

1
College Camp Oct 4th 1775

Major Eben Powell,

London County
Virginia

Dear Sir,

With difficulty I have
slipped from the Parade to
the Impresonant of my little Boat,
I on the sea, on the top
of my Chest for a Table,
scarcely over this. Half starved
with the allowance of half
a pound of Bread a day
I came upon the time we
left Frederickst^y. We arrived
in Camp on Monday evening
last, in better health than
I expected on my outlet; there
was less than seven had the
Ague & Fever, now but three &
they almost well.

Such a sameness
prevails here after the first
or second day, that I scarce
know what occurrences most

deserves relation. — Add to this that general hurry & confusion constantly attendant on a Camp composed of raw Officers, commanded by rusty & inexperienced Field So. & under the direction of a set of Gentlemen, straggled as yet to military affairs and I am persuaded that you will excuse any seeming want of attention to the Promise I made you. —

Such difficulty prevails in getting our Provision, Tent & other necessaries that every Capt. is in a "Tutt" and a civil answer in a hurry is not now expected. We however unanimously endeavor to make ourselves as happy as possible. The Drum calls, I must away. —

Saturday 12th Clock.

I have not had time to scribble till this Moment. We have in Camp now, Capt. Markham from Chesterfield

well armed, Capt. Seayes from Essex tolerably well armed. Capt. G. Nicholas with but a few Muskets; altho' his Company was raised here it was not arrived till the 4th. composed of wretches — & a flogger

& Capt. Green from Calpeper whose Men are not so good it is thought as was expected. He begins to range & act as light Infantry to morrow. — The Morning after my arrival a soldier of Capt. Markham shot himself by accident in the hand & another dangerously through the arm. This had an exceeding good effect on the rest, who now take sufficient caution. —

L^d Dunmore the other day sent a Lieut. with 10 Men on shore at Norfolk; with four of whom he pleasantly went to the Pointe took a Journeyman & all the Types & without interruption from upwards of 500 of the Indians

tants then present, carried them
 off in triumph, while he was
 on this business the ~~two~~ vessels
 of War were drawn before the
 town with lighted matches ready
 to fire, & all their boats loaded
 with soldiers, lay near the shore
 the next day Major Cooper with
 some Volunteers, then stationed
 at Hampton embarked & went
 in pursuit, but through the
 tender saw him, & was insulted
 by him, he returned with them
 cruising safe to Hampton.
 It is rumored that the Council
 of Safety are now deliberating
 about fitting out some vessels
 armed to protect the Intercourse
 upon Norfolk up the River,
 which has been for some time
 cut off by the Lordships Ships
 Capt. Sawbridge an old sailor
 is now attending them. They
 have relieved the Volunteers stationed
 at Hampton with a Company
 of Minutemen from ^{W. Will}

to whose Capt Orders are given
 to make Repairs - Take the Lord
 a prisoner. Major Cooper returned
 to Camp last night, I have not
 seen him. Col. Henry is this
 Moment arrived, & takes the Command
 tomorrow - I must wait upon
 him. Farewell say to Friends
 W. G. Johnston

I do Mr. D. Ramsey finds you
 the Paper I mentioned to you at
 I am fine. - tomorrow I settle my
 acct & shall remit by the first
 safe hands.

College Camp Oct 16. 1775

6 o'clock Evening

Dear Sir,

I give you the greatest
 Proof of my not forgetting you
 by writing at this time; Ever since
 two o'clock this morning we have
 been under Arms, alarmed by
 the firing of thirty odd Guns
 impeded on James River about

3 Miles from Lence, & Lord
 Drums resolution some time since
 communicated to us of being at
 the Palace to day - no doubt con-
 sidered at that time of meeting
 in the Field at three in
 the Morning with all his
 forces, said to be 250 effective
 Men to which we were ready
 to oppose about 400 of our
 own, undisciplined, ill armed,
 but resolute & young Men.
 To our general satisfaction,
 & what could not be reasona-
 bly expected, as yet, We informed
 & fitted out with ammunition
 in the most profound Silence
 in at most half an hour -
 waiting on our arms till three
 & after despatching several
 Carriers to every suspicious
 place, We moved down to the
 Magazine, the place we
 don't intended to be attacked.
 When we remained, receiving sev-
 eral unsatisfactory accounts till

ten, at which time We marched
 back to Camp & have ever
 since been under Arms, no
 Officer permitted to leave Camp
 At present we are easy, having
 detached Capt. Mackham's Company
 commanded by Major Soper,
 to take possession of a
 Packet Boat on James & sever
 that River for some Miles
 up & down. I was apprehensive
 that the cries of the Women
 & Raging of the Inhabitants
 of the Town might have incen-
 ded us in case of an
 action, but the Soldiers discover-
 ed the greatest steadiness to obey
 their Officers. The Major is
 this Moment returned, has seen
 no Vessels, & can't discover from
 whence the noise of the firing
 proceeded. I give you this circum-
 stantial acct in Obedience to receive
 any uneasiness they Friends may
 entertain from false Reports
 too commonly spread on such

Occasions. In the month of
 reading this I will entertain
 you with the agreeable acct
 of the arrival of a vessel
 with 150 barrels of Powder
 for the Colony; communicated
 to me this Evening by Col.
 Couratton of the Commt. of
 Safety & soon on its way
 to this place upon being
 guarded by 180 Militias.
 An Escort sets off early this
 morning to reinforce it, & I
 believe my Company will be
 ordered on this Service. I
 will defend it long.
 The 3rd & Companies of
 Musketry, & 1 Rifle Man here,
 the other expected to arrive.
 But they are useless - we
 intend to fit out those already
 here. The Commt. of Safety
 has offered me £4.00 for one
 basket of having them ex-
 penses of retaining them;
 & we are to give them an

