

456 WOOD, JOHN

Editor, Publisher

Richmond, Petersburg

Co-editor of the *Virginia Gazette* (1802-05) of Augustine Davis (119) in Richmond; publisher of *Petersburg Daily Courier* (1814) with Francis G. Yancey (463) and John Netherland (312).

Wood was a gifted mathematician who was also a controversial partisan editorialist in the opening decades of the 1800s. He was employed in New York, Virginia, and Kentucky in that role, while also teaching schools in each locale to add to his meager income. His life ended in Virginia while engaged in mapping the Old Dominion for the state government.

Origins

Much of what is known of Wood's life comes from newspaper accounts during the periods of his most active partisanship, so suffer from credibility issues – being either exaggerations or character assassinations. Wood wrote an autobiographical account in 1802 that seems to be largely convincing. Born in Scotland in 1775, Wood claimed respectable parentage from the environs north of Edinburgh; on his father's death in 1790, he received a legacy that funded an extensive education in languages, mathematics, history, and art. In 1793, he made a walking tour of Europe focusing on the mountains of France and Switzerland; on his return to Edinburgh in 1794, Wood opened a drawing school that showcased the artistic skills honed on that tour; his school led, in turn, to a 1797 appointment as drawing master in the Trustee's Academy there. The prominence he gained through these positions occasioned the publication of his first book, *The Elements of Perspective*, that same year.

Yet Wood also developed his polemical skills in those years, joining an Edinburgh club that advocated egalitarian ideals. He also used the knowledge he gained in his earlier tour to write *A General View of the History of Switzerland* (London, 1799) following the violent 1798 overthrow of that country's aristocracy. In that history, Wood assigned responsibility for the revolt on the country's "Jacobin" clerics, which, in combination with his ongoing opposition to Presbyterian influences at home, brought him an invitation to leave Scotland before he found himself jailed for sedition – as many other "radicals" were in the 1790s.

New York

Wood landed in New York in the spring of 1800. That June he opened a new drawing school on Broad Street and offered private classes in mathematics and languages on the side. One patron for those services was Aaron Burr, the New York Republican then a candidate for the vice-presidency, who enrolled his daughter with Wood. This association placed the newly-arrived Anglophobe in proximity to the leaders of the anti-authoritarian faction in the state. He was soon encouraged to publish a critique of the published Federalist legal perspective of a Pennsylvania justice, *A Letter to Alexander Addison*, which appeared in early 1801. That effort brought Wood into contact with James Cheetham (1772-1810), the activist editor of the Republican daily *American Citizen* and its weekly edition, the *Republican Watch Tower*; in short order, Wood was contributing regularly to Cheetham's pages.

The *Letter* also brought Wood into the roiling partisan war of New York City journalism. By summer, it was rumored that Wood and Cheetham had sufficiently angered local merchants with ties to Great Britain that a plot was afoot to kidnap the two journalists and have them transported to London for a suitable trial. Those rumors may have been fabricated, but the pair did face continuing legal problems in the city's courts. In July, both men were arrested for a "libel" published in the *Citizen* against Federalist leader Joshua Waddington (1755-1844), a merchant-banker of English origin. Soon thereafter, William Coleman (1766-1829), the editor of the *Evening Post* and Cheetham's primary Federalist opponent, published a negative review of Wood's *History of Switzerland*, citing its reliance on flawed sources. A similar dependence would make Wood's next effort an object of ridicule and hostility.

Republican George Clinton was elected governor in 1800, and as the party took control of the state government in 1801, Clinton's faction within the party began a purge of officials who were loyal to Aaron Burr, now seen as having attempted to steal the presidency from Thomas Jefferson that February. Party leaders also engaged Wood to write a history of the presidency of John Adams as a tool for discrediting Burr's Federalist supporters as well. His project was an open secret, as one Boston paper reported in print that "a fresh imported Scotchman, who scarcely knows the use of knee-buckles, is busily employed at New York, in writing a *muckle-book*" on Adams. When Wood's finished manuscript was finally printed in December, Burr moved to suppress its distribution, buying up all of its copies in an effort to minimize the damage to his political base, and buying Wood's silence.

