The Relationship of Robert Walsh, Jr.,
to the Port Folio and the Dennie Circle: 1803-1812

Evidence is ample that Robert Walsh, Jr. (1784-1859), Philadelphia lawyer, editor, and literary critic was one of the most distinguished and influential literary men of his age. John Quincy Adams, Charles Francis Adams, Francis Walker Gilmer, Jared Sparks, Samuel Lorenzo Knapp, John Gorham Palfrey, Edgar Allan Poe, Rufus Griswold are but a few of the notable literati who, over a fifty-year period, acknowledged the primacy or the importance of Walsh as an author, editor, or critic.¹ His indefatigable labor in the vineyard of American literature is attested by the fact that he succeeded Charles Brockden Brown as editor of the American Register in 1810, edited the American Review of History and Politics—America's first quarterly publication—in 1811-1812, edited the second American Register in 1817, edited the Philadelphia National Gazette and Literary Register from 1820 to 1836, and, concurrently from 1826 to 1836, edited the powerful American Quarterly Review.² He also found time to author seven books and constantly contribute lengthy editorials and literary essays to his own and other journals.³


² Walsh’s simultaneous editorship of the National Gazette and the American Quarterly made him an exceedingly powerful voice in social and literary matters in Philadelphia in the 1820’s and early 1830’s. See Woodall, Chapters III and IV, for Walsh’s direction of these journals in literary matters.

³ The catalogue of Walsh’s publications is listed in Lochemes, 229-230. His periodical contributions, however, have been enlarged upon in Ralph M. Aderman, “Contributors to the
Since relatively little has been written about Robert Walsh's incipient literary life, it invites investigation. If the accuracy of Walsh's memory can be trusted, he began his literary career around 1800. On May 11, 1841, from his home in Paris, where he had lived as an expatriate since 1836, he wrote to President John Tyler: "At the age of sixteen I wrote for the American journals, literary and political essays which were well received." These essays have not been discovered, but certain others, written at the ages of nineteen or twenty, appeared in Joseph Dennie's Port Folio during 1803 and 1804. If nothing were known about Walsh's beginning literary life other than the fact that he was accepted by Dennie as a regular contributor, a great deal would be suggested about him. The pages of the Port Folio tell plainly that the editor solicited contributions from writers who were pro-Federalist in political sympathies, aristocratic in taste, and classically educated. Walsh would, indeed, have been an anomaly among the contributors if he had not possessed these qualities.

In 1803 and 1804, original essays bearing the pseudonymous signature "Florian" appeared from time to time in Dennie's periodical. Professor Harold Milton Ellis in his Joseph Dennie and his Circle listed "Florian" as one of the Port Folio's unidentified contributors. It is, however, possible to identify him as Robert Walsh, Jr. According to the annotated Port Folio files of John Elihu Hall and Harrison Hall, brothers who successively edited the Port Folio from 1816 to 1827, "The American Lounger" column, a regular feature of the journal, was written by Walsh on September 17, 1803, February 11, March 10, May 19, May 26, June 16, and September 1, 1804. Here-tofore, it seems, no one has noticed, or felt the need to point out, that these Walsh essays bear the signature "Florian"—except the last essay, which is signed "F." That "F" is Walsh, as well as "Florian," is doubly certain, since this essay appeared years later in Walsh's


Lochemes, 27-28, begins his journal contributions with the British Spy essays in the Port Folio in 1804, and these are treated only lightly.

Walsh to Tyler, May 11, 1841, Appointment Papers in the Diplomatic, Legal, and Fiscal Branch, The National Archives.

Bulletin of the University of Texas, No. 40 (Austin, 1915), 164.

R. G. Randall, "Authors of the Port Folio Revealed by the Hall Files," American Literature, II (1940), 397.
Didactics (1836). In addition to the essays that can be identified as Walsh’s in the Hall files, two of the earlier “The American Lounger” essays, those of April 23 and July 15, 1803, can be shown to have come from his pen. These two essays, like the ones identified in the Hall files, are also signed “Florian.” That they are Walsh’s is certain, moreover, because they form an introduction to the whole “Florian” series and because they elicited certain editor and reader comments that group them with the other “Florian” essays.

From 1803 to 1805 Dennie’s regular Port Folio column “To Readers and Correspondents” frequently carried personal and critical notes to “Florian.” There were also during the same period in the Port Folio a good many essays by regular contributors in answer to “Florian.” A study of Dennie’s comments, the essays evoked by “Florian’s” offerings, and the “Florian” essays themselves tell much about the initial stages of Walsh’s literary career in regard to his style, masters, choice of subjects, and reception.

Although not assigned to Walsh by the Hall files, which identified only a part of the early Port Folio writers, the first “Florian” essay appeared on April 23, 1803. It was a satirical, quasi-serious essay on female education. In it the education of American women was compared unfavorably to that of French women. The essay in style was highly imitative of the Rambler essays of Samuel Johnson. Johnson-like, it was replete with long balanced sentences, Latinisms, turgid diction, and classical allusions. In theme it was more Addisonian than Johnsonian in that it was designed to satirize women. Despite the heavy style, Walsh’s first attempt at belles-lettres was crowned with success. The editor wrote in his “To Readers and Correspondents” on May 14, 1803: “Florian, who has obliged us with one of the most elegant papers in the Lounger, is invited to take a seat at Mr. Saunter’s table.”11 “Florian” accepted the invitation, for on July 15, 1803, another essay similar in satirical style and subject matter appeared. Quotations in it reveal Walsh’s familiarity with Addison’s and Steele’s “feminine” essays.12

9 Harold Milton Ellis attributes this department to Dennie in his Dennie and His Circle . . . (Austin, Tex., 1915), 88
10 Port Folio, III, 129.
11 Ibid., III, 159.
12 Ibid., III, 225-226.
One result of Walsh's first two "Florian" efforts was that they launched what was for the most part a good-natured literary war, the first of many literary altercations that was to fill his career. Remonstrating against the essays, which they felt derogated their sex, several of the Port Folio's regular female contributors began to submit articles of their own censuring the young author. The first of these was from the pen of "Beatrice," who rebuked "Florian" severely. In a letter to "Samuel Saunter, Esq.," the fictitious president of the "Lounger Club," she lashed out spiritedly at "Florian":

In the name of patience, what is desired of us? If we endeavour to make our way through life with modesty and "shamefacedness," we are insipid; if with gaiety and cheerfulness, we are called trifling chatterboxes. Alas! fault finding man, you can neither live with us, nor without us, but you must shew your consequence by finding fault. Some persons cannot view a picture or book without criticising, fearful that you should doubt their taste and powers of discrimination, while, at the same time, they expose their ignorance.