Return tomorrow, I considered
 the state of the Regulars,
 compared with the certainty of
 our being obliged to use them
 sooner than your Battalion
 and our Comm^{rs} desire to pro-
 vide the general Good I
 shall accept their Offer.
 They are so badly made that I
 have changed them for some
 of the Magazine & Baskets,
 not thinking it safe to trust
 myself in the field with such
 Arms. If I receive the Money
 for them And the Powder I
 brought from home by mistake
 to success as I expect I shall
 send it up by the first safe
 Party, as well as the Money
 for the Expenses of fitting out
 & victualling the Company of
 which I have 120 Pages present
 (None of say I know are sick
 except Jenkins & he is almost
 able to attend Duty. We have
 been regimenting - I fell into

The "Secord" square to my
 friend, I am on the right
 Wing. I wish the "Frederick" Men
 were here, they are in the same
 Regiment in the 1st the Lowland
 Company are not so good as
 I expected. We shall continue
 (if permitted) in Camp, till
 better disciplined & then
 but I have sworn to keep
 Secord's Bay forward our
 Battalion. I am well greatly
 please me by letting all my
 friends & family hear from
 me & my Soldier's friends as
 to their situations. Time is
 so precious at present to write
 more than this, when more offers
 I will not forget them.
 Have you forgotten me?

I am Dr Sir

Yours most sincerely
 G. Johnston.

Major. Lewis Powell.
 Loudoun County Virginia.

Capt. Budge

Dec. 7. 1775.

My dear Sir,

Now, indeed, I can
 tell you something; I was ex-
 hausted with the morning's engage-
 ment with bloody hands, not yet com-
 posed, I snatch a little time
 to relate the particulars.

About half an hour before
 Sun rises the enemy sallied
 out with about 150 Regiments of
 the 14th Regiment Volunteers without
 number, & three field pieces;
 they marched boldly up to our
 breast work, distant about 200
 yds from their Post, exposed all
 the way to our fullest fire of
 about thirty Men stationed al-
 ways to defend that place.

The fire from us was so
 hot that they began to un-
 treat when they got within 50
 yards of us: But their brave
 Capt. Woodcock, (now lying dead
 in our Church) at every hazard

valued. I brought them up
 to the very snuffles of our
 guns. By this time we got
 about 100 Men to the Great
 work, then indeed for about
 20 minutes there was a warm
 fire, so dreadful that it
 beggars description. I assure it
 to say that we forced them
 to retreat in great confusion,
 without any other damage to
 our side than the loss of a
 finger. They retreated like
 sheep, & in spite of us carried
 off their Cannon, many killed
 & wounded. The causeway I have
 seen covered with blood.
 We have one Capt. & ten killed
 & twenty wounded. Four or five
 mortally. Among the wounded is
 Lieut. Boutwell, who with Col.
 Woodford's permission sent the
 Commanding Officer of this fort
 (Capt. Leslie) a ticket informing
 of the kind treatment he &
 the other prisoners have met

with, of which he desired Col.
 Woodford to be informed. He
 has this most grateful sense.
 The officer, Gen. Holmes, who
 carried the flag of truce,
 was on the bridge. - He says
 that the dragging of the
 dead over has made a bloody path.
 We think that they have as
 many if not more killed &
 wounded in the fort, as we
 have here. Return thanks for this to
 a little villain, who deserted
 from us a few nights ago.
 He informed Lt. C. that we
 had not more than three hun-
 dred here, upon which it
 was determined to attack us
 with fixed Bayonets. The
 British Volunteers ran like
 lusty fellows. We have taken
 to-day 2 lbs. mounted fuzes
 1 steel & 24 well
 2000 Rets with Bayonets 5 1/2
 without Bayonets 1 Barrel powder
 25 Boxes & pouches

3 silver mounted. I & I
 Common. I & I. Bayonet belts
 20 Canteens, 2 Hats, 2 Watches. 5
 Bayonets. At two other times
 we have taken 10 Muskets
 killed six or seven negroes
 & white men I taken four
 negroes prisoners. They comports
 behaved like men; exposed
 to a warm fire for about
 ten minutes, they ran up
 to the breast work without
 dodging. The Carolina I then
 had like to have thrown us
 into confusion. We are now
 about 70 strong. Pray let my
 Mother & family know this
 as soon as possible. It
 Mother's fears may make her
 think that I must be killed.
 But it is not true & long
 may she be mistaken
 expecting another attempt from
 them to retrieve their honour.
 I have not time to write to
 another person but you, whom

I shall never forget.
 I am Dear Sir
 Yours most sincerely
 C. Johnston
 The fight continued about
 45 minutes. We had not more
 than 100 Men engaged.
 Genl. D. received a reinforcement
 this 2nd Inst of about 60 more
 of the 14th Regt. C. Jr.

at Kemp's Landing
 May 22nd 1776
 Dear Major

I this moment returned
 from Norfolk where I have been
 stationed these eight days with
 eighty Men to Small the enemy.
 I prevent any persons from going
 on board that might be induced
 to take that step by the
 late Resolution of the Convention
 to remove all the Inhabitants
 from this part of the country.
 It took of at least six months

for 1000 Negroes & three thousand
land & men. We have Casars
on every shore; this has distressed
his Lordship to such a degree,
that added to his former dis-
agreeable situation, his life is be-
come so miserable, he is remon-
strating his whole fleet to the
Roads; whether he will then
proceed is uncertain. Some
detents (some of whom are com-
ing to us every night) inform
that he will bend his course
to N. Carolina. The small
craft are already at Ocracoke
Islands, & the larger ones are
to follow in a day or two.
I have had skirmishes with
them every day, they hazard their
lives to procure food & water.
On Sunday last they made a
bold attempt to drive us off.
I happened luckily to walk
into Norfolk with Lieut. Tibbs
& Dickson, & about twelve men
in the evening to observe their

