THE CAREER OF DUNCAN MCArTHUR.

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By

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CHAPTER ONE

THE EARLY CAREER

OF McARTHUR

During the summer of 1794 a number of spies hired by Kentucky to watch for marauding Indians, were at Maysville drawing their pay and procuring additional ammunition. While they were there the packet-boat which carried the mail between Wheeling and Cincinnati came in with one of its crew of six dead and two others seriously wounded. They had been attacked by a party of Indians while passing near the shore at the mouth of the Scioto River. The remainder of the crew had managed to manoeuvre the craft into midstream and had started for Maysville, which was reached without further mishap. There a fresh crew was procured and four of the rangers were detailed to guard the vessel as far as the mouth of the Big Sandy River. This was done safely and the four scouts started back. At the mouth of the Scioto one of their number went into the hills for game. He concealed himself behind a blind near a deer lick and proceeded to wait for his quarry. Shortly two Indians put in their appearance, so close to him that it was impossible to retreat without
being detected. Such a situation (as one of the chroniclers of this event asserts rather naively), entailing as it did the approach of two Indians armed with rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives would have been sufficient to cause the strongest of hearts to flutter just a little. The would-be hunter, under these circumstances, decided that what appeared to be the most daring was also the safest course to pursue. He allowed the Indians to approach within fourteen paces and then fired. One of them fell dead. The other, surprisingly, did not flee but remained, ready to shoot on sight the killer of his companion. The white man's only recourse was to take to his heels which he proceeded to do with all the alacrity he could muster. He soon became entangled in the top of a fallen tree; during the halt the Indian fired and missed. Since the guns of both antagonists were now empty, the ranger was considering a hand-to-hand encounter when further flight was rendered imperative because of the appearance of several more screaming savages. The Indians pursued, firing as they ran. One of the balls struck the powder horn of the fleeing ranger, driving the splinters into his side with such force that the blood flowed freely. After two or three ridges had been passed the Indians gave up the chase and the huntsman was able to return safely to
his comrades who waited in a canoe at the river.

On another occasion the same scout was being pursued by Indians when he was tripped by a grapevine. As he fell heavily the redskins fired, the balls passing harmlessly over his head. On his feet instantly he soon outdistanced his enemies. He later said that this grapevine made him governor of Ohio. The ranger in both instances was the subject of this study, Duncan McArthur.

The early life of McArthur is enveloped in something of a haze which at times assumes the proportions of a heavy fog. That his early existence was a hard and hazardous one, however, there can be no doubt. The MacArthurs were a prominent clan in Scotland, proud of their distinctive plaid and hat feather. Supporters of Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender, they were among those who were badly defeated by Royalist forces in the spring of 1746 at Culloden. After this disaster the family took refuge in Argyllshire. In 1763 John MacArthur, who lived in Miltawa on the Isle of Bute in the Firth of Clyde, married Margaret


(2) Hunter, "The Pathfinders of Jefferson County," Ohio Archeological and Historical Publications, VI, 195; Caldwell, J. A., History of Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio, 165. This tale must be discounted somewhat since it comes to us on hearsay. It was told to Caldwell by a General Wier who heard it from McArthur. In the same way it must be remembered that John McDonald (who wrote the Sketches) was a brother-in-law of McArthur's. This explains the eulogistic tenor of his work.
Campbell, a member of another famous Scottish clan. Six years later the couple migrated to America, settling in Dutchess County, New York. It was there that Duncan Mc-
Arthur was born, on January 14, 1772. The family was desperately poor, a condition which gives a biographer an opportunity to make a statement which many of Mc-
Arthur's contemporaries might have questioned—"his only heritage" says this writer, "being those qualities of character which make up our ideal of a true Scot; viz: (2) habits of self-reliance, honesty and persevering industry." Duncan's mother died when he was three years old. His father remarried and in 1780 took the family to the front-
ier in western Pennsylvania.

The straightened circumstances of the household necessitated that Duncan be hired out to neighboring farmers, after the work at home was done. This hard labor, added to the lack of schools in a frontier community, meant that the formal education of young McArthur was of

(1) McDonald, *op.cit.*, 71. Most of this early family history was obtained from a family record at the home of a great-granddaughter of Duncan McArthur, Miss Dorothy Whitney MacArthur, at Circleville, Ohio. For some reason, perhaps his lack of education, Duncan always spelled his name *McArthur*, instead of the more correct *MacArthur*.


(3) Duncan McArthur had one sister, Eleanor. His step-
mother had been a Miss Lyons of Vermont. There were several children from this second marriage who were, of course, stepbrothers and stepsisters to Duncan. This information is in the family record at Circleville, Ohio.
the most rudimentary sort. McDonald states that he was able to read and write by the time he was twelve or thirteen, but the details as to when and how he acquired this knowledge is unknown. There is an oral tradition in the family which offers an interesting explanation of his later efforts along the same line. It states that during the time that McArthur was working as a surveyor under Massie he dreamt that he occupied a position of great prominence. This made such an impression on the young man that he decided to prepare himself by getting a member of the party who had been educated on the seaboard to tutor him. This process is supposed to have continued for several years under several different teachers. It will be seen, as excerpts from the correspondence of McArthur are quoted in the study, that he improved steadily in spelling and composition as the years went by.

In addition to his labor for neighboring farmers, he made several trips across the Alleghenies to the coast with pack-horses to procure salt, powder, lead, iron, and rum--absolute necessities for the rigorous life on the frontier. Since there were no roads, these trips were of a difficult and arduous nature. McArthur became an

(1) McDonald, op.cit., 71.
(2) This story was told to the author by Miss Dorothy Whitney MacArthur of Circleville, Ohio.
(3) McDonald, ibid., 72.
excellent backwoodsman and remained one in spirit, at least, throughout his life. He was never able to comprehend fully the customs and tempo of polished society.

In 1790, when McArthur was only eighteen, he enlisted in a company of Pennsylvania volunteers to serve under General Harmar against the Indians. They floated down the Ohio to Ft. Washington (now Cincinnati) where they were joined by a regiment of volunteers from Kentucky. Harmar had but a nucleus of regular soldiers, the majority being composed of these Kentucky and Pennsylvania militia—an unruly group who disappointed the regulars from the beginning. The Pennsylvania militia were especially noticeable being "badly equipped and among them many substitutes of old infirm men, and young boys." It would have required a much abler general than Harmar to have achieved victory under such a handicap. Young McArthur's first contacts with the territory which was to be his home for the greater portion of his life were made when the expedition pushed northward through what was then an unbroken wilderness. In October, marching about ten miles a day, the army reached the deserted Miami towns at the junction of the St. Joseph, St. Mary and Miami Rivers, about 170 miles north of Ft. Washington. These

(1) McDonald, op. cit., 74.
(4) This was the Miami of the Lake, now called the Maumee River. This junction is the site of the present Ft. Wayne, Indiana.
towns consisted of a couple hundred wigwams and some good log huts along with gardens, orchards and large corn fields. After their destruction by the soldiers the Indians returned and were able to defeat a detachment under Colonel Hardin which had been sent against them. This setback so demoralized the militia that it was decided to march back to Ft. Washington. Hardin, however, was anxious to wipe out the stain of defeat and Harmar detailed a detachment of 400 men (40 regulars and the rest picked militia), commanded by Major Willys of the regulars, to march against them. Harmar erred in sending such a small body of troops; this circumstance plus the lack of discipline among the militia made disaster almost inevitable. The detachment was split into three columns, which were supposed to keep in constant contact with each other. The middle column under the personal command of Willys contained most of the regulars with the two outside columns composed entirely of militia. It was in one of these latter groups that McArthur found himself. 

Needless of orders, the militia pressed forward and the columns were quickly out of touch with one another. The militia pursued and fought successfully several small bodies of Indians, but the middle column, left behind, found itself confronted by the main Indian force and was overwhelmed. The militia,

(1) Roosevelt, op.cit., 403-406.
(2) McDonald, op.cit., 75. McDonald has no conception of the gross inefficiency of the militia and praises them highly.
finally returning from its wild-goose chase, was able to check the rout but the damage had already been done. Har- 
mar was highly indignant at the conduct of the volunteers and was forced to return to the Ohio without accomplishing (1) the purpose of his expedition. At Ft. Washington the army was disbanded, McArthur returning to his father's (2) home. Thus, from the standpoint of actual merit, Mc- 
Arthur's campaign as a member of the militia was of doubtful value. This experience, however, forms the first link of a long chain of contacts which he established with the Indians of Ohio.

The next two years passed quietly. McArthur was elected an ensign in the Pennsylvania militia but the company was not called out for duty. (3) Sometime in the winter of 1792-3 he went down the river to Maysville where he obtained employment for a short period in the salt works there. (4) In the spring he went out as a claim bearer on a surveying tour with General Nathaniel Massie. Massie's interest was in the State and Continental army lands belonging to Virginia and located in the Ohio country. The party, consisting of about 30 men, went up the Scioto

(2) McDonald, op. cit., 76.
(3) Ibid., 77, 78.
(4) Ibid., 80. The eulogistic and didactic strain in Mc-
Donald is especially apparent here. Referring to the
River to the mouth of Paint Creek, near Chillicothe. While keeping a sharp lookout for Indians, the territory in that vicinity was surveyed. When the attitude of the Shawnees at Old Chillicothe (now Frankfort) became menacing the work was abandoned and the party returned in haste to the settlements on the Ohio. The hazards which the wilderness and the Indians presented at that time validate Mc-
Donald's description of the tour as a "bold enterprise".

In the fall of 1793 the Indians became troublesome to the settlers along the Ohio River. The State of Kentucky employed rangers to patrol the country and give the alarm if Indians put in their appearance. McArthur and three others, attired in Indian garb, were detailed to range the country between Maysville and the mouth of the Big Sandy River at the extreme eastern boundary of the state. While part of the band went up the river between these points, the others were coming down, making it labor at the salt works McDonald notes—"and thus he spent some portion of his early life, always seeking employment, and rendering himself useful to his fellow men, and promoting thereby his own advancement. We revert to these employments of the earlier part of young McArthur's life, with the full conviction that no honest employment is dis-
reputable, and to show the steps by which industry, cap-
acity and integrity may rise to affluence amid honorable distinction, from the most humble beginnings."

(1) McDonald, op.cit.,81; Evans, op.cit.,388.
(2) McDonald, ibid., 82.
almost impossible for Indians to cross over the river without being detected. Physically McArthur was well able to stand the strain of this life. Rev. Finley, who knew him as early as 1793, describes him as being "tall in stature, with a giant frame. His hair was black as a raven, and his eyes dark and piercing. When excited there was an unearthly flash in his fiery eye which indicated a keen and daring spirit, restless and fearless." His portrait indicates that he was not only tall but heavy. He could lay no claims to masculine beauty, possessing a snub-nose and heavily jowled features. The eyes are "black and piercing", no doubt, but appear a trifle too small.

The life of these rangers was adventurous to an extreme degree. The encounter which McArthur had with the two Indians at the deer lick, related at the beginning of the chapter, is a good example of what they might expect at any moment. On another occasion McArthur and a companion ranger, Davis by name, were going up the Ohio. They had with them a light canoe, one pushing it up the stream as the other went in advance to keep a sharp watch. The morning was still and foggy. Near the present town of Portsmouth there was a deer lick. As they approached it McArthur stopped and Davis went on through the bushes

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(2) Ibid., 122, 123.
(3) McArthur's portrait hangs with those of other Ohio governors in the State House at Columbus, Ohio.
and weeds, bending low to escape the observation of marauding Indians. When he had almost reached the lick he straightened up. Instantly the report of a rifle was heard and a bullet whistled by, too close to his head for comfort. The smoke from the Indian's rifle settled about him due to the heavy atmospheric conditions. Davis waited until he stepped out of the smoke to see if his shot had been true, and then shot him dead. By the time Davis had finished reloading McArthur came running to join the encounter. At the same instant a number of Indians made their appearance in the open ground near the lick. Aided by the high weeds and the heavy fog the two were able to retreat slowly but safely to the Ohio where the canoe rapidly carried them out of danger.

In the spring of the next year, McArthur joined a volunteer company commanded by Captain William Enoch. They were situated at Baker's fort on the Ohio, a short distance from Wheeling. One evening a few Indians were seen on the opposite shore. The next morning Enoch and fourteen men, including McArthur who was the youngest, gave pursuit over the hill to Captina Creek, about a mile from the river. In a foolhardy fashion Enoch led his men into a little vale surmounted by a steep rocky

(1) McDonald, op.cit., 83, 84.
(2) Caldwell, J. A., op.cit., 165; McDonald, op.cit., 78 ff. gives the date as 1792.
bank some sixty feet high, where the Indians had ambushed themselves. The first volley of the Indians was harmless because of their elevated position. The party of whites then took to the trees. Outnumbered two to one, six of their little band including Enoch were killed within a short time. The dénouement seems to indicate that McArthur had worthily acquired a reputation as a fighter. Although the junior member of the detail he was chosen to direct the retreat. Placing the wounded in front, while the others, including himself, covered the rear, Baker's fort was finally reached in safety.

Wayne's decisive defeat of the Indians in the fall of 1794 brought a cessation of Indian hostilities. Kentucky ceased to hire the rangers and McArthur found himself without ready employment. During the winter, however, he became acquainted with a Mr. George Hardick. Hardick was an experienced hunter and a partnership for a winter's hunt was agreed upon. The two, says McDonald in his usual laudatory manner, were "kindred spirits, who never quailed at danger, or wearied by labor." This is a trifle far-fetched although it was no child's play to push up the Kentucky River in the dead of winter into the spurs of the Cumberland mountains, then an uninhabited region. In the spring the deer, buffalo, beaver, otter and other pelttries

(1) McDonald, op.cit., 78.
(2) Caldwell, op.cit., 165; Evans, op.cit., 233. The latter account is full of inaccuracies, as is much of the rest of the work.
were marketed at Cincinnati at a good profit.

These exertions south of the Ohio were but a prelude to those McArthur was soon to experience north of the river. Early in March he signed to go on another surveying tour with General Massie, this time as an assistant surveyor. Because of its difficulties this expedition was subsequently called the "starving tour." Since McDonald also accompanied the party his account is not only fairly accurate but quite interesting:

"The weather for some time, continued quite pleasant, while the party surveyed toward the head waters of Brush Creek . . . While surveying in this section of the country, the weather became cloudy, and commenced snowing and hailing. The snow continued to fall and drift for two days and nights; and when it ceased, the ground was covered between two and three feet deep . . . About the time it ceased snowing the weather became warm, and a soft rain fell for a short time. Suddenly it became intensely cold, accompanied by a frost, which soon formed a strong crust on the snow, which had been previously softened by the rain. The snow, although somewhat settled by the rain, was at least two feet deep, with a crust that would bear about half the weight of a man. This was the deepest snow I ever saw, before or since in the western country. The turkeys, and other small game, could run on the crust of snow, which disabled the hunters from pursuing and killing game; and as the party had no provisions with them, the doleful prospect of death by starvation stared them in the face.

"This tour was subsequently called the starving tour; and the remnant of those who are on this side of the grave, yet remember with horror their situation at that time . . . Some of the strongest and most spirited among the party, several times made ineffectual attempts to kill game. Among these hunters,

(1) McDonald, op.cit., 88, 89.
General Duncan McArthur . . . and William Leedom . . . were conspicuous. On the third day of the storm they killed two turkeys. They were boiled, and divided into twenty-eight shares or parts, and given equally to each man. This little food seemed only to sharpen their appetites. Not a particle of the turkeys was left. The heads, feet, and entrails were devoured, as if most savory food.

"The fourth morning of the continuance of the snow Massie, with his party, turned their faces homeward. The strongest and most hardy of the men were placed in front, to break through the snow . . . They thus proceeded in their heavy and disconsolate march the whole day, and at night reached the mouth of the Rattlesnake fork of Paint Creek, a distance of about ten miles. In the course of that day the sun shone through the clouds for the first time since the storm commenced, and by its warmth softened the crust on the snow. This rendered the traveling less laborious. As the party descended the sloping ground towards the bank of Paint Creek, they came across a flock of turkeys, and killed several. These were cooked, and equally divided among the men. The next night the party lay by their fires without guard or sentinels; and as the night was warm, the snow gradually melted. Early next morning the most of the party turned out to hunt and killed a number of turkeys, some deer, and a bear. When these were brought to camp, a feast ensued, which was enjoyed with a zest and relish, which none can properly appreciate, but those who have been so unfortunate as to be placed in a similar situation . . .

"Although more than forty years have passed, I can scarcely think of our sufferings, even at this length of time, without shuddering. The people of the present time, who now inhabit our western country, and are sheltered from tempestuous storms in comfortable and elegant mansions, and are blessed with peace and plenty, can scarcely appreciate the sufferings and privations of those who led the way in settling our western country." (1)

On these tours McArthur acquired the knowledge of surveying which aided him materially in the following years. He traded his rifle, beaver traps, and other hunting equip-

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(1) McDonald, op.cit., 53-56, 88-90; Evans, op.cit., 233.
ment for surveying instruments and began to pursue his new occupation seriously. His abilities in this respect afforded McDonald the opportunity to make an interesting comparison:

"Duncan McArthur studied surveying about as long as the illustrious Patrick Henry is represented to have studied law, and with the same intuitive success. Neither knew but little of the theory of their professions when they commenced their career, yet both excelled in their vocations. Mr. Henry was an unrivaled orator, and only a theoretic statesman, and from indolence was unversed in the details of legislation. General McArthur was no orator, but by his habits of close investigation and persevering industry, he was a competent surveyor, and a practical statesman, understanding the wants and the condition of the people, and pursuing that course in his public career, best calculated to promote their interests and happiness."  (1)

In March of 1796 Massie laid out the town of Chillicothe, McArthur serving as an assistant surveyor. Massie had collected a numerous party, mostly from Kentucky, and offered, as an inducement for following him into the wilderness, a gift of two lots in the town and the privilege of purchasing one hundred acres of land for eight dollars. In return for his labor McArthur was also paid in land; on a portion of this he erected a dwelling which later came to be known as Fruit Hill. This was reputed to have been the first white man's dwelling erected in Chillicothe. To it McArthur took his bride of the previous month. She was Miss Nancy McDonald, a member of another

(1) op.cit., 92.
(2) Evans, op.cit., 233 ff; McDonald, op.cit., 93.
(3) Flint, T., Condensed Geography and History of the Western States of the Mississippi Valley (Cincinnati, 1828), 11, 331-2. Quoted in McGrane, R.C., William Allen--A Study in Western Democracy, 16.
famous Scottish clan. The only description of her to be found was written in the family Bible by her brother, John McDonald, the author of the *Sketches.* "My sister Nancy," he writes, "was a grave solemn woman, of masculine understanding and a most charitable disposition." 

With the responsibilities of marriage resting on his shoulders, young McArthur began to pursue seriously the business of locating and surveying Virginia military warrants. We shall see how this occupation made him a wealthy man although it entailed endless litigation and kept him busy for the rest of his life. Beyond these land speculations, however, McArthur continued to prosper in the succeeding years. In 1798 he was commissioned a captain of militia by Governor St.Clair. Some time later he embarked on a new business venture, when he purchased a full bred stallion, Young Granley by name. His advertisement indicates the primitive methods of exchange employed at the time. Payment for the services of the stallion could be made in wheat, rye, corn, oats, barley, sugar, bacon, or country linen.

His family grew rapidly after 1797 when his first son, Nathaniel, was born. A new son or daughter appeared

(1) McDonald, *op.cit.*, 93.
(2) Old Northwest Genealogical Quarterly, VIII, 25.
(3) See Chapter Five.
(4) McDonald, *ibid.*, 95.
(5) Scioto Gazette, March 13, 1802.
every two or three years thereafter until 1818 when his (1) youngest child, Mary, was born. A thriving household necessitated larger living quarters and in 1804 or 1805 McArthur erected the famous residence which came to be known as Fruit Hill. Its walls, nearly three feet thick, were built of stone quarried on the McArthur estate. In like fashion, the wood used in its construction was cut from the forest on his land. The glass, brass work and other furnishings all came from the East by pack train or along the river in keel boats. The location was excellent. The homestead was situated on the summit of a hill over two hundred feet above the level of the Scioto River. Five or six acres of blue grass sward surrounded it, interspersed here and there with clumps of cedar and locust trees. Five miles away and directly opposite the house could be seen Mt. Logan, the last spur of the Alleghenies. To the right

(1) There were eleven children altogether: Nathaniel (1797-1799), Margaret (1800-1828), Thomas (1802-1832), Effie (1803-1847), Allen (1805-1858), James (1808-1840), Henrietta (1810-1813), Nancy (1813-1829), Eliza Ann (1815-1855), Helen, and Mary (1818-1842). The family record at Circleville, Ohio, does not contain Helen's name, although it appears in McArthur's will (found in the Ohio Archeological and Historical Library) and in a letter written January 12, 1814 from Margaret McArthur to her sister Helen (in the McArthur Papers, IV, 685, at the Library of Congress in Washington). With such a family to bear and raise it is no wonder that Mrs. McArthur suffered chronic ill-health.

(2) Evans, op.cit., I, 236-7.
the spires and chimneys of Chillicothe were visible. In the foreground were spread out the prosperous farms of the Scioto valley. Fruit Hill became a symbol of hospitality and good cheer; McArthur entertained within its walls persons who ran the whole gamut of prominence, from celebrities such as Henry Clay and William Henry Harrison, to obscure men like William Hewitt, the hermit of the Scioto.

McArthur did not serve in the Ohio Constitutional Convention of 1802 but his public service commenced the following year when he expected to be called out for military service against the Spaniards. Secretary of War Dearborn asked for 500 militia from Ohio to be ready to march by December 20th, "there being reason to suspect that the officers of the Spanish Government at New Orleans may decline or refuse to give possession of the country of Louisiana just ceded. . . ." On the 19th of Nov-

(2) Evans, op. cit., I, 479,480. The house made a great impression on Cuming, a Philadelphia traveller in 1807. He spoke in glowing terms of Fruit Hill, and of Adena, the home of Colonel Worthington, a half-mile distant through the woods. Cuming, F., Sketches of a Tour to the Western Country in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, IV, 218,219. Unfortunately, Fruit Hill was totally consumed by fire in 1928, although Adena still stands. The elegant sideboard, tea service and silver plate used by McArthur are now in the possession of Miss Dorothy Whitney McArthur of Circleville, Ohio.
ember two communications from McArthur appear in the Scioto Gazette. The first is an appeal to his fellow-citizens to support the expedition to Louisiana; it indicates that he had been appointed a major in the militia. The letter is typical of the rather bombastic style so prevalent in the West. Relative to Dearborn's requisition he notes that:

"At the most healthy and leisure season, we are invited to float down the Ohio to see our newly acquired friends on the Mississippi. Should they receive us with kindness, we will extend our protection to them, and endear them to us by the blessings of liberty, to which they have ever been strangers, and in the heart of a country which exceeds all possible description; we will immediately proceed to lay the foundations of a fortune, in which prosperity will in affluence rejoice.

But if they should dare to dispute our authority, we will feast on their substance, and return richly loaded with the treasures of Spain."

He goes on to stress the importance of the Louisianna purchase to the West in furnishing a market for produce and facilitating the circulation of money, and regrets that there is no militia law in the state to compel a draft. This defect should be countered, he believes, by offering a ten dollar bounty to each volunteer. The second communication indicates that he would appreciate the payment of all his loans since he is about to leave on the expedition to the South.

The expedition was stillborn. In February of the next year, after several months of anticipation, the militia

(1) McArthur to Fellow-Citizens, Chillicothe, November 18, 1803, Scioto Gazette, Nov.19, 1803.
(2) Scioto Gazette, Nov.19, 1803.
were notified that since New Orleans had been surrendered peaceably, their services would not be needed. At the same time their patriotism, manifested by their readiness, was praised in glowing language. (1)

In the fall of 1804 McArthur was elected for the first time to serve in the Ohio house of representatives. This was the beginning of a long service in the state legislative body. In the fall of 1805, on his election to the state senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of William Patton, he began a term of duty which ran uninterruptedly through every session of the senate down to the War of 1812. He served three terms in each body after the war making a total of fifteen general assemblies of which he was a member. This record prior to 1894, had been surpassed but five times in the history of the state. (4)

The political opinions held by McArthur seem to have been a mild republicanism of the sort one might expect a man of increasing propertyed interests, who lived in a democratic west, to adopt. After the adoption of the Ohio Constitution in 1803, the republican party in Ohio was at best "a union of imperfect sympathies" and Mc-

(1) Dearborn to Gov., Tiffin, Jan. 16, 1804; Gov. Tiffin to the soldiers of the Provisional Regiment of the State of Ohio, Feb. 4, 1804, The Scioto Gazette, Feb. 6, 1804.
(2) Ibid., Oct. 15, 1804.
(3) Ibid., Nov. 28, 1805.
(4) Taylor, W. A., Ohio Statesmen and Hundred Year Book, 209, 402.
Arthur was sometimes forced to choose between its component factions. An important issue came to the fore in August of 1807 when the state Supreme Court nullified an act of the legislature. This seemed like heresy since the main principle of the makers of the Constitution of 1802 had been their confidence in a powerful legislature, checked by frequent elections, rather than by the judiciary. Led by Thomas Worthington, the liberal Republicans instigated an attack on the courts which ran through several sessions of the General Assembly. Some of the republicans, usually styled "Quids", refused to be carried along in this violent attack upon the judicial branch.

In 1808-09 the Worthington faction brought about the impeachment of Judges Tod and Pease but failed by one vote to get the necessary two-thirds for conviction. McArthur voted guilty in both trials which indicates his sympathies for the liberal republican crowd.

The anti-court party, however, was not so readily downed. The Constitution of 1802 provided that judges should hold office for a term of seven years. The original commissions were issued in 1803 and expired in 1810.

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(1) Utter, Wm. T., *loc. cit.*, 323.
(4) The Supporter (Chillicothe), Jan. 26, 1809. McArthur had received election support from The Scioto Gazette, a violent republican sheet, as early as October, 1804.
Much excitement was raised in Ohio political circles when a resolution was passed interpreting the Constitution to mean that all vacancies were to be filled in 1810, not excepting those judges who had been appointed after 1803 to fill vacancies caused by death or resignation. Acting on this interpretation the liberal republicans, who had a majority in both houses, were able to reconstruct the judiciary of the entire state. This "sweeping resolution," as it came to be known, brought a schism in the Republican ranks. A great many of their numbers went over to the Quid-Federalist fold. It was to defend their position, as well as to maintain political control of the state, that the anti-court republicans organized Tammany societies in the state.

Wigwam No. 1 was organized in Chillicothe and included in its membership Thomas Worthington, Edward Tiffin, and many other prominent Chillicotheans. The organization was of bizarre character reminding one of the later KuKlux Klan. The master of the wigwam was the grand sachem. He was assisted by thirteen sachems, one to represent each original state. Among the minor officials were the wiskinski, who carried the keys, and three sagamores who served in the initiation ceremonies.

(2) Ibid., 326.
In 1810 the Tammany organization suffered a reversal when their candidate for governor, Thomas Worthington, was defeated by Return J. Meigs, the opposition candidate. The defeat, however, was softened somewhat by Worthington's subsequent election to the U. S. Senate to fill out the remainder of Meigs' term. The opposition to the order was maintained and finally on January 8, 1812 the anti-Tammany crowd was able to repeal that part of the commissioning act which embodied the principle of the "sweeping resolution." This defeat marks the fall of the Tammany Society from its position of power in state politics.

In this struggle McArthur deserted Worthington and aligned himself with the anti-Tammany forces, among whom his old friend General Massie was prominent. In the repeal of the principle of the sweeping resolution early in 1812, which sounded the death-knell of the Tammany organization, McArthur was numbered among their victorious antagonists. In the course of the verbal warfare McArthur's past life was reviewed in merciless fashion. Some of the accusations, particularly those with regard to gambling, he was never able to live down completely. It seemed

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(1) utter, loc. cit., 328, 330.
(2) Ibid., 336-7.
(3) Ibid., 332.
(4) Senate Journal of the Tenth General Assembly, 133, 134. McArthur may have sensed the ground-swell of antagonism to Tammany in the state, in electing to ally himself with the opposition party.
that in the winter of 1809-10, while he was speaker of
the Senate, he boarded at the Eagle Tavern kept by Thomas
Needham, along with Messrs. Marple, Jewett, Cooper, Bur-
ceau, and other members of the General Assembly. One even-
ing McArthur, who thoroughly enjoyed a good time, proposed
a game of lieu in Cooper's room. This was agreed to by
the others. The story runs as follows:

"When Cooper proposed to find cards, McArthur
observed he had brought a new pack in his pockets and
they sat down to play with them. After playing some
time a sum of twelve or fifteen dollars was on the table
and spades were turned trumps. McArthur took up his
hand and retired back from the table as if to drink or
something of the kind. He returned to the table and
upon the lead of trumps played the ace of spades.
Marple immediately exclaimed, "Your servant Mr. Mossy
Face, it is the first time I have seen you to-night!"
McArthur led the king of trumps. Another observed,
'the king too for the first time!' After playing the
king the jack of spades remained in McArthur's hand
faced toward the company, and another remarked with
an oath, 'he has the jack also!' McArthur took the mon-
cy and Marple declared that before he played further he
would examine the cards. He did so, and found that
two small cards were missing. The company continued
to play a few minutes in silent dissatisfaction. At
length one observed he would play no longer. Marple
said he was glad of it, as he was in no humor to play
since the ace of spades had made its appearance. The
party broke up and McArthur returned to his room with-
out a word of explanation.