Walsh's third paper for the Port Folio, on September 17, 1803, was a continuation of the feud between himself and the female literary coterie of Philadelphia. He averred defensively that he expressed himself in the tradition of Addison and Johnson, who had written so much about women for the purpose of entertaining and instructing them. "It would be uncharitable," he explained, "to imagine the Lounger deficient in the same laudable zeal, and as he is moreover known to be a strenuous advocate for the influence of example, and the authority of precedent, I therefore conclude that 'the eye beams pleasure, and the heart feels joy,' when a speculation offers, which promises to engage their attention, or accord with their taste."

That the young author felt rather strongly about the responsible role of women in society and about female education is evidenced by the many essays essentially directed to women that he continued to write in years following. In his Didactics (1836), where he collected many of his choice essays, he included such pieces as "Female Training,"

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13 Identified possibly as Mrs. Gertrude Gouverneur (Ogden) Meredith, Ellis. 162-163. If Mrs. Meredith were "Beatrice" it is interesting because Walsh in later years became a great admirer of her literary abilities. See Robert Walsh, Didactics, I, 26.
14 Port Folio, III, 257.
15 Ibid., III, 297.
"Female Example," "Treatment of the Sex," "Female Intellect," and "Female Sovereigns." These essays were designed for the moral and social instruction of women. A strong feeling about the necessity of guarding the morals of women in society later became an integral part of his criticism and his editorial policies.

With Dennie's acceptance of his third essay, Walsh's literary reputation became more firmly established. "Florian," wrote the editor, "is a right worshipful member of the club of Loungers. His fancy is frolic, his style is gay, and the resolution of an author often triumphs over the idler's lassitude." 16 Perhaps the lassitude that Walsh had manifested to the editor was a result of merely writing essays directed to women readers. Whatever the cause of his weariness, it passed quickly. On November 19, 1803, Dennie wrote: "We are edified by a renewal of Florian's correspondence. We hope this writer will oblige us with many of his essays"; 17 and two weeks later, in what seemed to be an acknowledgment of receipt of another article, the editor noted: "The favors of 'Florian' are always cordially received." 18

On February 11, 1804, "Florian" again appeared in the pages of the Port Folio. This time his offering was not concerned with the deficiencies of female education but with the deficiencies of democracy. After comparing the modern world to the ancient in all areas of learning, Walsh concluded that the modern was superior in every way, and particularly so in those areas relative to "theoretic and practical legislation." He was concerned that the "voice of the people" would negate progress in the legislative areas. 19 This essay, written from the Federalist point of view, was probably prompted by the victory of the Jeffersonian Republicans in the election of 1800 and the subsequent decline of Federalism. That the Port Folio, a pro-aristocrat, pro-English, and pro-Federalist organ, gladly welcomed an article that derided the ability of the masses to govern a republic successfully is not surprising.

Walsh's next essay found him again entering the lists against the literary ladies of Philadelphia. In this paper he reasserted that an erudite mind in women was compatible with the natural faculties of

16 Ibid., III, 343.
17 Ibid., III, 375.
18 Ibid., III, 391.
19 Ibid., IV, 41-42.
a mother and wife. He cited as an example of the well-educated woman Marie de Sévigné, the French epistolarian, who was both scholar and wife: "The example of the females who have obtained celebrity in the annals of literature, that of M. de Sévigné particularly cooperates to the same effect; distinguished for uncommon tenderness and indefatigable assiduity towards her husband and her children, she could, however, in the morning philosophize with Tacitus, indulge herself with the Italian of Ariosto, and the Spanish of Lope de Vega, in the evening infuse life and animation into those brilliant societies of which she was the ornament and delight." The conception of the woman who was educated in the classics, skilled in conversation, and yet a dutiful wife and mother was an ideal that Walsh admired and spoke about often in his essays; but later in life he came to feel that a classical education for women was not necessary because of the current high state of refinement of the modern languages and because time could not be afforded women for the study of Greek and Latin. No doubt his quarrel with the ladies of the Port Folio helped alter his opinion.

Walsh's March 10 essay provoked another barrage of criticism of both his ponderous style of writing and his ideas. "M.G." wrote: "Should Florian be so fortunate as to marry, he will discover that learning is not the only requisite in the character of a wife. It can better be spared than various other charms in a woman. . . . It is not necessary in order to be dutiful and affectionate wives, that we should have studied Demosthenes' Elocution, or Caesar's Commentaries, or that we should know that Ariosto was an Italian, and that Madame de Sevigne could read and relish his beauties."

In the following month, on May 12, 1804, Mrs. Sarah Ewing Hall, writing as "Constantia," a member of the Philadelphia "Belles Lettres Club," entered the fray on behalf of her Club sisters. As "M.G." had done the week before, she attacked "Florian" for both his Johnsonian style and his idea that a classical education eminently fitted women for wifehood and motherhood.

20 Ibid., IV, 73.
21 "Female Intellect," Didactics, II, 135.
22 Port Folio, IV, 105.
23 Ellis, 163.
24 Port Folio, IV, 145.
Mrs. Hall's essay was the final broadside to be fired in the war between Walsh and the "Belles Lettres Club"; and it would seem from his silence and the occasional remarks of the ladies for some time to come that he had got the worst of the battle. On February 2, 1805, for example, "Florinda" wrote a humorous epistolary essay to "Samuel Saunter" for "The American Lounger" in which she closed with the following sentence about where Walsh had turned to occupy his time in writing: "I must give you a plain example, and by choosing the initial of my own name, perhaps, I may succeed better; so I flourish off with F, as follows: False Florian forsakes the far-famed Folio, fearful of female feuds, forever framing fantastical fancies from French fustian, he fallaciously figures frail 'feminalities.' Fearful of Florian's frowns, I finish, forever your faithful friend, Florinda." Thus, the lady contributor made it known that "Florian" had given up the literary war and turned to writing "fantastical fancies from French fustian." A short time later "The Invisible Girl" twitted "Florian" in "The American Lounger" of February 23, 1805, calling him a "recreant in the war of words" and a "fallen enemy." With this reference it seems that the feud came to an end, for after his essay on female education of the preceding March, Walsh had no more to say on the subject of women.