Motions, when a small party
of mine fell in with about
thirty of theirs near the water,
a smart fire ensued & we
pushed up to engage into it.
I discovered about 50 of them
behind some houses, endeavouring
by their disposition to draw
us on. I stood some time
& seeing them reinforced to
about 100, ordered my small
party to withdraw to some
large pines at the entrance
into the Bay, when I resolved
to give them battle. The
Baites took & they came on
yelping, like Devils headed by
Regular Officers. The rest of my
Men (as all fifty) joined me
at this place, & I had barely
time to encourage them a
little & prepare for the fight
before they took advantage of
the some houses &
about 200 Yds off & began a smart
fire. I ordered my men to keep

up their fire till they came
 nearer & their scattering creatures
 could collect, but it was in
 vain & the fight began. During
 this time I accidentally observed
 about fifty more of them planting
 themselves behind the old
 entrenchment, in order to secure
 us should we drive off their
 main body, part of whom were
 pushing to my left to surround
 us. I immediately marched that
 way with 20 Men, whom I placed
 on the point of a small hill,
 with orders not to fire till I
 gave the word, hoping by getting
 them & lying undiscovered, that
 they would proceed. They were doing
 so when my load began. This
 (added to the Indian war whoops
 about this time, ringing from
 every mouth) put them to
 flight. I did not think it
 prudent to pursue far, lest I
 should fall into the very snare
 they did. However we went to

the Ground they deserted, when
 we saw Bloods, & observed them
 drawn up on the Bank in
 order of Battle. I collected my
 men together & waited till they
 all went on Boards, which they
 did rather in a hurry. Since
 then they have been very quiet,
 employed only in removing
 their effects & black friends
 from their entrenchment; that
 piece they have entirely deserted.
 'Tis said by the Deserters that
 the small pox is on board
 & that they are innoculating.
 The negroes continue to die by
 half dozens daily. They mean
 to leave the women & children
 behind them. A dozen of our
 Men took a sloop from thirty
 of them in a tender a few
 days ago. At length the 1st & 2^d
 Regiments have leave to march to
 N. B. We shall start in about
 80 days unless some left handed
 Devil chinks himself as usual in

The way. We have received
no certain account of the
number of the enemy or their
intentions from Carolina.

Genl. Lee & Morn, are gone
thru with our 5th Regt.
The 4th & 5th are stationed
at Suffolk & the Art Bridge

At the latter a strong fort is
nearly built.

You are mistaken when
you suppose my refusing to
accept a Cont^l Comm^o affects
any Quaker's resolution, but
not of our Officers here resigned
& they were determined long
since. In this Capt. Fontaine
thinks as I do. He will serve
our country as Provincials, if
they will consent. He will do it
too for Continentals too.

What more can they want of
us? I have not time at
present to say more to you.
I have desired your attention
to my family; remember me

to them & all my ^{dear} friends
& believe me as ever
Yours most affectionate friend
Sam^l Johnston

Williamsburg, June 18th 1776

Dear Sir

In some of my former
letters, I told you my resolution
to refuse a Continental Commission
the 13th it was offered me by
the Comm^o of Safety, I returned it.
The persuasion & advice of my
friends here has induced me
to sacrifice my own feelings
to their opinion & offer to
continue in Service even as
a Continental Officer, provided
fifty of my present Compt^o
can be prevailed on to reinlist.
But the General will make
Terms with some of us & I say
that I must run the risk.
I would not, my good Sir,
serve with any other man.

than those I brought into the
Field, whom I know & love;
& who will render more essential
service than twice their number
of raw, undisciplined troops;
and yet if I take my command
at all events I must command
in new set, mine being deter-
mined to visit their friends
in the Fall & probably may
never return. A general dissatis-
faction to the present service
prevails; the daily duty at
this place of perfect security
is more than even danger
would justify; one half of this
Garrison mount guard at all
times. — Enough of this till
I see you about 15 days hence
& am now the private gen-
tleman. —
This morning a part of the
Artillery Company marched
for Adams's Islands with the
two great Field pieces, to
say they will take 10,000

larger pieces on the coast, &
about the 21st the Patrole is
to be entertained with the sight
of Lord D. & his whole Staff,
etc. dancing in the air;
the Postmark & Journey are to be
refitted (if not too much bored
by Capt. Arundel) & sent imme-
diately in search of the Silver
Horn, who, being deceived by
the former friendly behaviour, is
to be taken, without the loss
of a grain of powder, & so
on to the whole of them.
Col. Stephen is fortifying
Elizabeth river, for the conven-
ience of our Gallies &c; in
fact is doing all he can to
have it fortified, but the Supreme
Power according to custom
has furnished him with no
other assistance than their
Resolutions on paper. The
Governor at Portsmouth with
the 4th & 8th entraining
the 1300 men raised by Lord

later to assist Carolinas are
embodied & waiting for orders.
Six Troops of Horse are voted
& so ordered, that we shall
never be changed with any ex-
pense, on that score. Henry
Hann Lee & the Secretary's
young son command the
& 6th Companies in exclusion
of Capt. Polkford & several
other Officers in the last
Winter Campaigns. Henry Peyton
is Lieut. Col. Col. Menden is
appointed in Brigades Generals
& ordered immediately to New
York. None of the vacancies
in the army are filled up,
now is the order of succession
yet made known. Gen. Lee with
the 5th Regt is moving slowly
to So. Carolina in search of
Clinton who has not been heard
of since he left Cape Fear
the 1st inst. the Winds must
have brought him here several
days since if he intended,

coming. There are three Indians
in town commissioned by the Govern-
ment to enquire into the meaning
of our arming ourselves; they
say that they have been inform-
ed that we intend to cut
them off. The Convention voted
them ten pounds each &
some trinkets & are preparing
a talk for their Nation.
An Express from the frontier
yesterday informs of another man
killed near Holston. A Fellow
from a French Island got
safe into the Garrison. There
last week with 100 Barrels Powder
& 500 Heads Arms. Some of
them are now seen not equal
to the English. Another brought
into Northampton 1500 lbs powder
& a few arms. Thirteen of these
trinkets are made brought
down & sold to the Convention
& sold complete at six pounds
& contracted to deliver within
a year at the same price