However, that effort was incomplete; a Federalist press issued an unauthorized edition of *The History of the Administration of John Adams* in January 1802; then Coleman reported that Wood had stolen his account from *The Prospect Before Us*, published two years before by James Thomson Callender (1775), a work for which Callender was prosecuted under the Alien & Sedition Acts. That association alienated Wood from Federalists and Republicans alike in New York, as Callender now wrote anti-Jefferson articles in Virginia. Especially hurt were the Clinton supporters who sustained Cheetham's paper and so had patronized Wood. During the ensuing eight months, Cheetham and Wood engaged in a pamphlet war over who was responsible for the fiasco of the Adams history. In June 1802, Woods relocated to nearby Newark, New Jersey, avoiding another impending libel suit; Coleman reported the move, with a sense of *schadenfreude*, noting that rumors of Wood's death by suicide were untrue and that "it is yet doubtful when the catch-penny-scribbler will end his career."

Nevertheless, by late July Coleman's *Evening Post* had become Wood's principal newspaper outlet, serializing his last comment on the sordid affair – *A Correct Statement of the Various Sources from which The History of the Administration of John Adams was Compiled* – shortly before Wood published it as a pamphlet in Newark. Then in September, Woods took on Cheetham directly in another Newark-issued pamphlet: *A Full Exposition of the Clintonian Faction and the Society of the Columbian Illuminati*. That tract ended any chance Wood had of returning to New York. But Southern Federalists, who Burr was then courting, found a place for his friend Wood in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Richmond

Placing Wood in Richmond in October 1802 was more than a charitable act; the Federalists there were then facing a journalistic crisis. The city supported two well-funded Republican journals – the vitriolic *Examiner* of Meriwether Jones (242) and the moderate *Virginia Argus* of Samuel Pleasants (331) – while the city's two Federalist papers – the newer *Recorder* of Henry Pace (319) and the older *Virginia Gazette* of Augustine Davis – were near financial collapse. Pace had taken on Callender as his editor in January 1802, following the writer's falling out with Jefferson and his Virginia partisans over the rewards he had expected for his "sacrifice" under the Alien & Sedition Acts; the polemicist now set out to malign and discredit every Republican in the state, starting with his former patron (Jefferson) and his former employer (Jones). But even as Callender's articles made Pace's *Recorder* more profitable and influential, they also brought fast-mounting legal problems and expenses for the new firm of Pace & Callender. Those difficulties returned the *Virginia Gazette* to its prior role as the favored vehicle for advertising among Richmond's Federalist merchants and bankers, particularly as Davis had long been one of their number. By bringing Wood in as his co-editor, Davis's supporters helped enhance his paper's finances and sharpen its tone, while ending their dependence on the erratic Callender and the distracted Pace.

Back in New York, the Clintonians reveled in the possibility of conflict between the two "turncoat" editors, especially when Callender immediately attacked both Wood's morals and credentials that October. But that rivalry was short-lived; in December 1802, Callender was beaten on a Richmond street, with the partners then being arrested as public nuisances for fomenting the enmity leading to the assault; thus by early 1803, Callender and Pace were feuding over monetary issues, which brought their alliance to an end in June. Shortly thereafter, Callender drowned in the James River, either in a drunken accident or a rather-public suicide.

Wood was untouched by these events, writing for Davis until 1805 while conducting schools in Manchester and Richmond after 1803, so echoing his initial experience in New York. He also returned to his roots in art, acquiring a "Polygraphic Physiognotrace" to deliver accurate miniature portraits for willing patrons. In the winter of 1804-05, Wood established an art institute in Richmond as well, and was appointed as the city's surveyor the following spring, a clear recognition of his cartographic and mathematical skills. Yet Wood remained loyal to Burr, who seemingly arranged his Virginia exile, despite his waning popularity. In late spring 1804, Wood had a tract critical of the Clintonians, one written anonymously by Burr's friend William P. Van Ness in 1802, reprinted in Richmond (likely on the Davis press) with a new appendix he had compiled detailing their transgressions since that tract's first appearance. But this was Wood's final effort in defending his old patron, coming about two months before the infamous duel between Burr and Hamilton took place. Thereafter, Wood began giving credence to stories then in circulation of Burr's attempts to separate the western territories from the United States as an independent country – an entity that would also assert control over the Spanish territories west of the Mississippi.