Next morning Jewett and Cooper informed Needham
what had happened and declared their dissatisfaction
at boarding longer at the same table with McArthur.
At noon Needham informed McArthur what had been alleged
against him. It was on Saturday and McArthur assured
Needham that on Monday morning he would have a complete
explanation. On Monday McArthur did not come to town
until the senate had met and chosen a speaker.
and he never once mentioned the affair to any of
the gentlemen concerned . . ." (1)

In *The Scioto Gazette*, a Tammany paper, for Sept-
ember 25, 1811, someone who styled himself "A Friend of
Truth," accused McArthur of having played with "a pick'd
pack of cards," as well as making several other accusa-
tions regarding his past behavior. McArthur answered this
anonymous writer with a scathing letter published in the
Circleville *Fredonian*, which incidently brings out clearly
his sentiments regarding the Tammany organization. Mc-
Arthur was apparently in no doubt as to the identity of
this writer because he answers:

"If I am not much mistaken, you are in the hab-
it of gambling a little yourself. And I presume you
know that your Tammany friend Col. James Dunlap, a
communicant of the Presbyterian church, has been in
the habit of gambling and taking a little Bread and
Wine from the hands of the elders, alternately, for
seven or eight years past; yet your conscience did
not move you to say anything about it, at any time
when he was a candidate for the legislature. I bare-
ly mention this to shew the citizens, that your
attack on me does not proceed from your aversion to
cheating a little or gambling either. No sir, you
are now playing a true Tammany game, to wit: a game
for office, and on your success depends the future
existence of the Tammany Society in Ross County.

"This, sir, is a species of gambling which is
even more dangerous to the community, than the cont-
emptible practice of card playing.

"Political gambling was said to be the fashion-
able amusement when the legislature sat last at
Chillicothe . . . Was not the seat of government
removed from Chillicothe to Zanesville by political
gambling, and did not Mr. Tiffin's sweeping resolu-

(1) Charles Hammond to Messrs. Nashee and Denny (eds.)
Hammond opposed the War of 1812 vigorously. This
letter was written criticizing McArthur as a general.
furnish the funds which were employed for their purpose; and did not those who wished a removal, form themselves into a gambling party and play off the offices which were made vacant by the said resolution for the seat of government? What member was there who wished an office, who was not promised it, provided he would favor the views of this gambling party?"

McArthur was also accused of getting drunk—not, however, a serious offense in those days. Relative to the query "if I remember how I was intoxicated when I was toasted as the next governor, etc." McArthur answers that the facts have been willfully or ignorantly misrepresented:

"It is true that the Zanesville party, attempted to flatter and amuse me, as they had done many others, with the promise of office. (1) They often insinuated and sometimes proposed to support me as the next governor, on conditions that I would make no exertions to prevent the removal of the seat of government from Chillicothe; tho' I can assure the public, and prove as above stated, that it neither flattered my vanity, nor intoxicated my mind. I ever knew that they were not sincere, and if they were, neither the office nor their terms would suit me. But although those vain attempts to flatter me had no effect on my mind, yet they gave much alarm to the present leaders of the Tammany party, and more particularly to the friends of

(1) The Zanesville party were those who wanted the state capital there. The capital had been at Chillicothe from 1803 to 1808 when it was moved to Zanesville. The Tenth General Assembly finally settled the question of its location. A proposition made by Lynn Starling, John Kerr, A. McLaughlin and James Johnson was adopted. This provided that the seat of government should be on the high bank of the Scioto River opposite the town of Franklinton (now West Columbus), where a town would be laid out; twenty acres of land were given to the state for buildings and a penitentiary, and other structures to the value of fifty thousand dollars were to be erected. The legislative act, passed February 14, 1812 also provided for the temporary removal of the capital back to Chillicothe, pending the construction of the new state buildings. Representatives of the various sites, including those from Zanesville, maintained powerful lobbies at
Gen. Worthington, who was then a candidate for the office of governor.
This, sir, together with my opposition to Mr. Tiffin's office-hunting, unconstitutional sweeping resolution, was the only cause why the friends of Worthington and Tiffin, did then insinuate, have ever since busily propagated the base slander and malicious falsehood, that I had changed my politics—as it is said those gentlemen have themselves formerly done, at a time when there was a prospect of making something by the change."

Relative to the game of lieu at Needham's tavern, McArthur had an excuse to offer though he fails to explain the unusual appearance of the ace and king of spades. He demands to know if it is a crime for any

"person to go to the window for the purpose of relieving nature, as you say, when there was even a large sum of money on the table; and if in lifting the sash, he would change one of his cards wrong side foremost, and in that way expose it to the view of the other players, would it not operate more against himself than it would against any other of the party?"

The "Friend of Truth" made some slighting remarks about McArthur's "buff and epaulettes" which seemed to make him downright angry. Said McArthur:

"There is no doubt but some of your party envy them and would hazard a few slanderous, anonymous, newspaper publications to obtain them with all their stains."

The letter closes with a final, devastating rejoinder:

"Be assured, sir, that I feel more pity for you, than I do resentment. The candidate for office who escapes slander, must be too contemptible to attract notice." (1)


(1)The Fredonian (Circleville), Oct. 9, 1811. The most common
The issues raised by the War of 1812 healed the schism in the Republican ranks as the Tammany issue became less prominent. By March McArthur and Worthington were again good political friends. McArthur, in a letter to Worthington, regretted that the republicans were not yet provided with a candidate for governor to oppose the Quid, Return J. Meigs for reelection. Relative to the latter McArthur asserts that "many of his former friends are getting tired of him and his 'milk and water' politics, and would support almost any other desert man, in preference to him."

McArthur believed that Jeremiah Morrow was the most likely to succeed, if he ran against Meigs.

With a brief mention of his advancement in the state militia and his early negotiations with the Indians, this sketch of the early career of McArthur may be brought to a close. in 1806 he was made a colonel in the state militia; three years later he was raised to the rank of a major-general. In this position he succeeded his old friend General Massie, who had resigned.

In the fall of 1807 he accompanied Thomas Worthington on an expedition picture of McArthur, in which he is gayly attired in his military regalia, would seem to indicate that this remark was not entirely unfounded.

(1) McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, Mar. 23, 1812, Worthington Papers (Ohio State Library). Referred to hereafter as W.P. Morrow represented Ohio in the national House of Representatives from 1803 to 1813, and in the United States Senate from 1813 to 1819. He served as Governor of Ohio for two terms, 1822-1826. In 1840 he was again elected to Congress.

(2) Evans, op. cit., 1, 166.

(3) McDonald, op. cit., 97.
to ascertain the disposition of the Indians in the neighborhood of Forts Greenville and Wayne. They made a strong plea for friendship in case war broke out between Great Britain and the United States. The report of what McArthur and Worthington said to these Indians is a good example of the usual palaver at these conferences:

"Brothers, listen further, and be patient. The British, our old enemies, have been lately guilty of taking away the lives of some of your white brethren without cause. . . . Your white brethren can bear with them no longer unless they do justice for past injuries and give security for their future good treatment. A war therefore is likely to take place between your white brethren and the English. . . . Your white white brethren can fight their own battles. . . . But if they find you have let the British put the tomahawk into your hands to be used against them, they will destroy you for your folly. . . . Remember, brothers, we told you that when your white brethren beat both the English and yourselves (in the Revolution), they were little and very weak, like children. Now they are strong like men. The English have become weak; their allies are no more. . . ."

The oratory apparently proves effective as the Indians reported that they would not interfere in the threatened war.

McArthur and Worthington served on a similar mission in 1809 and a council with several Indian Chieftains, including Tecumseh, was reported to have been held in Chillicothe. There is no record that anything was accomplished at this conclave, however.

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(2) Evans, op.cit., 1, 261-2.
CHAPTER TWO

SERVICE UNDER HULL AND HARRISON

In the spring of 1812, with war looming on the horizon, Congress authorized the President to organize a number of volunteers to hold themselves in readiness for marching at the shortest notice. Madison requisitioned the state of Ohio for 1200 militia. Governor Meigs ordered a rendezvous at Dayton. McArthur issued orders for his militia division to assemble by regiments, in order to see how many men would volunteer. He employed every argument to persuade his countrymen to take the field. The remarks which he made to them are a good example of his tendency to indulge in hyperbole:

"Fellow-citizens and Soldiers, The period has arrived when our country again calls its heroes to arms. England unjust and perfidious—that proud and tyrannical nation, whose injustice, prior to 1776, aroused the honest indignation of our fathers to manly resistance; their souls could no longer endure slavery... the HEAVEN-protected patriots of Columbia, obliged the mighty armies of the tyrant to surrender to American valor."

(1) McAfee, Robert B., *History of the Late War in the Western Country*, 61. This is an excellent contemporary account written in 1816 by a man who had the direct assistance of Harrison, Croghan, Todd and others, as well as manuscript material on which to base his writing.
(2) McDonald, *op.cit.*, 98.
"Notwithstanding Great Britain, in 1782, was obliged to sue for peace, and beg permission to withdraw her conquered and degraded troops, the haughty spirit of that proud and unprincipled nation, has ever since burnt with indignation against the author of her disgrace.

"Judas-like, the ministers of foreign courts have met us with smiles of dissimulation and professions of friendship, whilst their governments have secretly been waging war against us, by sowing seeds of disaffection amongst the only happy people on earth, and endeavoring to alienate them from their government—by stirring up insurrections and encouraging treason—by robbing our honest laborers of their property on the common highway of all nations—by depriving our peaceful citizens of their liberty, by impressment, and compelling them to bear arms against nations with whom we are in amity, and by hiring merciless savages to massacre our unoffending women and children!...

"Whilst I have attempted to enumerate a few of the aggressions of Great Britain, I am sorry I cannot say that France has treated us fairly—it is not the case.

"It is high time that party animosity and political distinctions were thrown aside, and that we should again unite, like a band of brothers, in defense of our invaded rights. . . .

"Could the shades of the departed heroes of the revolution who purchased our freedom with their blood, descend from the valiant mansions of peace, would they not call aloud to arms? And where is that friend to his country who would not obey the call?" (1)

Certainly no four-minute speaker of 1917-18 rivalled this attempt to make the eagle scream.

About fifteen hundred men answered the call. They were divided into three regiments; Colonels Findlay, Cass

(1) Division Orders, Chillicothe, April 8, 1812, The Fredonian (Circleville), April 25, 1812; Brown, Samuel R., Views of the Campaign of the Northwestern Army, 8. This address had been corrected in style and spelling by someone, perhaps the editor of the newspaper. This will be especially apparent when it is compared with some of the personal letters of McArthur which are quoted later in the chapter.
and McArthur were elected by the men to command. The camp was a miserable place. Since no accomodations had been provided for the troops they were obliged to get along without tents or other equipage. Most of them had never been in a military camp before and consequently suffered from this hard treatment. The middle of May had arrived before blankets and camp equipage could be procured from Pittsburg. It is obvious that the troubles which the army encountered throughout the war in securing provisions and supplies began with the first assembly of troops.

General Hull, of Revolutionary fame, was assigned to command this army. He arrived in Dayton on the 20th of May. On the 25th Governor Meigs officially turned over the command to Hull in a ceremony which was marked by a bombastic speech from Hull and several humorous incidents. The troops had been drawn up for review. The ceremony would have been imposing but for the staff ponies. Fatigued though they were from the long trip from New England, whence Hull had journeyed, the drum and fife corps gave them a renewed lease on life. As the staff passed before the second regiment the roar of drums frightened the animal belonging

(1) The Fredonian (Circleville), May 30, 1812; McAfee, op. cit., 61-2; McDonald, op. cit., 98-9.
(2) McAfee, ibid., 62; McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, May 19, 1812, W.P.
to one of Hull's aides, and he promptly ran off at half-speed in the wrong direction. The contagion spread rapidly. The horse belonging to Captain Hull (brother of the General) dashed off in hot pursuit in the same direction. Let an eye-witness describe the rest of the fiasco:

"The General's pony followed his aids, and he was a hard trotter, throwing his rider up, until you could see daylight between his seat and saddle. Well balanced as they were for a review, with splendid swords, at their sides, they were not so well adapted to a race, especially at a trot. The consequence was, that the General's feet lost the stirrups, he lost his balance, his hat flew off, and to save himself he seized the horse's mane. The frightened animal going at the rate of a mile in four minutes, at a hard trot. By this time the yells of the spectators and some of the wild volunteers, rendered the scene one of the most amusing I ever witnessed at a military review." (1)

The staff, after a conference, concluded to abandon the attempt to pass the army. They decided to take a position and require the troops to pass them! This order was executed successfully.

McArthur seemed to make an excellent impression at Dayton. Trimble remarks about the full uniform and the tall plume of Colonel Cass and the well-proportioned physique of Major Munson, but adds that "it was admitted on all hands that McArthur looked more like a go-ahead soldier

(2) Ibid.
than any of his brother officers."

On the first of June, the army left Dayton, arriving at Urbana on the 8th. On the 11th McArthur and his regiment were detailed to cut a road for the army as far as the Scioto River. In this day of rapid and easy communication it is hard to realize that an American army in Ohio during the War of 1812 had to build roads before it could move at all. The troops had literally to cut their way through the woods and swamps; bridges had to be constructed over streams to facilitate the passage of the heavy baggage wagons. Guides went forward and blazed the trees on the route with tomahawks; the soldiers followed with axes and grubbing hoes, spades, and shovels. By the 16th

(1) "Autobiography and Correspondence of Allen Trimble," Old N.W. Gen.Q., X, 38. A bitter dispute occurred with regard to the ranking of the three colonels, McArthur Cass and Findlay. McArthur seemed to have the best claim to the first rank and asked his friend Thomas Worthington to see the Secretary of War about it. Governor Meigs finally settled the matter in his favor, McArthur then reporting to Worthington, "we are now going on in harmony." The popularity of McArthur with his troops is to be noted in their eager support of his position in the dispute. See two letters of McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, May 19, 1812 and Camp on Scioto, June 19, 1812, W.P.

(2) McAfee, op.cit., 65; Slocum, C. E., The Ohio Country Between the Years 1783 and 1805, 196-7; McArthur to Worthington, Camp on the Scioto, June 19, 1812, W.P.; The Fredonian (Circleville), June 20, 1812.

(3) McDonald, op.cit., 101. Since McDonald was paymaster in McArthur's regiment his account should be authentic.
of June the road was opened to the Scioto River and the construction of two block houses on the south bank had begun. These outposts, later strengthened by the addition of stockades, were called Fort McArthur in honor of their builder.

The rest of the army caught up with McArthur on the 19th. On the 21st Colonel Findlay was ordered to cut a road as far as Blanchard's fork of the Auglaize River, the remainder of the troops following slowly. On the 22nd it began to rain. The road became almost impassable for the heavy wagons. After marching sixteen miles the army was forced to settle down in the mud. A block house was erected, appropriately called Fort Necessity. Hull by this time was coming in for no little criticism for his delay in getting the army to Detroit. McArthur indicates, however, that the general was up against almost insurmountable difficulties. The delay, he said, was not from want of diligence on the part of the officers, or willingness in the men:

"The truth is that when the army assembled at Dayton, it consisted of nothing but men. There was neither Tents, Blankets, axes, arms or ammunition, neither was there stores of any kind for the use of the army. However, to make short of the matter, the chief delay of the army . . . has been the want of ammunition, and wagons to convey the Flower, Salt and Baggage. Wagons for the safe conveyance of the ammunition were made at Cincinnati after the arrival

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(1) McAfee, op. cit., 66.
(2) Ibid., 68-70; The Robert Lucas Journal of the War of 1812 During the Campaign Under General Hull, 15-16. Lucas, later Governor of Ohio, has written here an invaluable day-by-day account (in the form of a diary) of his experiences.
of General Hull at Dayton which was the first time he discovered that none were provided. When the powder and lead came to camp there was not a cartridge made, and the army is not yet supplied with Cartridges altho every man who can make one, is constantly employed every time the army halts. Provisions of every kind is plenty in settlements, but the contractors who are engaged to furnish us, have made such miserable calculations with respect to the conveyance of it, that the army has not been able to march. . . ." (1)

When the rain subsided the army trudged on and by the last of the month was able to reach the old site of Wayne's victory in 1794, near Toledo. On the 5th of July, Detroit was finally reached. In 1812 this town was a mere village containing around 200 houses and 1200 people. The streets were wide but unimproved; in wet weather they became a veritable sea of mud.

From the very first Hull displayed the dilatory tactics which marked the entire campaign and made the General so unpopular in the West. In the latter part of June, before he reached Detroit and while he was apparently in ignorance as to whether war had been officially declared or not, he had sent a small schooner down the Maumee River to Lake Erie with his own baggage and that of most of his officers, all the hospital stores, his instructions from the War Department, the wives of two of his officers and a lieutenant with a number of men. He almost sent the

(1) McArthur to Worthington, Headquarters at Fort Findlay, June 26, 1812, W.P.
(2) McAfee, op.cit., 68-70; Robert Lucas Journal, 22 et passim; The Fredonian (Circleville), July 21, 1812.
(3) Brown, op.cit., 153.
paymaster with all the public money. The vessel was captured while passing Malden and its cargo duly confiscated, the British having been informed that war was declared. The ladies were returned the next day but all else was, of course, kept by the British. (1)

McArthur at this time, however, was inclined to blame the War Department more than Hull for the lack of positive results. He wrote that:

"Genl. Hull's orders are to proceed to Detroit and wait for further orders! Had the Genl. been authorized to exercise his own judgment and the judgment of every man possessed of common sense, we would have had possession of Sandwich on yesterday, perhaps without firing a gun and would at the same time have the army safely landed in Canada. Was we even now, at liberty to act the part of an army I doubt not but the American standard could be rared at Malden in a very few days . . . If I had room I would say a word on the subject of our ketch penny contractors who feed our army on Carron Beef and musty shorts whilst fat beef, and good flour could be had at ½ penny more a lb." (2)

On the evening of the 11th the regiment under McArthur, accompanied by some boats, was marched down to

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(1) McAfee, op. cit., 69; copy of a letter from a gentleman at Detroit to his friend at Pittsburg, July 7, 1812, in The Supporter (Chillicothe), Aug. 1, 1812. The man who had charge of the baggage on the boat later contended that when Hull's trunk was opened by the British, a copy of the Declaration of War was found in it. This indicated treachery to many Westerners; it certainly manifests a serious carelessness. The Supporter (Chillicothe), Sept. 9, 1812.

(2) McArthur to Worthington, Detroit, July 7, 1812, W.P.
Springwells, three miles south of Detroit, to decoy the enemy. The British bit at the ruse and threw all their forces opposite McArthur. The main American force, which had been rowed up the river in boats with muffled oars, was then able to invade Canada successfully and without opposition. McArthur marched and countermarched his troops until the next day when a few were left to keep up the ruse while their commander and the remainder hurried northward to join the main American force.

Cass and McArthur again urged an immediate attack on Malden after the army had been moved across the Detroit River, but Hull refused to advance to that place without his artillery which had not been brought up. Since McArthur was "the most restive and uneasy in a state of inaction" Hull sent him on the 13th up the river in pursuit of a body of Indians. McArthur had 120 footmen and 35 horsemen in his detail. They set out about 10 o'clock in the evening and marched nine miles to an orchard where they laid down until morning. Although they had with

(1) McAfee, op.cit., 72,73.
(2) McDonald, op.cit., 105; McAfee, ibid; Robert Lucas Journal, 27,28.
(4) Lucas gives the date of the start of this foray as the 14th. He says,"I did not know of the intention of their going so far, or I would went with them." Robert Lucas Journal, 30. This account of the expedition is taken for the most part from McAfee, op.cit., 76 and two letters:
them no blankets or provisions, the pursuit was continued until the Indians were found on the Ruskin River, about 24 miles from the camp at Sandwich. The savages fled precipitantly into the woods where pursuit was impossible because of the logs and brush. At this point the detachment was overtaken by a messenger who ordered them to go on to the River Thames to secure provisions. After ascending the river for some distance they collected all the boats that could be found and proceeded rapidly to Colonel McGregor's mills. McGregor was a man of large property as well as a member of the Canadian parliament. Here were confiscated 100 barrels of flour, 5 bales of blankets, 3 barrels of whisky, 20 barrels of salt, guns and military stores—worth in all about $4000. McArthur and his men returned to the American base camp on the evening of the 17th after having traversed 130 miles in 3½ days (and that without blankets or provisions), penetrating 60 miles into enemy territory. The British, as might be expected, did not think highly of the foray. Hannay, a British historian writing soon after the war, notes that it was in this expedition that "McArthur commenced that career of plunder and rapine which gave him so evil a reputation during the

(1)McDonald, op.cit., 111.
war. The stores and dwellings of inhabitants were robbed by those marauders and about two hundred barrels of flour brought away in boats in addition to a vast quantity of other spoil." (1)

McArthur had scarcely returned when he was again ordered out. In order to retaliate for the capture of the baggage which had been taken while en route on the schooner to Detroit, Hull issued an order sending out McArthur with 150 men to see what could be done. He marched to the River Aux Canards, situated between Sandwich and Malden on the Canadian side. (2) Over this stream was a bridge for the possession of which both armies had been maneuvering. From McArthur's camp to the bridge the country was a dry, level, prairie. Three hundred yards from the river a small ridge about eight feet high crossed the road. From this ridge to the river, the prairie became marsh land covered with long grass. The river itself was about 25 yards wide but very deep. McArthur's instructions were to find out all he could about the situation of the bridge and the position of the Queen Charlotte, an armored vessel of 20 guns reported to be cruising in the river. He was restricted from going within the reach of her guns or from attempting to pass the bridge. (3) On his arrival

(1) Hannay, James, The War of 1812, 63.
(2) McAfee, op. cit., 79 ff; McArthur to Morris, Sandwich, July 24, 1812; The Supporter (Chillicothe), Aug. 8, 1812.
(3) McAfee, op. cit., 80; Robert Lucas Journal, 36.
McArthur with Adjutant Puthuff and a few riflemen went to the top of the ridge to reconnoitre. They found the plank on the bridge removed so that only the sleepers remained. The British had erected a battery on the other side, out of the wood which had been taken from the bridge. At this barricade there was an enemy force of 60 regulars, 450 Canadian militia, 25 dragoons and 50 Indians. FIRING occurred between McArthur's party and the enemy, some of whom had crossed the bridge. The range was so long, however, that the fire was generally ineffective. Lucas reports that "we fired at them in this way for amusement till we were tired and retired to the army about a mile back." During this time McArthur and Puthuff went to the mouth of the Aux Canards to look at the Queen Charlotte, which was found in the Detroit River with a gunboat cruising about her. They were fired on by the gunboat "whilst within a few feet of each other"--the ball missing Puthuff's head by only a few feet. After returning to the camp McArthur continued to be restive and finally returned with a few soldiers to the ridge for another observation through the spy-glass. In the manoeuvre they were ambushed by a body of Indians concealed in the small bushes about the

(1) McArthur to Morris, Sandwich, July 24, 1812, The Supporter (Chillicothe), Aug. 8, 1812.
(2) The Supporter, (Chillicothe), Aug. 1, 1812.
road and although the Indians fired twenty or thirty guns
no one was hurt. McArthur and his men took to their heels
and returning a few moments later with reinforcements,
drove the Indians across the Aux Canards and behind the
battery. From this vantage point the enemy skirmished
with the Americans for about three hours. "I was diverti-
ed," reports Lucas, "to see some of the Boys Dodge at the
whisteling of the balls." (2) McArthur had two men wounded
and his own horse shot in the head—"the ball did almost
knock him down, but he recovered without falling to the
ground; his head is yet very sore but I think he will re-
cover" wrote McArthur later. Several of the British were
also said to have been wounded. McArthur reported in addi-
tion that "Tecumseh was in the battle if a battle it may
be called." That evening Col. Cass came to the aid of Mc-
Arthur with 150 men and a six pounder. The next morning
all repaired to the bridge "for the purpose of taking a
view of our neighbors—their first salute was the discharge
of a couple of six pounders—they fired about ten shots
at us. The cannon balls play a very unpleasant tune; they
were landed in the midst of us, but no man was hurt but
some a little scared." (3)

(1) McArthur to Morris, Sandwich, July 24, 1812, The Supp-
orter (Chillicothe), Aug. 8, 1812.
(2) Robert Lucas Journal, 38, 39.
(3) McArthur to Morris, The Supporter (Chillicothe), Aug. 8, 1812.
Cass returned the fire with his six pounder and then "the whole detachment marched back to camp, hungry and fatigued, without having affected anything valuable." This affair is a good example of the senseless instructions which Hull issued. As we have seen, McArthur had been ordered merely to observe and not to take the bridge. The ensuing operations certainly reduced the morale of the troops. Thus Lucas writes, "We all returned to camp in Safety, but much fateeguied and very Hungery being nearly two days without much to eat—There appears to be a mystery in these proceedings, if the bridge was wo(r)th contending for, why did we not keep it when we had it, if it is not an object why fateegue troops in Sending them to it 15 m(i)l(e)s from camp. I fear that these proceed(ings) will prove injurious to us—" As in all drawn engagements, both sides claimed the laurels of victory in this puny affair. Hannay reported, however, that "the invaders marched back to camp in very bad humor with themselves and their generals."

On the 21st Hull returned to Detroit where he remained until the 26th "under a variety of frivolous pretexts"

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(1) McAfee, op. cit., 81.
(2) Robert Lucas Journal, 40.
(3) Hannay, op. cit., 63.
(4) McAfee, op. cit., 82. McAfee had a profound dislike for Hull.
The command devolved upon McArthur who became energetic in his preparation for an attack on Malden. McArthur had from the first been impatient at the delay and had urged Hull to attack Malden, but, as has already been seen, the General had decided to wait until his artillery was brought up. Now HANNAY reports that McArthur "seemed to have made up his mind to take Malden on his own account and thereby win immortal renown." To accomplish this result it was necessary to get past the defenders of the Aux Canards bridge. As a direct attack seemed certain to fail (says HANNAY) McArthur decided to go around them. He dispatched Captain McCullough with rangers and spies to see if a road could be made some distance above the bridge. McCullough reported the scheme impracticable because of swamps and morasses. On the evening of the 24th McArthur sent Major Denny and three companies of militia to oppose Indians who had been seen in considerable numbers. A skirmish resulted in which both sides had men killed and wounded. There is no doubt but that McArthur while in command for these few days, had been more active than Hull, but Malden still remained in the hands of the British.

(1) McAfee, ibid.; Robert Lucas Journal, 41.
(2) McDonald, op. cit., 105, 6.
(3) HANNAY, op. cit., 82.
(4) McAfee, ibid., 82–83; Robert Lucas Journal, 41ff.
Early in August the feeling against Hull in the West came to a head with the evacuation of Canada and the return of the army to Detroit. On the 7th an attack on Malden was ordered; Lucas says that "every Countenance was cheered and their spirits raised with a prospect of having liberty to act in Defence of their Country." In the evening of the same day, however, Hull changed his mind and ordered the entire army to return to Detroit. Hull's move was probably actuated by the fall of Fort Mackinac (to the north) in late July, and the failure of the American campaign in northern New York, which had released many British troops for the relief of Upper Canada. To the westerner, however, Hull's strategy was un-

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(1) Robert Lucas Journal, 52.
(2) McAfee, op. cit., 89, 90.
(3) Hull said this surrender would mean that "whole northern hordes of Indians will be let loose upon us." McAfee, op. cit., 84.
(4) McDonald, op. cit., 115-116. McDonald blames the War Department for Hull's inactivity. He states that the miserable condition of the gun carriages made action impossible. Henry Adams gives the following reasons for Hull's change of mind: "After the decision to attack Malden a party of Indians under Tecumseh crossed the river and routed a detachment of Findlay's Ohio regiment on their way to protect a train of supplies coming from Ohio. The army mail-bags fell into British hands. Hull then realized that his line of communications between Detroit and the Maumee River was in danger, if not closed. On the heels of this disaster he received, August 7th, letters from Niagara announcing the passage of reinforcements up Lake Ontario to Lake Erie and Malden. Thus he was called to meet in his front an entrenched foe nearly equal to his own while at least a
pardonable. "What feelings of indignation," says McAfee, "filled every true American bosom; and what anguish was felt by a number of the poor inhabitants, who, confiding in General Hull's promises of protection, had made themselves obnoxious to the vengeance of their own governments!" On the same day that the army recrossed from Canada, Colonel Miller was sent to open communications with Captain Brush, who, with a company of volunteers, was at the Raisin River (36 miles south of Detroit) with sail and provisions for the army. The British had crossed over to the American side in order to prevent Brush from getting to Detroit. Miller engaged in a fierce skirmish with the British and on the 9th McArthur was sent to his relief with a hundred men and provisions, all of which were carried down the river in boats. On the way they were compelled to pass the Queen Charlotte and the brig Hunter but in consequence of a heavy rain they were not seen. As soon as the men and thousand warriors were descending from Lake Huron, and in the rear bivouac of communications could be restored only by detailing one half the army for the purpose." Adams, Henry, History of the United States during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison, VI, 315.

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 90.
(2) Ibid., 86, et passim.
(3) The Surveyer (Chillicothe), Aug. 22, 1812.
(4) McDonald, op. cit., 119. McDonald's description of the night also points a moral: "The night was dark and stormy, the rain fell in torrents, the thunder rolled in long vibrations along the broad river Detroit; but the poor soldier had no choice: he had voluntarily placed himself as the sentinel and guard of his country; he must endure the storms of the elements, as well as repel the storms of the enemy."
provisions were unloaded, McArthur placed the wounded in the boats and commenced his return to Detroit. The boats were so lightly manned that McArthur himself was compelled to take an oar and row. This time, however, the British gunboats had been informed of their approach and they were intercepted. McAfee's story of what ensued is interesting although somewhat far-fetched:

"When the boats arrived near the head of the island, those vessels (the gunboats) were seen sailing up... The men immediately put to shore, and all who were able ran across a marsh into the woods, leaving the wounded in the boats. But the energy of the Colonel [McArthur] saved them from the enemy; he followed his men to the woods, and with some difficulty prevailed on them to return to their duty. Having a barrel of whisky on board he invited them to fill their canteens, while he told them the story of the Indian, who stuck to his bottle of rum, while descending the falls of Niagara. They now proceeded up to a place, where the woods were nearer to the river, and carried out the wounded, the Colonel encouraging the men by his own exertions... The Colonel, however, having foreseen the difficulties of the voyage had requested Colonel Godfrey... to meet him with wagons... The nearest they could come, was a quarter of a mile above the boats on the bank of the river, which rendered it necessary to re-embark the wounded and carry them up in boats. This was done under a constant, but wholly ineffectual fire from the brig Hunter, which lay opposite the wagons." (1)

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 93-94. The wagons had to run before the fire of the Hunter. The wounded men were fortunate to get to Detroit alive: "When the teams were running at full speed, and when the wagon wheels would come in contact with a stump, a root, or a stone, the jar would throw the wounded soldiers, in heaps upon each other; in this way the bandages would come loose, and the broken bones be torn from their places, and their wounds
On the 11th McArthur was followed back to Detroit by Colonel Miller, and Captain Brush was left stranded on the Haisin River.