1588. A gale is ready
and will sail the first of
next week - The other vessels are
going in slowly - perhaps
they may all sail the first
of August. The Bill of Rights
is done with. A form of Gov-
ernment is under consideration
tho' the great variety of sen-
timents in the members will
not put the finishing hand to
it till the next Session; per-
haps the delay will discover
all its defects if there should
be any. Some forms will be
agreed upon & published, now
for the People's consideration,
& £100,000 is voted, of which
£70,000 will be emitted in
the Indian way. Charleston is
strongly galled with heavy
cannon: its poverty will not
send a sufficient number of
shot into the fields.
Thomson. I am telling nearly
all this news, but you must

have it, so take it, I have as
much for you.

Yours most sincerely
G. Johnston.

Williamsburg June 21st 1776

Sir

Yesterday a large Brig.
loaded with 200 Highlanders
intended for Boston was brought
up to Lancaster, having been
retaken the day before by
Capt. Warren. They are landed
now on their march to this place,
amounting to 74 Men. She was
lately taken with another by one
John Northward, Privateer, who after
taking all for the Officers &
Arms on board him, put twelve
of his men into this one to
muzzle her in. Her vessel being
separated from him by a Gale
was retaken by the Lockier who
directed to this side of their
Countrymen, but Warren met with

in the Bay. The Gen. intends
to send them to the different
upper Counties. Gen. Mearns still
at Myrtle Island, erecting bat-
teries and exchanging a few shot
daily. Should the enemy not be
reinforced, they may perhaps be
driven in a month, not less.
Clinton is certainly going off
to Charleston with the whole force.
Gen. Lee has ordered all the
N. Carolina Troops to South,
when they are weak in Mearns,
but stout in Cannon, & sent
to Gen. Lewis for 2000 from Regiments
to supply their place, at Cape
Mearns for which purpose the 3rd
& 4th Regts march next week. The
Gen. is moving on to Charleston
Orders are sent to Maryland &
Pennsylvania to replace ours
immediately. Capt. Litch is ap-
pointed to the Majority of the
Army till the pleasure of
Congress is known; if confirmed
I shall the consequences, the

old Capt. will not easily submit.
The form of Government is still
unfinished, we talked of having
a Governor, Council of eight to
act as an Upper House, & Assembly
the first elected by the two last,
to continue for three years, and
ineligible for their succeeding; the
second by as many districts into
which the Counties are to be laid
& turn out by rotation, & last
elected annually. Garrison &
Branston are left out of Congress,
the other five & are now were
chosen yesterday. Col. Henry would
not go out of the Colony, the
Legislative & Executive Branches are
to be excluded, all posts of profit
Something will be done about
the Bonds before they rise, which
is fixed for the 29th of the Inst.
& have just returned from a
general Court & March, after
cashing Capt. Lane from Dundee
for a Commodore in a private
war. He would not stand his

trial. But rather than to escape
disturbance. Col. Scott is the
Monarch returned from Cambridge.
He says there are 217. I shall
be loaded with chests & Officers
trunks. I will send you the In-
ventory as soon as I get it.
He is gone to Petersburg to
be unloaded, a large fine, and
other things.

If you have not seen
enough in this, I will send
you more in the next.

I am Yours sincerely
G. Johnston

Wilmington July 7th 1776

My Dear Sir,
I rec^d yours of 29th
written from Memphis. You request
for some Highland prisoners
not to be supplied with the
Congress have ordered it otherwise.
I directed that they shall be
sustained at the enemy's expense,
which though true in the

mean time by us, will be refunded
before they are exchanged. They will
not be permitted to work, unless they
please. Among those sent to
London you may probably get
rewards if so, you are at liberty
to live, remembering to make
such a bargain with them, at
that you will not lose or be
disappointed by their return,
which Lord D. is extremely de-
sirous to effect. No reinforce-
ment is arrived, nor will any
of consequence come this Summer
so that I may with safety
to my Country & Honor to my
self assign in Sept. time
enough to be up at the Elec-
tion of our Senator. My sen-
sence at this Camp would
not permit me to speak to
our Delegates about the I mean.
Let not Elzey be even men-
tioned, Sir Lubman, your
exaltation to super added to
the attachment to this point

