

## DOCUMENTS

### *1. Letters of Dr. Thomas Cooper, 1825-1832.*

MR. WILLIAM NELSON, JR., Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, and the possessor of the papers of Mahlon Dickerson, has extracted from that collection the following letters of the famous Dr. Thomas Cooper, which he has kindly permitted the REVIEW to use. Dickerson, an eminent Democratic politician of New Jersey, was a senator of the United States from 1817 to 1833, and these letters are, with one exception, addressed to him at Washington. In some respects they have a close relation to the correspondence which forms the second group of documents in the present issue of the REVIEW, and they might have been classed with them; for they cast light on that stage of South Carolina politics, previous to 1828, when Calhoun was still reckoned among the nationals and conservatives, and when the line of cleavage in state politics ran between him and his friends Hamilton and Hayne and McDuffie on the one hand, and the extremer state-rights men led by Judge Smith on the other hand. But on the whole the main interest of these letters lies in their relation to Dr. Cooper's petition for the restoration of the fine inflicted upon him by Justice Chase in 1800, under the Sedition Act, on account of a newspaper libel on the President, and in their characteristic exhibition of the traits which so strongly marked Cooper himself, the "learned, ingenious, scientific and talented madcap" of John Adams's pungent phrase.

After his brief and eccentric career as a Pennsylvania judge, 1806-1811, and after a brief service as professor of chemistry in Dickinson College and in the University of Pennsylvania, Cooper was in 1819 elected to the same chair in the South Carolina College, and in 1820 became its president. This was the position which he occupied at the time when these letters were written. There seems to be no question that, with his extraordinary acquirements, energy and versatility, he was a most stimulating and effective teacher, and left a permanent mark upon the intellectual life of the institution. But his heterodoxy in matters of religion, set forth with characteristic aggressiveness and pugnacity, aroused so much excitement and indignation in the state, that he was put

upon his trial by a resolution of the South Carolina House of Representatives, passed December 7, 1831, "That in the opinion of this House it is expedient that the board of trustees of the South Carolina College do forthwith investigate the conduct of Doctor Cooper as president of the South Carolina College, and if they find that his continuance in office defeats the ends and aims of the institution that they be requested to remove him." This prosecution explains the last letter here printed. Though the board exonerated the doctor, after a brilliant defense on his part, he was forced to resign in 1834 and died in 1840.<sup>1</sup>

It was in 1825, apparently, that he began his efforts to secure the repayment of the fine of 1800. His petition of February, 1825, a well-written document,<sup>2</sup> argued forcibly that there was no libel in the newspaper statements for which he had been prosecuted, and that the Sedition Act of 1798 was unconstitutional. It was referred in the Senate to a select committee, of which Senator Dickerson was chairman, and which reported favorably.<sup>3</sup> In 1826 an adverse report was made by the Judiciary Committee of the House.<sup>4</sup> In 1832, 1834, 1836 and 1838 the Committee brought in a favorable report with a bill for repayment of the fine with interest.<sup>5</sup> But no restitution was made during Dr. Cooper's lifetime.<sup>6</sup>

1.

COLUMBIA Tuesday 18 Jan. 1825

*Dear Sir*

I am obliged to Mr Gaillard<sup>7</sup> for the documents he has sent which are very acceptable.

I sent you the beginning of this month a petition hastily drawn up,

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Colyer Meriwether's *History of Higher Education in South Carolina*, pp. 143-156.

<sup>2</sup> It is printed as *Senate Document No. 30*, Eighteenth Congress, second session; in each of the reports mentioned in the third note below; and at the end of Cooper's *Two Essays: 1. On the Foundation of Civil Government; 2. On the Constitution of the United States*, Columbia, 1826.

<sup>3</sup> *Senate Document No. 38*, Eighteenth Congress, second session.

<sup>4</sup> *House Report No. 16*, Nineteenth Congress, first session.

<sup>5</sup> *Reports of Committees*, No. 244, Twenty-second Congress, first session; No. 473, Twenty-third Congress, first session; No. 303, Twenty-fourth Congress, first session; No. 343, Twenty-fifth Congress, second session.

<sup>6</sup> It is sometimes said that the fine was repaid to Cooper; but I find no such act of Congress, and in 1847 and 1850 Cooper's executor is still petitioning. *House Report No. 37*, Twenty-ninth Congress, second session; No. 11, Thirty-first Congress, first session.

