Baltimore, John Devereux, William Gaston and William R. Swift of North Carolina, George McDuffie of South Carolina, and James Hamilton, Colonel Hayne, William R. King and Governor Pickings of Alabama, Henry Le Trevor of Louisiana, John H. Eaton of Tennessee, G. M. Bibb Kent and Governor Edwards of Missouri, R. B. Taney and General Winder of Maryland.

Made an excursion to West Point with General Scott and lady, W. W. Seaton and lady, Thomas Marsh and lady, Mary Roberdeau and my own family.

September 16th, my son Jonathan Williams Swift was appointed a midshipman in the navy.

To Morristown to meet Colonel Totten, General Bernard and James Renwick, to consult on the interest the United States may have in the

construction of the Morris Canal with inclined planes, to overcome the rise and fall of nine hundred feet. Thence proceeded to examine the copper mines at Somerville, as a source of supply to the United States mint; thence returned to the route of the canal at Pompton and Passaic Falls. At the old hotel of General Goodwin found an album containing a record, and some lines on the scene by General (then lieutenant) Macomb and family, with Walker Armistead and J. G. Swift, 13th August, 1803.

November 2d. Died at Wilmington, North Carolina, my friend Archibald Fotheringham McNeill, late Lieutenant-Colonel United States Dragoons, and father-in-law of Julius H. Walker. He died in the home where I was married, at "The Barn."

In the month of December I made an inspection of the works on the Morris Canal, with my brother commissioner, John Scott, and our engineer, Captain Beach; the company having decided to increase the number of working hands to unite the Hudson and Delaware.

Five hundred and eight thousand dollars appropriated for fortifications in the year 1823.

1824. February 24th, my son J. W. Swift sailed in the United States frigate *Cyane* for the Mediterranean, with Captain John Orde Creighton.

In March I purchased from Daniel Griswold one-half the stock of the Williamsburgh ferry, and also the one-half of the Jackson Street ferry, Brooklyn; and sold out the latter to J. B. Clark at a good profit—some one thousand two hundred dollars.

Went to Albany with Samuel L. Gouverneur and Thomas L. Smith to obtain a charter for the Sun Fire Insurance Company, and succeeded. In this month also, of April, the legislature appointed Edmund Smith, Thomas Hyatt and myself, commissioners to subscribe for the Richmond Turnpike stock; the object being to aid Governor Tompkins to settle his confused accounts. My knowledge of his heedless mode of business had been, that he had in the late war advanced money to me for the United States to prosecute the public works, and to sustain the Military Academy. Of the integrity of Governor Tompkins I had not a shadow of doubt.

In this month Mr. Jefferson wrote me of his wish to complete the cupola

The Memoirs of Gen. Joseph Gardner Swift, U.S.A. with a Genealogy of his Family. - Link Page

[PREVIOUS.....Part 1](#)

[NEXT.....Part 3](#)