By this time the dissatisfaction among the officers was becoming open contempt towards Hull. As early as the spring, when the army was at Dayton, McArthur and Trimble had suspicions of his ability. Trimble thought of him as "a short, corpulent, good natured old gent," who "bore the marks of good eating and drinking, but none of the marks of a chief, according to my notions of a great general. In a word, he did not strike me 'as a man born to command!'" On one occasion, Trimble walked with McArthur to his room. He asked him if he would dare to give his opinion of the General. "Not publically," replied McArthur,"but I say to you, he won't do. He is not the kind of man we want, and I fear the result of our campaign; t' will be disastrous. But as you say, it would be regarded as treason for me to express this opinion publically." On the 12th of August a conversation took place between the colonels, respecting the ability of Hull. They were of the unanimous opinion that if he continued in command, the surrender of the army

bleed afresh; by the time the carriages had passed, the road was made slippery with the blood of the poor wounded soldiers." McDonald, or.cit., 121-2.
would follow. After toying with the idea of depriving Hull of his command and bestowing it upon either Colonel Miller or McArthur, Cass addressed a letter to Governor Meigs of Ohio, the intention of which was that he should march to relieve them. On his arrival Hull would be dispossessed of his authority and Meigs, who had the confidence of the troops, was to assume it. After Cass had written the letter the others added the following endorsement:

"Since the other side of the letter was written, new circumstances have arisen. The British force is opposite, and our situation has nearly reached its crisis. Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, however, it may astonish you, as much as if told by one of us. Even a c x x x is talked of by x x x! The bearer will supply the vacancy. On you we depend."

Signed by

Cass, Findley, McArthur, Taylor, and E. Brush. (1)

Such open insubordination certainly indicates the seriousness of their position.

On the evening of the 14th a detachment of 300 men under Cass and McArthur was sent out, by a circuitous route, to make another attempt to open communications with

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 96. It is curious to note that John Brown, later prominent in the struggle over slavery, also noted this insubordination. His father, Owen Brown, had contracted to furnish beef to Hull's army and John went with him to Detroit. At the time he was twelve years old. As late as 1857 he recalled conversations between Cass, McArthur and others which should have branded them as mutineers. Galbreath, C. B., "John Brown," Chio Arch and Hist. Pub., XXX, 218.
Brush. After advancing 24 miles the expedition found itself in a marsh and without provisions, Hull having failed to supply them as he had promised. Without food for two days, excepting a few green pumpkins and potatoes, the detail under McArthur was hastening back to Detroit when a French Canadian running across the prairie informed them that Hull had surrendered the town, fort, and army to the enemy. McArthur was in a difficult position, with the enemy in front and famine in the rear. He ordered a retreat; after they had marched some two miles a large ox was discovered feeding by the roadside. Hunger proved, for the moment, to be more compelling than danger from the British; the ox was "slaughtered in less time than any professional butcher could have done the deed." While the meat was roasting two men, dressed in British uniforms rode up, waving a white flag. They carried with them the articles of capitulation. After a conference it was decided to surrender, since a retreat to Ft. Wayne, the nearest place where supplies could be found, was beyond the powers of endurance for men already reduced by fatigue and hunger.

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 98. McDonald says Hull sent the provisions but the packers lost their way. McDonald, op. cit., 122.
(2) McAfee, op. cit., 105.
(3) McDonald, op. cit., 124.
(4) McDonald, op. cit., 124-5. The story goes that on hearing the news of the surrender McArthur dashed his sword
By agreement the officers and troops from Ohio returned home on parole. The troops were placed aboard vessels and landed at various points along Lake Erie. On the 23rd, Colonel McArthur and a number of his men were landed at a point some 26 miles from Cleveland, to which town they proceeded on foot. On the 28th McArthur "Made out a Provision return for his regiment and Drew for them money in Lieu of provision, to bare their expenses hom(e), here every man was allowed the liberty of returning to his home (by) Such rout(e) as he thought proper." McArthur was home at Fruit Hill early in September.

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(1) McAfee, op. cit., 105; Hull to McArthur, Headquarters at Detroit, Aug.16,1812, The Supporter (Chillicothe), Aug.29,1812.
(3) Robert Lucas Journal, 72.
(4) A dinner was given in his honor at Chillicothe on September 5th. The Fredonian (Circleville), Sept.9, 1812. Henry Adams has this to say of Hull: "Desperate the situation seemed to be; yet a good general would have saved Detroit for some weeks, if not altogether. Hull knew that he must soon be starved into surrender; but though already short of supplies he might by vigorous preparation have maintained himself a month and he always had the chance of a successful battle. His affective force, by his own showing, exceeded a thousand men to defend the fort; his supplies of ammunition were sufficient; and even if surrender were inevitable, after the mortifications he had suffered and those he saw, he would naturally have wel-
It is not our purpose here to weigh the responsibility of Hull for the disaster at Detroit. Mention has already been made of the fact that he was careless and dilatory but that he was also confronted with a difficult situation. The West, however, saw only one side of the surrender and their antagonism to Hull was bitter. A poem composed a few months later and contributed by "Anti-Hullism", is a good example of the feeling:

Revenge whets our steels, Justice guards every life;  
Let Saint George lead the trembling Canadians to meet us;  
Let the slaves be led on by their Proctors and Brocks;  
Not, as on those cursed plains at Detroit shall they greet us;  
For instead of Old Hulls they shall find we are Rocks.\(^{(1)}\)

As Hull's popularity decreased that of McArthur grew in direct proportion. Trimble states that many were asking what the result would have been had McArthur commanded in place of Hull and that no one doubted but that the result would have been different—"McArthur was looked upon as the man for

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\(^{(1)}\)The Supporter (Chillicothe), Dec. 19, 1812.
the times," The Chillicothe *Fredonian* went so far as to accuse Hull of traitorous action:

"It is reported that Hull sent Cols. McArthur and Cass out of the way, under pretense of relieving Capt. Brush, fearing lest their well-known abilities, their patriotism, and the confidence the army placed in them, should have effectually thwarted his traitorous designs. -- Those brave officers were sent out on a dangerous expedition, without provisions, and without the means of subsistence, in order to afford the British and Indians an opportunity to oblige them to surrender; and during their absence, the fort and the army were basely surrendered, as well as the troops under their command." (1)

Brown reported that he had seen McArthur "with his own hands, lift a flour barrel from a baggage waggon, (in order to expedite the issue of rations) -- secure a boat that was about to get adrift -- carry rails and poles to repair bridges. The effect was excellent: the men, cheered with the sound of "Come Boys" moved to their duty with alacrity. The imperative "Go" destroys their zeal and causes them to move like oxen, long inured to toil."

McArthur and Cass shared this indignation towards Hull along with the rest of the West. Cass went to Washington to report on the surrender to the Secretary of War; he spoke of Hull's action in merciless and scathing terms. And he added, "I am expressly authorized to state that Col. McArthur and Col. Findlay and lieut.col. Miller viewed this

(1)The *Fredonian* (Chillicothe), Sept. 1, 1812.
(2)Brown, *op.cit.*, 111.
transaction in the light which I do. They know and feel, that no circumstance in our situation, none in that of the enemy, can excuse a capitulation so dishonorable and unjustifiable."

The popularity of McArthur elected him to Congress in the fall. He refused the candidacy for governor, which was pressed upon him, but consented to run for Congress. "No man, we believe," said The Supporter, "more fully enjoys the confidence of both parties. He has always been attached to the democratic party, but he is one of those open and undeviating politicians who will never swerve from what he considers to be the true interests of his country." The Fredonian rejoiced to find that even the enemies of McArthur were now constrained to acknowledge his merit and worth. Even The Scioto Gazette, whose columns for some years past teemed with scurrility and abuse against him, has now to acknowledge his qualifications, fidelity, merit and patriotism. . . . " McArthur was elected by a vote which was almost unanimous.

Even though he was on parole, McArthur could not remain inactive for long. On January 1st, 1813 he wrote to

(1) Cass to Wm. Bustis, Secretary of War, Sept. 10, 1812, The Supporter (Chillicothe), Sept. 26, 1812.
(2) Sept. 9, 1812.
(3) Sept. 29, 1812. The Scioto Gazette had been a Tammany organ, and McArthur's sentiments, as we have seen, were Anti-Tammany.
(4) The Supporter (Chillicothe), Oct. 24, 1812.
Worthington asking if he and as many of his men as could equip themselves could go on a secret expedition against the Indians which Harrison was planning. The line of reasoning which was adopted relative to the obligations of parole were as follows: the officers being prisoners of war were bound by the parole not to bear arms against the English or their allies; however, as the British General Brock had declined to claim the Northwest Indians as allies, the troops to be raised were, "as it has been supposed" for the defence of the frontier against these Indians; therefore the aforementioned officers felt no hesitation in raising troops or, if need be, accompanying them to the Indian country.

Shortly afterwards McArthur heard his exchange. The following division orders appear in The Supporter, signed by McArthur:


(2) "Autobiography and Correspondence of Allen Trimble", Old N. W. Gen. Q., X, 42. The following General Orders were issued by the Adjutant-General at Washington, Jan. 14, 1814:

"The British Commander-in-Chief in Canada having in a Proclamation at Kingston on Sept. 4, 1813 declared parole lawfully given does not forbid the exercise of any military functions other than that of "bearing arms in garrison or in the field" and the United States not questioning this—it is ordered that all officers and prisoners of war on parole are liable to be called for

1. Recruiting.
2. Drilling recruits.
3. Guarding stores and prisoners of war."
"Thanks be to Heaven, I am again a freeman. The officers of the three regiments of Ohio volunteers and militia, surrendered at Detroit, on the 16th of August, are exchanged. I regret much that the men are not also exchanged: was it so I should again rally my regiment and immediately join Gen. Harrison. Under him, I doubt not, such men would do honor to themselves and country. . . . I shall again resume the command of my division and endeavor to do my duty in defiance of envy, malice and persecution." (1)

For some reason, however, McArthur did not get official confirmation from Washington of his exchange till early in July. In the meantime he fretted and fumed, mostly to Worthington, about the delay. In February he wrote to Worthington that his patience had never been so exhausted because

4. Paying troops and making purchases for the United States.

All prisoners of war will report themselves for these duties to the district commanding officer," McArthur Papers, (Library of Congress), V, 647. Referred to hereafter as M.P.

(1) Division Orders of Jan. 22, 1812, The Supporter (Chillicothe), Jan. 23, 1813.

(2) The exchange may have been held up by Gen. Prevost. In The Supporter for March 17, 1813 appeared a comment on an official order of Prevost (which had been taken from a late Montreal paper) dated February 8th, which denied the exchange of Hull and the other officers and men who had been made prisoners at Detroit, as had been announced officially at Washington on the 13th of January. (The Supporter (Chillicothe), Feb. 13, 1813; M. E., III, 4327.) Prevost said that the officers and crew of a captured British transport had been regularly exchanged for the officers and crew of the American ship, Nautilus, and not for Hull and his officers, as had been announced. Should the latter break their parole, added Prevost, they should be subject to the consequences of war in such cases. This threat didn't seem to bother McArthur greatly. The Supporter, Mar. 17, 1813.
he had received no official notice of his exchange. Harrison needed men badly yet he and his friends were unable to go to his assistance. In June he was still writing in the same strain. He told Worthington that he wanted exchanged so he could "return, and assist in wiping off the stain of last summer." As we shall see the delay did not hinder McArthur from being quite active, in a military way, during the spring.

During the winter of 1812-13 Congress authorized the President to raise twenty new regiments of infantry for one year's service. Under an act passed February 24th, six new major-generals and an equal number of brigadier-generals were authorized. Later in this month McArthur was appointed a colonel in the 26th regiment of United States Infantry. On the 23rd of March, along with Cass, he was raised to the rank of a brigadier-general in the regular army. Each was to raise a regiment which was to be under his command. Soon after hearing of his appoint-

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(1) McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, Feb. 5, 1813, W.P.
(2) McArthur to Worthington, Chillicothe, June 23, 1813, W.P.
(3) Adams, op. cit., VI, 449.
(4) McDonald, op. cit., 129; The Supporter (Chillicothe), Mar. 6, 1813.
(5) McDonald, op. cit., 129-130; Western Intelligencer, (Worthington), April 7, 1813; The Supporter, April 7, 1813. Previous to the appointment both men had been eager to get the position. In December of the previous year, Cass had written Worthington that since McArthur had
ment, McArthur resigned the seat in Congress to which he had been elected in the previous fall.

During the spring McArthur and Cass were strenuously engaged in recruiting the members of their force. Again their appeals for soldiers rival some of the high-powered propaganda of 1917-18. On the 7th of April this call to arms, issued by the newly appointed brigadier-generals appeared in *The Supporter*:

"To the young men of Ohio.

Fellow-citizens,—Having been appointed to commands in the army of the United States, and the organization of the two regiments intended to be raised in the state, having been intrusted to us, it becomes our duty to invite you to the standard of your country. We feel no disposition to recapitulate the numerous wrongs and aggressions which have driven your govt. to arms. You have all seen the unexampled outrages which England has committed upon our interest and honor, and you have seen the solicitude which our govt. has manifested to preserve the relations of peace and amity. Their efforts have been useless. The same power which drove your fathers to arms to acquire your independence, now drives their sons to arms to defend it. The govt. of your choice calls upon you for support; the land of your nativity for protection. That man is unworthy the name of an American, who can tamely hear the call of his country and look idly upon her battles. Our govt. is engaged in no schemes of aggrandizement, no plans of ambition. The war which they wage is for the defence of everything dear to us as men and citizens. Are

been elected to Congress, he was more induced than ever to solicit the appointment. "I had much rather hold a commission in the Armies than a seat in the Counsel of my Country," wrote Cass to Worthington. (Dec. 7, 1812, Cass Letters, Ohio State Library). See also Cass to Worthington, Jan. 22, 1813, Cass Letters, and McArthur to Worthington, Jan. 22, 1813, W.P.

(1) *The Supporter*, April 7, 1913. McArthur had served in the state Senate during the preceding winter. His term in the federal Congress would not have begun until the fall of 1813.
you prepared to abandon the precious heritage purchased by the valor of your fathers and to seek peace in dishonor and safety in submission? Are you prepared to have your midnight slumbers awakened by the Indian yell, and the conflagration of your own dwellings gleam upon the last act of savage barbarity? These evils can only be averted by a vigorous prosecution of the war. The inducements held out by your government are greater than any country ever offered to the patriotism of its citizens. A gratuity of sixteen dollars, the monthly pay of eight dollars and clothing are the offers for the service of a year. Your officers will be men who are your friends, your neighbors. We will go with you and share the event.

. . . Rally then around the standard of your country. Obey her sacred call, and come forward determined to redress her injuries and avenge her wrongs. The duty will be easily accomplished, and years of honorable peace and security will be cheaply purchased by a few months of activity and enterprise." (1)

McArthur worked hard to recruit his men. On the 15th of April, Armstrong (Secretary of War) appointed the two brigadier-generals as superintendents of the recruiting service in the state of Ohio. He found the work "laborious."

(1) The Ohio Federalist (St. Clairsville) for May 11, 1813 commented disparagingly on this appeal. It was, of course, an anti-war sheet. It said:

"It seems that our military officers do not yet despair of raising armies by proclamations and addresses . . . It (the address of McArthur and Cass to the young men of Ohio) is a most humble repetition of the stale and oft repeated slang which has filled the mouths of the war orators, and the columns of the ministerial papers for the last twelve months . . . ."

(2) Armstrong to Cass and McArthur, April 15, 1813, M.P. III, 448.
ous and unpleasant" and rode down several horses visiting almost every town and village in the "lower end of the state." (1)

McArthur experienced difficulty in recruiting troops for several reasons. One was simply a question of economics. "In short," wrote McArthur to Worthington, "money is plenty and labour high, common laborers ask, and some receive from 14 to 16$ per month, and altho the monthly pay and bounty of a soldier, is considered high in many parts of the union, yet it is no object, in the lower end of the State of Ohio." (2) The Federalists in Ohio also hindered recruiting in every way that was possible. A little later McArthur again wrote to Worthington and reported that "Every exertion is made by the Tories to prevent the success of the recruiting service every pains is taken to vilify and abuse those engaged in it, every recruit who signifies his wish to leave the service and sues out a writ of "Habeas corpus" is certain of being dismissed by some of our Judges, and from their decision there is no appeal." He goes on to say that the Creighton faction "have endeavored to create a jealousy between Genl. Harrison, and Genl. Cass and myself by insinuating that we will intrigue against him for the command of the Division, and that we were the means

(1) McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, June 9, 1813, W.P.  
(2) June 9, 1813, W.P.
of bring(ing) Hull to disgrace etc., and that you are a violent enemy to Genl. Harrison etc., and that Creighton is the only friend from this state that he has in Congress. Those insinuations have frequently fallen from those in the family of Genl. H. so that you can see that if those tories cannot succeed in one way, they appear determined to do so in another. Yes, those patriots who last winter could eulogize the speeches of Mr. Quincey and ridicule those of Mr. Clay, are no doubt at this time cap in hand (illegible), whilst they carry on private intrigue with Mr. Q's party against the administration, if not against the government."

In May McArthur was engaged in preparing a force to march to the aid of Harrison who was besieged by the Brit- (2) ish at Ft. Meigs. Gov. Meigs had written to McArthur on the 3rd of May requesting him to use his influence to raise volunteers for the relief of Harrison. In two days he collected and prepared for the field 331 men, about 260 of whom were mounted. The object was to unite with the force under Gov. Meigs, and then force a way into the fort. (3)

(1) June 30, 1813, W.P.
(2) McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, June 9, 1813.
(3) McAfee, op.cit., 302.
(4) McArthur to Worthington, Fruit Hill, May 22, 1813, W.P.
However, while the men were straggling northward to the relief of Harrison, news was received that the British had withdrawn, and the relief force was ordered home. (1) McArthur afterwards wrote Worthington that his activity in this connection might have been considered by the Secretary of War as disobedience of orders, but since these volunteers would not have gone without him, he deemed it expedient to act as he did. (2)

During the latter part of June and early July, McArthur was engaged in another wild-goose chase. On July 10, he wrote to Worthington that he had just returned from a ride of about 200 miles because of a report, which later turned out to be untrue, that the entire frontier had been invaded by a vast horde of Indians. He had called a great many men away from their harvests, although they could scarcely spare the time, only to find that the vast horde of Indians were really about a hundred savages at Lower Sandusky, who had killed seven persons in that vicinity. (3)

On July 22 Proctor appeared before Ft. Meigs and besieged it for the second time. Harrison immediately wrote to McArthur asking him to come on as soon as possible with all the troops he could collect; he also wanted McArthur to

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(1) Goebel, _op.cit._, 170; Esarey, _op.cit._, II, 451.
(2) _June 9, 1813, W.P._
(3) _W.P._
see the governor and get him to turn out all the militia that were available. Harrison added that his force was not sufficient for anything but defensive operations until aid arrived. McArthur called out the whole of the second division of Ohio militia on the 24th and then went on to Seneca Turn where Harrison had his headquarters. Meanwhile Proctor changed his plans; after besieging Fort Meigs from July 21st to 28th he abandoned the siege and marched to attack Ft. Stepherson. When Harrison heard of this move he called a council of war, consisting of McArthur, Cass and others, and it was decided to abandon Ft. Stepherson since it was untenable against heavy artillery. However, Major George Croghan, who commanded a small garrison at this fort, decided to disobey orders and sent back the reassuring message, "We have determined to maintain the place, and by heavens we can." Luckily for Croghan he was able


(2) McA. to Meigs, Chillicothe, July 24, 1813, M.P., III, 575. McArthur evidently exceeded his authority in calling out the militia (he was no longer a militia officer) because he tells Meigs to reject the orders if he thinks proper. See also McAfee, op. cit., 344.

(3) Goebel, op. cit., 175.

(4) McAfee, op. cit., 347.

to maintain his boast and in one of the most brilliant exploits of the war in the Northwest, the British were finally repulsed from Ft. Stephenson. It had been Harrison's intention, in case the fort fell or if the enemy should fall on Upper Sandusky in an attempt to turn his left, to leave his camp at Seneca and fall back if necessary for its protection. On the night of the 2nd of August, however, he learned that Proctor was preparing to retreat. Consequently Harrison decided to wait no longer for reinforcements and immediately set out with the dragoons, ordering Cass and McArthur to follow him with all the disposable infantry. He found that the enemy retreat had been so rapid that he had no chance of catching them. On ascertaining that Tecumseh with 2000 warriors was somewhere in the vicinity of Ft. Meigs he decided to fall back on Seneca, lest the Indians should attack that place.

On August 6th Harrison dismissed the Ohio militia which had been called out in numbers exceeding 5000 men. Harrison seems to have intended to keep some 2000 of them in the service for a term of six months or more. When he found he could have their services for a term of only forty days

(1) Goebel, op.cit., 176.
(3) Goebel, op.cit., 177. McDonald, op.cit., 132, reports that the Scioto country was so stripped of men that the women were compelled to carry their grain to the mill or starve.
(until September 20th) he dismissed the whole lot, creating a terrific furor in the state. The Supporter, in an editorial, stated that it had been the purpose to detain the militia to deter the enemy from alarming the frontier, and that the "conduct of the commanding General of the North Western Army, on this occasion, has excited great dissatisfaction."

The officers with Harrison, who should have known the facts best, supported his action to the full. Cass suspected that secret motives were behind the agitation: "Governor Meigs is undoubtedly at the bottom of it, and I fear to accomplish some hidden sinister views." he wrote to McArthur. He added that the clamour over the dismissal had been "raised and increased by a designing junto." McArthur felt the same way about the matter. He told his wife that he was "extremely sorry that there should be such a misunderstanding between our militia, which lately marched to Sandusky, and Gen'l. Harrison. I fear there are some unworthy designing characters at the bottom of this quarrel and that it is intended to injure the present Campaign. Those people who did themselves and the State of Ohio so much honor, by turning out; will I fear lost the most of their credit, by railing out at the commander in chief of the Northwestern Army at a moment when the troops are about to march on a campaign.—I think an im-

(1) September 8, 1813.
partial world will say, that if those resolution makers are not to accompany the army, they ought not to attempt to discourage those who are." 

McDonald has an explanation for the dissatisfaction which is unique, if nothing else. "The true cause of this ill humor . . . was chagrin on account of being disappointed, in not being employed on the meditated expedition against Upper Canada," he asserts. "They were wrathy that the Kentuckians were to have the honor of breaking up the Malden hornet's nest. They blamed General Harrison for partiality in favor of the land that breeds 'half horse, half alligator, tipped off with the snapping turtle.'"

During August Harrison sent McArthur to Ft. Meigs with orders to reconstruct the fortifications. Meanwhile preparations were made for the concentration of a large force at the Rapids of the Miami, which was to be used in a thrust against Malden. On September 10th Perry crushed the British naval force on Lake Erie and Harrison shortly afterwards set out for Malden. On the 15th he

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(2) McDonald, op.cit., 133-4.
(4) Goebel, op.cit., 179. Perry reported the victory in a letter to McArthur dated Sept. 11, 1813, M.P., III, 573. On Aug. 31, Perry had written to McArthur thanking him for some seamen which had been sent. "They are a great acquisition and will be very useful," noted Perry. M.P., III, 565.
was at the mouth of the Portage River, and anxious to open
the campaign as soon as possible. He wrote to McArthur at
Ft. Meigs telling him to bring some of the artillery, amm-
munition, provisions, and all the regular troops. "Hurry
on then, my friend," he added impatiently, "as soon as
possible. If you do not come immediately I must leave you
... if necessary you must work all night... Come
or for God's sake as soon as possible." McArthur set
out at once, and though the boats were detained by high
winds, on September 23 he was with Harrison on Middle Sister
Island, near Put-in-Bay. The march from Ft. Meigs to
Lake Erie was a fatiguing one—"in this toilsome march, the
guides often lost the point of direction as they were struggl-
ing with the thick and lofty grass that impeded their pro-
gress. Frequently it became necessary to hoist a soldier
until his feet rested upon the shoulders of another, before
he could get a view above the top of the grass to ascertain
their course." High winds and other delays intervened
and it was not till the 27th that Malden was reached. The
town was found to be empty, Proctor having commenced his re-
treat to the Thames three days previously. On the 29th
McArthur was ordered back to the American side of the De-
troit River, opposite Sandwich, to disperse a group of

(1) Sept. 15, 1813, M.P., III, 579.
(2) McDonald, op.cit., 136; Brigade orders of McArthur, M.P.,
IV, 588-9; McAfee, op.cit., 391; Harrison to McArthur,
Sept. 17, 1813, M.P., III, 581, and Sept. 20, M.P., III,
584.

(3) McDonald, op.cit., 135.
(4) Goebel, op.cit., 179-180.
pillaging Indians. When Harrison moved into Upper Canada in pursuit of Proctor, McArthur with a garrison of 700 men, was left behind to hold Detroit. Consequently he was not with Harrison when the latter overcame Proctor at the Thames River on October 5. McArthur was disappointed at being left behind. He had long desired to "wipe out the stain" which had been acquired in Hull's campaign. Early in September he wrote a letter to his wife which not only expresses his hopes, but is typical of the endearing terms which he always used in corresponding with his family.

"I hope to be in Canada," he wrote, "before the answer to this will find me. I shall however, if in life, be with the Northwestern army, and I trust you will not fail to write to me. for my anxious mind will ever fe(a)st on every word from your pen which will inform me of your health and that of my Dear family."  

By the 16th of October Harrison was back in Detroit.

It was planned to send a detachment under McArthur north to

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(2) This expectation of death, which occurs in numerous letters, reminds one of the similar trait in Lord Nelson. It is a bit surprising from a non-religious man like McArthur.

attack Mackinac and St. Joseph, but the project was abandoned when a violent storm wrecked the boats carrying their baggage and provisions. Harrison was now without orders but he determined to proceed down the lake and join the middle American army. McArthur's brigade ultimately arrived in the state of New York where it joined in the unsuccessful expedition under General Wilkinson. Its leader, however, was destined for other duties and did not accompany his command there.

In December McArthur was ordered to attend, as a witness, the military trial of Hull to be held at Albany. As we shall see this service seems less important for what McArthur actually accomplished at Albany than for some of the glimpses into his personal life which it affords. The trip to Albany was made by way of Pittsburg. On the way across Pennsylvania he inspected a Female Academy at Bethlehem. McArthur's daughter, Margaret, was to go to school with Sarah Ann, daughter of Senator Worthington, and the two fathers worried and fretted over the selection of a school. The comments which McArthur made to Worthington relative to the

(1) Goebel, op. cit., 184; McArthur to Worthington, Detroit, Oct. 16, 1813, W.P.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Jenkins, J. S., The Generals of the Last War, 144.
Bethlehem school cast an interesting light on the objects of female education in the early 19th century. "I find that strict attention is paid to morals of pupils," wrote the General, "that they are taught Needlework and Music pretty correctly, but do not excel in any of the other branches. . . . as to polite education they can have no pretentions. They see no company, and consequently must appear awkward and embarrassed when they have occasion to mix with the world." It was finally decided to put the girls in a school in Washington where they made satisfactory progress.

Albany was reached on the 25th of January. On the 26th McArthur wrote to his wife expressing concern over her illness and manifesting disgust over living conditions at Albany: "It gives me inexpressible pain to hear that you were again indisposed and unable to write. Life itself will hang heavy on my hands until I hear of your health being restored . . . This is a poor place. I was asked $126 by a merchant Taylor for a Coat, Vest, and Pantaloons rather than submit to the imposition I have concluded to wear my old clothes until I can return to New York or Philadelphia . . . Please remember my love to my Dear family and friends and accept for yourself the best love of your ever affectionate husband."

(1) McArthur to Worthington, Easton, Jan.13, 1814, M.P.

This parsimonious streak, exemplified by the case of the
Early in February both Cass and McArthur were examined. Both testified against Hull. The granison of the latter, writing in his defense some years later, asserted that the testimony of Snelling, McArthur, Vanhorn, and some other officers, is still more strongly marked by this evident predetermination to say as many things as they can to injure General Hull, and as few as possible in his favor. Although he testified in this strain, McArthur really felt a good deal of sympathy for Hull. "The poor old man with all his faults and infirmities," he wrote, "is to be pitied, his high tone is much altered, he appears to have no hope of justifying his conduct, and is deserted by all." The witnesses were all dismissed on March 7th and on the next day McArthur set out by horseback for Philadelphia. He was glad to get away from Albany which he considered a terrible place to hold a court martial, both because of the high prices and because of the presence of a good many vests and pantaloons, was commented on as follows by McDonald, "Notwithstanding that he was liberal in feeding the hungry, and clothing the naked, he was admitted to be close and severe dealer." Op. cit., 182.

1. The Supporter, March 2, 1814.
2. Clarke, James F., History of the Campaign of 1812 and Surrender of the Post of Detroit, 403-4.
4. McC. to Worth., Albany, March 9, 1814, W.P.
"Tories," He stopped off in Newark, New Jersey, to purchase a carriage which must have been a gorgeous one since it cost $700. He reported to his wife that it was a "Handsome" affair but had not the slightest idea how he would get it all the way to Chillicothe.