<sup>7</sup> John Gaillard, senator from South Carolina, and president *pro tempore* of the Senate in this and several preceding Congresses. The other senator at this time was Robert Y. Hayne. The Carolina congressmen mentioned below were George McDuffie, James Hamilton, jr., Joel R. Poinsett, Joseph Gist, Starling Tucker, and John Wilson.

owing to my expecting you w<sup>d</sup> write to me if the time suited. As I have not heard from you I think it may have miscarried. My consolidation pamphlet<sup>1</sup> has affronted Col. Hayne and M<sup>c</sup> Duffie sadly. Nor will my petition be supported by Jackson's friends who go with Calhoun in his views on this subject. However, act as you see fit. In the H. of Representatives, I c<sup>d</sup> not trust from our State Hamilton or Poinsett, who are of the Calhoun and Adams politics: and Gist, Tucker, and Wilson are not of standing to take a lead. My Compts to Mr Gaillard. I remain  
Dear Sir

Yours truly

TH. COOPER.

II.

COLUMBIA South Carolina

Feb. 13. 1826

Dear Sir

I have not yet heard of the two boxes.<sup>2</sup> A bookseller John Doyle of New York, writes to me that he saw 2 small boxes [direc]ted for me at the former store of Wilder and Campbell [books]ellers at New York who have broken and quitted the store. [He] says he has taken them and sent them on to me. These may or may not be the boxes you were so kind as to send: if you [recol]lect to whom they were consigned in New York, pray write for me to John Doyle Bookseller Park Place New York, and request him to look after them for me.

I have written to Major Hamilton,<sup>3</sup> such hints and suggestions as occurred to me, presuming he would communicate them to you. If he has not, pray ask him for my letters; they may furnish some ideas: if not they are soon perused.

Do not let my personal interest in the petition stand in the way [of] any public measure, for a moment. If you can carry any [bil]l or any resolution valuable to the public by giving up my [cla]im, do not hesitate a moment. What I want is, to impress the public out of doors with the absolute necessity of full and free discussion of every question within the range of human enquiry in order to arrive at Truth. The whole doctrine of Libel is in direct hostility with the improvement of mankind. I know of no question so important as the right of free discussion, untrammelled à priori, and subject to no punishment for its exercise. Of course I mean to confine this to *public* questions, and not to give the reins to private slander. But I include political measures as to their motives and tendency, and the public character and conduct of all public men. I include also every metaphysical and theological question. If Error be not brought to the light how can it be confuted? Have [you] looked at Mill's essay on the right of free discussion in [the] Supplement

<sup>1</sup> *Consolidation: An Account of Parties in the United States, from the Convention of 1787 to the Present Period*, by Thomas Cooper, Columbia, 1824.

<sup>2</sup> Of minerals. In another letter Dr. Cooper says that these boxes "interest me, I believe, full as much as the petition."

<sup>3</sup> James Hamilton, jr., M.C., afterward governor.

to the Encyclopaedia Britann[ica].<sup>1</sup> The Westminster Review contains two admirable papers, one on prosecutions for blasphemy, and the other in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Vol on the doctrine of Libel.<sup>2</sup>

I am extremely sorry for the acc! you give me of Gaillard.<sup>3</sup> I sincerely hope he may recover.

I suspect Tazewell<sup>4</sup> is against me on my petition: nor do I count upon Hayne: but I care nothing about it. I am only anxious that in the debate, my friends should take the broad ground of unlimited, unpunishable enquiry, [in] case of public men, public measures, and public questions [of] every description. Adieu. With much kind respect I remain Dear Sir Y<sup>r</sup> friend

THOMAS COOPER.

III.

COLUMBIA March 16. 1826

*Dear Sir*

On Saturday next, Mr Harper<sup>5</sup> of this place sets out for Washington to supply the vacancy of our deceased friend Gaillard. He is a lawyer; formerly a judge in Missouri; chancellor I think. Idle; not having used industry to lay up a stock of useful information; unknowing as I think in political questions; a prodigious admirer of the late W<sup>m</sup> Pitt the british minister (the worst in my opinion that nation ever had) and I think inclined to go all lengths with the administration particularly in favour of internal improvements and against state-rights, provided Calhoun does not lead him. But as Harper's brother in law here, Col. Preston,<sup>6</sup> is gained over by Calhoun, I think Harper will follow that leader also. In all other respects, I think Mr. Harper has an excellent head, and an excellent heart. I believe he means to oppose our friend Judge Smith, who will be a candidate as I suspect to succeed Gaillard and who is popular enough I believe and hope to carry the election against Harper: Smith's politics are like my own, radical, and therefore I wish him the success which I think he will obtain.