His fifth contribution to the Port Folio appeared on May 19, 1804. This essay, which displayed a familiarity with a wide range of poets and critics, represented Walsh's first known attempt at literary criticism. He spoke knowingly of Don Thomas Yriarte, Milton, Cervantes, Pope, Johnson, Goldsmith, and the balladists—Langhorne, Cawthorn, Bruce, Percy, and Logan. In the first of three installments which reviewed Helen Maria Williams' legendary ballad "Edwin and Eltruda," Walsh speculated on the inferior nature of ballads and legendary tales to other types of poetry. In the classical tradition, he allowed the highest rank of poetry to be the epic and drama:

They [the lighter cast of poems] may be assimilated to the light edifices that are susceptible of all the graces of neatness, of all the decorations of fancy, and the refinements of taste, but are constructed more for the purposes of temporary pleasure than lasting utility. The epic or the drama,

25 Ibid., V, 25. 26 Ibid., V, 49.
to those lofty piles of gothic architecture, which, in the design, require the most comprehensive amplitude of thought, and the ultimate extent of vigorous invention: in their execution, the toilsome assiduities of labor, and the gradual improvements of time; which exact materials such as may qualify them to swell the mind with mingled emotions of the sublime and the beautiful, to awe by their grandeur, and astonish by their magnificence, to brave the fury of tempests and the dilapidation of the ages.27

It was natural that Walsh would hold such conceptions of poetry since his education at Georgetown College and St. Mary's seminary had been in the classical tradition. The superiority of the epic and drama was a concept that Walsh could have gotten from Hugh Blair's *Rhetoric* and Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, which he knew, as well as from his direct study of the classics. The "mingled emotions of the sublime and the beautiful" seems to indicate a familiarity with Burke's aesthetics in his *Sublime and the Beautiful* (1759).

From Walsh's comments on the balladeers some of his critical theories of poetry can be surmised: Aristotle's theory of unity of action is "almost universally applicable" in poetry; sensibility in poetry cannot be kindled by "a mere imitation of passion, or the substitution of artificial embellishment for native warmth"; "The quatrain, or alternate verse of six and eight syllables" is the best form for ballads; and the diction of minor poems, such as ballads, can be simple, as can be the phrase and conception, but this simplicity is not permissible in the epic, dramatic, and lyrical forms.28

In the May 26, 1804, number, Walsh reached his exposition of Miss Williams' poem. He commended her following the epic pattern by setting the poem in a remote era; he was pleased also that her diction was simple, since her subject was not of epic proportions. Citing Lord Kames as his authority, Walsh objected to the introduction of supernatural machinery such as sylphs and fairies into poetry, because to do so violated verisimilitude.29

No sooner had he finished the first two of his series of essays on poetry than he was being urged to continue his contributions. "Florian," the editor of the *Port Folio* wrote, "we hope will be punctual and industrious."30 Once again Walsh was responsive. He continued his discussion of Miss Williams' poem in the June 9 number.

paying tribute to her power of description and to her ideas through favorable comparisons with Thompson, Logan, and Gray, allowing, however, that she did not have the originality of the latter.\(^{31}\) Walsh ended his series of papers on “Edwin and Eltruda” in the June 16 issue by praising the originality of the poem and restating that Miss Williams deserved a place of rank among the writers of poetry of the minor order.\(^{32}\)

On August 18, 1804, he was encouraged by Dennie to undertake a new assignment for the \textit{Port Folio}: “‘Florian,’ who has frequently evinced his acquaintance with Spanish literature, is requested to translate for the \textit{Port Folio}, whatever he may find interesting in the works of the scholars of Valladolid or Salamanca. Some of the fables of Yriarte, to whom Florian has often alluded, will be highly agreeable to the Editor, who is anxious that this paper should almost constantly reflect the literary beauties of the European continent.”\(^{33}\) Although it does not seem that Walsh made any translations from the Spanish at this time, there is some indication that he did translate some French poetry a little later. Occasionally such translations, bearing the signature “F”, appeared in the \textit{Port Folio}. Since Walsh had once used this initial it may be conjectured that these were his, although the evidence is in no way conclusive.

Walsh’s next offering to appear in “The American Lounger” column was quite unlike the social, political, and literary essays that he had previously submitted. In two installments, on August 25 and September 1, 1804, the editor ran a narrative that related the story of a French soldier, Dorville, who was plagued by hallucinations of his dead mistress, Adelaide. Dorville died in a passion when a lady disguised as Adelaide appeared at the time when his eyes were fixed on the imagined Adelaide. This tale is interesting because it represents Walsh’s only known attempt at a genre that his contemporary Washington Irving was to refine and popularize later in his \textit{Sketch Book}. Evidently Walsh felt that the story was either quite well done or that it was instructive, for more than thirty years later he honored it with a place in his \textit{Didactics} under the title of “Potent Phantasm.”\(^{34}\) Perhaps this story was the “fantastical fancies from French

\(^{31}\) \textit{Ibid.}, IV, 177-178.  
\(^{32}\) \textit{Ibid.}, IV, 185-186.  
\(^{33}\) \textit{Ibid.}, IV, 263.  
\(^{34}\) \textit{Didactics}, II, 78-85.
fustian” that “Florinda” had accused “Florian” of forsaking the literary feud to write.

On August 25, 1804, at the time of the first installment of “Adelaide and Dorville,” there was an indication in Dennie’s “To Readers and Correspondents” that Walsh wanted to spread his literary wings further than he had theretofore and undertake something new. Dennie wrote: “Florian’s correspondence is resumed, and the literary amusements of this author are not less pleasing to many, than useful to him. We gladly accept his proffer. A series of papers of that classical cast, to which he alludes, is not only highly agreeable to the Editor, but interesting to that description of scholars which he is most solicitous to enroll on the list of his judicious friends. Critical canons, derived from the immortal work of the Poet of Mantua, must always combine beauty with use.” Walsh was obviously aspiring at this time for acceptance among the classically educated literati, and it is just as obvious that Dennie wanted to help him. Apparently the proffer that he had tendered to Dennie was a series of critical papers on “the Poet of Mantua,” who was most surely the poet Virgil. There is no indication, however, that these papers were ever written. Quite likely this promise of the classical papers was what the editor had in mind in his “To Readers and Correspondents” when he noted on September 8, 1804, “‘Florian’ is reminded of his promise,” and again two months later when he wrote “‘Florian’ does not keep his promise.” As late as December 29, 1804, Dennie was still chiding Walsh: “Florian has been faithless, but shew me the lover, or shew me the author, who always keeps his word.”