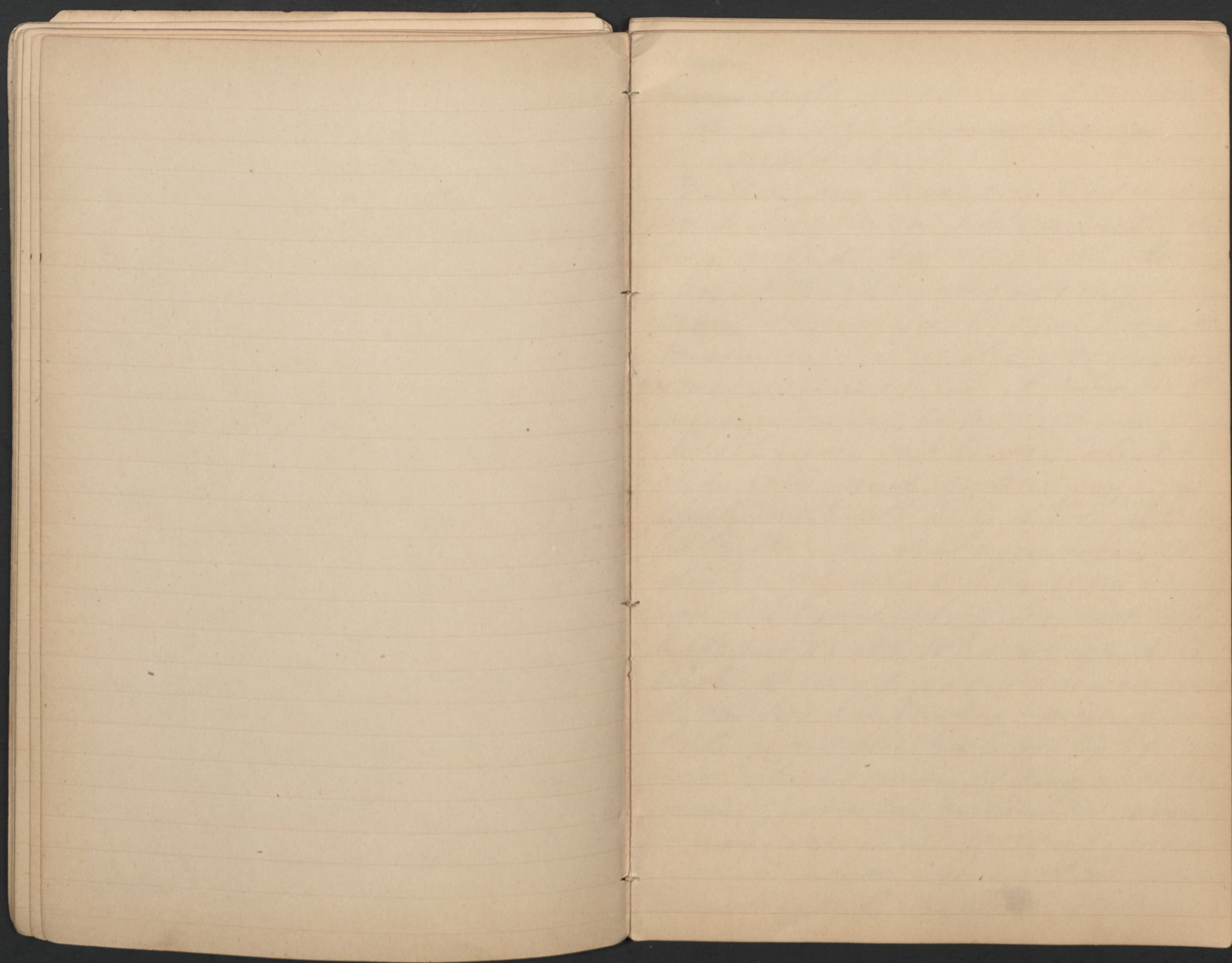
my party renders him at this
time the most useful man
alive; an active, resolute &
honest Man, tho' with such
great abilities will better accom-
plish the people to the new
Government. The Governour
is already too much ham-
pered, his Council & the
Senate ought therefore to
assist his Measures, instead of
throwing every obstacle in his
way. Candour & Friendship
oblige me to inform you that
I wish to serve in the lower
House, which I will not at-
tempt, even indeed, can it
be affected, unless one

Delegat be appointed the
Senator; of the two Col. Peyton
is the Man. If you concern
with me, speak to him on
the occasion; if not I will
cheerfully acquiesce. I trust your
self are getting a general meet-
ing of the People at the Blue

town. Gen. Lee has ordered the
third & sixth Regiments to
continue here; he has 1000 Men
in Ch. Town; & concludes it
probable that as Clinton can
not make an impression there,
he will push to Virginia.
If so we stand a chance of
seeing each other again as Soldiers.
A ~~new~~ address to the Governour has
appeared Col. W. (probably Woodford
or Weedon) he did not sign
it, & thinks himself so much
injured by it, that in order
to do justice to his Character,
he intends to publish to the
world his disapprobation. This may
bring on a paper War. I judge
how it will end. An injur-
y is making it to his conduct
by a Court of the third &
sixth. It will comprehend
the History of last Years
Campaigns. If I can procure
a copy of the proceedings you
shall have this valuable present

Your sentiments about Major
Litch are mine. If this is the
rule of succession, I can't complain.
Some of our ^{best} recruits start next
week & the week after you
may perhaps send their fate
in Pauline's hands. Col. Stephens
is going on ^{business} at Ports-
mouth. Capt. Ball of the 5th
for permitting a Jamaica man
with 311 punches run to
be ^{tried} was tried yesterday
and honourably acquitted. I can't
sufficiently acknowledge your
friendly attention to my family.
God bless you. I am Dear
Sir

Yours most affectionately
C. Johnston



~~of~~ Talusti's sketch & compar-
ison of the characters of
Cæsar & Cato

Within my memory there have
lived two men, eminently dis-
tinguished for their virtues
& yet ^{greatly} differing from
each other in morals and
manners. Since the occasion
presented itself, it was not
my purpose to pass them by
in silence; but to sketch the
character and manners of
each, with all the skill I can
In birth, age, & eloquence, these
distinguished men were nearly
equal. Equal glory too, but of
different kinds, was assigned to
each. Cæsar was esteemed great
from his kindness, & munificence.
Cato from the integrity of his
life. The former became illus-
trious from his mildness & clem-
ency. His severity conferred
dignity upon the latter. Cæsar
won his reputation by giving,

relieving + pardoning. ~~The~~ ~~wicked~~
~~ed~~ found their refuge in. Cato
commanded the confidence of all
men by his careful abstinence
from all the arts of bribery. The
wretched found a refuge with
the one; - wicked men their de-
stroyer in the other. The gener-
ous temper of the former, the
firmness of the latter were
subjects of continual praise
Finally, Cato had applied his
mind to labour and vigilance
intent upon the interest of his
friends, he disregarded his
own. He denied nothing which
was worthy of being given by
him. He coveted for himself great
authority, the control of an army, a
new war in which his valour could
be brilliantly displayed. But
Cato's only study was moderation,
showing but most of all the rigid
practice of virtue. He did not
contend with the factions, nor
party spirit, nor was not

with the rich in wealth, but
with the modest in chastity, with
the innocent in purity of
heart. He preferred to be good
rather than to seem so. So
that the less he pursued glory,
the more it followed him.