Your proposal to extend the time of prohibition for a twelve month longer than the resolution of the Committee pleased me greatly.<sup>7</sup> I hope you will persist in, and carry it. I am persuaded that the present attempts to throw the election of President exclusively into the hands of the people

<sup>1</sup> See James Mill's *Essays*.

<sup>2</sup> *Westminster Review*, II. 1, "Religious Prosecutions," and III. 285, "Law of Libel and Liberty of the Press."

<sup>3</sup> Senator Gaillard died February 26, 1826; see Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I. 77, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Senator from Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> William Harper, appointed by the governor, served as senator only till December, 1826, when Judge William Smith, elected, took his place. Harper was afterwards chancellor of South Carolina.

<sup>6</sup> William C. Preston, afterward senator.

<sup>7</sup> December 19, 1825, Dickerson proposed a constitutional amendment limiting the re-eligibility of the President; it was then also proposed to prohibit the appointment of Congressmen to federal office during their terms; to which was added, the next day, "and for—thereafter." *Senate Journal*, pp. 46, 54.

is a Consolidation-measure. The election of President according to the principles of our constitution is a State affair, and ought to be managed by the States, and not by the people. Our government is a federal union of States, for foreign and extraneous purposes, and ought not to interfere in any thing domestic that the States separately can manage for themselves. But executive influence is going on so rapidly, that in a few years it will be overwhelming. Your proposal will be one main stoppage to its progress.

I observe Walsh and Niles<sup>1</sup> are attacking J. Randolph. I think his arguments are well calculated to make us hesitate. If a minister is to be sent to the Congress at Panama, I hope his hands will be well tied. If Cuba should be placed in a revolutionary State, it will at present be a black government, and the people of Cuba joined to the rascally tribe of Wilberforce's evangelical reformers, will surrender all the british west indies into the hands of the blacks.

I do not say the blacks are a distinct species: but I have not the slightest doubt of their being an inferior variety of the human species; and not capable of the same improvement as the whites.

Adieu. I remain Dear Sir

Yr obliged friend

THOMAS COOPER.

IV.<sup>2</sup>

August 31. 1826 COLUMBIA S. Carolina.

Dear Sir

I have been considering and reconsidering my case with a view to the formidable objection raised by Mr Webster and the government party, that the Legislature have no right to impugn or interfere with a judicial decision. As the Constitution now stands, and under the received construction of it, I think that is the case; and so much the worse for the people who have secured to them by the amendments to the Constitution the empty privilege of petitioning [for] redress of grievances [a H.] of Representatives who have no power [to] give them relief, however flagrant the injustice complained of. The liberties of the Country are given up into the hands of the judiciary to be molded by them at their discretion as a Potter moulds his clay. They are removed *out* of the power of the popular body, *into* the power of a Presidential body.

The only grounds I have to stand upon are,

1. "The fine belongs now to the Treasury of the United States. I ask it to be restored, because under all circumstances it is right and proper it should be so. This does not impeach, overturn or alter the decision of the Court. With that I have nothing to do. Let it stand. But like an award of Damages by a Jury, the party to whom damages are given may renounce or restore them without any impeachment of the ver-

<sup>1</sup> Robert Walsh, of the *National Gazette*, and Niles of the *Register*.

<sup>2</sup> Addressed: "Honourable Mahlon Dickerson, Suckasunny, New Jersey."

dict that awarded them. To this case therefore the objection does not apply. On the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 1825 Mr Brougham applied for a remission of the fines imposed by the Court on Richard Carlisle for libels, amounting to 1500 £. The fines were remitted in Sep<sup>r</sup> without impeaching the Judgement of the Court; upon which no opinion was passed either by the house or the Ministers.