Those stories became a motivating factor in Wood's next relocation. Approached in the summer of 1805 by Virginians intent on land-speculation in the newly-acquired Louisiana

Territory, Wood agreed to travel in the west to conduct a detailed survey of potential land purchases there. He resigned his various posts that September and set out on foot, as he had before in Europe, for a long tour of the West. He took with him Joseph Montfort Street (1782-1840), a son of the sheriff of Lancaster County, who possibly then worked in one of Richmond's printing offices, as his travelling companion and assistant. Street's subsequent infirmity would alter their original plans and lead to a new journalistic venture in Kentucky.

Western Conspiracies

In the early-Republic era, there were a series of conspiracies – both real and imagined – to separate parts of the trans-Appalachian west from the original seaboard states. Before he left Virginia, Wood was told of such a plot by Charles Prentiss (341), the Massachusetts Federalist who succeeded him as editor of the *Virginia Gazette*. The "Spanish Conspiracy" was one tied to Burr by his association with the Kentucky settlers who advocated secession in 1787, in order to ally with the European state that controlled commerce in the Mississippi River Valley by its authority over New Orleans; the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 had resolved the continuing trade issue, but Spain still controlled the coastal territories to the west of New Orleans; thus they represented a potential partner in these renewed secession efforts, especially now that Spain had been emasculated by Napoleon's conquest of Iberia. Prentiss told Wood that Burr was plotting such a revolt in league with James Wilkinson, the U.S. military commander in the west, in order to seize northern Mexico as well. Both men were implicated in just such a conspiracy in late 1806, but in mid-1805 neither man was intriguing to effect a western secession. However, Wood had heard similar tales from friends in New York, and so Prentiss confirmed Wood's growing belief that Burr was a traitor to the Union.

When Wood and Street reached central Kentucky in late 1805, Street decided to stay there in consequence of his inability to physically keep pace with Wood. Each man took on new employments there during that winter – Street as a clerk in the federal court at Lexington and Wood as a schoolmaster in Versailles. In these roles, the pair became acquainted with local Federalist leaders, who had close ties to Chief Justice John Marshall (known to Wood and long a supporter of Davis's *Virginia Gazette*); those new associates told Wood that his suspicions were warranted, and that Burr had recruited local Republicans into the plot. Meanwhile, Street approached Lexington publisher William W. Worsley (462), formerly a partner in the Republican *Examiner* of Meriwether Jones and *Enquirer* of Thomas Ritchie (360), with a proposal to jointly publish a weekly in Frankfort. However, Street's courting of Kentucky Federalists for support of that paper, as well as his association with Wood, soured Worsley on its prospects; instead, he simply sold Street an old press and types.

On July 7, 1806, Street issued the first number of *The Western World*. Within a month, Wood became his partner in the venture, but he was a presence in its pages from the start. That initial issue carried the first in a continuing series of reports penned by Wood on the renewed efforts among those old conspirators to create a new "Spanish Association." Wilkinson was credited with being the key figure in their plan, though Burr's involvement was usually just implied, not explicitly stated. The exchanges that then erupted between the *Western World* and Daniel Bradford's semi-official *Kentucky Gazette* in Lexington continued through the summer, essentially drowning out concurrent reporting being published in the

Ohio Gazette (Marietta) and the *Scioto Gazette* (Chillicothe) tracing the actual conspiracy that was then developing between Burr and Wilkinson, which resulted in the former vice-president's treason trial in 1807. Yet while Wood fabricated a conspiracy in his published stories, those reports in the *Western World* raised awareness in the West that eventually detected an actual secession plot.

But Wood would not be a part of that trial, as he had been in the grand-jury proceedings of November 1806 that found Burr innocent of the "Spanish Conspiracy" that he had reported. Indeed, that hearing led Wood to reverse his stand on Burr's complicity, or so the writer later claimed. But by then, Wood was already on the move again. Having avoided several challenges to duel with those he had wrongly accused, Wood was charged with libel that October. So he left the state to avoid trial and imprisonment once the grand jury adjourned, just as he had in New York. Street was increasingly estranged from his vituperative partner as the summer-long exchange intensified; so once it became clear in November that Wood was about to leave Kentucky, he gladly dissolved their ill-fated partnership. Street then built a more-supportive relationship with the Federalists that Worsley had eschewed, and so was able to continue his paper alone until 1809, when he sold it.