Cicero's Speech in the
Roman Senate, upon the
proposition to inflict death
upon those engaged in con-
spiracy with Cataline

A Couscript Father. It
becomes all men who are en-
gaged in consultation about
doubtful matters, to be un-
dermined by hatred or friend-
ship, anger or compassion.
The judgment does not readily
attain a just decision when
obstructed by those feelings,
nor has any one obeyed at the
same time the dictates of pas-
sion and of interest. When the
understanding is with concentra-
ted force applied to the search for
truth, it succeeds, but if passion
rules, the intellect avails nothing.
Numerous instances, Couscript Father,
occur to me, of Kings & Nations,
who by anger or compassion have
been impelled to wrong deci-
sions; but I prefer to dwell upon

those cases, in which our
ancestors have acted justly
and soberly, in assistance to
the impulses of their own feel-
ings. In the Macedonian war
which we carried on against
King Perseus, the great and
magnificent state of Rhodes,
which had grown by the help
of the Roman people became
faithful and hostile to us; but
after the war was finished and
the Senate had consulted about
the conduct of the Rhodians,
our ancestors let them go un-
punished, lest some one
should say, that the war against
them was undertaken more for
gathering spoil, than redress-
ing injuries. In all the Punic
war also, when the Carthagin-
ians had often done many
wicked deeds, both in time of
peace and during a truce, our
ancestors were not averted; they
rather sought to know what was

worthy of themselves, than
what punishment they could
justly inflict upon their
adversaries. This same cau-
tion should be observed by us
towards Father, lest you be
more influenced by your sense
of the criminality of Publius
Sextilius and the rest than by
a regard for your own dignity,
- lest you consult more your au-
ger, than your fame. If it were
a penalty commensurate with
their deservings, I should ap-
prove of the infliction of this
most punishment of death, which
is proposed; but if the magnitude
of their crime transcends the
imagination of all, I think we
should apply such punishment
as are in conformity with the
laws. Most of those who before
myself, have expressed their opin-
ions, have in stirred and glow-
ing language expressed their com-
passion for the condition of

the republic. They have
dwelt upon the severity
of war - the woes of the
vanquished. They have pic-
tured to us, children torn
from the embraces of their
mothers, nations enduring
the lust of the victors - the
plundered temples, and hor-
-rific massacres & conflagration
& arms, corpses, blood, and
lamentation all around
us. But by the immortal gods
for what purpose do they
thus address us? Is it to awaken
in us a just enmity to the con-
spiracy? As if forsooth their
orations could inflame him who
is insensible to so monstrous
and atrocious a crime?
It is not so - nor does any ^{man} ~~subtle~~
lightly regard his own inju-
ries; to many men they seem
more important than all they
are. But conscience fathers
all men have not the same

freedom of action. Few know
into what offenses, anger may
have hurried those who spend
their humble life in obscuri-
ty; their fame and their pa-
-diction are on the same level.
- All men are familiar with
the conduct of those who
clothed with great author-
-ity live in high position, and
within the public view.
Thus in the highest fortune
is the least freedom of action. It does
not become those who hold it to give
way either to affection, or to hatred
but least of all to anger. What
is called passion in others, in
those in authority is called arro-
-gance and cruelty. Indeed they
think conscience fathers, that all
toritures would be less than their
crimes deserve; but most men cher-
ish the memory of the final issue
of such enterprises, descant upon
their punishment if that has happened to
be a little too severe. I ^{confidently} know

that Decimus Silanus that
brave and vigilant man
has said, what he has spoken
from his affection for the
Republic, for I well know the
temper and modesty of the
man. But his opinion seems
to me, not indeed cruel, for
what can be regarded as cruel
against such men, but foreign
to the spirit of our Republic.
For indeed, Silanus, either alarm
for the public safety, or a sense
of the enormity of their crime
has compelled you to propose
as Consul elect, this new kind
of punishment. But it is super-
fluous to speak of alarm, since
by the promptness and diligence
of that most illustrious man
our Consul, we have such pow-
erful guards under arms. Of
the nature of the punishment pro-
posed we can say what the oc-
casion demands; that it is grief
and misery, death is a rest from

suffering, not a torture; that
it dispels all the evils of mor-
tals; that beyond the grave
there is no place for either
care or joy. But by the immor-
tal Gods, why have you not
added to your sentence, that
they should first be proceeded
against by stripes? Is it because
the Porcian law forbids? But other
laws also command that con-
demned citizens should not be
deprived of life, but that they
be permitted to go into exile.
Or is it because scourging is a
more painful punishment than
death? But if because it is a
milder proceeding, with what de-
gree of consistency can you observe
the law in the lesser, and disregard
it in the greater matter? But indeed
some one may say what need of all
this discussion, for who will find
fault with the severity of a sen-
tence against the parricides of
their country? My answer is that

a regard for the contingencies
of the future, for for ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{ways} ~~ways~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{control} ~~control~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{destinies} ~~destinies~~ ^{of} ~~of~~ ^{nations} ~~nations~~
should influence our judgment
These conspirators will have
well deserved their punish-
ment whatever it may be. But
consider how script fathers
or what precedent you may estab-
lish ^{which} ~~against~~ ^{which} ~~against~~ ^{others} ~~others ^{may} ~~may ^{employ} ~~employ
All bad government springs
from precedents which were
in their time good. But when
authority is transmitted to the
ignorant or less deserving, that new
precedent is perverted from fit
and worthy uses, to those which
are improper and unworthy.
Lacedaemonians having conquer-
ed the Athenians subjected them
to the government of thirty citi-
zens. These at first began their rule
by putting to death every worst and
universally odious citizen. The
people rejoiced at it & said it was
well done. Afterwards when the~~~~~~