2. Without impugning or alluding to the Judgement of the Court [may] not the house doubt of their own power to pass the act, and therefore remit the fine because they disapprove of the Law passed by themselves without regard to the Judgement of the Court? I ask them to rectify their own mistake, not the mistake of the Court

3.<sup>17</sup> To doubt of the correctness of a mere Nisi prius opinion, not founded on any solemn decision of the Supreme court, never considered here or in England as settling the Law on any question, still less on a question of this manifest importance, is no impeachment of or resistance to the rights of the Judiciary ultimately to pass upon the question. To say that a law is not constitutional, whose constitutionality has never been argued before [the Su]preme court, is not creating any conflict with judicial authority. [Wh]ere will you stop? If a nisi prius decision on a point suggested and never argued even at nisi prius is binding, would not the objection taken in my Case lie even to an obiter dictum—a transitory assertion—a mere suggestion? I contend that the rule of non-interference applies only to those points that have been solemnly adjudged on argument before the supreme court as the tribunal of last resort. To say that the legislature of the Country have no right to give an opinion or express a doubt on the hasty suggestion of a judge in a circuit case, is degrading them before the judiciary power to an extent that can hardly be contended for. But this is my case. The question was not argued before Chase, nor carried up, because the temporary predominance of party feelings at the time, gave little hopes for success, and the expence and trouble of an argument at Washington would be far more grievous than the fine.

4. Where the opinions of the Legislature and the Judiciary are likely to be at variance, the predominant power claimed by the Judiciary ought to [be cle]ar and beyond a doubt: it ought to be claimed not in a dubious but manifest case, and when opposed to the rights of the people as insisted on by the Representatives of the People, it should be construed strictly to be construed reasonably. Under this rule of construction it cannot apply to a mere nisi prius decision.

Such are the only expedient arguments I can suggest under existing circumstances. But if the power of the Judiciary be not curtailed, the liberties of the people are gone. To make every class of constitutional authorities subservient to a power under Presidential bias if not controul—placed far above, aloof from the people—who have no point of contact or intercourse, no sympathy with the people—who may commit injuries and give rise to grievances which the people complain of in vain, for they complain to a powerless, prostrated [House] of Representatives—thus to

construe the Constitution, is to make [it] whatever the Judges choose to make it. Look at the caution against the judiciary in General Hamilton's excellent argument in the people v. Crosswell 3 Johnson's Cases 337.<sup>1</sup> When you add to this influence, the sweeping power under General Welfare, and the United States Bank, I am tempted to exclaim C'en est fait de nous.

Yours truly

THOMAS COOPER.

Pray write to me, how stands the motion about the Judiciary in your [house?] Did not Van Beuren introduce some clauses and Rowan some amendments? Who and what is Rowan?<sup>2</sup> I think Van B. spoke too much like a Lawyer. The fulsome panegyrics on the Sup. Court are not deserved. They are all ultra federalists but W. Johnson, and he is a conceited man without talents.

v.

COLUMBIA Jan. 18 1829

*My dear Sir*

I am glad you have brought on again your motion. It is in my opinion prudent and honest, and will *check* the extravagances of internal Improvement, if it cannot prevent them.

I hope you have read my essay on Malaria, with your ponds and Shrubberys in full recollection. I do not like them.

I write to introduce to your notice an intelligent and worthy young man, Thomas Jefferson Withers, who is politically all you could wish, saving as to the Tariff. You must allow us in the South, to look through our own coloured Spectacles, and you through yours. It may be a measure gainful to the Middle States, but it will be death to us. However, I have done with it. I shall oppose it no more. I will remove to either Louisiana or the Mississippi territory.<sup>3</sup> I should prefer the latter. Here I will not stay. Pray introduce Withers to the Mississippi members that he may make inquiries for me. I live here the life of a Toad under a harrow.<sup>4</sup> Now and then I get a small box of minerals which cheer me; you cannot conceive at this my second childhood, how gratified I am with these play things. They really add much to my pleasures. I look at my collection every week, with the eyes of a Collector and the feelings of one. Adieu. Will Hamilton bring on the Sedition Law? He is a good fellow, although he be an anti Tariffite like

Your friend and humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

THOMAS COOPER.

<sup>1</sup> The prosecution of Harry Crosswell, in 1803, for libel on Jefferson; Alexander Hamilton was of counsel for Crosswell.

<sup>2</sup> John Rowan, senator from Kentucky 1825-1831.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of this sentence is not quite certain.