Although by the end of 1804 Walsh had not got around to submitting the classical papers, or whatever it was that he had promised, his pen had not been idle. During the late autumn and winter there had appeared in the Port Folio a series of epistolary essays entitled “The British Spy in Boston” which can be ascribed to Walsh. William Wirt, the well-known Virginia litterateur, had previously written a series of “British Spy” letters for the Richmond Argus in which, under pretense of being a young Englishman traveling in this country, he commented upon American social and political life.

35 Port Folio, IV, 271. 36 Ibid., IV, 287. 37 Ibid., IV, 359. 38 Ibid., IV, 415.
These letters were collected and published under the full title of The British Spy, or Letters to a Member of the British Parliament, written during a tour through the United States by a Young Gentleman of Rank. Wirt also sent them to the Port Folio for publication sometime in 1803, but Dennie declined the offering because of his policy of not publishing articles that had already been printed. Taking advantage of this editorial policy, Walsh wrote a series of letters in imitation of Wirt's. About fifteen years later, Wirt, in a fit of pique prompted by what he thought was an unfavorable review of his Old Bachelor by Walsh, wrote Francis W. Gilmer: "I saw about 12 or 15 years ago some letters published in the Port Folio, which were called a continuation of the British Spy. They were said to be Walsh's and after all due allowance for his youth, they were as miserable stuff as I ever encountered."

The "British Spy in Boston" letters appeared in the Port Folio on November 3, 10, 17, 24, and December 22, 1804. In the first of these epistolary essays, Walsh, assuming the role of a British traveler, discussed the courts of law in America. He found that the forensic and legal talent among American lawyers was great, but was distressed to discover that in both conduct and dress American courts were deficient. The second letter was wholly devoted to depicting Theophilus Parsons, "The Giant of the Law," as America's greatest lawyer and most powerful Federalist political figure. In the next essay he showed Harrison Gray Otis to be ahead of Samuel Dexter and Fisher Ames and, indeed, second only to Parsons as a lawyer. A character sketch of Fisher Ames, whom the author thought the least oratorical but the best writer among American lawyers, provided the subject of the fourth letter. The final one in the series, entitled "Another British Spy in Boston," was a recapitulation of the author's opinions on the relative merits of Parsons, Dexter, and Otis.

Shorter and simpler in style than most of the satirical "Florian" essays, "The British Spy in Boston" essays were destined to draw more editorial criticism than the satires. One of Walsh's biographers

40 Port Folio, III, 423.
41 Wirt to Gilmer, Nov. 19, 1819, Francis W. Gilmer Collection, University of Virginia.
42 Port Folio, IV, 345, 352, 361, 369, 401.
has observed that these essays "rate equally in literary value with the other contents of the periodical," but this appraisal seems questionable when one remembers that they were in the same numbers with some of Dennie's excellent "Lay Preacher" and "Farrago" articles, and the literary offerings of such established *Port Folio* writers as John Quincy Adams, Joseph Hopkinson, John E. Hall, Charles Brockden Brown, and Royall Tyler. Perhaps William Wirt's "miserable stuff" was too harsh an epithet, but both the subject and style of the letters had excited a great deal of unfavorable criticism at the time they appeared. Dennie's first reaction to them was delight. On November 10, 1804, when the second letter appeared, he wrote: "'The British Spy' has a ready insertion. We must enjoin it upon the ingenious author to furnish us, as soon as possible, with the continuation of the series. He is now pledged to periodical punctuality." While the "ingenious author" was being unsuccessfully importuned to continue his "Florian" essays, he was responsive to Dennie's plea for punctuality with "The British Spy in Boston" letters.

After the appearance of the fourth letter on November 24, 1804, Walsh received not only another editorial exhortation to make good on his overdue promise but also a reprimand for the style and substance of the letters:

The author of "The British Spy in Boston" is respectfully reminded of his promise. Although his style is too diffuse and redundant, yet, as his letters are obviously intended to exhibit, in the fairest light, the genius of our country, it is, at once, a duty and pleasure to give them a conspicuous place in this Miscellany. But we take this opportunity to warn the author against the rashness of assertion, without proof. In his character of the justly celebrated Theophilus Parsons, the "British Spy" has introduced a gossiping anecdote, containing a gross and unfounded calumny against the late President of the United States. As Mr. Parsons did accept the appointment of Attorney General under the nomination of Mr. Adams, the invidious inference drawn from false premises is neither a compliment to one gentleman, nor a reproach to the other.

It is probable that Walsh did not take seriously the buffeting that the Philadelphia ladies gave him for his style and logic in the "Florian" essays, but it seems hardly likely that he dismissed the

43 Lochemes, 28.
44 *Port Folio*, IV, 359.
chastisement from Joseph Dennie. Dennie’s acrid criticisms of material printed in the *Port Folio* are commonplace; his censure of Walsh’s style and logic might have been precipitated by a letter that John Quincy Adams, himself a regular contributor to the *Port Folio*, wrote him, objecting to the “British Spy.” Dennie apologetically replied that he had read only the first letter.\(^{46}\)

Walsh’s baptism in the fire of editorial criticism and caprice was not quite completed with Dennie’s statement in the November 24 issue, because on January 26, 1805, the fun-loving editor, under the caption of “Levity,” inserted a burlesque of “The British Spy in Boston” that had recently appeared in the *Repertory*. The burlesque poked fun at the serious tone of Walsh’s work and at his enthusiasm in comparing lawyers. In reprinting the *Repertory* article, Dennie prefixed it with the following editorial note: “A parallel in the style of Plutarch, between these great men has additional poignancy, when we remember it is a serious burlesque upon the more serious manner of the British Spy in Boston, a writer in this paper, who has attracted much attention, excited some interest and more clamour, and who, it seems, has been more fortunate in gratifying curiosity than in satisfying criticism.”\(^{47}\)

Regardless of the faults that Dennie found with “The British Spy in Boston” and of the clamor that the essays caused, he had no intention of alienating the young contributor. Scarcely before the excitement generated by “The British Spy in Boston” could have died down, the editor was badgering Walsh for another contribution. In the *Port Folio* on March 23, 1805, he wrote “‘Florian,’ with the genius of a scholar, seems to unite with the humor of a truant. Whether he has wandered away, urged by business, or tempted by pleasure, we hope that he may soon return, and fulfill a promise made last autumn, and, we suppose, forgotten amid the lethargy of winter, but to be remembered, perhaps, during the enlivening holidays of spring.”\(^{48}\)

The reason that “Florian” had “wandered away” cannot be definitely determined, but a reasonable assumption for his gradually breaking with the *Port Folio* was that his work and study in the

\(^{46}\) Ellis, 87.