Philadelphia was reached shortly after the middle of March. By this time McArthur was worried lest he should be appointed to attend the trial of Wilkinson, which would keep him in the east several months longer. In the last few days of the month his fears were confirmed. He was ordered to repair to the south end of Lake George by the 15th of April to sit as a member of the court of inquiry on the conduct of Wilkinson. He arrived at Ft. Edward, where the court was to be held, on the 13th and found himself the first one there. Two days later there was still no one else present, though the court had originally been scheduled to convene on the 15th. McArthur was thoroughly miserable. The lake was covered with ice, the air disagreeably cold, and the entire aspect of the country mountainous, rocky and barren.

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(1) McA. to Worth., Albany, March 7, 1814, W.P.
(2) McA. to Nancy, Albany, Mar. 9, 1814, M.P., IV, 1031.
(3) McA. to Worthington, Philadelphia, March 19, 1814, W.P.
(4) McA. to Worthington, Philadelphia, March 30, 1814, W.P.
(5) McA. to Nancy, South Side of Lake George, April 15, 1814, M.P., VII, 1274.
Shortly afterwards the court was disbanded, General Wilkin- 
(1) 
son having objected to it on the grounds that it was 
not composed of general officers. McArthur returned to 
(2) 
Chillicothe on May 20.

McArthur's part in the first two years of the war had 
sarcily been of outstanding importance to his country yet 
it had certainly been a drain on his financial and physical 
resources. His campaign with Hull, through no fault of his 
own, had been catastrophic. The better part of the ensuing 
year had been spent in getting officially exchanged, and in 
the recruiting service. Although in Harrison's expedition 
to Canada he did not play a vital part in it, having been 
left behind to command the base at Detroit. His services 
at the trial of Hull and the abortive inquiry into the con-
duct of Wilkinson certainly contributed nothing that was 
beneficial to his country's cause. In addition to the fat-
tigue of campaigning and the loss to his business because 
of his absence from home, his family suffered an additional 
mifortune when their beautiful dwelling, Fruit Hill, was 
early all consumed by fire in the spring of 1814. Only the 
general's papers and a part of the furniture were saved. 
McArthur had worked willingly and energetically during these 
two years, but the smiles of the gods were not upon him.

(1) The Supporter, May 21, 1814. Wilkinson was finally ac-
quitted by another court in 1815.
(2) McA. to Worth., Fruit Hill, May 24, 1814, W.P.
(3) The Supporter, April 23, 1814.
CHAPTER THREE

COMMANDER OF THE
NORTHWESTERN
ARMY

In the winter and spring of 1814 great dissatisfaction was felt with Harrison in the West. In January he had set up his headquarters in Cincinnati and remained there until his resignation four months later. With the exception of scattered attacking parties sent out from Detroit, no movement was executed. "The proud boasts of the first months of the war and confident huzzas for Canada were no longer heard," says Mrs. Goebel. "Indeed, Harrison showed little inclination to raise an army for this purpose; and for the commander of an important district he displayed rather languid interest in the prosecution of the war." Numbered among the reasons for Harrison's lassitude might be mentioned the lessening of the war fever in the West, the troubles with army contractors, and the strained relations existing between Harrison and Armstrong, the Secretary of War.

(1) Goebel, op. cit., 188.
(2) Ibid., 188 ff.
McArthur had been loyal to Harrison in the summer and fall of 1813. Now he began to make aspersions; before long it appeared that he and Worthington were carrying on a cabal against Harrison. As early as January 14 he wrote to Worthington as follows:

"Much praise has been lavished on the N.W. Army for what cause or military act I know not. In confidence I say to you that the commander of that army is better calculated to swallow draughts of flatters, than to conduct a vigorous Campaign. Unless some change for the better does shortly take place I shall leave the service as I think the sooner the less disgrace." (1)

Senator Worthington had formerly exerted his influence in behalf of Harrison but now worked as hard for McArthur. In February the latter began corresponding with Armstrong suggesting plans for a spring campaign. On the 1st of February McArthur wrote to Worthington telling him that he had aired his views on war tactics in a letter to Armstrong and expressing the fear that he had perhaps gone too far in his suggestions. He had also asked Armstrong what disposition would be made of him, the illness of Mrs. McArthur being of such a character that he hated to leave his own frontier. "Yet I must confess," he added, "that I calculate on as little credit in serving under Genl. H---n as any other, his want of arrangements is intolerable. I flatter myself that if the Ohio Militia are called

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(1) McA. to Worth., Carlisle, Jan. 14, 1814, W.P.
(2) Goebel, op.cit., 193.
out they would as soon serve with, or under me, as any
other who may be placed on our frontier."

If McArthur was trying to ingratiate himself with
Armstrong, as certainly appears to have been his intention,
he succeeded marvelously. Worthington answered his letter
of the first of February as follows:

"I received yesterday evening your letter of the
1st inst. and in compliance with your request called
today and had considerable conversation with Genl. A.
on the subjects you mention. I have always found him
frank and therefore feel disposed to believe he is
sincere with us. He stated to me your remarks on mil-
itary affairs and expressed his pointed approbation
of them. I took occasion to state that in a letter to

(1)From Albany, W.P. McArthur made some interesting
suggestions as to the best way to conduct a war--sug-
gestions which incidently foreshadowed some future dev-
elopments in the art of carrying on a war. In the fall
of the year, when national affairs were at so low an
ebb and everybody was giving advice, McArthur was busy
with his pen writing to Worthington. He said an addi-
tional military force must be raised and the recruiting
service remodeled so that every petty judge and magis-
trate could not dismiss from the service every man who
applies for a writ of habeas corpus. Enlistment of all
able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and fifty
should be authorized; if this failed to raise an ade-
quate force conscription should be resorted to. The war
should be financed by issuing paper money--the Revolu-
tion had been carried on thus when neither the credit nor
the resources of the country were what they were in 1814.
Finally some effective means should be adopted to "stop
the mouths of those who without cause, villify, slander
and traduce the administration and every officer of Gov-
ernment." Letter from Detroit, Oct. 21, 1814, W.P. It is
obvious that McArthur was a thorough-going militarist.
me you had expressed your apprehension of having tres-
passed on his time and patience. He said by no means
for your views were so correct and evinced a mind dis-
posed to judge for itself that he was grateful to have
them so that you are safe so far and stand well with
the Genl. I have reason to believe that you will be
sent to our frontier (I mean the Ohio frontier) of
which you will be more fully informed soon. Genl. Cass
I presume must give up one of the appointments he now
holds . . . Genl. Harrison I imagine will be sent
from our frontier. I mention these things to you with
the imputation that they go no further." (1)

The official wheels moved slowly, however, and McArthur
grew so disheartened that he finally determined to resign.
In April he had written his wife that he was "heartily tired
of a war which promises neither credit, nor advantage; from
the manner in which it has been conducted." (2) On June 4th
he sent his resignation to Armstrong. He stated that he
would have liked to remain in the army until there was some
honorable adjustment of our national difficulties, but there
appeared to be no regular command open at present. "These,
sir, with many other considerations such as the variable
state of my health--the continued indisposition of Mrs. Mc-
Arthur, and the recent loss of my house and a considerable
part of my furniture by fire; which ought to be replaced
in justice to my family, before I leave home induces me to
tender to the President, through you, my resignation . . . .

(1) M.P., V, 810.
(2) McArthur to Nancy, April 15, 1814, M. P., VII, 1274.
(3) McA. to Armstrong, Chillicothe, June 4, 1814, M.P.,
IX, 1715.
Prior to this time, however, (on May 11th) Harrison had resigned, although he remained in command until May 31st. The rigors of army life which were becoming irksome to him, the condition of his family affairs and his private business, and his strained relations with the Secretary of War, are all possible contributing factors in his determination to resign. The major-generalship, which he left vacant fell to Jackson. McArthur was given the command of the eighth military district and the northwest army. When he received the notice on June 8th he wrote to Armstrong in a strain of excessive self-depreciation. He said that he still hoped his resignation would be accepted. "Although I flatter myself that I could command a Brigade to advantage, in a well regulated army, and under an able general," he asserted, "yet my military information and experience is so limited, that I have not the vanity to suppose that I can regulate and direct in an able manner the various departments of an extensive military district, or separate command." He goes on to add, however, that until relieved he will be "assiduously employed in forwarding the views of the Government and the best interests of my country." Needless to say, he was

(1) Goebel, op. cit., 197.
(2) Ibid., 198.
(4) McA. to Armstrong, Chillicothe, June 8, 1814, M.P., IX, 1732.
not relieved. This letter is a striking contrast to the self-confident style which characterized his correspondence with Worthington during the previous winter and spring.

McArthur entered upon the duties of his new position with his accustomed vigor. Two major obstacles, however, deterred him from accomplishing decisive results as a reward for his labor. The first was the indecision of the War Department as to its plans; as a consequence McArthur found himself on many a wild-goose chase. The second was the frightful system of provisioning the army which rendered movement impossible at times. If McArthur had once coveted the position of command, he was to repent more than once of his desire, although wounded vanity undoubtedly played a part in his rather frequent resignations.

In the latter part of April Armstrong had decided on his campaign plans for the summer. The intention was to assemble 5000 regular troops and 3000 volunteers on the shore of Lake Erie and carry the attack to Burlington and York. If these posts were taken it was thought that this would constitute a barrier completely protecting Detroit and Malden, rendering the British use of the western Indians ineffective, and making the possession of Mackinaw useless. The idea was not bad but the execution of it

(1) Armstrong to the President, April 30, 1814, McAfee, op. cit., 454-6; Armstrong to Izzard, June 10, 1814, M.F., X, 1746.
was somewhat faulty. Armstrong asked McArthur to march as many men as possible to Erzie whence they would be taken by boat to Buffalo. McArthur replied that he would do everything he could but that the numbers would be small because he had been forced to detail a number of his men to guard the British prisoners at Newport and Chillicothe, and to protect the commissioners now holding a treaty with the Indians at Greenville. In addition a number of militia had recently been discharged. By the middle of July he had collected his men, formed them into companies, clothed them as far as clothing could be procured and had started on the way to Lake Erie. By the 30th he had marched his 500 men as far as Ashtabula County, in the extreme northeastern corner of Ohio, and expected to cross the state line the next day. By the eighth of August he had joined General Brown near Buffalo but he was several days too late. A most sanguinary battle had occurred on the 25th

(2) McA. to Armstrong, Chillicothe, June 18, 1814, M.P., X, 1870.
(3) McA. to Armstrong, Chillicothe, July 16, 1814, M.P., XII, 2354.
of July near Niagra Falls in which the American army was reported to have been successful. After the encounter however, the American troops fell back to Ft. Erie. In the succeeding months England, freed from the Napoleonic menace, took the offensive in the war and until peace was declared our troops had to content themselves with defensive operations in guarding our territory from invasion. Armstrong's plan of taking Burlington and York thus became nothing more than a pious hope.

During the operations in June and July an interesting controversy took place between Armstrong and McArthur. The latter was in high dudgeon over the affair and threatened to resign several times. Although the main body of troops was to be concentrated at the eastern end of Lake Erie Armstrong had decided to send a small force under Colonel Coghan up Lake Huron to Mackinaw. Coghan made vigorous preparations and was ready to embark by the first of July. He strongly disapproved of the expedition, however, and especially disliked the way in which Armstrong had ordered it. The order had been sent directly to Coghan, instead of having passed through the hands of General McArthur, the commander of the district. Previously in the year Colonel

(1) McA. to Capt. McClosky, Ashtabula County, July 30, 1814, M.P., XIII, 2477. This was the famous battle of Lundy's Lane.
(2) McAfee, op. cit., 456-459.
Croghan had suffered a similar indignity when the Secretary of War corresponded with one of his subordinates. This violated, of course, one of the rules of military etiquette, namely: that the commander of a district, or separate post, should have jurisdiction over all minor details within his command. Croghan did not wish to see McArthur treated in the same way and told him so.

"The order for this expedition," he wrote to McArthur, "was issued by the Sec'y. of War on the 2 ult., most probably without advising you of the step. --I could have wished (for many reasons) that this order had passed through the regular channels; this manner of interfering with the internal police of officers (commanding) Dist. will sooner or later prove as destructive, as it now appears unmilitary."

As we have seen, McArthur needed troops badly to go to the aid of Brown, and it irked him not a little to find that soldiers were being sent to Detroit for the Mackinaw expedition without his knowledge. On the 6th of July he informed Armstrong that he had ordered back to the Portage River 150 men who had nearly arrived at Detroit. He expressed wonder as to how "an expedition can be carried on by the land forces within the district without my knowledge, whilst

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 449-450.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Croghan to McA., Detroit, July 3, 1814, M.P., XII, 2142.
I am acting as commander of it," adding that "unless my instructions can be more explicit and be made acquainted with every military movement in the district I must beg to be excused from acting any longer in service." Armstrong answered on the 12th that the incident was "a little extraordinary" and that "the cause of this insubordination ought to be inquired into and ascertained." He was "passing the buck" as cleverly as he could. Relative to McArthur's resignation he noted that the "value put upon your services exclude the idea that there could be any intentional disregard of your rights as commanding officer of the district." This compliment, however, did not deter McArthur from his original intention to leave the army. In the middle of the month he again wrote to Armstrong:

"Many of the reasons which induced me to tender my resignation still operate strongly on my mind. The 2nd division is only waiting the arrival of their recruits to commence its operations. There had not been time, or opportunity to instruct them in any of the duties of a soldier, and at the time they will be put on active duty, they will neither understand nor be capable of obeying any word of command, consequently we cannot rationally calculate on their doing credit to themselves or their country, much less to the Officers who may attempt to command them. . . . the continued indisposition of my family added to the deranged state of my private business renders it almost impracticable for me to continue in service." (3)

(1) McA. to Armstrong, Chillicothe, July 6, 1814, M.P., XII, 2198.
(2) Armstrong to McA., July 12, 1814, M.P., XII, 2281.
(3) McA. to Armstrong, Chillicothe, July 16, 1814, M.P., XII, 2354. See also ibid., XII, 2370.
Armstrong replied at the last of the month in the vein of his former letter. "I explained to you, I hope satisfactorily," he writes, "that there was no intention on the part of the Gov't. to treat you with disrespect, and that if Croghan's orders had not been communicated, it was a mere matter of accidental omission." A little later he was sure that the whole unpleasant affair had been caused by an error on the part of a clerk. McArthur accepted the apologies and ceased his resigning for a time.

After the abandonment of the American offensive against Burlington and York at the end of July, McArthur felt that the district about Detroit was particularly vulnerable. Armstrong did not think so at all—as a result a fresh argument was started. On July 31st McArthur told Armstrong that he was sorry to differ with him with regard to the danger at Detroit but that since Brown had retreated there was nothing to prevent a British force from taking Detroit, destroying our fleet on the upper lakes, opening uninterrupted communication with the northwest Indians, and building a fleet that would be troublesome on Lake Erie. Should this take place it would afford the enemy more advantage than the capture of

(2) McA. to Armstrong, July 31, 1814, M.P., XIII, 2497.
all Brown's army, besides tending to "discourage and forever blast the prospects of the people of the western country." On the same day he suggested to Brown that some of the Ohio troops, which had just marched to Buffalo, be sent back to garrison Detroit and surrounding posts. Should the latter fall, added McArthur, "there will be an end to the peace of the State of Ohio and indeed to that of the western country."

Early in August Armstrong answered McArthur's letter. He stated that there was no information that the enemy had a single regular west of the Niagra River, except possibly at Mackinaw. As long as Brown remained on the Canadian side Drummond, the British commander, would not be willing to weaken himself by sending detachments against Detroit. Armstrong branded the reports that great British reinforcements had arrived from England as false. In conclusion, he asserted that the alarm felt for Detroit was unnecessary and that a draft of militia from Kentucky and Ohio would be sufficient to hold it against any and every attack. McArthur succeeded in getting Brown to agree with him, however, and the latter gave him 300 men who were sent to Detroit. In this bicker-

(1) McA. to Armstrong, Erie, Pa., July 31, 1814, M.P., XIII, 2497.
(4) M.P., XIV, 2577, 2607, 2653.
ing it is apparent that McArthur was not willing to risk
the possibility of sacrificing the West while the campaign
was being waged farther east.

During the ensuing two months McArthur was engaged in
preparations for a mounted expedition against the Indians.
In June, as we have already noted, Harrison had been commis-
ioned to treat with the northwestern Indians at Green-
ville. The result had been the renewal of the Treaty of
Greenville signed in 1795. The Indians to the northwest
beyond Lakes Huron and Michigan and those west of the Ill-
inois River were still hostile, however, and steps were now
taken to wipe out these danger spots. Early in the spring
Governor Clarke of the Missouri territory, on orders from
the War Department, had ascended the Mississippi to Prairie
du Chien and had established a garrison there. Lacking a
sufficient force he was soon driven back down the river by
the British. The Indians continued to make depredations
and the war department decided on a mounted expedition
against them. On the second of August McArthur received the
following orders from Armstrong:

"Sir:—The President has determined to carry an
expedition of mounted men and friendly Indians against
the Potawatomi tribe inhabiting the country on both
sides of Lake Michigan. It is his wish also, that you

(1) M.P., IX, 1728; X, 1830, 1904; ibid., XI, 2022; McAfee, op. cit.,
472-3.
(2) McAfee, ibid., 473, 474.
(3) Ibid., 474 ff.
should take command of the expedition. With these views, you are authorized to raise a body of 1,000 mounted men, within the district now under your command. Besides destroying the town and crops of this hostile tribe, it is desirable to establish a post and raise one or more blockhouses at such places near the mouth of St. Josephs as may be best calculated for covering during the winter, the whole or a part of the fleet under the command of Commodore Sinclair."

The vital link in this plan was the expedition under Crog- han, which was expected to take Mackinaw and thus remove the biggest danger spot in all the northwest. When Mc- Arthur received the order for the mounted expedition he immediately called on the governors of Ohio and Kentucky to furnish 500 men each. They were to rendezvous at Urbana on the 20th of September. From the first this ex- pedition was a source of worry for McArthur. He had written to Armstrong early in August that the citizens of the West had been called out for duty so often without receiving any pay for it that, unless the War Department was very specific as to the remuneration, term of service and manner of provisioning on this campaign, very few would volunteer.

The War Department never complied with his wishes and his

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 479; M.P., XIII, 2532.
(2) McAfee, ibid., We have already noted the breach between Armstrong and McArthur over the orders for Croghan's ex- pedition.
(3) Ibid., 479-80.
fears were realized. Governor Shelby of Kentucky objected to calling out the militia since a number of Kentuckians had marched to Harrison's aid in the previous fall and had never been paid. He expressed surprise "that this State should be called on to send men through the populous State of Ohio to garrison a post on its Frontier, when if there were cause for immediate reinforcements they could be raised in, and marched from, that State, from its local position, in a much shorter period." He added that he would call out the men requested, but would not allow them to leave the State until he had heard from McArthur again. (1) Shelby dilly-dallied, keeping McArthur so much in the dark that on the day the expedition was abandoned the General wrote to Monroe, now Secretary of War, that no Kentucky troops were expected because Shelby would not let them leave the State unless they were assured of their pay. (2)

Ohio responded more willingly but even in McArthur's own state there was suspicion of the War Department in this

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(1) Shelby to Armstrong, Frankfort, Aug. 13, 1814, M.P., XIV, 2625. McAfee is in error as to the patriotism of Kentucky on this occasion. He would have us believe they rose as one man in answer to this call. Op. cit., 480.

(2) McA. to Monroe, Chillicothe, Sept. 17, 1814, M.P., XVI, 297. Unknown to McArthur, men from Kentucky were then en route to Chillicothe, arriving there on the 20th. McAfee, ibid., 480.
matter of pay. Stirred by a rousing call from Othniel Looker, Acting Governor, she raised her contingent of 500 men without much trouble. Looker's appeal to the patriotic citizenry ranks high in the collections of propaganda. He wrote as follows in the newspapers late in August:

"Yes, my countrymen! if you now manifest that noble spirit which your cause inspires, you may henceforth repose in safety. The infant in the cradle will no longer be awakened by the savage yell; nor the forest be lighted by the midnight blaze of our dwellings! The heroic examples of the brave and patriotic volunteers of Kentucky and Tennessee under Shelby and Jackson are before you; that you may imitate their valor and be crowned with their success, is the ardent desire and confident expectation of your friend and humble servant." (1)

The undercurrent of suspicion that no pay would be forthcoming is exemplified by a curious letter which McArthur received in September. This missive is particularly interesting for its structure and weird spelling, as well as for its content:

To General McArthur

There is a number of people here desireous of entering the Service in defence of these countries rites as Volunteers, but hesitate at present on these grounds. First wishing to know whether they are to receive Arms from the U. States 2nd Wheather they receive tha pay and Amoliments for 6 Months 3rd Wheather they receive Mone in part (previous to there Marchin) for there Horces if so if you would be so good as to inform me you will oblige your very humble Servant.

Frederick Fanning.

(1) The Supporter, Aug. 27, 1814.
N.B. A Letter from you if you please direct to me (as several have proposed joining provided they are satisfied in this respect) will be rec'd with cheerfulness.

H.F. F. (1)

These were not all of the troubles which McArthur faced. The Indian agents experienced great difficulty in getting any of the friendly Indians to go on the expedition. Whereas these Indians would readily embark on a campaign against the British or the inhabitants of Canada, they were squeamish about moving against Indians because it promised them little in the way of loot and plunder. In addition to the difficulties of raising an effective force, the original plans had to be altered. We have already seen that the vital link in this chain of arrangements was the success of Croghan against Mackinaw. Late in July the assault on that position failed and Croghan retreated to Detroit. This led McArthur to suggest to Armstrong his own ideas of how the mounted expedition should now be used under the altered circumstances. He advised that the expedition be sent to its original destination as quickly as possible; this would draw most of the Indian force (under the British standard) out of Mackinaw to oppose it. Meanwhile another body of

(2) Steckney, Indian Agent, to MoA., Sept. 20, 1814, M.P., XV, 2801.
(3) McAfee, op.cit., 456 ff.
troops would be sent north from Detroit to attack Mackinaw in its weakened condition. McArthur felt that since the Indians attached great importance to Mackinaw nothing could do more to break off communication between the British and Indians than for an American force to get possession of it. The fleet on Lake Erie was to be taken to Detroit ostensibly to transport troops to the Niagra frontier. Militia from Ohio and Kentucky were to garrison Detroit while the regulars were sent on by water against Mackinaw. McArthur concluded that this use of the mounted expedition was the best to which it could be put because the country around Lake Michigan, where it was supposed to carry on its campaign, was low and swampy, thickly covered with brush and fallen timber, and therefore not good territory for action by mounted men.

This plan was well conceived and certainly deserved better treatment than it received from Washington. On the 2nd of September Monroe, who had succeeded Armstrong as Secretary of War, wrote to McArthur asking him if the suggested campaign could be carried out without the cooperation of the Lake Erie fleet. Since speed was a vital factor in the operation and the fleet was to transport the regulars

(1) McA. to Armstrong, Aug. 31, 1814, M.P., XV, 2758.
(2) Ibid., XV, 2664.
to Mackinaw, the question seems almost impertinent. The
crowning blow came on the 8th. Monroe said that it appeared
from what McArthur had written that 1000 regulars could
be taken from Detroit for immediate and temporary service;
since this was so the Navy Department would take on that
number of men at Detroit and transport them to Ft. Erie for
service there.

(1) It is no wonder that McArthur was willing to give up.
On the 7th of September he wrote to Colonel Butler that he
had no liking for the expedition against the Indians:—"It
is a command I very much dislike; I cannot flatter myself
that much advantage can be derived from it, but must obey
orders." (2) Ten days later, however, he had decided to
abandon the mounted expedition and announced his decision
(3) in the papers. The reasons are not hard to find: the
difficulty in raising troops due to the niggardliness of
the War Department relative to pay; the difficulty of
getting the Indians to go; and the impertinent treatment of
his suggestions for the campaign by Monroe.

The dénouement of this action was as futile as the
rest of the Manoeuvre. On the twentieth a Kentucky contin-

(3) M.P., VII, 2975.
gent reached Urbana, not having received the order for 
disbandment. Meanwhile a call for assistance was received 
from Cass at Detroit. The Indians had committed several 
(1) McArthur consequently countermanded his 
(2) order for disbandment but most of the Ohio companies had 
dispersed and refused to appear again; the whole force col-
(3) lected did not exceed 650 men. During the first days of 
(4) October the little band arrived at Ft. Meigs. McArthur 
had been receiving dispatches from Cass telling him to hurry 
on to Detroit which was in danger because of the continued 
depredations of the Indians and the defenseless condition of 
the fort—the regulars all having embarked for Niagara accord-
(5) ing to Monroe's orders. Soon after he arrived at Ft. 
Meigs, however, he received word from Monroe to countermand 
the embarkation of the regulars because the enemy had retired 
from Ft. Erie and navigation was dangerous because of the 
(6) lateness of the season! In addition, most of the Indians 
had left Detroit at his approach. After a brief and fruit-
less gesture against a few Potawatomies who had been causing

(1) McAfee, op.cit., 480; M.P., XVIII, 3394.
(2) The Supporter, Oct. 1, 1814.
(3) McAfee, ibid.; McA. to Monroe, Ft. Meigs, Oct. 3, 1814, 
M.P., XVII, 3242. Of this number, strangely enough, two-
thirds were Kentuckians.
(5) McAfee, ibid., 481; McA. to Shelby, Detroit, Oct. 15, 1814, 
M.P., XVIII, 3394.
trouble on the Raisin River, McArthur and his men settled down at Detroit.

It is apparent that if McArthur had any military ability he was unable to use it because of the bungling management at Washington. He was further handicapped, as was every other American general, by the inefficient system of supplying the army. The system in use was that of letting contracts to diverse individuals for various supplies. The opportunities for corruption and inefficiency in such an arrangement are obvious. A few examples will suffice to point out the state of affairs which existed. McArthur wrote to Monroe in October summarizing some of his difficulties as follows:

"No important military operations can be carried on in this district for the want of an efficient staff. There are only three men in the quartermaster's department who in my opinion ought to be continued in the service. Labour and every article which is purchased for the use of the government costs nearly double what it would. . . . were the public debts punctually paid. . . . The pay department is equally defective. . . . Many of the troops in this quarter have not been paid for twelve months. . . . The ordnance department is also deficient. The arms out of use, at almost every post are suffering from damage from rust, and the ammunition . . . has generally been badly contracted." (2)

While at Albany he wrote to Worthington of the frightful conditions existing among the soldiers:

(1) McAfee, op.cit., 481; M.P., XVII, 3323; ibid., XVIII, 3394.
"Unfortunately for our army they are not provided with Clothing to enable them to appear respectable in summer much less to shield them from the inclemency of winter. From the want of this Clothing of the proper kind and quantity . . . many hundreds of valuable lives have been lost and are daily losing for want of Clothes to keep the Soldiers Clean and warm. The Clothes issued to our soldiery in many cases scarcely deserve the name, especially the socks and shoes, they are generally too small and of the worst quality, entirely unfit for wind, or winter. The socks are coarse thin and worthless, and the shoes badly made of the worst of leather . . . The Blankets issued to our troops are so small and worthless, that they neither cover nor keep them warm, and consequently many lives are lost. This is not all, both the Ration and the means of Cooking it, is very deficient, there ought to be added to the ration some Vegetable . . . the want of it produces Bowel complaints which carry off many . . . The police of Camps are often neglected, with impunity, and the health and even the lives of many brave fellows destroyed in this way." (1)

McArthur received word that the wagons furnished the army were bad, the horses weak and the oxen too fat:

"The conduct of our Quartermaster is infamous," writes one of McArthur's men,"--There was not a single waggon furnished me but what was out of order . . . and I may say not one but what was rotten--And I have had one or more wagons to brake down every day, and ox teams to give out." (2)

During November conditions became such that the troops at Detroit received no flour rations. McArthur suggested the immediate appointment of a special Commissary as the only solution. He also wrote Worthington asking for a loan of

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(1) McA. to Worth., Albany, Feb. 13, 1814, W.P.
$30,000 for the purchase of flour and pork. In addition to the lack of provisions the troops were not being paid, some of them having as much as twelve to sixteen months back pay due them. McArthur suggested that Huntington, District Paymaster, was incompetent, but the hint was not heeded.

The officers were becoming desperate. On the last day of the year Colonel Miller wrote to McArthur from Erie, Pennsylvania, as follows:

"I trust in God, our Government will correct this department of the Army--A contractor department--In time of war is wretched--It is the curse of every Army to which it is attached.

"As long as our Army is fed by contractors, I have no hesitation in saying that it is impossible for it to operate with energy or effect. The contractor has it in his power to stop an army in its most important movements and operations whenever he thinks proper--and wherever I have been, I have found it to be the case that, when the Army was ready or about to move the contractor runs short of provisions." (3)

McArthur felt the same way and often wrote Monroe concerning the situation:

"I trust the Government will adopt some more efficient mode of supplying our armies in time of war, than through a contractor. It is putting it in the power of one man, either through neglect or design, to stop the most important movements of an army." (4)

(1) McA. to Monroe, Detroit, Nov. 24, 1814, M.P., XIX, 3786; McA. to Worthington, Chillicothe, Dec. 13, 1814, M.P., XX, 3901. Ohio actually appropriated the money but Monroe, for special reasons, refused to accept it. See M.P., XXI, 4144 and ibid., XXII, 4362.
Four days earlier he had threatened to resign. He informed Monroe that "unless the troops in the quarter can be better provided for I cannot possibly continue in command of the district." The Secretary of War answered that there was no reason for McArthur to feel personally insulted because "the embarrassments of which you complain have not been partial or confined to your district. They have been universal, and are a consequence of the embarrassments which have attended the finances of the Government. But measures are now in train to relieve all, and directions have been given particularly relative to your district, the quarter master of which was a few days since supplied with 40,000 dollars." But McArthur was not yet mollified. Early in February he wrote a scorching letter to the Secretary of War concluding it by offering his resignation again. By this time he was becoming quite adept in the art of resigning. The letter follows:

"I have truly represented the sufferings of the troops and the want of supplies and means of defence, but no relief has been granted. I have made known the

(1) Chillicothe, Jan. 11, 1815, M, P., XXI, 4116.
(2) Jan. 17, 1815, M, P., XXII, 4193. Worthington had written McArthur in the previous fall that conditions in Washington were terrific. "In a word everything is at a stand for want of money and even warrants drawn on the Treasury have been protested," he wrote. "You have no idea of the state of things which has existed here." He hoped that the appointment of a new Secretary of the Treasury and the meeting of Congress would restore the public credit. Letter of Nov. 3, 1814, M, P., XI, 3579."
inefficiency of the staff of the district, which has and will paralyze every military operation, but not a change has been made.