Eastern Transformations

Wood now determined to conduct his own paper in the national capital, intent on exposing similar corruptions of power among Republicans there – in essence taking his conspiratorial bent to the national stage. To do so, he needed a printer as a partner, and found one among his old Richmond associates. Thomas Willis White (442) was a nephew of Augustine Davis, trained initially in the Richmond office of William A. Rind (359) and John Stewart (401), the publishers the caustic *Virginia Federalist*; he had remained with their office when it was moved to the District of Columbia in 1800; White printed the ensuing *Washington Federalist* for Rind until 1804, when his master lost his press in a debt settlement. When Wood arrived in Washington in late 1806, White was employed as a journeyman in one of the capital's printing offices; the venture Wood proposed was an opportunity for him to finally become a newspaper owner, like his uncle. So the firm of Wood & White quickly resulted, issuing the first number of *The Atlantic World* on January 19, 1807, with Wood in the editorial chair.

But the new paper was hamstrung by its editor's indiscretion. In the face of long-established and better-financed competitors of both political stripes, their journal struggled. And when Wood attempted to improve its visibility by again playing the conspiracy card that March, the editor was immediately charged with libel by one of the city's most powerful men: John Beckley, the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and a personal friend of the sitting president, Thomas Jefferson. Once again, Wood fled to avoid prosecution, this time leaving White to deal with the aftermath; the printer closed the *Atlantic World* in September 1807, saying "The editor entirely neglected his duty, and left the city without consulting me – the *Creator* himself has withdrawn, and the 'WORLD' is at an end." White then returned to employment in his uncle's Richmond office; he went on to fame later in life as publisher of the celebrated *Southern Literary Messenger* between 1834 and 1843.

Wood went to Virginia again as well, having "left the *beaten* path of venality and returned to Richmond to resume that of instruction," as a mid-century chronicler of the city later reported. Embarrassed by the proven falsity of his conspiracy stories, he withdrew into the private world of academic pursuits, financed by his public educational offerings. In the process, Wood transformed himself into one of the most respected mathematicians in the country, largely erasing the memories of his partisan adventures. The culmination of those studies came in the fall of 1809, when Wood published a complex treatise presenting *A New Theory of the Diurnal Rotations of the Earth*; he argued (incorrectly as we now know) that the speed of rotation varied through the course of a day, generating vigorous responses in the scientific journals of the day. Wood's academic reputation even induced Jefferson to send his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, to study with the mathematician in 1810, despite the previous animosity between the two over Wood's vigorous support of Burr.

By that time, Wood was one of the three featured instructors at the Hallerian Academy in Richmond managed by Louis Hue Girardin (180), formerly Professor of Modern Languages, History, and Geography at the College of William & Mary, alongside one Francis Powers, an English writing master recommended by John Carroll, the Archbishop of Baltimore. Yet this successful and exceptional school came apart in the summer of 1811; Woods was forced out by Girardin for increasingly erratic behavior in class, echoing complaints heard in New York a decade before. Their acrimonious parting played out in the pages of Richmond's papers as a partisan clash, with the *Virginia Patriot* of Federalist Augustine Davis presenting Wood's side and the *Enquirer* of Republican Thomas Ritchie presenting Girardin's. In an apparent jab at the Frenchman's supporters, Davis personally endorsed his old editor's unscientific theories on geology and geography, concepts that had come to dominate his lectures in place of the curriculum Wood had agreed to teach. Each man went their own way, with Girardin eventually becoming a journalist as well, taking control of Richmond's first successful daily paper, the *Commercial Compiler*, at the end of 1814.

Wood also returned to journalism that year, while teaching at the Petersburg Academy. After his parting from Girardin, he conducted his own school in Richmond for the ensuing year, followed by a temporary appointment as the Professor of Mathematics at the College of William & Mary in January 1812, serving while a search was conducted for a successor to his deceased predecessor. In the fall of 1812, the trustees of the Petersburg Academy offered Wood a teaching post in their institute as a trial for his possible appointment as the academy's president. Wood saw the offer as a chance to build a school in that Appomattox River port comparable to Girardin's in Richmond and so seized it. In the summer of 1814, at the end of his second academic year there, Wood circulated a prospectus for Petersburg's first daily newspaper: the *Petersburg Daily Courier*.