\(^{47}\) *Port Folio*, V, 22.

Baltimore law office of Robert Goodloe Harper had pre-empted his time. After leaving St. Mary’s College in the autumn of 1802, he apprenticed himself to Harper, an ardent Federalist, to read law, and remained a protégé of the eminent lawyer until 1805, when he was admitted to the Maryland bar. It was during the years that he was associated with Harper that he wrote his “Florian” and “British Spy in Boston” essays. That these articles were legalistic in subject and tone is therefore not surprising. Sources that tell about Walsh’s activities in Harper’s office from 1803 to 1805 are not numerous; but one letter that Walsh wrote on February 14, 1805, to Harper, then in Washington, reveals that at the time Dennie was requesting Walsh to keep his promise and make a contribution he was extremely busy with Harper’s legal practice. Walsh continued his association with Harper through 1805, and then went abroad in 1806. Following a three years’ interlude, he reassociated himself with Harper upon his return. A series of Harper letters and editorials in Walsh’s *National Gazette* in 1824 and 1825 show that Walsh continued to respect Harper, although Walsh’s Federalism had mitigated considerably by then.

The last editorial note directed to Walsh in the *Port Folio* before 1806 appeared on April 20, 1805, when Dennie wrote in his “To Readers and Correspondents”: “‘Florian’ we hope will soon retrieve the long lost volume, and entertain and amuse us with the criticism of one of the polistest scholars in France. From Florian we would gladly obtain frequent communications. We believe him to be actuated by a generous enthusiasm for elegant literature. He has been educated in a seminary, whose discipline is at once classical and element. He has the Diligence to gather the materials of meditation, and Genius to quicken them into life.” The identities of “the long lost volume” and “the polistest scholar in France” are not known, but if Walsh found “the long lost volume” and submitted a critique, it was probably the anonymous critical essay “Of Madame de Sévigné,” and of

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49 Walsh to John Tyler, May 11, 1841, in Appointment Papers in the Diplomatic, Legal, and Fiscal Branch, The National Archives.


52 *Port Folio*, V, 118.
the Epistolary Style” that appeared in two installments on June 15 and 22, 1805. This article seems to be the only one on a French scholar after Dennie’s request, and, as has been noted, Madame de Sévigné was one of Walsh’s favorites.

Following his return from Europe, Walsh, in a letter of July 11, 1809, to Nicholas Biddle, disclosed his affection for his former acquaintances in Joseph Dennie’s circle and his interest in the prospect of resuming his literary activities with the *Port Folio*: “You must have the goodness to present my best respects and most grateful recollections to Dr. Chapman, Mr. Peters, Mr. Abercrombie and my other friends among you, who honored me with their attentions. A thousand good wishes to Mr. Dennie. I shall not forget my promises. I should like to know when his next number will be published that I may prepare a traveller’s letter for him. *I thirst* for your society again & hope to be with you in the autumn. I expect, however, to see you here before that time.”

Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, Judge Richard Peters, the Reverend James Abercrombie, and Nicholas Biddle were the members of Dennie’s circle with whom Walsh felt a special affinity. All of these men had a deep interest in literature. Chapman contributed medical and literary articles to the *Port Folio* under the name of “Faulkland.” He was later to found the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences*. Walsh’s esteem for Chapman is indicated by a statement to Biddle: “You will have the goodness to remember me to my friends—to Dr. Chapman eminently—whose valuable collection of speeches I have just been reading. His prefaces show great learning and taste and are written with uncommon beauty and vigor of style. A few such men as he would rescue the name of this country from the obscurity in which it rests.” Later, when Walsh moved to Philadelphia, he assisted Chapman in collecting speeches for the sixth edition of his *American Oratory*. Walsh and Chapman remained fast friends until the latter’s death. Richard Peters, another close asso-

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54 Walsh to Biddle, July 11, 1809, Nicholas Biddle Papers, Library of Congress. All Walsh-Biddle letters cited are in this collection.
56 Walsh to Biddle, Aug. 15, 1809.
ciate of Dennie, was a hospitable and witty judge about whom Pro-
fessor Albert H. Smyth has said: "His association with the most dis-
tinguished men of Europe and America stored his memory with the
choicest bits of political and personal history. These odds and ends
stolen out of the secret chronicles of the time and decked with his rare
wit were given upon irregular occasions to the Port Folio." The
Reverend James Abercrombie was a highly esteemed Samuel
Johnson scholar and editor in Dennie's circle. John Davis, author of
The Philadelphia Pursuits of Literature (1805), recorded that Aber-
crombie "was impatient of every conversation that did not relate to
Dr. Johnson, of whom he can detail every anecdote from the time he
trod on a duck till he purchased an oak stick to repulse Macpherson."

Nicholas Biddle, to whom Walsh seems closest in the Dennie
group, was a rising young lawyer and writer who was destined to
make his mark as Dennie's successor as editor of the Port Folio in
1812, and later as head of the Second Bank of the United States.
Walsh probably first met Biddle in France in 1806. It is quite
possible, however, according to the tenor of his July 11, 1809, letter
to Biddle, that he had seen him since that time, perhaps in London.
Regardless of the length of their acquaintance, Biddle had become
so fast a friend to Walsh that he thought it not presumptuous to sug-
gest that Walsh should move to Philadelphia to practice law and
engage in literary pursuits, rather than settling down to a legal prac-
tice in Baltimore. Joseph Dennie concurred with Biddle that Balti-
more was no place for such a literary man. Neither Dennie nor
Biddle attempted to get Walsh to give up law practice altogether.
Half-heartedly, Walsh agreed that he needed to settle down to work
when on August 1, 1809, he wrote Biddle: "I have been shifting the
scene hitherto in order to kill time—but I do not find this plan effica-
cious & am therefore about to embrace that which you prescribe.
The sooner we hang out the sign the better. El mal trago passar le

(Philadelphia, 1892), 127.
59 Ibid., 122.
60 Lochemes, 50.
61 Walsh to Biddle, July 11, 1809. See Thomas Payne Govan, Nicholas Biddle: Nationalist
and Public Banker: 1786-1844 (Chicago, 1959), 19, 22, 38, et passim, for the meeting and occa-
sional relations between Biddle and Walsh.
62 Biddle to Walsh, July 21, 1809; Lochemes, 57.
luego is a Spanish proverb directly applicable to our case. I have, however, a woeful and most discouraging picture before me in the situation of those who were my contemporaries as students."  