I have respectfully solicited redress and advice, but to none of my communications have I rec’d an answer nor am I informed that any measures are about to be taken to remove these evils which so seriously claim the attention of government. I have therefore again to request, that the command of the district, be assigned to some officer in whom the executive may have confidence, and whose representations and requisitions will be treated with respect.

Permit me to assure you Sir, and through you the President, that it is with reluctance, that I retire from the service of my country at a time when it would seem to require the united exertion of its friends."(1)

Needless to add, this resignation like its predecessors, was not accepted. The next day McArthur received Monroe’s apologetic letter of the 17th which had been delayed in transit and reported that "its contents are truly flattering.

From it we have reason to hope, that the wants of the suffering soldier will shortly be relieved." (2)

Handicapped as he was by a moribund War Department and an inadequate system of supply, McArthur made a successful foray into Upper Canada in the fall of 1814, for which he deserves great credit. Brown was by this time in a critical position at Ft. Erie. It was McArthur’s intention to march toward Burlington Heights at the head of Lake Ontario destroying the valuable mills on the Grand River as he went and then

(1) Chillicothe, Feb. 5, 1815, M.P., XXIII, 4408.
(2) Mca. to Monroe, Chillicothe, Feb. 6, 1815, M.P., XXIII, 4409.
From Lucas, The Canadian War of 1812, p. 98.
falling back to the Niagara River. He left Detroit on the 23rd of October with 650 mounted volunteers and 70 Indians. To mask the real destination of the expedition the troops started northward as if they intended to strike an Indian village situated on the Saginaw River, 120 miles above Detroit. After progressing north for some distance the men were transported across the River St. Clair and moved rapidly across Upper Canada. By the 30th they had advanced as far as the Moravian towns where they were very fortunate in capturing a British sergeant who was hurrying to Burlington with the news of the invasion. This enabled them to arrive at Oxford on the 4th of November before any of its inhabitants knew what a hostile force was approaching, although the town was situated 140 miles within the enemy's territory. The next day Burford was reached, a local militia force retreating to Malcolm's Mills, 10 miles distant, as the Americans entered the town. It was McArthur's intention to disregard this militia force and, crossing the

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 482; McA. to Brown, Detroit, Oct. 14, 1814, M.P., XVII, 3326.
(2) McA. to Izzard, Detroit, Nov. 18, 1814, M.P., XIX, 3690-1.
(3) McAfee, ibid.; McA. to Monroe, Detroit, Nov. 18, 1814, The Supporter, Dec. 31, 1814.
(5) Ibid.
(6) General Orders, Detroit, Nov. 18, 1814, M.P., XIX, 3692-3.
(7) McA. to Monroe, ibid.
Grand River, proceed on to Burlington. However, a freshet had made the river impassable and McArthur learned that Brown had recrossed the Niagara to the American side releasing a large British force for action elsewhere. Consequently original intentions were cast aside and it was decided to attack the militia at Malcolm's mills. They were fortified on a commanding ground beyond a creek which was deep enough to form a good defensive barrier. The Kentucky troops attacked from the front while the Ohio soldiers plus the Indians marched, under cover of thick woods, to attack the Canadians from the rear. Had it not been for the yell of one of the Indians the enemy would have been taken completely by surprise. As it was they were badly defeated and a large number of prisoners was taken. The enemy was pursued along the road to Dover, five valuable mills being destroyed on the way. By this time, Drummond, had sent General de Watteville with a large number of regulars to meet the invaders. With this force approaching and in a state of uncertainty as to Brown's ability to support him, McArthur finally abandoned the idea of a junction at Ft. Erie and started back to the Thames on the eighth of November. On the 17th he was again in Sandwich.

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(1) McA., to Monroe, ibid., McArthur captured 132 prisoners while having only one man killed and six wounded. The enemy loss in killed and wounded was much greater than this. McAfee, op.cit., 487.
(2) Lucas, C.P., The Canadian War of 1812-1815. McAfee says he had over 1000 regulars. op.cit., 438.
(3) McA., to Monroe, McAfee, op.cit., 438.
(4) Ibid.
expedition had covered more than 400 miles, 180 of which were in a wilderness. Besides the mills, which were of great value to the enemy, 200 stand of arms were destroyed, and the entire expedition had lived off the country for the greater part of the time. McArthur claimed that no more private property was destroyed than was absolutely necessary for the support of the troops, and that it was all paid for. He admitted there were some partial abuses by the Indians under his command "whose customs in war impel them to plunder after victory."  

To the enemy the expedition did not seem to be one that merited such a roseate description. One of them, writing a few years later, denied that it should even be classified as a military exploit but thought that it more closely resembled an excursion of "banditti." The 150 prisoners whom McArthur was reported to have taken were represented as "peaceable inhabitants, both old and young, and drunken Indians and their squaws." When a British force put in its appearance McArthur and his band "dispersed" with such rapidity that even the British regulars could not get within sight miles of them. Hannay, writing at the end of the century,

(1) General Orders, Detroit, Nov.18,1814,M.P.,XIX,3692-3.  
(2) Monroe to McA., ibid.  
(3) James, William, A Full and Correct Account of the Military Occurrences of the Late War Between Great Britain and the United States, 241-3.
describes the affair as the last effort of "American ruffianism" and that it was undertaken "simply for the sake of plunder and the cheap glory it might yield." The raid itself was reported to have been given over to "indiscriminate plunder"; the houses of settlers were reduced to ashes and the wretched inhabitants left to perish of cold and hunger. The net result of the expedition was the infliction of great loss on private individuals with nothing accomplished for the United States "except to make its name despised in Western Canada." (1)

A third British historian comes nearer to the truth. Perhaps he goes a bit too far when he says the raid was "conceived in the spirit in which in the great American Civil War, Sheridan and his horsemen laid waste the Shenandoah valley." Relative to the pillage and plunder he remarks that the raid left "a sore memory in Canada" but as to how far it exceeded the rules of legitimate warfare it is not possible to determine from the conflicting accounts. (2)

Had Brown and Izzard been able to cooperate with McArthur the expedition might have been turned into a great offensive against the enemy. There is no questioning the

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(1) Hannay, op. cit., 337-8.
fact the march of over 200 miles into enemy territory
with a force of 700 men required rare courage and unusual
energy--qualities which were certainly lacking among most
American army leaders. McAfee, who should know, goes so
far as to say that it was "not surpassed during the war in
the boldness of its design, and the address with which it
was conducted." (1)

For the rest of the war, until peace was declared,
McArthur marked time. A strong defense was erected at Mal-
den making it one of the strongest positions on the North-
western frontier. (2) In February he made suggestions to
Monroe regarding a summer campaign. Since the British had
been burning on the seacoast and appeared disposed to con-
tinue it he suggested that a force be sent into Canada to
lay it waste thus interposing "between us and the enemy, a
desert which he could not easily pass." (3) News of the
signing of the peace arrived soon afterward, however, and
his suggestions represented lost labor. (4) McArthur was not

(1) McAfee, op. cit., 488.
(3) McA. to Monroe, Chillicothe, Feb. 6, 1815, M.P., XXIII, 4409.
McArthur also suggested that bounties in good land be
offered to the officers who agreed to serve until the end
of the war. This is especially interesting since a good
part of McArthur's land speculation was over bounty lands
given by Virginia to her soldiers in the Revolution.
continued in the army when the peace establishment was settled by Congress early in March.  As we shall see, however, he continued to serve in a semi-military position during the next few years as he was involved in making Indian treaties.

Under the circumstances McArthur had done as well as could have been expected of the commander of the northwestern army. The handicaps of a bungling war department and an inefficient system of supply would have discouraged the ablest of generals. Furthermore, his force never exceeded a thousand men and his most important expedition was performed with considerably less than that number. The war department always appeared to be far more interested in the middle than in the western frontier. His campaign into Canada was marked by its holiness of design and the efficiency of its execution. Had the middle army cooperated sufficiently the stroke might have been a telling one. Since McArthur was never to lead a large army in a vital campaign the story of what he might have done must remain within the realms of conjecture.

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CHAPTER FOUR

SERVICE FOR STATE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS--1815-1825

It is commonly thought that after the War of 1812 there was no Indian problem in Ohio. This was not the case. Not only did large numbers of semi-belligerent Indians reside in the state, but they owned large portions of land in northwestern Ohio. For several years after the war McArthur’s knowledge of Indian problems was utilized by the government in settling these matters.

The tactics of these Indian commissioners seem crude to us today. On first thought it would seem that their chief qualification was a crafty dissimulation which sometimes stooped to unadorned falsehood. If we remember, however, that the Indian was a vital problem to the Westerner of that day and often brought suffering and sorrow into his home, it is possible to understand, although we cannot always condone, their dealings with the aborigines. It is certain that these relations offer interesting examples of the use of propaganda by both sides.

Through long contact with these Indians McArthur was particularly well qualified to deal with them. In February
of 1615 he had a scheme in mind to hold a treaty at Detroit during the summer for the purpose of winning the Indians over to the American side. As advance propaganda, he spoke in the following manner to some friendly Indians, particularly with reference to the cause of the war:

"It never was the intention of the United States to take the Canadies from the British, for the country is not worth having. The cause was that the British refused to let out ships, or great canoes sail on the Great Water which was intended by the Great Spirit to be free for all. Neither does the United States, wish to take their land from the Indians without paying them for it, and that too often they (the British) have killed all the game which is on it, and it is of no more use to them.

"I think that you my friends will understand me and see that what I tell you is true. And that you will send speaches to the Indians who are now fighting for the British, and tell them how much they must be mistaken if they think to get the country if the Brit- ish should ever beat the Americans, which they will never do." (1)

In June the President appointed John Graham, William Henry Harrison and McArthur to serve as commissioners to the Indians. The purpose was not "to obtain from them any new cessions, grant, or privilege . . . whatsoever, but merely to manifest their disposition to cultivate peace and good will . . . ." (2) Spring Wells, south of Detroit, was decided upon as the place of meeting and the time was

(1) M.P.,XXIII,4455-61.
(2) Dallas to McArthur, Harrison and Graham, June 9, 1815, American State Papers, Indian Affairs, VI,13. See also Dallas to McA. June 7, and June 16,1815,M.P.,XXVI,5156 and 5155.
set for the 25th of August. (1) On that date, however, very few Indians reported and the lighting of the council fires did not take place until the 31st. (3) The reason for the delay was that the British had called a similar meeting at Malden for the 26th and had been spreading subversive propaganda. To combat this propaganda Harrison told the Indians that "it had been reported to the commissioners that evil birds had been hovering about them, whispering in their ears that they were to be assembled here on the pretext of peace only to be betrayed and destroyed; that General Brown, the great war chief of the United States . . . and his warriors, were assembled here for that purpose and other stories of that description, which the red coats had the disposition and capacity to invent." Harrison continued that he would not condescend to controvert an imputation so "foul and false." (5) The working of the Indian mind was indicated a few days later when one of their number said that the speech of the commissioners made his heart and face smile—but he would smile still more if his belly was full! He added that a little whisky would be

(1) American State Papers, Indian Affairs, VI, 17.
(2) Ibid., 18.
(3) Ibid., 19, 20.
(4) Ibid., 15.
(5) Ibid., 17.
appreciated, since it would enable them to love their squaws more ardently.

When the council fires were finally lighted this palaver was continued with the commissioners carrying off the majority of the honors. Harrison informed the redskins that "after a long contest between your late father, the British, and your old father, the American, the former acknowledged he was wrong and agreed to make peace. Your American father, who ever regards with his own happiness, the happiness of the women and children of his enemies, agreed to make peace, and peace was accordingly made." American victories in the late war were magnified and the feats of British arms proportionately minimized. Negotiation continued during the first week in September, the treaty being signed on the 8th. The terms restored the status quo ante bellum. During a good portion of the negotiations McArthur was seriously ill with an attack of acute indigestion and had to have medical attention.

During March and April of the next year William H. Crawford, the Secretary of War, and McArthur carried on corrs-

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(1) American State Papers, Indian Affairs, VI, 18.
(2) Ibid., 20.
(3) Ibid., 21.
(4) Ibid., 12.
(5) M.P., XXVII, 5253-5255.
espondence respecting the cession of Indian lands on the Sandusky River. The Indians were apprehensive, however, and nothing was accomplished. In the next year, McArthur was instrumental in negotiating a treaty which stands next to the famous agreement signed at Greenville in 1795, in the matter of land cessions. Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, was appointed to serve as a commissioner along with McArthur and the treaty was signed at Ft. Meigs on Sept. 29, 1817. The land ceded included nearly all the Indian territory in Ohio, a small part of Indiana and a small portion of Michigan Territory. Both Cass and McArthur regretted that the Miamis did not attend the council because it would have meant that the entire Indian title in Ohio would have been extinguished. They realized that the treaty was a significant one. "We may in fact," said they, "consider the purchase as the great connecting link which binds together our northwest frontier."

The actual land ceded amounted to 4,554,459 acres leaving

(1) Crawford to McA., February 6, and April 6, 1816, M.P., XXVII, 5296, 5313; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, VI, 135, 136.
(2) Sherman, C. E., Ohio Land Subdivisions, 132. Graham wrote to Cass that the treaty "in its fiscal, political, and moral effects," was the most important "of any that we have hitherto made with the Indians." M.P., XXVIII, 5514.
(3) M.P., XXVIII, 5463; American State Papers, Indian Affairs, VI, 136.
(4) American State Papers, Indian Affairs, VI, 131 ff.
(5) Ibid., 138, 139.
only 300,000 acres of Indian land in Ohio not ceded to Congress. This belonged, as we have seen, to the Miamis and was situated along the western border of the state between the Wabash and St. Marys Rivers. Nine tribal reservations ranging from 9 to 144 square miles, were established as well as fourteen grants in fee simple made to individuals. In addition the United States granted a quantity of life annuities to individuals and tribes.  

This treaty was not entirely acceptable to the Senate and the next year (Sept. 17, 1818) at St. Marys, Ohio, a supplementary pact was drawn up, again with Cass and McArthur acting as commissioners. There had been a great deal of objection to the treaty on the ground that the provision which allowed the Indians to hold their reserved land in fee simple (this enabling them to sell to whites at their discretion) would open the door to fraud and speculation. Consequently, by the supplementary pact, the Indians relinquished all claims to the fee of the lands reserved to them and

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(1) Sherman, _op.cit._, 137.
(2) Ibid; _American State Papers, Indian Affairs_, VI, 131 ff.
(5) _The Supporter_, Feb. 13, 1818.
agreed to hold them as Indian reservations were usually held, i.e. without the power of disposal, except to the United States. About 160 sections were also added to their reserves of the previous year and $3,500 of additional annuities were allowed.

The results of this series of treaties, in the making of which McArthur had played such a leading role, were summarized by the *Cincinnati Gazette* as follows:

"To the states of Ohio and Indiana these acquisitions are of immense importance. In a few years these almost interminable forests will be converted into flourishing towns and villages and cultivated farms; the silent footsteps of the savages will give way to the resounding of the axe, the din of industry, and the bustle of commercial enterprise." (3)

During these years McArthur did not lead an idle life politically. He was elected to the state house of representatives in 1815 and 1817. In the legislative session of 1817-18 he served as speaker of the house and became involved in the controversy over the United States Bank which was rapidly assuming threatening proportions.

For a few years after the War of 1812 there had been a "boom" period. Immigration to the West increased by leaps and bounds; speculation was rife, development was rapid, and

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(1) *The Supporter*, Feb. 18, 1818.
a spirit of optimism prevailed the entire country. At the bottom of this expansion were the state banks. They managed to postpone the inevitable day of reckoning by the adoption of banking methods which they knew would never stand the test of rigid inspection.

A struggle was therefore unavoidable when the United States Bank, which had been rechartered in 1816, established two branches in Ohio, one at Chillicothe, and the other at Cincinnati. These branches issued quantities of sound paper which had a tendency to depreciate still more the unsound currency of the state banks. They also acquired, in the course of their business, the notes of the local banks in large quantities, and when they called upon the banks to redeem their paper, the strain was sometimes more than these institutions could stand. As a result the state banks became the most rabid opponents of the United States Bank and in their crusade against it they were aided by politicians who were looking for promising issues.

The anti-bank crowd had powerful support in the legislature and on December 13, 1817, it was moved in the House to appoint a joint committee to report on the expediency of

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taxing the branches of the United States Bank. This
committee reported on Dec. 27th that it was inexpedient
to tax the bank. The anti-bank group, however, led by
Charles Hammond, was undaunted and late in January the
House reconsidered and voted on two distinct resolutions,
one on the constitutionality and the other on the expediency of taxing the bank. On the former question, that of
the constitutionality of taxing the branch bank, the vote
was decisively in the affirmative, 47 to 22. On the ques-
tion of expediency, however, the anti-bank faction began
to lose ground and they were barely able to gain their
point, 33 to 27... The anti-bank people were certain that
it was the unwonted activity of the bank's friends which
had brought the change in opinion. McArthur was a dir-
ector of the branch bank at Chillicothe. as well as speak-
er of the house. Rapid communications were exchanged be-
tween Columbus and Chillicothe. McArthur received a leave
of absence and visited his home; other directors of the
bank made hurried trips to Columbus. A circular was printed

(1) The Supporter, Sept. 2, 1818. In this issue is an article
reviewing the bank question by a man (perhaps Hammond)
who styles himself "Investigator." The review is a re-
markably lucid, accurate and interesting essay.
(2) Ibid.; Ohio House Journal (1818), 144.
(3) "Investigator" in The Supporter (Chillicothe), Sept. 2,
1818; Ohio House Journal (1818), 303.
(4) The Supporter (Chillicothe), Oct. 28, 1817.
which contained matter in opposition to the tax and was "well calculated to alarm and intimidate weak minds." The pamphlet was laid upon the tables of all the members of the House. In addition, the President of the Cincinnati branch bank visited Columbus. "These were palpable facts; and the shifting sides by the gentlemen above named, is also a palpable fact" said one of the exponents of the tax. "Whether one set of facts had any tendency to produce the other is not for me to say. Let every man draw his own inference." (1)

The house having resolved that it was expedient to levy a tax, a committee was appointed to bring in a bill for that purpose. A bill was reported which levied a tax of 4% per annum on the amount of the dividends made in the state, and assessing a fine of $3000 for default of payment. This bill was taken up in the Committee of the Whole House on the evening of January 23. The proponents of the tax reported that McArthur made "a long and vehement harangue against the tax" in which he belabored unmercifully some of its friends, denouncing them as enemies of the peace of the country and the sovereignty of the United States Bank. McArthur described the United States Bank as a most benevolent and useful institution which would fill the country

(1)"Investigator" in TheSupporter, Sept. 2, 1818.
with solid paper, abolish swindling and put an end to the
difference of exchange. However, he threatened the ven-
geance of this Bank, as well as that of the United States,
if the states tried to lay hands upon its branches. The Bank
would instantly drain all specie from the country by calling
on the state banks to pay off their notes which it held for
deposits made by the United States; and the government would
certainly deny Ohio any aid for internal improvement. Then
"after repeating this kind of stuff half a dozen times, well
interluded with abuse against the banks (state) in a body,
the speaker asked, "if there was any man who DARED raise his
hand against the Bank and the United States, and encounter
these consequences." (1)

This speech made the anti-bank faction furious and its
dictatorial tone even angered others. After McArthur sat
down a Mr. Martin from Jefferson County, who had heretofore
been opposed to taxing the branch bank, rose and is reported
to have announced that the "character just given of the
means and disposition of the Bank had changed his opinion.
He had no notion of a Banking corporation DARING the states
to exercise their constitutional powers under such pains
and penalties as were just described." (2) Hammond made

(1) "Investigator" in The Supporter, Sept. 2, 1818. Mc-
Arthur denied (in a letter answering "Investigator")
that he used this expression. The Supporter, Sept. 9, 1818.
(2) Ibid., Sept. 2, 1818.
reference to McArthur's tendency to forget he was no longer a commander of a group of obedient troops. He said "if the house were content to sit and he lectured in a style suited only to a commander reprimanding his soldiers for some dereliction of duty, he could not help it. If the members were to be dragooned out of their opinions, it was no fault of his." Mr. Vance balanced the remarks made by Hammond by stating that the Hartford Convention was a movement of the same character as the proposal to tax a branch of the bank of the United States.

In spite of the efforts of McArthur and others a majority still held out for the taxing bill and it was reported back to the house without amendment. Hammond then moved that it be engrossed and read a third time the next day. The next morning, on January 24th, when the bill was actually called up for the third and final reading, the opponents of the tax were actively engaged. Mr. Baldwin moved that the consideration of the bill be postponed until the second Monday of December "and made a mouthing kind of speech about the danger of precipitancy in such an important affair." Mr. Richardson also made a speech in favor of postponement in which he "talked about policy, and expediency, and experience, and circumspection and danger, and such like

(1) "Investigator" in Chillicothe Supporter, Sept. 2, 1818. This was a keen thrust at Hammond's Federalist record during the War of 1812.
manners." Vance is reported to have given "another edition of the Hartford convention." Hammond tried to counteract these gentlemen by caustically remarking that he was sorry the members did not have enough firmness to persevere in maintaining their own judgement against the "unwearied and incessant attacks of an overbearing minority." He had lost the fight, however. On the vote which followed, the postponement carried 31 to 28.

Those who favored the tax were filled with rage. In the next fall, "Investigator," writing in The Supporter (Chillicothe) named the ten men who had been guilty of shifting ground and thus bringing about the postponement. He did not contend that they had been bribed with money, but he asserted that they had been beset "with dirty passions and contemptible weaknesses, which the artful and designing can always find out and turn to their own advantage. . . ." "Investigator" also contended that a vicious brand of log-rolling had occurred between the opponents of the tax and a Mr. Kinney who wanted a charter to incorporate the New Lisbon Woolen Factory and Trading Com-

(1) "Investigator" in The Supporter, Sept. 6, 1818.
(2) The Supporter, Sept. 2, 1818. "Investigator" blamed Jefferson, Columbiana and Trumbull counties for sending weak men to the legislature. The ten men branded were Baldwin, Schofield, Dille, Gaylord, Inskeep, Roller, Richardson, Eaton, Elliot and Lyman.
pany. He furthermore avered that McArthur, at least on one occasion, had been so anxious for postponement that he had exceeded the rules of propriety when presiding over the house.

This legislative session over which McArthur presided in the house, was not unlike many other sessions before and afterward. On February 3rd The Supporter announced that the legislature had adjourned on the 30th, "after a session of two months, which appears to have been spent to very little purpose. They have chartered seven new banks and erected six new counties; and have wasted so much of their time in windy warfare that they have passed but one single act of a general nature!"

During the summer there was a good deal of talk about McArthur as a candidate for governor at the fall elections. Worthington and McArthur had a squabble over the matter since Worthington, who wanted to be United States Senator, desired to get Morrow out of the way by making him governor. McArthur must have realized that his stand on the bank question would present too great a handicap for his undoubted

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(1) The Supporter, Sept. 9, 1818. Quoted from The Journal (Belmont).
(2) Ibid., Feb. 3, 1818.
(3) Ibid., July 29, 1818.
(4) McA. to Worthington, Fruit Hill, June 22, 1818, M.P. XXVIII, 5564.
popularity to overcome. At any rate on August 1st he denied that he would run for governor but announced that he would be a candidate for the state lower house. If it was his intention to sacrifice the risk of the higher position for the certainty of a seat in the legislature, he was doomed to disappointment. Ross County felt strongly on the bank question and McArthur ran a poor fifth at the polls. After this he was astute enough to stay out of politics for a few years until the affair had blown over. That the turn of affairs rankled, however, is apparent from a letter he wrote in 1820:

"I have discovered so much unworthy intrigue, envy and jealousy in those who have never attempted to render their country any service and so little respect paid to those who have with so much zeal devoted their all to its cause, that I have almost declined all idea of public service." (3)

This resolution was not kept. He was elected to the state Senate in the fall of 1821 and to the House of Representatives at Washington in the fall of the next year.

(1) The Supporter, Aug.5, 1818.
(2) Ibid., Oct. 2, 1818. With popular opinion in Ohio so strongly against the Bank, the legislature in February, 1819, levied a tax of $50,000 yearly on each branch. Osborn, state auditor, seized the tax from the Chillicothe branch. The Bank immediately brought suit questioning the constitutionality of the taxing bill, the Supreme Court decided the case against Ohio in 1824. The funds were then restored to the branch bank at Chillicothe. Hockett, H.C., An Outline of the Constitutional History of the United States, I, 145-7.
(4) McC. to Nancy McC., Columbus, Jan.1, 1822, M.P., XXX, 5934.
(5) McDonald, op.cit., 174.
McArthur went to Washington in the fall of 1823 to attend his first session of Congress. He went on horseback and found that mode of travel much easier and cheaper than the stage. His situation in Washington was not an unpleasant one although it is apparent if we read between the lines that McArthur never fully comprehended the tempo of Washington society. Anent himself he wrote to his wife in January as follows:

"My situation here is, however, as pleasant as I could have expected it. I am treated, throughout the circle of my acquaintances, with civility and attention; and am met with those professions of friendship, which are so common in high life, and among the great. And I have the vanity to believe, that those professions are as sincere toward me, as the most of the others. But with me, there is nothing in all this, like unto the smiles of 'wife, Children and friends.'

"Upon the first day of the month, and year I spent a few hours at the President’s levee and on the evening of the 6th an hour at Mrs. Adam’s levee, ball, or squeeze, and I do not know which to call it. At the first there were upwards of 1000 people of all ranks and sexes—who merely went to bow and cut the hair to Mr. and Mrs. Monroe and to each other, and wish a happy New Year. At the latter place there was an enormous crowd of gentlemen and ladies, bowing and nodding to each other. Genl. Jackson attended in person, and received the modes of hundreds. The officers of the Army and Navy, the foreign ministers, Charge de fairs and Consols, heads of departments, with their hundreds of clerks, members of Congress, etc., etc., pretly (1) generally attended, and altogether, appeared to carry on the nonsense in high style. Should I live to see you, I will endeavor to give you a better description of this great City, of its inhabitants, and their manners and customs." (2)

(1) Although McArthur consistently mispelled words, it is surprising to find that he never spelled a simple word like "pretty" correctly.
McArthur's actual services in this first session were few indeed. There are but two reports of his participation in the debates of the House. Both were on minor issues, one when he opposed an appropriation to build a north portico on the President's house, and the other when he spoke on his Virginia military land claims. He was disgusted with the way the house conducted itself, contending that because of the difficulty of hearing "little attention is paid to business and sometimes one half of the members are engaged in private conversation... many motions are made and questions decided on which many of the members never hear, understand, or know anything about." At the close of the session he served on a committee appointed to inquire into charges made against Wm. H. Crawford, the Secretary of the Treasury, by Ninian Edwards, a former Senator from Illinois. The house adjourned on May 27th but the committee had to stay on till June 21st when they exonerated Crawford.

(2) Abridgment of the Debates of Congress, VIII, 67. McArthur also handled routine business such as presenting petitions from constituents, using his influence to get appointments to West Point, etc. See M.P., XXXII, 6244-6.
(4) The Supporter and Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe) May 6, 1824.
from the charges. McArthur did not get home till the 27th.

He had been gone seven months.

The most interesting feature of McArthur's sojourn in Washington is the correspondence which he carried on with the various members of his family. These record the troubles incident to an average growing family, as well as the rather sentimental felling which McArthur manifested toward the various members of his household. The letters to his wife and to his youngest daughter Mary are particularly touching. On his birthday he wrote to Mrs. McArthur in the following words:

"By the above date, I am reminded the I have arrived at my fifty second year. And that more than half of that time we have been united, not only by marriage, but by the most fervent, and reciprocal feelings of the human heart. And there is nothing, in my old age, upon which my mind dwells with such delight as the recollection of 'the happy days that we have seen'--Yes, truly happy has many of them been, and much more happy would I be this night, were I at home with you and my Dear Children." (2)

One of the letters to Mary follows in part:

"I intend, when I set out for home, to buy a Doll for you and another for Eliza Ann, and some presents for your sister Nancy--I wish that she would send me word, what it must be. I will also send you and your sisters Books. In which you can read pretty little tales, that will make you merry. You must kiss your mother for me. And I will pay you in kisses, should I live to see you. Remember my love to your Mother and Sisters and little niece. You can do this, by saying

(1) The Supporter and Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe), July 1, 1834.
to them that your father desires you to remember his love to them. Your Mother, or sister Effie can lern you how to say it. And I hope that when your Mother or sister is writing to me that you will tell them to remember your love to me.