His prospectus is a curious composition, one in which Wood appears to be trying to distance himself from his Federalist past, appealing instead to his earlier Republican roots:

"With respect to the political sentiments of the Editor, he can declare with confidence, that the pages of his paper will be devoted to the interest of no political party or set of men whatever. He highly approves of the principal acts of the administration of Mr. Madison, and his sole object will be the support of the Constitution

of the United States, and the defence of the principles of Republicanism, and the preservation of the rights and privileges of free people."

Given that he was presenting this proposal in the midst of the invasion of the Chesapeake by British forces that summer, it is unsurprising that Wood wanted prospective subscribers to ignore his recent editorial affiliations. But he also seems to be disingenuous in saying that the proposed venture was not one pursued for its a money-making potential:

"The Editor of the present undertaking is neither influenced by necessity, by mercenary views, or the voice of party. He is at present engaged, and has been for several years past, occupied in a profession which affords him a liberal competency; but he is induced with the chance of being able to produce a vehicle of political and literary information, which may both afford amusement to his own mind, and prove advantageous to the public. For all literary Journals, there is certainly none more interesting or important than a Newspaper; and although the Press of the United States teams with this species of periodical publication, yet there are few the plan of which merits approbation."

It appears that his proposal was greeted with skepticism, and so his subscription campaign carried through all of that summer. That interval created a problem for Wood when John Dickson (134), publisher of the well-established *Petersburg Intelligencer*, died on July 11th. Dickson had been ill for quite some time before, and Wood likely saw his impending death as an opportunity for a new journal to replace the *Intelligencer*; that view is supported by Wood's recruiting of Dickson's shop foreman, Francis G. Yancey (463), as his printer-partner in the *Daily Courier*. However, on Dickson's death, Yancey clearly had a change of heart; he joined with Thomas Whitworth (443), a local manufacturing entrepreneur, to acquire the *Intelligencer* and its office from his master's estate; that change in course indicates Yancey thought that the prospects for the proven *Intelligencer* better than those for the unproven *Courier*, given Wood's fabled erratic behavior. Yet having committed to the schoolmaster, Yancey was obligated to serve as a partner in both papers until Wood could replace him.

Accordingly, when the new *Daily Courier* issued its first number on September 21st, Wood was already under pressure to find a suitable partner, while still conducting classes at the Academy. The stress quickly effected his health; he posted a notice in his daily on November 1st announcing that he had taken on substitute teachers to finish his fall-term courses so that he could recover from "the unhappy state of my health for several months past;" he did offer a tuition discount for those students that continued under the new regime. Shortly after that notice, Wood convinced one John Netherland (312), probably a merchant-planter from nearby Powhatan County, to purchase Yancey's interest in the *Courier*, which allowed the printer to return to the *Intelligencer*. The new firm of Wood & Netherland took control of the *Daily Courier* on November 14th, in an agreement that gave Wood the means to hire a new printer and the time to find a replacement partner.

However, just as Wood began that search, controversy descended on his venture. Rumors were circulating in the neighborhood about his qualifications to teach drawing and painting at the Petersburg Academy. Some residents were evidently in possession of a recent history of Edinburgh that reflected poorly on Wood: John Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh: Containing a*

History and Description of the City, with a particular account of every remarkable object in, or established connection with, the Scottish Metropolis (Edinburgh & London, 1806); Stark reported that Wood had been dismissed from his post at the Edinburg Academy in 1799 as a result of the school's trustees discovering that the portfolio he used to gain appointment in 1797 was completed by another. Wood quickly identified the source of those rumors as Dr. Thomas Robinson, an Irish expatriate who was part of the circle of United Irishmen émigrés in Petersburg that had included John Daly Burk (063), now a key Republican leader in the neighborhood. In a series of editorial pieces, Wood "refuted" the rumors with signed affidavits from local physicians who had been resident in Edinburgh at the time of his departure, all of whom attested to Wood's voluntary departure in the face of prosecution, rather than an involuntary one predicated on his dismissal.

The last of those acerbic comments appeared on November 26, 1814, just two weeks after Netherland joined Wood in publishing the *Courier*; two weeks later, on December 10th, Netherland withdrew from the joint concern, after having been associated with the paper for less than a month. It is unclear whether this was a planned departure or not. Yet what is clear is that Wood now faced a crisis: he was saddled with more responsibilities than one man could fulfill. On December 6th, Wood again placed an advertisement for an instructor for the Academy who could reduce his workload. But at the same time, he appears to have pressed the school's trustees to make his provisional appointment permanent. They were evidently convinced by Wood's performance, as well as his published rebuff of the charges seen in Stark's book, and offered him the presidency of the Petersburg Academy effective January 1, 1815. That offer gave Wood a way out of his dilemma.