In a letter of July 21 Biddle reminded Walsh of his promise of a contribution to Dennie and that the editor had agreed to place anything that he sent in a conspicuous place in the *Port Folio.  

In answer Walsh explained: "The manuscript which I intended for our friend Dennie is still in the hands of some ladies. It shall be forwarded as soon as I can extricate it. I have made the fashionable amusements of London & Bath my subject and shall have occasion to solicit admission for several other trifles of the same character." On August 15, 1809, Walsh still had not sent the travel letter and certain other pamphlets that he had promised to Dennie.

I am both chagrined and ashamed at the delay which has occurred in the case of my literary contribution. It was ready for your last number, but unfortunately fell into the hands of a fair lady & is now on the grand tour thro' our circles. I have endeavored in vain to recover it, but shall indemnify myself by preparing another farrago for Mr. Dennie, whose good nature will, I know, overlook many deficiencies. I did expect to have been able to send him ere this, the pamphlet &c., of which I spoke to him when with you but they have gone astray among slow readers, (a tribe I abhor), & God only can foresee when they will get back to their lawful proprietor.  

At the writing of this letter Walsh was still loathe to settle permanently in Baltimore as a barrister. He informed Biddle: "I have not as yet been able to find a suitable shop, but I have for several days past been occupied in attending the Criminal Court of the County of Baltimore. The discussions which I hear there give me what the French call mal au cour & have already almost covered my visage with the paleness of death. I am fully resolved to extricate myself by almost any means—particularly in the mode which you suggest—if it be feasible."  

By September 18 Walsh had finally begun to make a move toward starting a law practice, though he had no intentions of seriously

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63 Walsh to Biddle, Aug. 1, 1809.  
64 Biddle to Walsh, July 21, 1809.  
65 Walsh to Biddle, Aug. 1, 1809.  
66 Walsh to Biddle, Aug. 15, 1809.  
67 Ibid.
pursuing the profession. Confiding again in Biddle, he indicated the nature of his literary activities and of his pain at the prospects of having his “Biographie,” an article of his which had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, abridged.

I am engaged in writing an Anti-Gallican pamphlet & have executed some parts much to my own satisfaction. I am, however, arrested in my progress by the want of the number of the Review for which I asked. I have kept no copy of the manuscript of the Article on the *Biographie* & wish much to know precisely what I have written in order to regulate a certain train of ideas with which I am occupied. It is particularly on this account that I was eager to see it. If you could purloin it for a few days, you would confer an obligation & I shall solemnly engage to return it in less than a week. I have nothing to say relative to Mr. [Samuel] Ewing’s notion of an abridgement, but I lament the necessity thereof. My *Conscription Code* [another article published in the Edinburgh Review] has been republished and mutilated in the newspapers until I am heartily sick of [this].

The “Anti-Gallican pamphlet” was to occupy Walsh’s attention for several weeks to come. So intent was he upon finishing it that he had not only deferred entry into law practice but was also compelled to forego sending Dennie the promised contributions for the *Port Folio*. He explained his good intentions to Biddle: “I am almost ashamed to say a word about Dennie in consequence of having violated my engagements with him. But I shall make up for all deficiencies in the beginning of November, at which time I mean to visit you in order to enjoy your society & to publish my *libellium*—Console me by a letter.”

In November Walsh wrote Biddle that he had moved from his father’s home and was established in his office. He had taken a few small law cases, but had not yet appeared in court. That Walsh was more interested in completing his book, making arrangements for its publication, and visiting Philadelphia than in settling down to the practice of law in Baltimore is clear.

I should have been with you before this time if I could have finished my literary undertakings but a thousand difficulties have occurred to retard the execution of my plans. I have now about thirty pages of my pamphlet

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68 Walsh to Biddle, Sept. 18, 1809.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 Walsh to Biddle, Nov. 7, 1809.
to write to make up the two hundred of which it is to be composed. I count upon being able to set out about the 27th inst. together with a sister of mine. We shall probably remain about three weeks with you. This is the last holiday which I shall have a right to expect for some time, and I shall certainly enjoy it.

I must ask you to inquire upon what terms one of your chief printers would be willing to publish a pamphlet of two hundred pages which would come well recommended. I do not wish to have anything to do with the expences myself. That part which treats of the French finances is exceedingly curious, and must excite some attention. I am disposed to be rather high in my demands.\footnote{Ibid.}

By November 22, 1809, far later than he desired, Walsh finished his labors\footnote{Walsh to Biddle, Nov. 22, 1809.} and arrived in Philadelphia a few days later to consummate the publishing arrangements of his “Anti-Gallican pamphlet” with Hopkins and Earle, well-known Philadelphia publishers. The title which he gave to the work was \textit{A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government, including a View of the Taxation of the French Government}. This book, like his “Conscription” and “Biographie” in the \textit{Edinburgh Review} of a few months before, was, indeed, an “Anti-Gallican tract” that pleaded for a closer American alliance with England. In his “Advertisement” to the work, dated December 3, 1809, Walsh wrote that he disclaimed all party feelings or views in publishing the work and that his only desire was to promote the cause of truth.\footnote{Robert Walsh, Jr., \textit{A Letter on the Genius and Disposition of the French Government} . . . (Philadelphia, 1809), i.} His study has little in it of literary value, but it is an important document in Walsh’s literary life for several reasons: it established his literary reputation abroad and enhanced American letters; it later militated against him in American literary circles because he could not divest himself completely from the pro-English reputation that it gave him; and, as his first book, it made a name for him in American political and literary circles.

Back in Baltimore, on January 8, 1810, he wrote to Biddle of his disappointment that his work did not please the public too well and of his irritation that the Philadelphia printers had shared the copyright with Baltimore printers.\footnote{Walsh to Biddle, Jan. 8, 1810.} If the slight immediate applause that
the book received in Baltimore gave Walsh little satisfaction, he must have been pleased with the praise that came from some of his friends. Both William Meredith and Gouverneur Morris, lawyers and members of the *Port Folio* circle, paid tribute to the work. In a letter of February 21, 1810, Walsh expressed his appreciation to Meredith for his kind opinion of the book.