<sup>4</sup> Cooper's anti-clerical sentiments and outspoken heterodoxy were making trouble for him in his capacity as president of the college.

VI.

COLUMBIA S. Carolina  
Dec. 10. 1829.*Dear Sir*

My friend Hamilton having quitted political life, I know not in the H. of Representatives who I could most properly apply to, on the subject of my Petition. Hamilton said he would speak to his Successor, Mr. Barnwell<sup>1</sup>: but I never saw that Gentleman, and Hamilton has not written to me whether he applied to him or not. Any of the delegates of our State would do me this service, but I do not chuse to apply to Mr M<sup>c</sup>Duffie; or indeed any of them without consulting you.

I hope you will not forsake this question, and I therefore request of you to choose your own coadjutor in the H. of Representatives. Pray write to me on it. Barnwell is a clever, eloquent young man; but I know little about him.

In this strait, I must depend upon you, as I trust I may. Adieu. I am with all kindness and respect

Dear sir

Y<sup>r</sup> friend

THOMAS COOPER.

VII.

COLUMBIA, S. Carolina.  
8 Feb. 1830.*Dear Sr.*

I thank you for y<sup>r</sup> letter. I am glad my friend Davis<sup>2</sup> embarks in the cause of my Petition, which I leave with full confidence in your hands.

But remember that although 1000 \$ w<sup>d</sup> be to me a most convenient windfall at this moment, do not scruple no not for an instant to give up all my interest in the fate of that Petition if it stands in the way of the acknowledgement or establishment of any important principle or resolution as to the right of free discussion, I hope in its fullest extent. I am well aware of y<sup>r</sup> inclination to render me personal service, but I w<sup>d</sup> not for *any* emolument, disgrace my character by pressing agst the chance of public utility, any private interest of my own. Hamilton knows this was always my language to him. Do you therefore use my petition as an instrument of overturning the rascally imposition on the freedom of the press, which the Adams Dynasty w<sup>d</sup> willingly fasten upon it: when my petition throws any difficulty in the way of this public object, throw my petition aside.

I rejoice to hear your works are in such good order and promise. I am neither surprised, nor do I blame y<sup>r</sup> adherence to the Tariff, and if any body is to gain by that measure, it will give me great satisfaction to find it at any rate of Service to you.

Let me hear from you now and then.

THOMAS COOPER.

<sup>1</sup> Robert W. Barnwell of Beaufort.<sup>2</sup> Warren R. Davis, M. C. from South Carolina.



VIII.

COLUMBIA March 13 1830

Dear Sir

Gen. Hayne wrote to me that he had presented the Report of the Senate in my favour.

I did not take a rec<sup>d</sup> from Hall the Marshall. I took for granted that *my discharge from his custody* was a receipt in full; for my sentence of course was, to be committed till the fine was paid.

It happened in this way. Hall called on me in the morning and told me that my term of confinement was ended, and I was free to leave the prison. I answered that I had not yet paid my fine, but expected to pay it that day. He said it was no matter, I might pay it when convenient. We went out together and met Israel Israel. In the street, a few minutes after, the Postman delivered me a letter containing a draught for 400 Dls drawn on Abel Humphrys of South Second Street Phila<sup>a</sup> at 2 months. Israel Israel went to him to get him to discount the draught, which being a bitter english federalist he positively refused. I. Israel then went to St. Girard, [who] gave him the money for it without charging discount and I gave [it] to Hall. Probably J. E. Hall of the Portfolio <sup>1</sup> recollects [*illegible*]. But suppose a man on Ca Sa at liberty with consent of the sheriff is not that a [satisfaction of?] the debt?

C<sup>d</sup> you not draw up the clause so as to get rid of this objection, if indeed it be one?

Buchanan's support will give me a very good opinion of the man, considering my obnoxious character to the Federalists.

Could you write a note to S. Girard to look in Ap. 1800 for a bill on Abel Humphreys in favour of Th. Cooper for 400 \$ discounted by him? He w<sup>d</sup> probably take trouble for you as a Senator that he w<sup>d</sup> not for me.<sup>2</sup>

I feel for y<sup>r</sup> loss in that fine woman your niece. But so things are.

I am with many thanks Yr friend

THOMAS COOPER.

IX.

29 March 1830

COLUMBIA.