"Tell Nancy Dunn and Catty Craig to behave them-selves well, and that I will, perhaps, give them some little presents, when I come home." (1)

McArthur had interesting children. Soon after the war he had procured an appointment at West Point for his son, Thomas Jefferson McArthur. Young McArthur thoroughly loathed the school and his letters home to his father are classics, both of what a homesick boy will write as well as of obedience to parental wishes. For example in 1818, the boy wrote a letter pathetic enough to have melted a heart of stone:

"I am more dissatisfied than ever I was before but I hope it will not last long and I will endeavor to drive it away. Even in my dreams I wander over the mountains to a dear home and for awhile I am happy but alas! I awake and am disappointed. Let me ask you whether or not you will keep me here 2 years ifI prove to you that the course that I am studying is not at all conected with those I have learnt already. Answer me this and if your answer is contrary to my wishes I will try and content myself knowing my Fate but if it proves favorable I shall be happy in the first degree. I understand the theory of the Art of surveying prac-tise is all that is wanting to make me a surveyor it is a profession that I would be extremely fond of and in that line of business or in any other should you take me away from here I will endeavor to make myself as useful to you as possible. Two years seems very long two years time lost is a great hole in a mans life it will

certainly be lost to me I never expect to become a deep philosopher a practised engineer or an officer in the army which is the last profession in the world that I would choose a farmer's is the life for me. However do with me as you please my dear Father you are my Judge." (1)

Young McArthur graduated in 1820 and received the usual (2) commission as a second lieutenant. By that time he had changed his mind about army life and wished to remain in the service but his father would not hear of it, writing that whereas "the army would afford you an active life in time of war . . . in peace there are but few . . . who do not contract habits of indolence and dissipation." (3) In addition McArthur was anxious to have him as an aid in taking care of his business affairs.

One other interesting incident concerning Thomas Jefferson occurred while his father was in Washington. Mrs. McArthur had written to her husband that she was apprehensive lest her son should become too infatuated with a certain young lady. His answer is indicative of the fact that he was more responsive to the problems of youth than she was:

"You say," he writes, "that you believe Thomas is seriously in love with Miss Beauford and wishes to have my opinion on the subject of marrying her and that you

(1) Thomas J. McA. to his father, West Point, Sept. 6, 1818, M.P., XXVII, 5612.
(2) McA. to Calhoun, Chillicothe, Sept. 16, 1820, M.P., XXIX, 5609.
(4) McA. to Calhoun, ibid., 5609.
think her a very amicable girl, but ask how he is going to live? My Dear, can you have forgotten how we commenced the world? If they love each other as you and I did, will they not have as good a beginning, and may they not do as we have done? How we were to live, was no consideration with us, when young, and why should it be with them?" (1)

A younger son, Allen, was perhaps the most interesting of McAfee's eleven children. His letters seem to bubble with wit and vivacity. He was sent to school at Carlisle, (2) Pennsylvania, and complained particularly to his sister Effie about the lack of news from home:

"All the news contained in your last letter amounts to this 'father has gone to Congress and Helen is like to lose an eye,'" he contended. "The rest of this letter is copied nearly verbatim from the one written a few weeks before it. In answer to this send me a description of the new Belles of Chillicothe: both the strangers and those who have grown up or as the saying goes 'have come into market' since I left that place. And also tell me who have died, got married, or moved away within the last year . . . I intend to marry a fortune, as soon as I graduate, in the shape of a little, rosy checked, cross eyed, dumpling looking, Irish girl who is worth fifty thousand dollars in hard cask. And then make off to S. America and sell her for a slave and join the Patriots. Kercheval will give me all the political News you must give me the fashionable and James as soon as he gets well will give me, I've no doubt, a monthly magazine of Barnyard News. You and Tom must assist him to throw his news into the form of a journal at first, giving the date and circumstances attending the most remarkable events. In this manner I shall receive all the News of the place . . ."

"Tell Thos. J. I laugh every time I think of his ague fits." (3)

(2) C. Hays to McA., Carlisle, Sept. 8, 1823, M.P., XXXI, 6131.
(3) Allen to Effie, Carlisle, Dec. 8, 1823, M.P., XXXI, 6164.
As might be expected Allen soon caused his father no little worry. He easily ran through his allowance and then proceeded to pile up debts for what he considered to be his necessities. To take care of these obligation s he preferred to petition his mother, rather than to take a chance on the temper of his father. The process was merely a postponement, of course, since his father was soon aware of all the details. Allen then wrote directly to the elder McArthur in an attempt to get the first word in the matter:

"I have long expected a letter of severe reproof from you," he wrote, "for running in debt and applying to Mother for money to liquidate it without your knowledge.

"All that I can say in my defence is that I received but little money from home and stood in need of many things I bought them on credit. After I had got in debt all the money I received from home was paid to my creditors. But as the sum I received from home was very small my debt grew larger, before I was aware of it. A part of my debt, it is true, is for things for which I had no use but which was forced to buy in order to support the character of a gentleman's Son.

"I wrote to Mother by the advice of Dr. Hayes who thought that it would be better to obtain the money in that way than to vex you . . . Since I have found out that I am in debt I have scarcely left the College building for fear I should see something that I needed." (1)

McArthur paid the debts but remarked that Allen was certainly a "dear" son to him.

(1) Allen to his father, Carlisle, Feb. 12, 1824, M.E., XXXI, 6212.
McArthur's correspondence with his daughter Effie, while he was in Washington, is a particularly fine example of his failure to comprehend the haut monde of his day. Effie was interested, of course, in the parties, and what the women of the capitol wore, and the many other trifles which fascinate her sex. In answer to her interrogations, her father wrote the following reply:

"As for the manners and customs of the City, I can say but little in their favor. I have never attended but two of those fashionable levees or squeezes. Therooms were so crowded, that it was with difficulty that a person could turn themselves around. Ladies and Gentlemen mixed. The fashionable manner of dressing is to go half-naked—the neck breasts and shoulder blades bare, and the dresses so constructed as to enable a person who is near and above them to see more than half way down the back or front of the lady, from the upper part of her dress. Indeed it would not be thought by a backwoodsman, much more immodest, for to see a woman enter a company naked. This City, would be the last place that I could wish to see a wife, a daughter, or female relation. Not but what I believe there are many virtuous, good and worthy women here. But I cannot but think, their manner of dressing, or rather of going naked, and of crowded (ing) together, improper. It is to me truly disgusting.

"I write this hasty scrawl at my seat, during a debate and it is very inaccurate in style and arrangement." (1)

After he had written this letter his conscience got the better of him and he began to wonder whether it was entirely proper for even a father to speak in such bold terms to a daughter.

So the next day he wrote a letter to his wife inclosing Effie's letter with it:

My dear Wife:

The enclose I wrote in haste at my seat in the ball last evening and intended, in part, as answer to Effie's letter --But I do not know that she ought to read it. You will be pleased to read it first, and if you think it unfit for her, you will burn it."

Even though McArthur did not care for Washington society he enjoyed the prestige which his official position brought him. In addition, his attendance in Congress was a great business advantage since his land indemnity bill was before that body. Consequently he was eager to run for re-election in the fall of 1824. His opponent was James Thompson and the campaign saw McArthur's past life thoroughly reviewed. Both candidates sparred for the support of the electorate by coming out in favor of the tariff and internal improvements. McArthur lost the support of the Worthington faction, which was very powerful in Ross County politics. The particular cause of the Worthington-McArthur squabble seems to run back to a controversy arising

(2) See Chapter Five
(3) The Supporter and Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe), July 22, 1824.
(4) For Thompson's views see ibid., Sept. 30, 1824.
out of the proposed canal from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. Worthington had long been a proponent of canals. One historian has given him the credit for introducing the question of internal improvements into American politics when in 1807 he introduced a resolution a propos this subject in the Senate at Washington. Around 1820 agitation for a canal had become widespread in Ohio and committees were appointed by the legislature to look into its feasibility. A little later, when McArthur was a state senator and Worthington a member of the state lower house, a struggle took place between the two over the appointment of one of the canal commissioners. McArthur wanted the district between the Scioto and Miami Rivers to be represented, and favored Allen Trimble for the position. Worthington advocated one John Johnson of Piqua for the job. Whether personal matters entered into the question or not is not apparent, but Worthington had noticeably cooled toward McArthur because of the latter's criticisms in the senate of the work of the board of commissioners, of which Worthington was and had been a member. McArthur contended that at least four out

(1) Randall and Ryan, op. cit., III, 336.
(2) Ibid., 340 ff.
(3) Columbus Gazette, Jan. 30, 1823.
(4) Chillicothe Times, Oct. 6, 1824.
(5) Ibid.
of the seven commissioners had said much but actually done little, and he suggested that a new board be appointed, retaining only those who had performed their duties. He remarked that he was aware that this suggestion would draw upon him the resentment of some great men, and perhaps some of his neighbors, "whose names are now going the grand rounds, in thousands of pamphlets and tens of thousands of newspapers, and who are considered the founders and supporters . . . of the Ohio Canal, but who in fact by neglect of their duties have essentially retarded its progress." McArthur added that insinuations were being made that he was unfriendly to the interests of the Scioto valley; he denied this by stating that this could not be so since most of his lands were in Ross and Pickaway counties.

If we are to understand the campaign in the fall of 1824 it is necessary to mention not only this canal controversy but also McArthur's attempt to get a bill through Congress indemnifying himself for land in the Virginia military district which he contended had been illegally sold by the United States. There can be no doubt that one of the reasons for his desire to be in Washington, was to exercise personal jurisdiction over this measure.

(1) Worthington's home, Adena, and Fruit Hill, were about a half mile distant from each other. Worthington had published much material in favor of the canal. The reference here is undoubtedly to him and would have been clear to the newspaper reader of that day.

(2) Columbus Gazette, Jan. 30, 1823.

(3) The bill ultimately passed in 1830 and McArthur was indemnified to the extent of approximately $80,000. See Chapter Five.
The campaign itself was a mud-slinging one. Late in September there appeared in the *Chillicothe Times* an open letter from "A Voter" to McArthur. This anonymous letter stated that he had no doubt but that the late interrogatories to John Thompson and Thomas Worthington appearing in public print "were either written, dictated or advised by yourself." Since Worthington had been asked "if his object in going to the state legislature is not for the purpose of standing a poll for the Senate of the United States," Voter states that it is his right and privilege to ask you in turn, what is your object in going to Congress, and--First--Is it for the purpose of extending to the National Govt., the aid of your powerful mind, in giving a sound construction to the Constitution of the United States, upon the great question upon which you are pleased to say 'our wisest and best statesmen differ'; whether Congress possess the Constitutional power to appropriate the public money for the purposes of constructing roads and digging canals through the different states—or is it not rather from the connection that they do possess the power to appropriate forty or fifty thousand dollars to reward you for your eminent services in officiously intermeddling and locating your land warrants upon their lands?

"Second--Upon which of the three following great national subjects before Congress at their last session, did you feel the most lively and patriotic interest--the Tariff bill--the internal improvement bill--or the bill authorizing the appointment of commissioners to assess the value of land located by you between Roberts and Ludlows lines. (1)

"Third--Should you succeed in getting commissioners appointed of your desirable kind, how much do you

(1) McArthur's claims were between these lines.
expect to make by this great national speculation? How much of the people's money will your conscience suffer you to vote into your own pocket in addition to the eight dollars per day (1) to reward you for this first invaluable patriotic manoeuvre, this first example of your sterling worth as their faithful representative?

"Fourth--What part of your time have you appropriated at the city, and what part (if elected) do you intend appropriating to public business, as contra distinguished from you own; or do you intend to keep them so conjoined . . . that they shall mutually assist each other? . . ."

"Sixth--Do you not in fact find it extremely convenient to be there upon the spot at the people's rate of eight dollars per day, correcting and returning your plats and certificates, getting out your patents examining the offices, and hunting up new speculations and frankly loading the mail against a new offering?

"Seventh--Have you not expressed yourself as decisively opposed to this state's attempting to make a canal at all? if not are you not opposed to the undertaking by means of taxation; and as you say "actions speak louder than words," what satisfactory explanation can you give for your legislative conduct upon that subject, especially as touching the amount of tax assessed upon yourself?. . ."

If this communication is written in vigorous language McArthur was well qualified to answer in like fashion. He responded in the next issue of the paper denying that he had either written or advised any interrogatories in the papers addressed to Worthington and Thompson. Relative to internal improvements he stated that his vote on the bill in their favor was enough

(1) The daily pay of a member of the House of Representatives.
(2) Chillicothe Times, Sept. 29, 1824.
to indicate that he favored the appropriation, by Congress of money for the purpose of constructing roads and canals through the different states. If elected he stated that he would favor a canal from the Ohio River to the tidewater of the Potomac. Relative to the Ohio Canal, where an obvious attempt had been made by "Voter" to prove that McArthur was opposed to it, he made the following statement:

"I have never expressed my opinion against the Ohio Canal. On the contrary I have, most cordially given it all the support in my power, as will be seen in the journals and proceedings of the senate for the last two years that I had the honor of a seat there. Unless indeed, my supporting of General Allen Trimble in 1822-23 for a Canal commissioner, in preference to John Johnson of Piqua, and my proposition to dismiss such of the Canal commissioners as had neglected their duty, can be construed into an opposition to the Canal. It is however, quite possible that I may have been mistaken as to the interests of the Scioto valley and of my constituents in supporting Gen. Trimble in preference to Col. Johnson, as a very great man and a near neighbor of mine, (1) has recently told you, that he considered Mr. Johnson much better qualified to discharge the duties of a Canal commissioner than Gen. Trimble, and has since seen no reason to change his opinion. Whether this reason has been offered by way of an apology for his then opposition to Gen. Trimble, or with a view to injure his present election, (2) I will not pretend to determine. But I should not be much disappointed, if the vote of the good people of this county should on next Tuesday week, prove that they have yet as much respect for the abilities and integrity of General Trimble as they have for those of the gentlemen, who seem to value them so highly . . . . It is my sincere wish that the Ohio Canal may progress, in the manner best calculated to insure success."

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(1) Obviously he means Worthington.
(2) Trimble was running against Morrow for governor. The latter was elected.
Relative to his land claims McArthur contended that the subject had bothered only the envious and little-minded.

"'A Voter' would feign induce a belief," says he, "that I have taken these lands from the United States—what pity that this great man could not have been present at the hearing of the cause, to have defended these poor United States, from such imposition! He is really no doubt, one of those would-be-thought 'good and great men' who . . . has often laboured to induce a belief, that I have been in the habit of taking other people's land. But I have reason to thank Heaven, that neither 'A Voter' nor the most malignant fiend of his party, can make it appear that I have ever made an attempt to take . . . any land . . . which has not upon a fair hearing either by a decree of a court, or the verdict of a jury declared to be justly mine."

As to his dealings in land, which had been going on for almost thirty years, he stated that he honestly believed that he had as much right by his side in so doing as the other had to deal in hogs or cattle, or a third to peddle law; and that the one might deal as honestly as the other." (1) He denied that he felt more interest in his own land bill than he did in the tariff or internal improvement bills and contended, quite sagaciously, that "A Voter" would not be so scrupulous about the question if he owned several thousand acres between Roberts and Ludlow lines. (2)

It would appear that these were a full share of accusations for one campaign but one more appeared in the same issue.

(1) It is not clear whether he is speaking generally or ad hominem.
(2) Chillicothe Times, Oct. 6, 1824.
in which McArthur answered "A Voter." It follows in part:

"Among the mail loads of papers and pamphlets which our Representative to Congress, Gen. Duncan McArthur, during the last session so lavishly distributed at Govt. expense, was his address to his constituents, upon the state of the Nation and his course as their representative. This address has been cited by many, not only as proof of the General's intelligence and attention to public business, but also of his ability as a writer: but with what countenance can the General and his friends now endure to be told, that the address in all its material parts, is copied verbatim from one written and sent to his constituents by the Hon. John W. Taylor, a Representative from the State of New York."

Mr. Taylor's address was dated at Washington on January 4th, 1824 whereas McArthur's bore the date of January 14 the same year. Nevertheless both were published in the Olive Branch for October second and this writer contends that

"most of the paragraphs are word for word; but it is really laughable to see where the General has attempted to deviate from Mr. Taylor ... this thing of one man's filching the writings of another and palming them upon the public as his own, was considered the lowest species of meanness even among the Grub street scribbler; but what are we to think of a man affecting to stand high in public confidence who will thus be guilty of it ... it is much easier my friends to copy than invent --- and who would have dreamt that ever John W. Taylor's address to his constituents would have been seen in Ohio?"

McArthur answered this new charge in the same issue. He offered an excuse which sounds plausible enough. He said that although the circulars have different dates they were both

(1) Guid Ridge to Mr. Printers, Chillicothe Times, Oct. 6, 1824.
written at the same time and at the same table. The ob-
ject of both men was to communicate information and mater-
ial taken from the reports and proceedings of Congress. Con-
sequently, explained McArthur, "mine was submitted to him and
his to me, for examination and correction: as so far as we
treated on the same subjects, the same ideas and nearly the
same language was adopted. Where the language was different
each adopted his own ideas and language as may be seen by
a fair comparison of the Circulars." McArthur concluded by
saying that were not election day so near he would have ob-
tained a certificate from Taylor showing that there was no
(1) plagiarism in this matter.

This campaign of scurrility proved to be a successful
one for McArthur's enemies. Thompson defeated McArthur at
the election by a good majority. It is probably that the
false accusation made by his enemies, that he was opposed to
the canal, had done more harm than all the others. His oppo-
sition to Worthington on matters of detail had probably en-
gendered the feeling that he was hedging on the canal ques-
tion. There seems little doubt that the opposition of Wor-
thington brought about his defeat. This appears to be clear

(1) McA. to Gudl Rides, ibid.
(2) The Supporter and Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe), Oct. 21,
1824; Columbus Gazette, Dec. 4, 1824.
from a letter which James McDonald, at his home in Tennessee, wrote to McArthur:

"I am truly sorry to learn that so contemptible a fellow as John Thompson beat you for Congress, but I presume he has but little credit in the affair himself, and no doubt he is indebted to Worthington and his friends for your defeat. Those that sail in politics sail on a boisterous ocean and must calculate on shipwreck, after making many prosperous voyages." (1)

McArthur's career as a lame duck congressman would have been as uneventful as his first session experience had it not been for the exciting presidential contest of that year. He had been a strong supporter as well as a personal friend of Henry Clay for many years. In the campaign of 1824 he supported Clay and contributed to the success of the electoral ticket in Ohio. (2) It will be remembered, however, that no candidate had a majority in that year, Jackson having 99, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37 electoral votes. (3) As a result the election went to the House, where an exciting struggle ensued. The Ohio delegation had to choose between Adams, Jackson and Crawford, since Clay had not been among the three highest in number of electoral votes. The feeling of the proper-

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(1) McDonald to MoA., Hermitage, Tennessee, Nov. 29, 1824, M.F. XXXII, 6365,6366.
(2) Columbus Gazette, Jan. 9, 1824; The Supporter and Scioto Gazette (Chillicothe), Nov. 18, 1824.
(3) Hockett, H. C., Political and Social History of the United States, 1492-1828, 394.
tied class, to which McArthur belonged is well illus-
trated by two letters which he received about his time. One
was from Allen Trimble regretting that Clay had been ex-
cluded from consideration by the House and stating that
among the other three the "reflecting" part of the people
of Ohio would prefer Adams to Jackson, but I have no doubt
but Jackson would in an election, have a majority of victors.
Crawford is not spoken of here, for one I would not be
sorry should he be President." (1) Samuel Massey, who op-
erated the Marble Iron Works in which McArthur had invested
heavily, wrote that he believed Adams would be the choice of
the men of property and that he was surely a safer man than
Jackson.

Clay would obviously exert an important influence in
the final outcome since the three states which had supported
him would be likely to vote as he wished. The physical dis-
ability of Crawford, however, due to a stroke of paralysis,
narrowed the contest to two men, Adams and Jackson, with the
Crawford states (Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and Del-
aware) exerting as important an influence as those pledged
to Clay. Clay disliked Jackson for his militaristic tenden-

(1) Trimble to McA., Columbus, Dec. 22, 1824, M.P., XXXIII,
6395.
cies, and he was much closer to Adams on the fundamental principles of the "American System." However, Clay maintained a strict silence as to his views and did not make them known until some of the western delegations had already decided to support Adams.

It was a surprise to many when enough doubtful states supported Adams on the first ballot, in addition to the Clay states, to elect him without further ado. The Ohio delegation cast its support for him, 10 of its delegation voting in his favor, 2 for Crawford and 2 for Jackson. Since Clay became Secretary of State in the Adams cabinet it was later charged by Jackson that there had been a "corrupt bargain" between the two. When this charge became particularly widespread in 1827 McArthur took the trouble to deny it in a letter which clearly illustrates the evolution of his decision to vote for Adams:

"It is well known that, when it was ascertained that Mr. Clay would not be one of the three highest persons voted for by the Electoral College, for the Office of President, my next choice was Mr. Crawford. Had it not been for the ill health of that gentleman, and the little prospect there was of his ultimate success, several of the Ohio delegation besides myself, would have given him their support! . . . . When the Election devolved upon

(1) Hockett, op. cit., 394.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Roseboom, Eugene H., Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824, 220.
the House, it was evident to all, that the contest must ultimately lie between Mr. Adams and Genl. Jackson. And although so much has been said and written in order to induce a belief, that Mr. Clay had transfered his friends to Mr. Adams, the fact is that the Ohio delegation, (or at least a large majority of them) were the first of Mr. Clay's friends who came to the determination of voting for Mr. Adams, and that too, without having ascertained Mr. Clay's views on the subject.

"Ohio had interests at stake, which could not under any circumstances be abandoned or jeopardized. The course which Genl. Jackson and many of his friends had pursued in Congress, with regard to Internal Improvements and the Bill for the revision of the Tariff, and indeed, in relation to almost every measure which we deemed of importance to the country generally, and more particularly to the Western States, put it out of our power to support the pretentions of the General, without at the same time, abandoning what we conscientiously believed to be our duty. On the other hand it was evident, that for the support of those measures, our only reliance was upon the friends of Mr. Adams, the identity of interest between the Northern and Western States, and the liberality of the Eastern members of Congress." (1)

McArthur's vote in the House was thus exactly in line with the action one would expect from a propertied man residing in the west. We shall see later that his stand on this question antagonized the Jackson forces, who were able to postpone action on McArthur's land claims. This situation was to cause McArthur no end of worry and trouble.

This period of McArthur's public service was far more fruitful than his contributions as a military commander. His labor as an Indian Commissioner, if marked by the usual dis-
imulation used in such negotiations, resulted in important land sessions. His position on the United States Bank question was disastrous politically but sound in its financial implications. His flouting of public opinion in this matter indicated that he was no trimmer when fundamental issues were involved. His vote in the Presidential election represented the opinion of the propertied class in the west. This class was soon to be eclipsed politically due to the rise of those popular elements in the population which constituted the backbone of Jacksonianism. McArthur's defeat for reelection in the fall of 1824 presaged the approaching storm. The letters which he wrote to different members of his family during this period manifest a benignity which is not apparent in his military and political activities.
CHAPTER FIVE

LAND SPECULATION

Duncan McArthur was often accused of shady, if not illicit dealing, in land. We have already seen that accusations of this nature handicapped him in some of his political ventures. Certain it is that he was known throughout the state as a man of great landed wealth. In order to understand the methods by which this land was acquired it is first necessary to inquire into the Virginia Military District, situated in Ohio.

At the time of the Revolution several of the original states claimed land in the West. Virginia based her claims on two grounds. One was the provision of her ancient charter and the other the conquest of part of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark. It was contended by many that the charter claims were nullified by the Quebec Act of 1774. Even if this were so, Virginia could still claim the territory south of Michigan on the basis of the Clark expedition. Clark had been commissioned by Governor Henry of Virginia and the expenses of the expedition were

largely met by that state. It sounded valid enough during the Revolution to claim the benefits of such a campaign, although it was part and parcel of the great struggle in which all the states were fighting for a common cause.

When the Articles of Confederation were up for adoption Maryland refused to ratify unless the claimant states surrendered their western lands. She won her struggle and the states involved, including Virginia, ceded their western lands to Congress, although the cessions were not completed until 1802. Virginia completed her cession in 1784, incorporating certain conditions into the deed. One of these provided that any deficiency in the lands granted in Kentucky to satisfy military bounties should be made up in Ohio, somewhere between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers. It was soon seen that this military reserve was going to cause an unconscionable amount of trouble.

The conditioning clause in the Virginia cession was not only drawn carelessly, but the reservation was uncertain in extent. During the War, Virginia had found money bounties to be insufficient encouragement for enlistment, and in 1779 and 1780 was offering not only money but land and slaves as well. These additional bounties were finally

(1) Treat, op. cit., 326
(2) Hockett, op. cit., 187
(3) Ibid., 327, 320
offered to all troops, State and Continental, army and navy. The land bounties offered ranged from the 15,000 acres given a major general, to the 300 acres offered to a private who would enlist for the duration of the War. (1)

In 1778 Virginia had set apart a military reserve in Kentucky. Five years later authorization was given to the surveyors to locate warrants in the Ohio territory, between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers, after the good land in Kentucky was exhausted. The deed of cession, made in 1784, contained the same clause. The catch was in the term "good lands." As will be explained later, Virginia used the indiscriminate system of surveys. This meant that the surveys were irregular in shape and were purposely made so in order to contain only the good land, leaving out the bad. Obviously, with such a system, there would not be enough "good land" in Kentucky to satisfy the numerous bounty claims of Virginia soldiers. The matter was still further complicated by Indian titles in Kentucky. (2)

At first it was decided to reserve the Ohio land, situated between the two rivers previously mentioned, until the Virginia claims were settled. But Congress was insistent that no warrants should be located in Ohio by Virginia soldiers until there was a deficiency of "good land" in Kentucky. After a time, however, agents of the soldiers

(1) Treat, op.cit., 329
(2) Ibid., 330.
became so insistent that Congress decided, on August 10, 1790, to open the reserve to locations. Since the United States military bounty lands were not set apart until 1796, this was the first act of Congress under the Constitution, relative to the disposal of public lands.

Although the title to the land was vested in the United States, it was left to Virginia to decide what system of survey she would use therein. As a result she adopted the system with which she was most familiar, i.e. the plan of indiscriminate locations. This meant the addition of many more complications to the existing confusion because it meant the adoption of the geodetic system of survey, rather than the rectangular, which was used with such success later in the disposal of the lands belonging to the United States. This system is described by one authority as follows:

"This implied that the surveyor, starting from an initial point, described by metes and bounds, courses and distances, a given portion of land to be covered by the warrant. . . . Natural objects of a non-permanent character such as trees, stakes and rocks were mentioned as distinctive boundary marks. These disappeared with the passage of time, and, since hurried, inaccurate surveys were not uncommon, future owners, knowing only the quantity of land that they supposed that they had purchased, were at a complete loss if required to prove that their boundary fences were accurately placed. There was some protest against the continued use of a system so fraught with confusion but no change was made

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(1) Treut, _op.cit._, 332.
(2) Hutchinson, W. T. _The Bounty Lands of the American Revolution in Ohio_, 106. Referred to hereafter as Hutchinson.
during the life of the Virginia Military District. Rapidity of settlement and rich farms surrounded by waste land would appear to be the only advantage of this method, when compared with the rectangular system used in the public domain of the central government. (1)

Numbers of such surveys are found among the McArthur Papers at Washington. The following is a typical example:

"Surveyed for William Evans 440 Acres of Land on part of a Military Warrant No. 247 on the Waters of the East Branch of the Main Fork of point Creek, Beginning at Two Elms and Two Black Oaks, 30 poles North of a Cherry Tree, marked on the East side MD and on the West Side 1798 Running West 100 poles Crossing a Branch at 40 poles to a Stake Thence S 440 poles to Three Black Oaks, thence West to 162 poles Crossing a Branch at 20 poles to Four Hickories and a Black Oak, thence NE 440 poles to Three White Oaks, thence East 62 poles to the Beginning.

Duncan McArthur, Deputy Surveyor, August 1st, 1799" (2)

The advantage of the prior system of survey used on the United States lands, over this Virginia method are apparent. It not only provided definite bounds, with no danger or possibility of overlapping claims between landholders, but there was no chance of lost or forgotten bounds.

Before the Virginia soldier actually acquired his land he had to engage in five separate actions. First he received a Certificate certifying his rank and length of service, signed by the Governor and the investigating Officer, and directing him to the Register of the Land Office. Then he exchanged the Certificate for a Military Bounty Land

(1) Hutchinson, 123.  
(2) M.P., I, 28.  
(3) Treat, op. cit., 179.  
(4) Hutchinson, 108.
Warrant, directed to the Principal Surveyor and authorizing him to survey in one or more surveys the amount of land stipulated in the warrant. This was the second step. The third comprised the entry of the amount of land called for in the warrant, or part of it, in the Entry Book kept at the Principal Surveyor's Office. This meant that a certain amount of vacant land had been appropriated by the owner of the warrant and gave, in crude fashion, its location and boundaries. These entries were supposed to be accurate enough to forestall other entries on the same tract of land, but this often occurred, entailing endless litigation. The fourth step was completed when the authorized surveyor had authenticated the boundaries, and made a small plat of the tract. This was placed in the Survey Books of the District. Due to the vagueness of these entries, as well as the method of survey used, duplication and overlapping resulted, which meant contentions at law in many cases. After the survey had been completed a certified copy was sent by the Principal Surveyor to the Secretary of War for Patent. If the latter was satisfied that all the requirements had been met, he issued a deed, signed by the President. This completed the last step in the long process by which the soldier finally acquired his bounty land.

(1) Hutchinson, 103.
(2) Ibid., 111.
(3) Ibid., 112, 113.
(4) Ibid., 117, 118.
(5) Ibid., 124, 125.
The warrant which the soldier obtained, in the second step outlined above, was made out in his own name but he could sell it, use it in the payment of his debts, or transmit it by will. This freedom of disposal naturally resulted in widespread speculation. The surveyors who were earliest in the field—such as Robert Todd, John O'bannion, Nathaniel Massie, Simon Kenton, Arthur Fox, John Hardin, and a little later, Duncan McArthur—became great landowners since land was the only means by which most of the warrant holders could pay the surveyors for their services. A fee, varying from one quarter to one half of the area covered by the warrant was the customary charge.