Dear Sir: My absence from Baltimore during the last fortnight prevented me from receiving as soon as I could have wished the letter with which you honoured me on the subject of my pamphlet. The friendly and flattering sentiments which you express in my regard have given me no less pleasure than the good opinion of Gouverneur Morris upon which I set the highest value. Both call for my warmest thanks—and I must take the liberty of requesting you to assure that Gentleman, when you next write to him, that there is no other distinguished person in this country whose testimony in favor of my work I would more ambitiously seek. The approbation of such gentlemen as yourself and Mr. G. Morris is the richest recompense which an Author with feelings and views such as mine can receive & the most powerful incitement to stimulate him to efforts of a higher order and of more permanent utility. I have lately read an essay on our domestic politics ascribed to Mr. Morris & which was originally published in the American Citizen of N. York. The subject is treated in a masterly manner, with the most irresistible force of reasoning & in a style in the highest degree appropriate & perspicuous. Publications of this description are of inestimable value to the country at this crisis. I beg you to present my most respectful compts. to Mrs. Meredith & to be assured of the great consideration & esteem with which I am, Dear Sir, your Obt. hbl. Servt.

Robert Walsh, Jr.

Although Meredith and many others had received Walsh's book with enthusiasm, there were some notable exceptions. Among these was Joseph Dennie. Dennie failed to review it in his *Port Folio*; and as a result, Walsh was so disappointed that he felt such a breach of friendship relieved him from all obligations to contribute to the *Port Folio*. It is likely that Walsh never fully forgave Dennie for his failure to throw his editorial weight behind the book. Following Dennie's death on January 7, 1812, Walsh's name was conspicuously absent from the number that signed a memorial to him. Thirty

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76 Walsh to Meredith, Feb. 21, 1810, William Meredith Papers, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
77 Walsh to Biddle, Feb. 4, 1810.
78 Thomas P. Govan, "The Death of Joseph Dennie: A Memoir by Nicholas Biddle," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXV (1951), 36. The signers who banded together to subscribe to a monument to perpetuate Dennie's memory were William Meredith,
years later, when Walsh wrote a biographical sketch of Dennie in Francis Lieber's Encyclopaedia Americana, he impugned the editor's industry and judgment. Dennie's unfriendly attitude may have prompted Walsh to start his own magazine in competition with the Port Folio.

Before this event, during Walsh's trip to Philadelphia, he had placed the long promised "farrago" in Dennie's hands. It appeared in the Port Folio within a few weeks under the title "Letter from a Young Gentleman on his Travels to his Friends in America." Back home in Baltimore, after Walsh had read this essay in its printed form, he wrote Biddle that "Dennie has published my letter in a very slovenly way & without the omission of certain names which I was desirous of suppressing."

Walsh had returned from Philadelphia with reluctance during the first week of January, 1810, determined, however, to devote himself "exclusively to the law." Before long he had received his first large retainer and was anticipating a trip to Washington within a few days so that he might get admitted to the Supreme Court and to observe "the political scene."

Despite his legal resolve, Walsh had been unable to keep his pen idle. On behalf of a group of Baltimorians, he had been busy writing a "memorial to the Legislature of New York on the Subject of General Washington," seeking permission of the legislature for a lottery to be held in New York to raise funds for a monument to the first President. Walsh thought that he did a good job with his writing and an editorial commentator, probably Biddle or Dennie, agreed,


80 Robert Walsh, Jr., "Letter from a Young Gentleman on his Travels to his Friends in America," The Port Folio, New Series, III, 132-150.
81 Walsh to Biddle, Feb. 4, 1810.
82 Walsh to Biddle, Jan. 8, 1810.
83 Walsh to Biddle, Feb. 4, 1810.
84 Ibid. Years later, on July 8, 1824, Walsh inserted the Washington Memorial essay in the National Gazette with the editorial comment that it bore the marks of a youthful hand but its sentiments were good.
and ran it in the *Port Folio*, prefixing it with the following laudatory note:

The ensuing memorial, which the managers of the lottery, on this occasion, presented to the Legislature, we are induced to preserve as a specimen of singularly splendid, powerful, and eloquent composition. We recommend it, very strenuously, to the attention of our readers. No one, we trust, will be deterred from the perusal of the article by its technical character, or the seeming aridness of its topics. The genius of the writer, it will, at once, be perceived, has the power to mold materials, however intractable, into forms the most captivating, and to give grace and attraction to subjects otherwise rude and repulsive.85

In March, 1810, Walsh moved to Philadelphia. There were, it seems, two reasons for his leaving Baltimore: his engagement to be married to Anna Maria Moylan, daughter of Jasper Moylan, and the opportunity to succeed the lately deceased Charles Brockden Brown as editor of the *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science*. The first reason undoubtedly was the more compelling. Nicholas Biddle, some time after Walsh’s wedding, wrote to David B. Warden in Paris: “Our friend Walsh has married very happily a daughter of one of our lawyers of consideration and means to practice law in Philada.”86 More than likely Walsh met, wooed, and won Miss Moylan during his month’s stay in Philadelphia in 1809.

Three letters from Walsh to his sister Eliza tell of his arrival in Philadelphia, his immediate confinement with a sickness in the Moylan home, and his anticipated marriage.87 By the latter part of April he had fully regained his health and had begun to circulate in legal and literary circles. To Robert Goodloe Harper he wrote on April 26 on behalf of a literary enterprise of his friend Dr. Chapman:

It is the intention of Dr. Chapman of this city, the editor of a work entitled ‘Select Speeches’ to publish a sixth volume which is to contain the best specimens of American Oratory. This gentleman has requested me to apply

86 Biddle to David Bailie Warden, July 7, 1810, Nicholas Biddle Papers.
87 Walsh to Eliza Walsh, Mar. 30, 1810, and Apr. 9, 1810, Robert Walsh, Jr., Collection Historical Society of Pennsylvania; and Apr. 3, 1810, Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library. See Lochemes, 60–63, for a more complete account of Walsh’s arrival and settling in Philadelphia.
to you for your concurrence in the insertion of your speech on the Foreign intercourse bill & to solicit from you any one of your other speeches in the House of Representatives which you may deem best suited to his miscellany. He is, at the same time, desirous of having from your pen a short historical notice to be prefixed to each, together with such alterations in the speeches themselves as you judged advisable. I have promised to suggest his wishes to you. 88