Dear Sir

I thank you for the bill in my favour. I shall avoid [*illegible*] worms, though I have the bill.

[I] forget the day when I left prison. I have no memorandum about it. [Will] you write for me to St. Girard, and verify his discounting a bill for 400\$ drawn on Abel Humphreys of Philadelphia. I will write to Tho<sup>d</sup> Sergeant and get him to go to old Mrs. Hall.<sup>3</sup> If my

<sup>1</sup> John E. Hall edited the Portfolio from 1817 to 1827. He was the son of John Hall, U. S. marshal for the district of Pennsylvania.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of *House Report* No. 244, Twenty-second Congress, first session, Dr. Cooper, in an affidavit dated February 4, 1831, says that he has written to Philadelphia, but can trace no entry of the transaction in the books of Stephen Girard, which, he understands, do not go so far back in his banking transactions.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Sarah Hall, the marshal's widow, a literary lady, died April 8, 1830.

being at large is not legal proof of the fact, I have no other. Israel Israel who went to Girards and paid the money over to the Marshall is dead. Is it Secretary Van Beuren I am to satisfy? If it depends on him, he will be as scrupulous as legal habits can make him. Pray try and smooth this part of the path for me. I have no doubt St. Girard will remember the whole matter.

I am reviewing Bentham's late work in 5 V. on Judicial Evidence. It is really a most abstruse, but mind-exciting book. It will not be [rea]d; for I find the Hebrew lessons I have been taking these six months [pas]t, not so difficult as Bentham's pages. When I have finished, and can get a few copies struck off I will send you one.

With many thanks Adieu.

THOMAS COOPER.

x.

COLUMBIA Feb. 22. 1832

*My dear friend*

Hot work I find in your house. What with the Tariff and Van Beuren, the battle waxes hot. I do not care one cent about Janus, but tho' I *do* care about the Tariff, I am content to leave you and our man Hayne to carry on the contest. Where people cannot honestly agree, they must be contented to differ with mutual toleration. But rely upon it, the Tariff of protection will be very [much] of a storm-breeder. I wish it were settled, at the expence of the [time?] bestowed upon it.

Warren Davis, who is a kind and good creature, tho' like myself a sad Nullifier, tells me he has brought on my petition.<sup>1</sup> I hope you will make a handle of it to give us a proper good lecture on the right of free discussion in a republican government. I shall be curious to hear what John Quincey has to say to it. I do not expect it will pass for I am in no respect as yet in the odour of sanctity with the conclave at Washington. I regret your Tariff propensities, excuseable as they are, because they bring you so much in friendly contact with the notion-mongers of yankee-land: they are a race man-ward tarnation twistical; they will be very apt to lead you astray, and put your political chastity in imminent danger. See how readily Webster and Everett with their solemn sabbath-day faces, can go in and out of every political whore-house they meet with, without a change of feature in their unblushable faces. As to Clay, his roguery has a character of honest boldness about it, that makes people ready to forgive a consistent politician with! pretensions. However, as you love your honest character, keep aloof from all demure-looking sanctimonious goers astray. Else you may have to lament with Falstaff, Company, villanous company has ruined me, Hal!

I have been lately in correspondence with W<sup>m</sup> J. Duane: seeing as how I have very little to do, I take great interest in S. Girard's will and his College, which I greatly fear the Black-coats will contrive by some rascally scheme or other to defeat. You have heard, I suppose, that the

<sup>1</sup> See *House Report* No. 244, Twenty-second Congress, first session, by W. R. Davis of South Carolina.

battle rages furiously between the Ch[urch mili]tant and your humble servant, even to extermination. Bellum [internec]inum. I am not yet conquered, and expect yet to bivouac on the field of Battle. I have no objection to a moral governor of the universe, but how came he in that character to create the Priesthood? Moral! You might as well apply squareness to virtue. I wish I knew how to account for moral and physical evil, and then I should be able to account for malaria, dyspepsia, yellow fever, the plague, cholera, rattlesnakes, mosquitoes and faquirs of all classes and orders, asiatic and european, papist and protestant. Can you tell me for what good purpose that man of the milk of human kindness, John Calvin, was ordered into the world, the counterpart of Ignatius Loyola? Hands off: that's my trick if you please, as the devil said of the dead presbyterian! Thank heaven, when I depart from these gentry in this world, there is no chance of our meeting again in another; else I sh<sup>d</sup> have to exclaim tantæne animis celestibus iræ!