exercise of these powers grew
more licentious they killed at
their pleasure alike the good
and the bad, and filled the rest
with alarm. Thus the State oppress-
ed by slavery suffered severe
penalties for its foolish re-
joicing. When within our memory
the victorious Sylla ordered that
Clodius and others like
him who had become pow-
erful by the misgovernment of
the Republic, should be put
to death, who did not praise his
conduct? They said that wicked
and factious men, who con-
vulsed the republic with sedi-
tion, were deservedly slain.
But that circumstance was the
beginning of a great calamity.
For whoever coveted the house
or villa or a base or garnishment of
another equated himself to have
his owner enrolled among the
proscribed. Thus those who re-
joiced in the death of Clodius

pus, were soon after themselves
dragged to slaughter, nor was
there any end of killing, until
Sylla had satiated his followers
with plunder. I indeed do not
fear such things from Marcius
Tullius, nor in these times
but in a great state are many
and various dispositions. It is pos-
sible that at another time and
under the consulship of another
man who will have an army
in hand, some false accusation
may be set as true; when under
the authority of this precedent
the Consul shall, by a decree of
the Senate, have drawn the sword
who will put a limit to his power
or who will restrain its exercise?
Our ancestors Censorius Fathers
were not destitute of either
prudence or boldness; nor did
their pride prevent them from
adopting the good insti-
tutions of other nations, if only
they were worthy of adoption

Their arms and military wear-
ing, and most of their badges of
office they adopted from the
Samnites; finally they practis-
ed with the greatest earnest-
ness at home whatever graceful
or useful art, they observed
among their allies or their
enemies. They thought it better
to imitate than to envy the in-
stitutions of other nations. But
at the same time that borrowing
the custom of the Greeks they
punished citizens with stripes
they inflicted death upon those
convicted of capital crimes. After
the republic increased in territory
and population, and from the mul-
titude of its citizens factories pre-
vailed, the innocent were circum-
vented and other crimes of that sort
were perpetrated, then the Por-
cian law & other laws were pass-
ed by which exile was permit-
ted to those condemned for cap-
ital offenses. Thus Censorius Fathers

is an especial reason why
we should refrain from adopt-
ing the novel mode of punish-
ment proposed. Indeed there is
greater virtue in those who from
small means have constructed
so great an empire, than in
us who with difficulty retain
those things which they have
so nobly won for us. Do I then
propose that their accusers
be discharged to add to the
strength of Catalina's army?
By no means; but I then think
that their property should be
confiscated: that they should
be kept in chains in our
strongest free towns; & that no one
in time to come consult the
Senate with regard to them; nor treat
respecting them with the people
that the Senate should decree
that whosoever acts otherwise
should be regarded as the enemy
of the Republic and the com-
mon safety

Cato's Reply to the
preceding speech of
Cicero.

After Cicero had finished
his speech, the other senators
verbally assented, some to the
sentiments expressed by one of
the speakers, and some to
those of another. But when
Marcus Porcius Cato was asked
his opinion, he delivered an
oration to the following
effect. When I reflect how
Script fathers upon the dan-
gerous posture of our public
affairs. My opinion is far dif-
ferent from what it would be,
were I merely to revolve in my
mind the sentiments of some of
those who have spoken today.
They seem to have confined
their remarks to the question
what kind of punishment should
be inflicted upon those who
have made themselves ready
for war upon their country

their parents, their religion
and their homes. But the
condition of the State admon-
ishes us, that it is of more
pressing importance that we
adopt measures for our own
protection, than to deliberate
upon what kind of punish-
ment we shall inflict upon
them. When proper precau-
tions have been taken for
the public safety, then may
you discuss the nature of the
punishment to be inflicted.
Unless you provide against what
may happen, in vain when
it happens will you implore
the aid of public justice. When
the city has been captured, nothing
can be left to the vanquished. But
by the immortal gods I appeal to
you who have always regarded
your houses & villas, your statues,
and paintings, as of more value than
the republic, if you wish to retain
those things, (such as they are) to

which you have so fondly at-
tached yourselves, if you wish to
enjoy your pleasures in peace at
length to arouse yourselves and
take upon you the defence of
your country. We are not now
deliberating about the public
revenues, or about wrongs done
to our allies; but the liberty &
life itself of the State are at
hazard. I have often been
script Father's spoken much to
this effect. I have often com-
plained of the avarice and
luxury of our citizens, & for
that cause have won the unpopularity
of many. I who never extended any
indulgence to my own faults
did not readily pardon the
selfishness of others. Although
you thought such matters of
little importance, the republic
has remained safe. The wealth of
our country has protected it from
the consequences of your sug-
gest. Now indeed the question is

not whether the public morals shall be pure, or corrupt, nor how great nor how magnificent shall be the empire of the Roman people, but whether what we have of what sort kind shall remain our own, or together with ourselves become the prey of our enemies. Does any one here talk to me of duty & compassion? Already indeed, we have lost the true names of things. In this critical condition the republic is placed, because a profuse giving away of another's property is called liberality, & boldness in the perpetration of crime is termed courage. Let some indeed since the morals of the times allow it, be liberal with the fortunes of our allies, and merciful to the robbers of the public treasury; but let them not by sparing a few wicked men, proceed to destroy all good citizens. Cæsar a little while ago deserved

in fair and studied language, in the connection about life and death, expressing the opinion I believe that it is false which is told us of the infernal regions, that the wicked by a different road from the good reach their dwelling place, in rough, wild, disgusting, and terrible regions. He therefore thought that their estates should be confiscated, and they should be kept imprisoned in the free towns, fearing forsooth, lest if they should remain at Rome, they may be violently rescued either by those among the people friendly to the conspirators, or by a hired mob. As if indeed wicked and abandoned men were to be found in the city only, and not throughout all Italy, or audacity could not affect more, where there are less means of defence against it. Whosoever this advice is, is indeed, if he actually apprehends some danger from them. But if in the general alarm he alone does not fear, on that very

account does, it the more concern
you and me to flatter ourselves -
Wherefore regard it as certain
that what ever you decree against
Publius Scutulus and the
rest, you are at the same
time decreeing about the ro-
my of Cataline, and all the
Conspirators. The more rigorous
by you act, the more discoura-
ged will they become, but if
you relax your energies, the
freerer will they be. Do not
suppose that our ancestors made
this a great republic from a small
one by arms alone. If it had been
so the state with us would be
much more glorious than with
them; for we are much more abun-
dantly supplied with allies &
citizens, as well as with arms &
money. But they had other things
which made them great which we
have not. Industry at home, a just
rule of our foreign possessions,
a mind unfettered in deliberation