After his wedding trip in May, Walsh returned to Philadelphia to settle down to practice law with Jasper Moylan and to edit the *American Register*. Letters to his friends and family written during the summer of 1810 do not indicate, however, that he troubled himself with legal matters. In fact, by the latter part of June he was contemplating selling his law books, but he hesitated until he could see that they would be "altogether superfluous." 90 Though his letters indicate nothing about his literary activities as editor of the *American Register*, his editorial duties must have occupied most of his time during the spring and summer of 1810. Exactly when Walsh accepted the position as editor and formally assumed his duties is not clear. C. and A. Conrad, publishers of the *American Register*, must have contacted him about succeeding Brown shortly after Brown's death on February 22. Sometime during the summer of 1810, volume VI of the *American Register*, bearing Walsh's name, was published. This was his first official appearance before the public as an editor. In a "Preface" he wrote that the present volume was being "delivered to the public with unfeigned anxiety and diffidence," and that before he had been engaged to assume the editorship he was "an absolute stranger to the pages of the register." 92 Thus, Walsh launched an editorial career that was, with only occasional interruptions, to span twenty-five years.

During the autumn of 1810 while Walsh prepared the final number of the *American Register*, he made plans to issue his own journal. In

89 Walsh to P. S. Du Ponceau, June 17, 1810, Brock Collection; Walsh to William Brown, June 27, 1810, Boston Public Library; Walsh to Harper, May 5, 1810, Robert Goodloe Harper Papers.
90 Walsh to Eliza Walsh, June 27, 1810, Robert Walsh, Jr., Collection.
91 I have been unable to find the exact dates when Volumes VI and VII of the *American Register* were issued in 1810.
92 *The American Register: or General Repository of History, Politics, and Science*, VI, Part I (1810), i.
October he was negotiating with Bradford and Inskeep, publishers of the *Port Folio*, to publish the work that he had projected. The nature of the undertaking and the difficulty that he was experiencing in getting it underway, he disclosed in a letter to his sister Eliza on October 24, 1810.

My whole time is employed by my books, my stomack [sic], the business of exercise & negotiation with the Booksellers. I thought until yesterday that I had concluded an arrangement with Bradford which would have secured to me a decent maintenance & a separate establishment. But he now hesitates about the legal ratification of his agreement & has, I believe, been trifling with me for the purpose of disgusting me with all such undertakings & this with a view to prevent any rivalship in the business of his Port-Folio. Should he not sign the articles which we had drawn up, tomorrow, I shall then accede to proposals somewhat similar which have been made to me by the House of Farrand & Co. of this place. The nature of the work which I am to undertake is to be analogous in some degree with the Annual Register of England. It will be published either quarterly or semi-annually, and will consist of a general view of politics & literature, of literary selections, of state papers, & scientific memoirs. By this plan I shall be called upon to write about sixty pages of original matter for each number—the remainder will be a business of selection & my opportunities of obtaining materials are better than those of anybody else. My emolument will be about four thousand dollars per annum should two thousand subscribers be obtained & less in proportion or greater as the case may be.

In the same letter Walsh told his sister of his final decision to sever relationship with the legal profession because of his physical indisposition, his incompatibility with his father-in-law in law practice, and the difficulty in supporting himself as a lawyer independent of his father-in-law. Events subsequent to his letter to Eliza were such that he was not able to come to terms with Bradford and Inskeep and that he accepted Nicholas and Farrand's offer to publish the work.

By the middle of November plans had been completed. On November 17, when he thanked his friend David Bailie Warden for having purchased certain books in Paris for him, he wrote that “The Parisian Gazettes and new publications will be particularly useful to me at this time, as I am about to publish a Quarterly-Work as an occupation for my leisure hours.” Through November and December, Walsh, looking forward to publishing his quarterly, prepared

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93 Walsh to Eliza Walsh, Oct. 24, 1810, Robert Walsh, Jr., Collection.
95 Walsh to David Bailie Warden, Nov. 17, 1810, David Bailie Warden Papers.
himself for the venture by reading a number of French journals that he had borrowed from his friend Peter S. Du Ponceau.\textsuperscript{96} On January 1, 1811, a “little more than two months after the adoption of the plan,”\textsuperscript{97} Nicholas and Farrand issued the first number of Walsh’s magazine under the title of the \textit{American Review of History and Politics, and General Repository of State Papers}. Rufus W. Griswold has called this the first American quarterly.\textsuperscript{98}

Walsh’s enterprise made him a financial and professional success rather quickly.\textsuperscript{99} His immediate or anticipated success doubtless was a factor that caused him to reject an offer made early in 1811 by the publisher Samuel Bradford to him and Nicholas Biddle to buy a half interest in the \textit{Port Folio} for $9,000, contingent upon their becoming co-editors with Dennie.\textsuperscript{100} From abroad, John Quincy Adams commented to his brother Thomas Boylston Adams on the successful prospects of Walsh’s \textit{Review} as a competitor to the \textit{Port Folio}: “How the \textit{Port Folio} under all its metamorphoses has lived so long is to me unaccountable. I think it has now received its death wound from Walsh, whose \textit{Review} will be edited with more talents, more industry, more consistency, and uncomparably more address.”\textsuperscript{101} As it turned out the \textit{Port Folio} did not receive its “death wound” from Walsh because the \textit{Review} was to survive for only two years, whereas the \textit{Port Folio} was destined to continue until 1827. However, Robert Walsh, Jr., who learned the craft as a contributor to the \textit{Port Folio} continued in Philadelphia as an editor and critic until 1836, when he went to France to spend the last twenty-three years of his life. Unquestionably, when he ended his career as a journalist he had lasted longer and made a greater imprint upon Philadelphia journalism and literature than any other of Joseph Dennie’s \textit{Port Folio} group.

\textit{Tennessee Technological University}  
\textit{GUY R. WOODALL}

\textsuperscript{96} Walsh to Peter S. Du Ponceau, Dec. 5, 1810, Brock Collection.  
\textsuperscript{98} Rufus Wilmot Griswold, \textit{The Prose Writers of America . . .} (Philadelphia, 1851), 197.  
\textsuperscript{99} See Woodall, 120-124.  
\textsuperscript{101} Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., \textit{Writings of John Quincy Adams} (New York, 1914), IV, 135-136.