Cartographic Retirement

On Saturday December 24th, Wood informed his readers that there would not be a paper issued on the following Monday, in order to allow his staff a Christmas holiday on Sunday; when the *Courier* reappeared on Tuesday December 27th, it was now printed and published by George A. Martin (281). Wood explained the change noting that, when he started the daily three months before, he had

"...flattered myself that the labour and attention bestowed on the *Courier*, would not have interrupted those duties incumbent upon me as the Pres't. of the Petersburg Academy. But it has been tho't by many of the Patrons of this institution, that I could not with propriety, devote the necessary time to youth, while I continued the Editor of a newspaper: From this cause, and this cause alone, I have been induced to dispose of the Establishment—for ... I have always regarded the education of youth as the most important occupation in society. Could I consistently have continued the exercise of both professions, it would have been most pleasing; but perceiving the necessity of relinquishing one I had no hesitation as to the choice."

This brief explanation proved to be Wood's parting words to the world of journalism

Relieved of his duties as a journalist and a teacher, Wood could now return to his academic pursuits when his administrative duties allowed. He began to press for a new, accurate map of Virginia, to replace that of the Rev. James Madison, cousin of the like-named president,

published in 1807; that map was based on faulty surveys, he believed, done by a surveyor of average competence, and combined with the outdated map completed in 1751 by Colonels Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson (father of Thomas). He argued that his well-known skills as a mathematician, surveyor, and cartographer made him the perfect candidate for drafting a better map. In October 1816, then Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas contracted Wood to map the principal rivers of the state as a test of the Scotsman's professed abilities; the project ran into immediate opposition in the House of Delegates over the cost of Wood's contract, but Nicholas and his supporters beat back an attempt to repeal the act that authorized the project. Wood resigned as president of the Petersburg Academy and set out to survey the five main tidewater rivers – James, York, Rappahannock, Potomac, and Piankatank – that same month. He completed the project in just under two years, well within the required deadline. After a year conducting another school in Richmond, Wood was contracted by Governor James Patton Preston in April 1819 to survey and map all of the counties in the state, for the purpose of creating a new composite map of Virginia; Wood was allowed five years to complete the project at \$8000 per year, for a total of \$40,000, a handsome sum.

In May 1822, Wood died, leaving the project unfinished; still, after little more than three years, he had completed 80% of the needed work and had told the new governor, Thomas Mann Randolph, that the new map would be ready for publication by August 1, 1822 – fully a year and a half before it was required. That meant that his successor should have been able to finish the project in little more time than that. Thus Herman Böye (1792-1830), the Danish-born cartographer and engineer who had been assisting Wood, was appointed his replacement that November; Böye presented the completed work to the engravers in the winter of 1825-26, three years later, with the final printed work delivered to the state in October 1827. Though that published map has come to be known as "Böye's Map," it took Wood's assistant nearly five years to finish the 20% he had left undone – an inadvertent testimonial to Wood's skills.

The obituaries published after Wood's death all stressed his work as a mathematician and cartographer, ignoring his years as a journalist, and noting only briefly that he had written and published "certain political tracts" earlier in his life. Only Coleman's *New York Evening Post* added the comment that those tracts were ones "which do him no credit." Wood was just forty-seven years old.

Personal Data

Born: ca. 1775 Scotland.
Died: May 15 1822 Richmond, Virginia.
Died unmarried and without issue.

Sources: Imprints; Brigham; Scott and Wyatt, *Petersburg*; Christian, *Richmond*; Mordecai, *By-Gone Days*; Meagher, *Education in Richmond*; Lutz, *Chesterfield*; Baker, "John Wood Weighs In" (2010); Schlereth, *Age of Infidelity*; Fox, *Decline of Aristocracy*; Harrison & Klotter, *New History of Kentucky*; Stewart, *American Emperor*; Isenberg, *Fallen Founder*; numerous newspaper notices from New York City (1800-22), Lexington & Frankfort, Kentucky (1806-08), Washington (1806-08), Richmond (1801-27), and Petersburg (1810-22).