We have already seen that McArthur accompanied Massie on a surveying expedition in 1796 which resulted in the laying out of the town of Chillicothe. Most of the land around these town centers was held by absentee owners, and was rented out to tenants. Soon after Chillicothe was laid out McArthur was appointed a deputy surveyor to assist Richard C. Anderson, Principal Surveyor of the Virginia Military District. In this capacity he was associated with Nathaniel Massie, James Lytle, James Taylor, and Lucas Sullivan. These men could not resist the temptation to speculate as they worked, and soon became the largest landowners.

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(1) Hutchinson, 108; Treat, op. cit., 333.
(2) Treat, ibid.; Hutchinson, 117.
(3) Hutchinson, 115, 116. Hutchinson has tabulated McArthur's fees showing that they varied from one-quarter to one-half between 1804 and 1837.
(4) Hutchinson, 185.
in the Virginia Military District. They not only received land as fees for their surveying but they were able to buy warrants cheaply from Virginia soldiers who needed the ready cash. As a result, out of the 3,900,000 acres in the District approximately one-fourth, or about a million acres, was patented by twenty-two persons. In this list of twenty-two, McArthur ranked third with 90,947 acres, surpassed only by James Taylor and Cadwallader Wallace who owned approximately 118,000 acres apiece.

These large speculators were not only the western agents of absentee land owners who wished their warrants located on good land, but they often maintained partners in the East themselves to keep a sharp watch for cheap warrants and bounty certificates, as well as land purchasers. As early as 1797, when Thomas Worthington was still living in Shepherdstown, Virginia, he and McArthur were in correspondence as partners. Thus in that year we find McArthur writing to Worthington for warrants—"if you have any warrants on hand," he wrote, "please give me notice, I have made som discoveries and can make a few Entries to a good advantage." Robert Means of Richmond, before his death in 1808, was also an Eastern

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(1) Hutchinson, 195.
(2) Ibid., 196, 197.
(3) Ibid., 198.
(4) McA. to Worthington, Nov. 17, 1797, W.P. Later in 1806, the two had an agreement by which McArthur located and Worthington purchased the warrants, each paying one-half. M.P., L.
partner of McArthur. Although the reports of the unhealthiness of the Ohio country and the rumor of an impending Indian War, as well as economic distress in Virginia after 1800, forced many soldiers to sell their warrants, the hatred of negroes and the fear of war with England inclined many to emigrate from Virginia to Ohio. As a result the price of warrants was increased because of the demand for them. Means boasted that few warrants were issued except those passing through his hands, but he found himself hard put for available cash most of the time.

McArthur and Means worked under the same sort of arrangement that the former and Worthington had agreed upon, i.e., the one purchased and the other located the warrants, sharing equally the purchase price. The average cost per acre of the warrants purchased did not exceed twenty-five cents. In 1807 the two speculators concocted a plan to corner all the available warrants, which they wished to locate north of the Greenville Treaty Line upon land on which the Indian title still remained. The death of Means, in addition to the threatened war with England

(1) Hutchinson, 201, 202. Means mentions that emigration to Ohio will be great if war comes, because of the "Black and White Enemy." M.P. II, 222, 223.
(7) Means worked hard procuring warrants, on one occasion making a trip of 250 miles in the summer and scorching all the skin off his neck and face. (M.P., I, 140, 141). He evidently taxed his strength too much.
and the Indians, broke up their plan, but not before Means had made a considerable number of entries there. These were subsequently held to be invalid, and the land involved was not opened for entry till July 4, 1819. The lands in the Virginia Military District were taxed by the State of Ohio and if the taxes were delinquent over a period of two years, the land was sold by the state. Frequent law suits resulted from such sales because the central government refused to recognize titles acquired in this fashion, and often presented the warrant to the original owner, even though Ohio had already sold the land to another person for back taxes. Absentee owners of land in the Virginia Military District usually employed agents residing in Ohio to pay their taxes. McArthur not only was employed by many in this connection, but he purchased great quantities of land at tax sales. Law suits were the bane of the speculator's life, but in the case of litigation arising out of tax sales, it would appear (says Hutchinson) that "situations were invited in which appeals to courts would be necessary. They seem to have been regarded as a form of investment by which choice land might be won on the basis of a dubious title. They were useful instruments in the hands of a man of wealth since the threat of court proceedings would often force a poor man to yield the point at issue, in order to

(1) Hutchinson, 211.
(2) Ibid., 204.
(3) Numerous examples are to be found scattered throughout the McArthur papers at Washington.
avoid the expense." Hutchinson also asserts that Mc-
Arthur had more cases in court than the average land deal-
er. The chief causes for these suits were disputes over
the ownership of entries, conflict of title, disputed con-
tracts, recovery of land, unpaid surveyor's fees, and
(2) ejection suits. McArthur's enemies asserted that his
business was carrying on suits at law. Many letters in
the McArthur collection would indicate, however, that the
way of the speculator in the early 19th century was often
as hard as that of some of his ilk in these days following
the crash of the stock market in 1929. Taxes were high,
losses were often incurred when land was sold for taxes,
and law suits were expensive. In addition these men were
often land poor, finding themselves unable to sell when
(3) money was needed. The following letter written in 1823,
indicates that McArthur's situation was not always a rosy
one:

"And although I am reputed to have much property
and have indeed considerable wild lands, it is now of
little value, and the annual taxes on it amount to
more than the sales. I now owe upon my own account
about 12,000$, above 3000$ of which is on interest,
and subject to be collected by suit, at any time
when my creditors may think proper. -- There is much of
the land which I claim, encumbered by interfering
claims. And I am continually harrassed with the
trouble and expense of lawsuits. I am even defend-
ing, without much probability of success, the better
part of the land composing my home farm. -- Should I
be able, at the close of my business, to retain the
home farm, that at the mouth of Darby's Creek and my

(1) Hutchinson, 207.
(2) Ibid., 207, 208.
(3) Ibid., 201.
interest in the Furnace, I shall be content and would now be willing to relinquish all my other
lands and property for the payment of my debts."

The dispute which caused McArthur the most anxiety
and trouble occurred over the northwestern boundary of
the Virginia Military District. This litigation was
carried into the halls of Congress and cases involving it
were decided by the Supreme Court. The matter kept Mc-
Arthur busy for over twenty years, necessitating his pres-
ence at Washington for several sessions of Congress. The
altercation involved the western boundary of the district
reserved by Virginia. This was supposed to be the Little
Miami River, whereas the eastern portion was bounded by
the Scioto River. By stretching matters, however, it
could be contended that the source of the Scioto was actu-
ally west of the Little Miami, as is readily seen in the
accompanying map. Furthermore, the source of the latter
river was disputed, many warrant holders naturally hold-
ing for the source farthest to the west. In 1802 Will-
iam Ludlow ran a line from the source of the Little Miami
toward the Scioto as far as the Indian boundary line.
Congress accepted this survey two years later, but Virginia
failed to act on the question and the matter rested there
until 1812. (3) Meanwhile many speculators, including Mc-

(1)McA. to ?, Aug. 11, 1823, M.P., XXXI, 6121, 6122. Quoted
in Hutchinson, 207.
(2)Hutchinson, 212.
(3)Treat, op. cit., 334.
Arthur, made locations west of Ludlow's line, on the assumption that Virginia would claim lands west of it. These locations were for the most part upon land already surveyed and sold by the United States. The plan of Means and McArthur, mentioned previously, to corner warrants in 1807-1808 was probably concerned with this land west of Ludlow's line. In 1812 the two governments agreed upon a joint surveying party and a new line was run by Charles Robert. This line was west of that run by Ludlow and included in the Virginia Military District about 55,000 additional acres. Again Virginia refused to agree and in 1810 Congress established a new boundary. This was comprised of the Ludlow line as far as the old Indian boundary line, and the Roberts line from there to the source of the Scioto.

Although Virginia refused to give her approval to this new line, the Commissioner of the General Land Office held it to be valid and most of the locators, like Cadwallader Wallace, James Galloway and Walter Dun withdrew their entries in the territory west of this line. McArthur, however, refused to give up so easily and was able to establish his claims after a running struggle which lasted more than a decade.

(1) Hutchinson, 214.
(2) Treat, ibid., 334, 335.
(3) Hutchinson, 215.
Before he finished with this business McArthur was to feel that he was often the victim of injustice. In May of 1812, when the war department was slow in issuing patents, as well as in coming to an agreement with Virginia relative to the western boundary of the military district, he had written to Worthington his opinion of the action of the government:

"I have raised more volunteers than all the state of Ohio besides. Yet I find that my business in the war office is neglected. I wish much it could be otherwise. I shall ever feel willing to defend a Government that will not neglect my rights. I do not make these observations from a wish to bost or banter. Yet I seriously feel that my business has been neglected..." (1)

McArthur breathed easier when in an agreed case the Supreme Court held, in 1824, that the Virginia locations west of the Ludlow line were valid if made prior to June 26, 1812. (2) Following on this decision, Congress appointed a commission of three men to value the lands between the Roberts and Ludlow lines. McArthur had located a total of 13,375 acres there which the commissioners valued at $60,940.25. McArthur agreed to sell them to the United States for that amount. (3) It would seem as if everything should now have

(1)McA. to Worthington, Fruit Hill, May 20, 1812, W.P.
(4)Ibid., 6376; American State Papers, Public Lands, IV, 71-75.
been settled readily, but in reality the fight had just
started. Wallace, Dun, and Galloway, the speculators who
had withdrawn their claims after the new line had been laid
down in 1818, were highly incensed at McArthur's success
in a district from which they had withdrawn. They beseeched
Congress with petitions and memorials protesting Mc-
Arthur's claims. McArthur wrote his wife that these mem-
orials of "Dun, Wallace, and Co." came in almost every day.
"They contain many base and malicious falsehoods well-calcul-
ated to prevent Congress from settling my claims; and they
may have that effect." McArthur hated these men with all
his soul and it does appear that their opposition was prompt-
ed largely by envy. On one occasion he wrote to his son
that should he succeed "envy will nigh destroy these misera-
able wretches. We must at all events, hereafter keep aloof
from these envious wretches."

From the short session of 1824-25 till 1831, when the
affair was finally settled, the story is one of the "lobby-
ing, mutual recrimination, and dogged perseverance of Mc-
Arthur and his foes . . ." In the spring of 1825 the

(1) Memorial of Doddridge to Congress, M.P., XXXVI, 7129-36;
McA. to Nancy, Washington, Jan. 9, 1825, M.P., XXXIII,
6426, 6427.
(2) It will be remembered that McArthur represented Ross
county in Congress from 1823 to 1825.
(3) McA. to Nancy, Washington, Jan. 9, 1825, M.P., XXXIII,
6426, 6427.
(4) McA. to Thomas Jefferson McArthur, Washington, Dec. 22,
1824, M.P., XXXIII, 6397.
(5) Hutchinson, 217.
indemnity bill passed the House but "Dun, Wallace and Co.," were successful in postponing its consideration in the Senate until it was too late in the session for a note on the measure. It appears that McArthur's speculator enemies also received the support of Major Eaton and other Jacksonians. The latter had been angered by "the active part Mr. Clay's friends took against Genl. Jackson in favor of Mr. Adams . . . " McArthur then brought suits of ejectment against "Wallace, Dun, and Co.," and others who held land purchased from the United States on locations in the disputed area which he had made before June 26, 1812. The object of these suits was to force Congress to pass the indemnity bill. McArthur knew that the federal government would not allow the land holders involved to be ejected.

A topographical survey was ordered by the state court before whom the suits of ejectment had been brought, in order to determine the real source of both the Little Miami and Scioto Rivers. Wallace received the appointment to serve as the Agent of the United States Treasury in this survey. McArthur was, of course, highly disgusted at this turn of affairs and believed it was the intention of Wallace to

(1) Memorial of Doddridge to Congress, M.P., XXXVII, 7129-7136.
(2) J. McDonald to McArthur, Hermitage, Tennessee, April 10, 1825. M.P., XXXIII, 6487. It will be remembered that McArthur and nine others of the Ohio delegation had voted for Adams in the election for President in the House (1825).
(3) M.P., XXXIII, 6537.
delay the survey so the result could not be presented to Congress at the 1825-26 session. Since Wallace refused to go out with the surveyor until March 1, 1826 McArthur grew impatient and had a survey made on his own account. Wallace objected to the hurried character of the survey on the ground that it was not being made for Congress but for the Ohio Court, and even accused McArthur of bribing witnesses with whiskey in order to win them to his point of view relative to the sources to the two rivers. McArthur wrote back hotly that he had not "so much as followed" Wallace on the line of his survey "with Saddle Bags filled with Whisky bottles the contents of which to ingratiate myself into the favorable opinion of any witness or by-stander." He admitted that he took a drink every time he felt the inclination and sometimes drank with the company, but indignantly denied that he ever tried to bribe any one with liquor. McArthur's survey was laid before Congress and he hastened to Washington to help his bill along.

(1) Hutchinson, 218.
(2) Ibid.
(4) Hutchinson, ibid.
(6) McA. to Nancy, Washington, March 19, 1826, M.P., XXXIV, 6723. During the ride to the Capitol the middle finger of his left hand was caught between the lid and the edge of the box on which he was sitting, due to a sudden jolt of the stage, and the end of the finger cut off by the root of the nail.
"Wallace, Dun and Co." presented memorials to Congress which were answered by McArthur and his friends in the most stinging language they could muster. They announced in one pamphlet that a memorial had warned Congress,

"that a chivalrous liberality in granting public money, should not be indulged in. The consequence would be injurious, as such grants would be an encouragement to other intruders, like McArthur, who was guilty of intruding just where the Supreme Court has decided he had a right to go . . . The disputed triangle contains much prime land, and of the whole body of deputy surveyors, McArthur was the only one who had sagacity enough to understand the laws of Congress on this subject, and so to execute them, as to do justice to his employers. It is more than probable, that the others have become deeply responsible for their want of knowledge, and this may account for their memorials to Congress." (1)

The bill passed the House although it encountered the opposition of Thompson, McDuffee, and other Jacksonians. McArthur realized that the bill had now become a political one, being opposed by the Jacksonites "with the same violence, with which they generally oppose the administration." (2) Again there was no action in the Senate and the bill laid over till the next session.

The same story was repeated in the following session of Congress. Through the efforts of Representatives Vinton (3) and Vance the bill again passed the House but was smother-

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(1) M.P., XXXIV, 6728-33.
(2) Thompson had defeated McArthur in his campaign for re-election to Congress in the fall of 1824.
(4) M.P., XXXIV, 6796.
ed in the Senate. McArthur did not go to Washington for this session placing his reliance instead on Vinton and Vance in the House, and Harrison and Ruggles in the Senate. The bill was now clearly an administration question. Judge Thompson boarded at the same place as Calhoun and Tazewell and diffused "as much poison amongst that class of politicians as he is capable of." McDonald saw in this matter an example of party strife which might eventually disrupt the Union:

"The course Major Eaton has taken in opposition to the passage of the Bill is certainly disgraceful, in making it a party question. It has been a very serious misfortune that you were a member of the house during the contest for the Presidential election so far as it regards your private interest. I am fearful the result will be long and serious . . . if it does not eventually terminate in blood shed or civil War . . . . "

McArthur and Doddridge, who had similar claims in the district, now tried to induce the Virginia Assembly to instruct the state's representatives and senators in Congress to vote for the relief bill. They finally secured the dismissal of Wallace as the Agent of the Treasury but Thomas Scott, who was appointed to take his place, was equally distasteful. McArthur asserted that he was

(1) Vance to McA., March 2, 1827, M.P., XXXVI, 7067.
(3) J. McDonald to McA., March 25, 1827, M.P., XXXVI, 7081.
another member of the "land jobbing fraternity of Chilli
cote" which meant that if he succeeded "in defeating or
in baffling the settlement of my claims he shall receive
a large fee, otherwise he is to receive but little." The ejectment
suit in the Ohio court was subsequently
carried on writ of error to the Supreme Court. McArthur
was unable to get the case before the Federal bench until
the winter of 1828-29, although he made a hurried trip to
Washington in the previous winter. He blamed the delay on
Scott who procrastinated in every way possible and whom he
considered to be a "mean dishonest man." When the case
finally reached the Supreme Court the decision was in Mc-
Arthur's favor but it came too late in the spring of 1829
to get an indemnity bill through the Congress. At the
ensuing session McArthur again pressed his claim and was

(1) McA. to Graham, Sept. 16, 1827, M.P., XXXVII, 7259.
(2) Hutchinson, 220.
(3) McArthur's description of the journey to Washington
illustrates some of the difficulties of travel in that
day. "I still have the rheumatism and lose much sleep
and rest on account of it. The night after I left
home, the Little Wagon in which I rode was so low that
I could not wear my hat and I took a cold, hoarseness
and sore throat by which suffered much and am still
suffering. My hollow tooth commenced aching with the
cold which I caught on my way to Lancaster and at
Brownsville I attempted to have it drawn or rather let
a Doctor attempt to draw it. He broke it off even
with the gum and it has been paining me ever since."
McA. to Nancy, Feb. 9, 1828, M.P., XXXVII, 7343, 7344.
(4) McA. to Nancy, Feb. 9, 1828, M.P., XXXVII, 7343, 7344.
finally successful on May 26, 1830. He gave up his claim to the 14,000 acres of land in dispute and received for it $62,515.25 with interest at 6% from March 4, 1825—approximately $80,000 in all.

McArthurl engaged in some further litigation after 1830 but it did not compare in magnitude with the case just closed. He possessed an active business mind and had the intelligence and courage to seize on every opportunity for making money. This is indicated by his ventures in breeding cattle and horses, and his investments in iron furnaces, as well as his land speculation. The term "land speculator" carries with it some sense of moral turpitude, which is undoubtedly justified from the standpoint of theoretical social ethics. In this day and age of frenzied finance, however, when we speculate on almost everything from the stock market to matrimony, we should perhaps use the term sparingly as well as carefully. In a country where individualism constitutes the whole gamut of political, economic, and social theory it is hardly possible to blame an early Westerner for improving on his chances. McArthurl had been on the ground early as a surveyor and had the advantage of a "head start" on most

(1)Vance to McA., May 21, 1830, M.P., XL, 7897, 7907.
(2)M.P., XXXIX, 7729; XL, 7847.
(3)See M.P., XLIV, 8740, 8741; XLV, 8963; XLVI, 9039, 9040.
(4)See Chapter Six.
of his contemporaries. If we are to grant the validity of the theory of individualism, it becomes hypocritical to censure a "canny Scot" for keeping a sharp watch for the main chance.
CHAPTER SIX

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JACKSONIANISM

After McArthur was defeated for reelection to the House of Representatives in 1824, he found his business affairs consuming so much of his time that he was forced to minimize his political activities. We have already seen that he was busily engaged, in almost every session of Congress between 1824 and 1831, in the attempt to get his indemnity bill passed. McArthur had personal reasons for disliking the Jacksonians (1) and on the score of political principle they were entirely incompatible. Consequently he was ready to lend his assistance whenever Jacksonianism was the issue. His emphasis was on issues rather than men. It is apparent that he was even quite willing to submerge himself if the best interests of his party were at stake.

In the summer of 1826 there was some pressure brought to bear upon McArthur to run for governor. His political friends were searching for a popular candidate because it

(1) It will be remembered that Eaton and others had aided materially in postponing consideration on McArthur's bill.
was thought a victory in Ohio would influence not only the
rest of the western states but also New York to vote for the
Adams-Clay party. There was also some feeling that Mc-
Arthur should run again for Congress, since Thompson was
likely to be his opponent. (2) McArthur would not consent
to these proposals, probably because his business affairs
were too pressing and the realization that he had too many
enemies in the state to carry a close election. He did agree
to run for state representative and was elected. He was
a busy man in Columbus during the legislative session, if we
are to believe a letter to his wife:

"I have never been more busily engaged for the
same length of time in my days, than I have been since
here. Morning and Night with my lawyers or writing to
my friends in Congress, and in the day in the House. I
hope hereafter, to have a little more leisure—I am
however, on several Committees, which will engage the
most of my time and attention." (4)

McArthur was mentioned for election to the United
States Senate at this session but was not considered when
the balloting occurred. Vance, a Representative from
Champaign County in Congress, wrote that it was "all impor-

(1) Vance to McA., June 30, 1826, M.P., XXXV, 6012.
(3) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Dec. 7, 1826.
(4) McA. to Nancy, Dec. 24, 1826, M.P., XXXV, 5255. The business
with his lawyers and friends in Congress was over his
land claims.
tant that our senator should be firm as the everlasting hills and that in your divisions concerning individuals you be careful not to let the Jacksonians have any grounds to claim the senator." (1) The warning was a good one since three administration men were deadlocked when the vote was taken. It took twenty-four ballots for Ruggles to win over Silliman and Irvin. (2)

During the next year activities for the presidential election became intensified. Preparations for the campaign had started soon after the election of Adams by the House in 1825, the chief issues being the personalities of Adams and Jackson, plus the "corrupt bargain" charge. McArthur was vigorous in his support of the administration, (3) presiding over political meetings, serving on the state central committee, (4) and acting as a member of the Adams

(2) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Jan. 25 and Feb. 1, 1827. It is an interesting fact that McArthur never took more than two dollars a day for his services in the state legislature, whereas the daily stipend was actually three dollars. His reasons are noteworthy because they are so contrary to our reasoning today. He contended that if lower pay were given, candidates would not strive for the legislature for the sake of the remuneration, and consequently better men would be chosen. He added that two dollars a day would support any reasonable man and also pay for an assistant to take care of his business while away from home. Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Mar. 1, 1827.
(3) Scioto Gazette, Jan. 10, 1826, July 19, 1827; Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, July 19, 1827.
(4) Jesse Spencer to McA., Aug. 22, 1828, M.P., XXXVIII, 7398; also ibid., XXXVI, 7099.
electoral ticket. It was of no avail as the Jacksonians carried Ohio and enough of the rest of the states to elect their candidate.

In May, 1828, William Henry Harrison was appointed Minister to Colombia, leaving the position of United States Senator from Ohio vacant. Again there was talk of electing McArthur to fill the vacancy. C. S. Todd, who had served with McArthur in the war but had since moved to Kentucky, suggested to his old friend that his election to the Senate would wipe out the sting of his defeat in 1825, beside presenting an opportunity to render political service in a serious crisis "big with the fate of the Republic--ominous indeed, when we see such unprincipled means used to displace those who are eminently qualified . . . "

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(1) The Scioto Gazette, Mar. 6, 1828. McArthur declined to run for the state senate in the fall pleading as excuses the pressure of private business and the fact that his friends were running anyway. The Scioto Gazette, Sept. 20, 1827.

(2) Joseph Vance contended that if Adams had dismissed John McLean from the office of Postmaster-General 18 months previous to the election, the result in Ohio would have been entirely different. McLean had supported Adams in 1824-25 but since that time had gone over to the Jackson camp, though he feigned a neutral attitude. Vance to McA. Nov. 9, 1828, XXXVIII, 7427; J. McLean to McA., Nov. 16, 1826, ibid., XXXV, 6877, 6878; Weisenburger, Francis P., "John McLean, Postmaster-General", Miss. Valley Hist. Rev., XXIII, No. 1, June, 1931, 28ff.

(3) Goebel, op. cit., 254, 255.

(4) Todd to McA., June 15, 1828, M.P., XXXVII, 7375, 7376.
answered that he had little if any chance of being elected because there was perhaps "no man in the State, who would be so violently opposed by the Jackson party as myself." He asserted that both Ruggles and Harrison had been indebted to his friends for their election to the Senate, but that he could not rely on their support in case he was a candidate.

In December Judge Burnet, an Adam's man, was given the position by the state legislature. The vote was very close, all the Jackson men supporting John W. Campbell. The next year McArthur served his last term in the state senate, but he had a tight squeeze in the election, defeating his Jacksonian opponent by an uncomfortably small margin. Perhaps he was fortunate to be elected at all since the Jackson forces were generally successful over the state. A friend wrote that there were so many of them in the senate that McArthur would be there only to witness the consumation of evil designs.

It was while serving in the ensuing session of the state legislature that McArthur suffered a serious and painful accident. He was returning to his lodgings one evening near the

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(1) McA. to Todd., June 29, 1828, ibid., XXXVIII 7379, 7380.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Dec. 13, 1828.
(4) The vote was 1167 to 1021. The Scioto Gazette, Oct. 21, 1829.
end of this sojourn in Columbus and passed under a shed attached to a building opposite the State House. The roof was burdened with several inches of snow and as McArthur passed under it, it suddenly collapsed and precipitated him to the pavement. He was rescued from the mass of broken timbers and snow by several persons who happened to witness the accident, when it was found that his right knee was badly dislocated and that he was cut and bruised about his head and body. He was taken home to Fruit Hill for convalescence.

While there he had as much cause to worry about several members of his family as they did about him. His son James was seriously ill due to habitual drunkenness and his father felt that his only hope to "recover his health and his standing in society" was to become a "tetotaller." Furthermore his daughter Effie had several suitors and at least one of them was quite serious in his intentions. He applied to McArthur for his daughter's hand in a fascinating letter which merits quotation if only to illustrate the formalities of courtship, in those days. The writer was a young doctor from Alabama:

(1) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Feb. 10, 1830. The accident occurred on the sixth. It is the common impression that this injury occurred after McArthur was governor whereas it actually took place before he was elected to that office. McArthur continued to have trouble with his knee and it would not seem improbable if he followed some of the treatments suggested to him. One man suggested a poultice of "softened Beef's-bladders, immersed in Bear's oil, and wrapped round your knee to help the movement of that Joint." S. Heaton to McA., March 25, 1830.
"Though I am a stranger to you, I entertain a hope, that the accompanying letters . . . will serve as a passport to a friendly reception and perusal of this communication, which might require of me, some apology, under circumstances of an ordinary character . . . I have resorted to this means of soliciting an acquaintance with you and family, which I consider very desirable, owing to the estimation in which I hold your daughter, with whom I have had the honor of an acquaintance, since her arrival in this country. Pleased with the natural endowments of her mind and delighted with the results of its cultivation, I have very frequently sought her company, which has been more interesting, in consequence of a similarity of opinions generally, and particularly on subjects of a political nature.

"Knowing the solicitude, which is natural for parents to feel for the welfare and success of a child, and especially for a dutiful and exemplary daughter; and also the sentiments of gratitude and kind obedience which are ever due from a child to them, I deem it a duty which I owe to you and to your lady, before I proceed to an avowal of my partiality for your daughter, to request your permission thus to act. Though I am well assured that you would not be disturbed for a moment at an occurrence of that kind, as you must have too much confidence in her sound judgment and prudence, to entertain a belief, that she would act precipitately in a matter involving so much feeling and responsibility. But rest assured, sir, that no act of mine, shall ever have a tendency to diminish the obligations and affectionate esteem, which I conceive to exist between parent and child."

McArthur had been very willing when Thomas Jefferson wanted to get married several years previously, but he manifested much greater caution when a daughter’s future was in question. The young suitor, Dr. Coons, had written several articles for medical journals, but this failed to impress

McArthur. He remarked that it was a recommendation, to be sure, to be able to write "a handsome communication for a medical journal," but he was not so sure that it would contribute much toward the support of a family. Relative to the medical profession in general he wrote the young hopeful that he did not know "what the practise of medicine may promise in that country (Alabama) but here it is generally a poor and miserable business, such as seldom affords the means of a decent support to those who follow it." Parental caution was finally vanquished, however, and the two were happily married.

While McArthur was convalescing the local Methodist minister wrote to him asking that he give more support and attention to things religious. There is no record that he answered the letter or heeded its advice. McArthur was something of a skeptic if a letter written to his wife five years earlier is any indication of his religious tenets. The letter follows in part:

"I am pleased to hear of the progress of religion in our neighborhood, altho I do not know that I can join in it; altho it has occupied some of my most serious thoughts for some time past. I hope that it is founded upon reality, and will make many happy both here and hereafter." (4)

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(1) McA. to E. Coons, Feb. 28, 1836, M.P., XL, 7796.
(2) Young Coons died some years later. In 1845 Effie married William Allen, who defeated McArthur for Congress in 1832 and was later governor of Ohio. A daughter was born, causing Effie's death soon afterward. Evans, Hist. of Ross County, Ohio, I, 159, 160, See also M.P., XII, 6176.
(4) McA. to Nancy, Feb. 25, 1826; M.P., XXXIII, 6464.
Mrs. McArthur was a church member and sometimes chided her husband, in mild fashion, for his unbelief. McArthur often wrote to her of the good times he was having. On one Christmas she wrote that she suspected he was having a "pretty lively" time in Columbus but she intended to spend the day "at church as I think it the best proper way to spend this day." (1)

By summer McArthur had recovered sufficiently to think of running for governor in the fall. The main consideration in his mind was not his own personal victory but the triumph of the National Republican forces. In answer to a letter from several old soldiers asking him to be a candidate, he answered that he would not run in opposition to any man who held the same political views as he did. (2) During the month of August he was nominated in the party newspapers throughout the state. (3) Soon afterward he consented to the nomination and resigned his seat in the state senate.

His opponent was Robert Lucas, the same Lucas who had accompanied him in the expedition to Detroit in 1812 and who had been his close friend for many years. Lucas had a high

(3) The Scioto Gazette, Aug. 25, 1836.
(4) McA. to Governor Trimble, Sept. 11, 1836, N.E., XI, 7940.
regard for McArthur and in his Journal had written: "Never
was there a braver or better hearted man than Col. McArthur."

The careers of the two men had been strikingly similar. Both
had been in the Ohio country before the State was admitted to
the Union. They had each served in the Ohio Militia, rising
to the rank of Major-General and had fought in the War of 1812.
In the General Assembly of the State each had served fourteen
years. McArthur had the advantage in age, being nine years
the senior of Lucas, and was perhaps better known because of
his superior position in the war and his service at Washing-
ton as a Congressman.