I did not send you my "Layman's letter to any Member of Congress" because like other great characters, I thought proper to travel incognito: but it seems like the Ostrich, that wise bird that hides its little head in the sand, and being unable to see anything itself, thinks its great backside invisible to all the world. I shall republish my defence,<sup>1</sup> with the Layman's letter annexed for the benefit of all pious presbyterians like General Blair.<sup>2</sup> Shall I send you a copy? I hope you are not bitten by the black ants: I'm sure not. You are not a man to attend Baptist-immersions at Christmas, or protracted revivals in July. But I vow to heaven, that now a days I do not know who is who; and metaphysician as I am, I do not believe I can tell what's what, Hudibras notwithstanding. When I see a vinegar scowle under the flapped hat of a solemn looking man in black, I cannot for the soul of me associate any thing kindly with it. Do you remember the whites of Ashbel Green's<sup>3</sup> eyes when he prayed to half a dozen members of Congress in the early days of our democracy, under good old Stephen Thompson Mason,<sup>4</sup> whose memory I reverence yet. no: I cannot believe that you fraternize either with yankee politicians or with piety pretending saints. Thank God the new Yorkers are going to turn their Chaplains adrift: they have begun with Parson Wilson for telling truth, and they will go on with the rest for telling lies.

However, à nos moutons: to our business.

My son in law Manners, I hear, is at Washington, under a rolling stone propensity that has impelled him thither. He wants to quit the woods and practice in a city. He is weary of keeping company and holding

<sup>1</sup> *The Case of Thomas Cooper, M.D., President of the South Carolina College, submitted to the Legislature and People of South Carolina, Columbia, 1832.*

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is to a letter of Gen. James Blair of South Carolina, dated December 17, 1830, apropos of Cooper's *Letter of a Layman*, in which he denounced Cooper as an infidel. The letter is printed in *Niles's Register*, XL. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Chaplain of the senate, afterward president of Princeton College.

<sup>4</sup> Stevens T. Mason, Senator from Virginia, 1795-1803.

soirées with Dryads and Hamadryads. As he is a perfect stranger at Washington (so my daughter tells me) he wants some kind of introduction that will give him the liberty of making inquiries for information. Do you know D<sup>r</sup> Jones of the Franklin Journal [at] Washington? Pray introduce D<sup>r</sup> Manners to him and to Warren D[avis]. I suspect Manners will call on you. Adieu my good friend,

My little Daughter just 12 plays Nina delightfully.

Adieu my good friend.

Yours truly

THOMAS COOPER.

2. *Letters on the Nullification Movement in South Carolina, 1830-1834.*

(*First installment.*)

THE following letters, illustrating in a variety of ways the nullification movement, have come into the managing editor's hands from various sources. Mr. Edward Spann Hammond of Blackville, S. C., son of Governor and Senator James H. Hammond, has kindly placed at the editor's disposal the letters which Governors Hamilton and Hayne addressed during the crisis to his father, then a young but influential lieutenant of their party, as well as copies of his replies, and a record of a conversation with Calhoun. He has also lent a valuable collection of contemporary pamphlets, which, combined with the considerable collection possessed by the library of Brown University, has helped greatly toward an understanding of the struggle. The letters to Hammond, it may be remarked, are during 1830 and 1831 addressed to him at Columbia; after that, to Silver Bluff or Silverton in Barnwell District. Next in importance are the letters of Hayne to another of his aides, Francis W. Pickens. For these we are indebted to Mrs. J. E. Bacon of Edgefield, daughter of Governor Pickens. The papers once possessed by Governors Hayne and Hamilton, including in the latter case his correspondence with John Randolph of Roanoke, have unhappily perished. General Edward McCrady of Charleston, president of the South Carolina Historical Society, has kindly furnished a copy of a letter from a Union committee, of which his father was a member, to one of the local supporters of that party. For the letters of President Jackson and of Bolling Hall to Nathaniel Macon, possessed by a descendant of Macon, Mrs. Walter K. Martin of Richmond, we are indebted to her and to Professor William E. Dodd of Randolph-Macon College.

It is not doubted that the letters will be thought to be interesting, and to afford a vivid notion of the character of the struggle and