Neither swayed by a conscience
of guilt nor braced by passion
Instead of these things we have
luxury, public poverty and pri-
vate opulence, we flatter wealth
we practice stolidity, we show
no discrimination between the
good and the bad, we bestow
all the rewards which belong to
virtue. Nor is it strange when
every one gives himself up to the
selfish indulgence in the pleas-
ure of his own home, or wealth
or popularity, that an attack
should be made upon the unpro-
tected republic. But I pass
these topics. The most disingui-
shed citizens have conspired to
kindle the flames of civil war -
they swarmed to their aid in the
battle the nation is the grand, the
is most hostile to the Romans, the
leader of the enemy is in our
midst; yet you now we hesitate
to decide what we shall do to the
one that has been seized with

in our walls. My advice forsooth is
that you have pity on them. They are
very young men who have been mis-
led by their ambition & you
may soon send them away supplied
with arms. But may not that
mercy & kindness turn to your
own destruction, if they take
arms. You say forsooth that our
condition is threatening enough
but you are not afraid of it
Nay but indeed you are very
much afraid, but you delay
action from sluggishness and
effeminacy, each one waiting
for the other, alone trusting in the
immortal gods who have so often
preserved the republic in its extreme
peril. The help of the gods is not
won only by votive offerings and
vainly supplications, but best things
won out prosperously, by vigilance
energy, and wise counsel. In vain
you implore the help of the gods,
when you give yourselves up to sloth
and cowardice. They become angry and

impropitious. In the time of our
ancestors, Titus Manlius Torquatus
ordained his own son to be put
to death, because he had fought
the enemy against his command,
and that illustrious youth suffer-
ed by death the penalty of his
ungoverned valour. As you have
it in your power to inflict that punish-
ment upon the most cruel
parricides

42 BLANK PAGES NOT SCANNED

They charged & the Company after Company
Regt after Regt rushed up Loburn's
put himself at their head & they
swept over the field carrying every thing
before them & completely routing the en-
emy. A friend of mine had been
shot down by my side mortally wounded
& when the charge was over & the work
finished I rode back ~~in the field~~
to look for a physician for him & in
the moonlight for evening was then
closing in I saw a group gathered
on the bloody field. I approached &
the saddest scene I have ever witnessed.
It met my eye there lay ~~our~~ hero pale
& ghastly with the dew of death on his
forehead supported in the arms of his
friends while the physicians & officers
stood round earnestly watching the
passing of that spirit they had no
power to stay ^{any} while Pres. ^{of} the Knelt
by his side his head resting ^{on} Loburn's
bosom sobbing like a child.

"The red field was won" but at
how dear a cost.

Gen Bowen & another Officer who had been with Gen I. in the old U. S. Army & was his old & true friend. This gentleman was rather blunt in his manner of speaking & as soon as we entered the tent (where Gen I. sat writing, he walked up to him, grasped his hand & exclaimed "Well Gen let others say what they will, there are some few of us here still who appreciate you & will stand by you to the last." The stern soldier's lip quivered & his eye filled as he returned that cordial grasp, he was more moved by the confidence & affection of one than by the distrust & enmity of the many.

I shall never forget his last appearance on the battle-field. During the battle of Shiloh while the conflict was raging most fiercely Gen Bowen was ordered to take a position from which the enemy were moving down our men & the possession of which was absolutely necessary to our success. I was Gen. B's adjutant & of course with him & we had only a part of our Brigade with us & they were from Arkansas &

though good troops were inexperienced if we had had our Missourians we should have carried it at once (W. B. Major H is from Missouri himself) but as it was though our troops would charge up the hill they would not follow under fire but would retreat after making their charge. After one or two unsuccessful charges while we were making every effort to get them up Gen I. rode up to us surrounded by his staff looking the perfection of a soldier & a general, he rode quietly in front of the men up to the crest of the hill when the shot & shell were raining, halted there & turning towards our troops held up his hand with some small bright object in it as if to say "if I can stand here safely why cannot you" & then called out "Gen Bowen bring up your Brigade". In an instant Bowen was beside him exclaiming "Colonel bring up your regiment & as the Col took his place on the hill he cried out Capt Armstrong bring up your men. Armstrong sprang forward with the flag in his hand & shouted "Go to dress on your colors" quick as thought

"Yes" said Major H. "I think that Gen
A. S. Johnston was decidedly the most
splendid looking soldier & the noblest
man I have seen since this war began.
His death was an irreparable loss to us
for had he lived he would have held
that place in the Western army which
he holds in the East. I was with
him during the whole of that disas-
-trous retreat through Kentucky & Tenn
- when the press & the country were bla-
-ming him for not doing what was ex-
-pected out of his power, when his army
seemed melting away like a snow-crust
in spring time, for whole regiments of
Tennesseans laid down their arms &
deserted, as their homes were left behind,
& he went calmly forward leaving without
a word the obloquy which was cast upon
him; upheld by the consciousness that
he was doing his duty, & never attempting
~~to~~ to justify himself lest he should
expose his weakness to the enemy, & thereby
injure his country. I never saw him
show any emotion but once & that was
one evening when I went to his tent with