Vituperation and scurrility played a large part in the
campaign, with Lucas suffering much more than McArthur. The
Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, edited by Charles Hammond,
was particularly vicious in its attack upon the Jacksonian
candidate. Relative to the qualifications of Lucas, Hammond
wrote the following scarring sentences: "He is illiterate,
uninformed, illiberal. A presumptuous ambition, and a course
of low, selfish intrigue have characterized his whole public
career." Hammond even raked up a story of forgery against

(1) The Robert Lucas Journal, 57. Quoted in Parish, John C.,
Robert Lucas, 97.
(2) Parish, Robert Lucas, 97, 98.
(3) Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Sept. 23, 1830. Ham-
mond was an implacable foe of the Democrats.
Lucas, although the latter had been acquitted of the charge by a court of inquiry some sixteen years previously. There was also bitter criticism throughout the state of the method by which Lucas had been nominated. The Democrats refused a state nominating convention for the first time, instead of the usual method of announcement through the newspapers. This innovation was vigorously denounced in the National Republican press as a revival of the Tammany domination of twenty years previous. In comparison to the Democratic nomination, that of McArthur was praised zealously. The Scioto Gazette, eulogistic in its praise of McArthur because it was edited by his son-in-law, Robert Kercheval, had this to say about his nomination: "The manner in which this nomination has been brought about without the aid of caucus dictation and management; and without any further consultation or concert among the friends of National Industry that that which flowed from a community of feeling and of interest--must be highly flattering to the distinguished individual whom they have called upon to be their candidate; as the course has been honorable to them as a party." At the same time McArthur was lauded for his patriotism and participation in every prominent act, both in peace and war, in the history of the state.

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(1) Parish, Robert Lucas, 99.
(2) Liberty, Wall and Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 11, 1830; Parish, Ibid., 97-99.
of Ohio, with the exception of the formation of its Constitution.

The campaign for the governorship was the pivotal one in the election since it was felt that its outcome would be decisive in determining the political character of the state and the relative strength of the two parties. Both candidates had powerful support: McArthur had the aid of Judge Burnet, John C. Wright, Phillip Doddridge and Thomas Ewing, as well as that of Charles Hammond; Lucas was being pushed by Judge McLean of the Federal Supreme Court, Judge Hayward, Dr. John Hamm and Judge Campbell. Antimasonry entered Ohio politics for the first time in this campaign and the McArthur forces were apprehensive that the Western Reserve would vote for Lucas because of the mistaken notion prevailing there that the Jacksonian was not a Mason. The return of the votes from the northeastern counties belied these suspicions, however, and McArthur was returned the victor by a small major-

(1) The Scioto Gazette, Aug. 25, 1830. A week later Kercheval announced that he went the whole way for McArthur against "caucus-mongers, caucus-intriguers, and caucus-candidates."

(2) Ibid., Oct. 6, 1830.

(3) Parish, Robert Lucas, 96.

(4) Ibid., 98.

ity. The rest of the Clay-Adams ticket fared the same, as the results of the 1829 campaign were reversed. The party forces were balanced in the state senate while the Jacksonians found themselves in a minority in the delegations sent to the lower house and to the Federal Congress. The results were mistaken by many to presage the decline of the Jackson strength. Hammond announced that it proved "beyond doubt, that the current of public opinion, which in 1827 set so strongly in favor of General Jackson, has reached its flood, and has began to subside..."

In December Governor Allen Trimble turned over the duties of his office to McArthur, writing to his successor that he retired with the pleasing reflection that he was to be succeeded by a firm and substantial Clay man. On the 18th the governor-elect took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address. It was comprehensive in scope, discussing state and national problems and even invading the international realm to discuss the recent revolution in France. One comment-

(1) The Scioto Gazette, Nov. 3, 1830. A month later the Clay-Adams forces succeeded in electing one of their members speaker of the house, but in the senate a Jackson man was elected to preside. There was a suspicion that in the latter body Senator Heaton had been a traitor to the National Republican cause. Samuel Adams to McA., Dec. 6, M.E., XII, 363c.
(2) Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette, Nov. 11, 1830.
(3) John L. Taylor (Private Sec'y.) to McA., Dec. 9, 1830, M.E., XII, 3639.
(4) State Archives, Governor's General Records, III.
ator noted that in this address the new governor travelled
"from the south end of Michigan, to France, by way of the
Cherokee and Creek nations of Indians, and takes the 'Ameri-
can System,' the 'Tariff,' etc. by the way . . . . It wanders
into National Politics and the French Revolution . . . ."

In his next annual address to the Legislature McArthur rem-
edied this defect and concerned himself only with state prob-
lems. In 1830 the Governor did not possess the executive
power he enjoys to-day, lacking the right of veto and of
making the numerous appointments which now fall to his lot.
As a result McArthur's term was relatively uneventful. Even
in the legislature the parties were so evenly divided that
little could be accomplished on matters of a political nature.

From the first it had been anticipated that the election
of 1832 would find McArthur and Lucas contending for the gov-
ernor's chair. This would have been the case had it not been
for the Antimasons. The bulk of this party was found in the

(1) Liberty Hill and Cincinnati Gazette, Dec.30, 1830. The full
text of the address is found in the Ohio State Bulletin for
Dec. 21, 1830; M.P., XLI, 8056 ff. As might be expected The
Scioto Gazette found the address to be "able, energetic,
and interesting." Ibid., Dec,22, 1830.

(2) Ibid., Dec. 15, 1831. Hammond, who had been inclined to cen-
sure the year before, now praised McArthur for his concern
about state affairs in the address: "This is as it should
be. Let the State authorities leave National Affairs to the
National Government and to the politicians, and only busy
themselves in performing their own functions, and the con-
sequences cannot fail to be beneficial in a high degree."

Western Reserve which had been settled largely by New England people and was on a direct line with the Antimasonic counties which led through Erie County, Pennsylvania, into the "infected district in New York." Since these counties were also strongholds of the National Republican party, it is apparent that the appearance of the Antimasonic movement would be disastrous to the Clay-Adams forces, for the two major parties in the state needed every vote they could muster. The Antimasons met early in June in Columbus and tendered the nomination for governor to several members of the party who refused the offer because they did not wish to split the forces in opposition to Jackson. They finally chose Darius Lyman of Portage County and pledged their electoral ticket to Wirt and Ellmaker. The Adams-Clay forces were angry at this turn of affairs and immediately nominated McArthur. The latter was skeptical from the first about the samity of this course. It is apparent from McArthur's action at this time that he was far more interested in the defeat of the Democratic party than in his own reelection. A long letter which he wrote Thomas Ewing, United States Senator from Ohio, in August, is worth quoting because it shows that his insight into the

(2) Ibid, 528; McGrane, William Allen, 27.
prevailing political situation was both shrewd and discriminating:

"You say that you have all along been assured that I was from the first willing to serve my friends if the good of the country required it, or to retire from the political contest. In that you were correctly informed. I not only proposed but urged, that those opposed to the present administration of the General Government, should consult with each other, and if they could not unite upon any man who neither a mason nor an anti-mason as their candidate for governor, that I would most cheerfully give my support to the person so selected. (1) This course was urged by me throughout the last winter, at the extra session of the legislature in June, and again at the Circuit Court in last month. But I was constantly informed by my friends that no arrangement could be made with the Anti-Masons—that they pretended to be acting from principle, and could not give their support to any candidate other than an avowed Anti-Mason. . . . It is a well-known fact that cannot be controverted, that both myself and my friends made to the Anti-Masons the proposition before stated, and that they refused to hold any consultation with the Clay men, or give their support to any but Anti-Masons. It is also a fact that I proposed to my friends, that they should support the nomination of Mr. Lyman, provided his friends would unite with the Clay men upon an Electoral ticket that should be Anti-Jackson and that the Electors should be unpledged either to Mr. Clay, or to Mr. Wirt, and to be at liberty to act, as circumstances might hereafter require, to prevent the election of General Jackson. (2) To this

(1) McArthur had no interest in the principles on which Anti-masonry was built. In a letter to Joshua R. Giddings he wrote: "I know but little of masonry myself:—I do not believe that it makes a man either better or worse; and I trust that I shall never be operated on either by masonry, or antismasonry to swerve from what I honestly believe to be my duty." Ohio State Archives, Executive Documents, 1831-3. McArthur belonged to the local lodge at Chillicothe, M.P., XXXVI, 7032. His indifference is in line with his religious skepticism.

(2) That is to say, the Ohio electors would vote for Wirt or Clay for President, depending on the outcome of the national election and the relative chances of the two against Jackson.
many of my friends answered, that they could not support Mr. Lyman he having been nominated as an avowed Anti-Mason candidate, and that they well knew that all the exertions of the leading Clay men in his favor could not elect him. (1) They were still willing, however, to meet them and endeavor to agree upon some man as a candidate for Governor, who should be neither Mason nor an avowed Anti-Mason and at the same time to form an Electoral ticket to be composed of men who were not Masons, or even to place on the electoral ticket Anti-Masons in a just proportion to the strength of their party. And that no pledge should be required, further than an understanding that they were not to vote for the reelection of General Jackson. I understood that the friends of Mr. Clay have so formed their ticket as not to place the name of a Mason on it, and have named three of the men who had been selected by the Anti-Mason Convention, or at least had nominated three Anti-Masons on their ticket. Should the Anti-Masons generally be opposed to the reelection of General Jackson, and can, or will assist in freeing our country from 'misrule' and 'disgrace' I trust they will give their support to the Anti-Jackson ticket formed by the Clay men. The office of Governor, is of but little importance, either to the incumbent, or to the state. And although it may, and no doubt will, be considered by many of my friends as trifling with their nomination and feelings, for me now to say that I will decline, yet, if by doing so, the whole Anti-Jackson's strength of the state, can be united upon an Electoral ticket opposed to the reelection of General Jackson, or if upon a free and candid consultation of the Corresponding Committee with the principal Anti-Mason men, it should be their opinion that my withdrawal will at all facilitate that all important object, I will most cheerfully and without hesitation, withdraw my name from the list of candidates for the office of Governor . . . There are thousands of men in the State, who are not Masons, and who have no attachments for them on that account, who will not vote for any man upon the score of his Anti-Masonry. Besides there are far more Masons in the State than there are Anti-Masons who would as willingly vote for, and support a man who is not a Mason as one who is, but they

cannot be brought to vote for or support a man brought forward and supported as an anti-mason. I think with you, that it is possible but not probable that we may carry the state without the aid of the Clay or National Republican Anti-Masons. But by the union of all the Anti-Jackson men there can be no doubt of our success." (1)

This was excellent political advice and was identical with that which Charles Hammond was pronouncing through the columns of the Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette. The Central Committee of the National Republican party, however, was adamant in the matter and sent a delegate to urge McArthur to continue in the fight. Two days before, however, McArthur had determined to abandon the gubernatorial race. The National Republicans then agreed to support Lyman for Governor and the electoral ticket was to support Clay or Wirt, depending on the outcome of the national election.

Although the withdrawal of McArthur cleared the situation in state politics generally, it complicated matters in the Seventh Congressional District. The political managers there


(3) Kelly to Ewing, Sept. 13, 1832, Ewing MSS. Quoted in McGrane, ibid.

(4) McA. to John Bailhache, Esquire, and the other members of the State Central Committee at Columbus, Sept 10, 1832, Ohio State Journal, Sept. 14, 1832. The Journal commented editorially that McArthur's withdrawal was a "fresh proof that selfish considerations have no weight with him, when put in competition with the honor and welfare of the State."

could not afford to allow McArthur, who was at this time
the most prominent National Republican in the state, to sit
idly by during the election. Consequently it was decided to
run him for Congress from the Seventh District. On the 11th
McArthur announced his candidacy stating that he was in favor
of the tariff, not only for revenue but for "encouraging and
affording all reasonable protection to American labor and
industry." He also asserted that he favored the rechartering
of the United States Bank and Clay's Land Bill.

If McArthur passed through the campaign of 1830 with
little "mud" being slung in his general direction, the deficien-
cy was more than made up in his last political stand. Never
was a candidate's life reviewed so relentlessly. The Advertiser
(Chillicothe) published all the derogatory material it could
get its hands on. It greeted his abandonment of the guberna-
torial race as the last move in a "variety of strange evolutions
and turnings" and stated that the Governor, "after holding

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(1) McA. to Fellow Citizens, Sept.11,1832, Ohio State Journal,
Sept.15,1832; McGrane, op. cit., 31. After some difficulty,
Richard Douglas and Wm. K. Bond, who had been the party
candidates from Congress from the Seventh District, with-
drew their names from the poll.

(2) Ibid. McArthur had not changed his views on the Bank
question since 1817. He now contended that the Bank
would prevent "the chartering of a host of insolvent State
Banks, which may be gotten up, as they have, heretofore,
been, for the purpose of borrowing and not lending money,
and defrauding the unsuspecting honest poor and laboring
men by their depreciated paper."
offices of profit of different kinds for more than twenty years, and amassing more wealth than any twenty men in the district, when driven from the office of Governor, is to be fattened still further on the next best office within his grasp." (1) Two weeks later a letter appeared, signed by "Equal Rights," which offered a political catechism of the type it was supposed McArthur would compose. If the person quizzed answered "no" to the question, then the verdict handed down by McArthur was that he had no right to be a candidate. This was a patent ruse to review the past life of the Governor. Some of the interrogations were not only scurrilous but highly amusing:

"Did you come to this country before 1794? and did you kill Indians for the sake of getting their horses? (2)

"Did you go to Canada during the late war, to get some sheep, under the pretext of going to fight the enemy?

"Did you, during the late war, order an American boy, the only son of a poor widow, to be shot as a deserter, for going out of the camp, when you knew it was his intention to return . . . ?

"Are you worth two or three hundred thousand dollars—and did you make this great fortune by lawing the poor farmers about the country out of their land, because they had not enough money to contend in law with you? or did you make it partly by going to Congress, and getting that body to give you eighty-five thousand dollars of the

(1) Sept. 15, 1832.
(2) If the answer was in the negative, then the person cate-chised was said to have no right to be a candidate. The references to events in McArthur's life are perfectly clear.
people's money, and partly out of the offices you have
received from the people for the last thirty years?" (1)

A week later there was a new accusation. It was contended
that McArthur while governor had held "more drunken and mid-
night orgies than all the other public men of the state put

(2) together" and that he had the members of the legislature
and the important state officials "mounted on his table (or
under it), making pot-valiant speeches." In addition he had
corrupted the youth of the country, "leading them into dissa-
pation, lest they might become rivals."

(1) The Advertiser (Chillicothe), Sept. 29, 1832.
(2) Id., Oct. 6, 1832. The letter also contained a poem about
McArthur:

"Old Flat Foot had a rough full face,
Which some folks said in fun,
Resembled the Jack of Spades or Ace,
And some, his rising sun.

. . . . . . . . . . . . .

Thus when we see a nose so red
It is as day-light clear,
That ruby nose is not maintained,
On water or small beer."

The reference to the cards goes back to the gambling ep-
isode of 1839. There is no doubt but that McArthur gave a
number of large parties for his political friends while
he was in Columbus. One party cost him $151.93 for wine,
(122 bottles), almonds, pineapple cheese, crackers, cigars,
apples, candles, cake (12 pounds), raisins, tongues and
ham. K.F., IXII, 6242. See also ibid., 8293 and XII, 6139;
J. I. Taylor to Gov. Trimble, Dec. 74, 1830, Old N. W. Gen.Q.,
XI, 130. McArthur enjoyed a good time but he also realized
that political parties in the state were too equally div-
ided for comfort.
McArthur's opponent, William Allen, was not guilty of such mud-slinging. Allen was forced to wage a particularly shrewd campaign because he was opposed not only by the most influential National Republican in the state, but the Democratic vote was split by the appearance of another candidate, Gen. Murphy, who refused to withdraw from the race. (1) Although stump speaking was almost unknown to Ohio, Allen decided on this mode of attack and travelled over the entire district, speaking at crossroads and blacksmith shops. His clear understanding of current problems was apparent, winning many voters to his cause. At first the National Republicans had scarcely noticed Allen. They were confident that the prestige of their candidate and the force of their party organization would carry the day. As election day approached, however, they became anxious. Late in September it was even suggested that McArthur take the stump in an attempt to forestall the growing popularity of Allen. Their gloomiest apprehensions were fulfilled when the election returned Allen the victor by one vote. Their

(1) McClure, op.cit., 31. The National Republicans also asked Murphy to withdraw but he refused. Bryan to Murphy, Sept. 18, 1882, M.F., XLIII, 2982.

(2) Ibid., 307 ff.

(3) Black, op.cit., Sept. 28, 1882, M.F., XLIII, 8784.

consternation was obvious, for not only had Lucas defeated Lyman, easily, but McArthur, who had been considered a sure victor, was beaten by a relatively unknown young man. Everything was done to stave off the humiliation of defeat. Even before all the votes were counted Allen was informed that if he were successful the election would be contested. When the result was known it was decided to take depositions relative to illegal voting at various places in the district. The National Republicans were careful to arrange time and distances in such a way that it was physically impossible for him to attend the places designated. Consequently he made no effort to attend and was accused in certain townships of having received illegal votes. Allen did appear before the Congressional Committee on Elections which investigated the vote. The verdict of this body was entirely in his favor. The committee reported that it was "novel and irregular" to notify a candidate that "in the event of his future election," his right to a seat would be contested; they added, however, that they would have examined the testimony had it not been obvious that this was given at such times and places that Allen could not attend. Consequently, McArthur's opponent was entitled to his seat in Congress.

(1) These were votes of persons under 21 years of age, of unregistered aliens, of persons not having resided in the state for one year, of the counting of ballots when two or more were rolled together, etc. Report of Committee of Elections, Dec.31,3352,ibid.; I.R. XLIII 6551ff,1865; XII4 7753-5.
(2) Report of Committee of Elections, ibid.
Curiously enough, if we speculate on this election, we might say that McArthur's defeat was due to a squabble which arose from the problem of penal institutions which has been confronting the state for over one hundred years. The obligation of caring for the increasing number of prisoners was so pressing that in 1826 Governor Morrow spoke of the need for new buildings and stressed the fact that he had used the pardoning power very freely in order to keep the number of inmates as low as possible. (1) The same problem confronted McArthur and he also used his power of pardon with a lavish hand. It was his failure however to issue a release to

(1) Hicks, Clara S., "The History of Penal Institutions in Ohio to 1830," Ohio Arch. and Hist. Soc. Pub., XXIII, 377. McArthur cannot be credited with advanced views on penal methods. In 1827, while in the state lower house, he had recommended whipping as the method which had the most "salutary effect to prevent crime." He contended that imprisonment was "ineffectual, expensive, and did not reform the convicts." (Ohio State Journal, Jan. 18, 1827). However it was during the latter part of McArthur's administration that plans were completed for erecting a new building on the site where the penitentiary now stands. McArthur had emphasized the need for it in his annual message in 1831 and recommended a new building on the model of the Auburn or Wethersfield plan. (Hicks, op cit., 373-31). He received many curious letters relative to the problem. Thus, one man suggested the deportation of prisoners to the islands of Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic Ocean. He stated that the proper punishment for a majority of the convicts was removal to a place whence return is impossible. "The adoption of the plan will form an epoch in the history of America and will immortalize Ohio," he asserted. "I feel no hesitation in saying that the example of one state only, is requisite to insure the measure being followed speedily by most of the other states in the Union." (Ohio State Archives, Executive Documents, 1830-31.)

(2) Ohio State Archives, Pardon Records. McArthur pardoned between 60 and 70 persons between Feb. 12, 1831 and Dec. 6, 1832.
Joseph Melcher which caused him no end of trouble. Melcher was a prominent Jacksonian, the editor of the Democratic paper in Chillicothe. Late in 1836 he and James Woodside were having a controversy over the appointment of a postmaster, each supporting his own candidate. Since both men were Democrats, and Jackson made the appointment, the matter was strictly a party affair. One night actual physical combat took place. In the course of the fight Woodside was badly wounded by a knife which Melcher used, and his right hand was so seriously cut that it was rendered useless for life. The trial of Melcher immediately became a party affair and when he was convicted for a three year term in the penitentiary The Scioto Gazette could not conceal its joy. In reviewing the story of the crime it stated that it had not been surpassed "in the earliest and rudest days of Kentucky butchery"; it was contended as well that Melcher had concealed the knife about his clothing and had to be pulled away from Woodside, "with the blood of his victim reeking from his hands."

Strenuous efforts were made, both before and after Melcher's conviction, to keep him out of prison. Numbers of petitions came to McArthur asking him to use executive

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(1) U.P., XIII, 5264.
(2) The Scioto Gazette, April 6, 1831.
(3) Ibid., April 6, 1831.
It was contended that Melcher had really fought in self-defense and was forced to use his knife to release the grasp of Woodside who was "striking him and feeling for his eyes." The blame for the crime is hard to locate since both factions gave such conflicting reports. Considering the freedom with which pardons were doled out it was to be expected that a man of Melcher's position in the community would have little difficulty in procuring one. McArthur was a strong party man, however, and he had no intention of befriending a Jacksonian. Consequently he scornfully noticed the petitions and The Scioto Gazette rejoiced that the state had at its head a civil magistrate "who understands the great relations of the social state too well to be thus imposed upon; and who administers the government under the solemnities of a much higher obligation, than the animal sympathies of gossipping women, or the calculations of political aspirants, have striven to impose upon him."

Melcher was justly furious and looked about for the means of revenge. He found it in the Allen-McArthur campaign for

(1) H.P., XLII, 3196 ff. These petitions show that even in that day penitentiaries were known to be poor means of reforming criminals. They refer to the prison as a "school of vice" which "instead of reforming only tends to make young persons more wicked . . . "; they said a term there would affect Melcher so as to "destroy his character as a man and his usefulness as a citizen."

(2) Ibid.

(3) Scioto Gazette, April 6, 1831. A good many of the petitions had been signed by women which accounts for the references
Congress. He wrote more than 300 letters to individuals in the district giving a list of the pardons McArthur had granted a history of these cases, and a history of his own case. His brother and his most intimate friends worked hard on election day rounding up votes for William Allen. Considering that McArthur was defeated by one vote, Melcher's influence becomes a vital factor in the election. No revenge could have been more strategically arranged. The triumph of the Democrats in the gubernatorial contest resulted in Melcher's freedom. A week after Lucas took the oath of office he pardoned the former editor.

McArthur's political decline was rapid after this campaign. He was growing old and suffered illnesses aggravated by the

to "gossiping women". The Gazette was sure woman's place is in the home; it announced that if there were either "damsel or tender maid" concerned in this affair, we trust for their sakes, that their names may never reach the light as it would be blighting their future matrimonial prospects. There is no thought so freezing and appalling to the ardour of a young and gallant beau, in the pursuit of a wife, as the belief, that after wedlock, he must submit to the dictation and despotism of a petticoat govt."

(2) McArthur also suffered in another connection by the hands of a disappointed pardon seeker. On October 10, just before the election his barn was burned down. It was thought that the act was deliberate on the part of an ex-convict who had threatened the Governor previously. Allen McA. to his father, Oct.11, 1832, M.E., XLIII, 8561, 8562.
(3) Ohio State Archives, Pardon Record, 10.
serious accident in 1830. He had done his best to stem the rising tide of Jacksonianism and having failed he did not have the stamina to continue the struggle. By the time the Whig party waged its first national campaign his physical condition was such that it was impossible to play an active role in the new party. The feeling of weariness and the decision to let the country wallow in Jacksonianism if it wished is especially apparent in a letter from ex-Governor Trimble to McArthur soon after the fatal political contest in 1832:

"I cannot however, but feel that we have been roughly treated, [in the election] and you more particularly so, having much stronger claims on the gratitude of your country, but why speak of gratitude, alas, like every other Virtuous principle, it has fallen a prey to this canker, and Jacksonianism has produced in the bosoms of our people --many of whom are so perfectly wreckless, that they wd. sacrifice with their best friends, the liberty they profess to Value so highly, rather than be defeated in the re-election of Andrew Jackson." (1)

McArthur could keep busy, if he wished, caring for his various business ventures. For many years he had been interested in iron furnaces and had invested heavily in partnership with Thomas James at the Marble Furnace on Brush Creek near Chillicothe. In 1831 ex-Governor Trimble, Col. Johnson of

(1) Oct.16, 1832, M.F., XLIII, 3566. See also ? to McA., Oct. 26, 1832, M.F., XIII, 3572, 3573. McArthur managed to get in a final part, shot, however, when he spoke at length in his farewell address on the virtues of the United States Bank. The Democrats had a majority in the Legislature! Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Dec. 5, 1832.

(2) McArthur had invested over $14,000 in this furnace. M.F., XXX, 3936. See also ibid., 3932, 3997, 3979, 3901, 3906, 3961; XXXI, 1046; XXXVIII, 7374, 7380, 7525; Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, Nov. 19, 1829; The Supporter (Chillicothe) Feb. 4, 1837.
Virginia and McArthur became partners in the ownership of a fine stallion, which they named "Tariff." McArthur was actively engaged in promoting the agricultural interests of Ross County. He was one of the original stockholders and at one time President of "The Ohio Company for the Importation of English Cattle," organized in November, 1833. The capital stock in this organization was $9200, divided into 92 equal shares. McArthur owned six shares in the company which had a phenomenal career. The organization sent Felix Renick and two associates to England and on the first trip they purchased 19 head of short-horns, costing about $4200. Later the company imported more cattle and held sales in 1836 and 1837. These were successful beyond the fondest hopes, some of the cattle bringing over a thousand dollars. When the accounts of the company were liquidated soon after these sales, each share paid $300. McArthur was also one of the managers of one of the first agricultural societies in Ross County organized in June of 1833. This society held several

(1) H.P., XLI, 8685, XLIII, 3436, XLIII, 8290; The Scioto Gazette, Jan. 25, 1832.
(3) Plumb, loc.cit.
(4) Ibid., 30, 36.
(5) Ibid., 51-2. An amusing incident occurred with Lynne Starling of Columbus as the principle figure. He had purchased a share of stock in the company and proceeded to forget about it, thinking it a wild-cat investment. When Renick paid him a sum three times his original investment he could scarcely believe his eyes.
fairs at which McArthur exhibited and won prizes on "Tariff," and fine cattle. In addition to these activities he was elected President of the "Chillicothe Hydraulick Association" organized in 1835 and also served during the same year as a director of the Bank of Chillicothe.

Family affairs too occupied some of his time. His youngest child, Mary, and his grandchildren were just growing up and he had the problem of their education. The three Kercheval children (Margaret McArthur had married Robert Kercheval, editor of The Scioto Gazette) had suffered the loss of both of their parents and McArthur assumed the responsibility of rearing and educating them. Dr. Coons, who had courted Effie so arduously was dead and Effie came back to Fruit Hill with her son Duncan.

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(1) Evans, History of Ross County, i, 136, 137.
(2) N. Sawyer to McA., Mar. 17, 1835, M.P., ALW, 8991.
(3) M.P., ALV, 8945.
(4) M.P., ALV, 8914.
(6) M.P., ALV, 9069, 9098.
(7) Last Will and Testament, 8, 9; M.P., ALV, 8745, 6. Duncan Coons was sent to a private school at Yellow Springs. An amusing letter which he wrote to his mother follows in part (Nov. 1, 1833, M.P., XLIV, 8745, 8746):

"I will now take up History it being very interesting also we are about the thirty first chapter. We recite History on Saturdays and Wednesdays. We generally recite two chapters some of which are very amusing especially such as the character of the Chinese their methods custom and food also very queer. Such a(s) eating dead puppies which are sold openly in the public streets and also rats and mice for pies... in Sacred History we have got over to the birth of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ it is very interesting it tells of the wonders of him which are numerous and good."
His daughter Helen (Mrs. Alexander Bourne) had died some years previously leaving four children. McArthur provided for their education in his will.

He failed rapidly during the last four years of his life during which he rather "breathed than lived". A letter which Trimble wrote to McArthur in 1835 is interesting as an example of what one ailing man will write to another in the same predicament:

"... my health is not good. I hope yours is better, but I fear neither of us will have again the good health we have hitherto enjoyed. My constitution (is) naturally feeble, and yours originally so good has suffered much by exposure and hard service. We may therefore calculate, I think, on our pains and aches increasing with our years, should they be many or few. Not a very cheering reflection. I admit, though it may not be unprofitable if it prepares us for meeting with fortitude (which for myself I find the need of) the ills, as we call them, of a precarious and uncertain existence." (3)

In 1835 McArthur suffered a paralytic stroke which deprived him of the full use of his limbs and also affected his mind. He died April 28, 1839 of a complication of diseases which followed this stroke.

(1) Last Will and Testament, 9, 9.
(2) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, May 8, 1839.
(3) Oct. 30, 1835, M.E., XLVI, 3079.
(4) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, May 8, 1839; Dr. Joseph Scott to Effie Scott, Aug. 7, 1835, M.E., 3044-5.
(5) Ohio State Journal and Columbus Gazette, May 9, 1839.
If there are self-made men, McArthur certainly deserves to be called one. His outstanding characteristics were the vigor and energy which he applied to the problems confronting him. These were the traits which were most prominent in the economic, military, and political phases of his career. They are apparent in the evolution from the poverty of his youth to the wealth which gave him the reputation of being the richest man in the state. They are outstanding in his career as a soldier in which his positive contributions were few due to insurmountable obstacles. His political life manifests the same qualities as well as a tendency to stand firm when fundamental issues were involved. Never a cultured man, this abundant energy made his life eminently successful, in all three phases. A succinct characterization by his brother-in-law, John McDonald, is a striking summary of his character and intelligence: "At no period of his life did he possess a very sprightly and active mind; but although his conceptions were slow, what he once acquired he never lost. In whatever business he engaged, he was distinguished for an untiring diligence and an energy that never yielded to difficulties."(1)

(1) McDonald, op.cit., 93.
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I, Clarence Henley Cramer, was born June 23, 1905, in Eureka, Kansas. I graduated from Mt. Gilead, Ohio, High School in 1923. Both my undergraduate and graduate work have been done at The Ohio State University. I received the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science in Education in 1927 and the degree of Master of Arts in 1928. I was a University Scholar in history from 1927 to 1929. During the remaining two years I served as a graduate assistant.