Constantine Samuel Rafinesque—A Sketch

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CONSTANTINE SAMUEL RAFINESQUE—
A SKETCH.

BY T. J. FITZPATRICK.

In a suburb of Constantinople, called Galata, C. S. Rafinesque was born in the year 1783.* His father, G. F. Rafinesque, was a native of Marseilles and of French origin. His mother, M. Schmaltz, was a native Grecian but of German extraction. Therefore truly it may be said, as has been alleged, that C. S. Rafinesque was a Franco-German by blood and a Turko-Grecian by nativity.

G. F. Rafinesque was a member of the firm of Lafleche & Rafinesque of Marseilles and had charge of the branch office of the firm established at Constantinople in order to secure trade from the orient. The fact that the mother of Rafinesque was a native Grecian has given color to the statement that his mother tongue was modern Greek. French, however, seems to have been his means of communication in early life in spite of the fact that his infant lispings may have been in the Greek vernacular. While still an infant he was taken by his parents to Scutari in Asia and a short time later by sea to Marseilles, stopping on the way at Smyrna and Malta.

Marseilles remained the home of Rafinesque and his mother for several years, although his father returned to the Levant and remained for two years engaged in trade. Our subject states that he first became conscious of his existence "in one of the numerous country seats which surround and beautify the neighbourhood of Marseilles, where they are called Bastides. It was there among the flowers and fruits that I began to enjoy life, and I became a Botanist. Afterwards the first premium I received in a school was a book

* The date given by Haldeman in "American Journal of Science," Vol. 42, p. 280, is October 22, 1783. Rafinesque does not give the date in his "Life of Travels," but one may infer from the text that the year was 1784.
on Animals, and I am become a Zoologist and Naturalist. My early voyage made me a traveler.”*

Rafinesque’s second and third voyages and the first he afterwards remembered were made with his parents on a trip to Leghorn where his father’s sister lived. In 1791 the father of Rafinesque as part owner of the ship Argonaute started on a voyage to Mauritius and China by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The ship fell among the English cruisers but escaped by crossing over to Philadelphia where ship and cargo were sold. Here the elder Rafinesque sickened with yellow fever and died in 1793. Meanwhile, the French revolution being in progress, Mrs. Rafinesque took her two sons and one daughter and left for Leghorn, Italy, in order to escape the reign of terror. At this place they remained during the years from 1792 to 1796. Here Rafinesque received instruction in the common branches and in the English language from private tutors. He acquired the Italian from his associates. Books on natural history and travels were read with deep interest. In after years he boasted that at the age of twelve he had read the Universal History, an extensive work, and a thousand volumes on a variety of subjects. In 1795, at the age of eleven he began making plant collections. A trip was made to Pisa to see the public games of St. Ranieri, the leaning tower, and other places of interest. In 1796 an overland journey was made to Genoa. Rafinesque kept a journal of this trip which he says was his first literary effort of its kind. The journey over the Appenines was made in a sedan chair and by mules while the lumbering coach was chartered for the crossing of the lower country.

After a time spent in Genoa, Rafinesque was sent to Pisa to live with his paternal grandmother. The journey was made partly by sea and partly by land. Rafinesque found time to cultivate his love for botany by collecting plants in the neighborhood of Genoa and of Pisa, along the

*Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 6.
banks of the Arno, and in the mountains. In 1797 his grandmother left Pisa and returned to Marseilles sending her grandson in charge of a trusty man back to Genoa. A project was under advisement to send Rafinesque to a college in Switzerland, but unfortunately it was not carried out. He however soon rejoined his grandmother at Marseilles. He continued his education alone by reading with avidity whatever came in his way, preferring, however, books of travel and of the natural sciences. Occasionally incursions were made into the realms of philosophy, chemistry, and medicine. Rafinesque says of this period of his life:

I never was in a regular College, nor lost my time on dead languages; but I spent it in learning alone and by mere reading ten times more than is taught in Schools. I have undertaken to learn the Latin and Greek, as well as the Hebrew, Sanscrit, Chinese and fifty other languages, as I felt the need or inclination to study them.*

Rafinesque was now sixteen years of age and began making plans for the future. He thought of some profession, then again his taste for horticulture suggested the career of a botanist and a gardener, but apparently family history threw the balance in favor of a business career such as his father had followed. Merchants were more or less peripatetic a century ago and as Rafinesque had acquired a taste for moving about he readily consented to take up the parental choice for a life work. A position of an apprentice was secured as a clerk with a distant relative. Meanwhile the woods and the fields about Marseilles gave to him many days of pleasure in the study of the fauna and flora. In a wild romantic place he planted a small flower garden. Days were spent in watching birds and in making sketches of them. The nearby streams and pools contained many fishes as well as shells and crabs. These were studied and some collections gathered. The naturalist, Daudin, resided at Paris and to him Rafinesque sent some of his observations on birds. Daudin was his first learned correspondent. Rafinesque also

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, pp. 8-9.
busied himself collecting books, planning travels, or projecting some literary effort as his boyish fancy suggested. He says:

I had not decided where to travel, many distant countries appeared to invite me; but above all the Grecian and Oriental Regions of my birth, and where resided my maternal relatives.*

Meanwhile the troubled state of Europe produced business depression and as a consequence the family fortune was badly depleted and widely scattered. The property of Rafinesque’s father and of his uncle, a victim of the revolution, fell into the hands of Mr. Lafleche who fled to Genoa and never made any settlement. At this time, Rafinesque’s grandmother died at an advanced age. He was sent back to Leghorn to live with his mother who was now married to a merchant by the name of Lanthois. This journey he took in company with his brother by the sea route in 1800. Capture by an English frigate was narrowly averted. Arriving at Genoa Mr. Lafleche sent them on to Leghorn by sea but at Sestri gaining news of cruisers the remainder of the journey was made overland. The two following years were spent in helping Mr. Lanthois in his commercial transactions and as occasion offered in roaming over the fields and in the woods. He continued to send accounts of birds to Daudin. An English lady by the name of Partridge had a garden and a museum near Montenero to which Rafinesque made frequent visits. A journey was made to Calci in the Appenines of Tuscany, and as the region roundabout appealed to the fancy of Rafinesque he made a topographical map of it.

At eighteen years of age, Rafinesque came to America. Of this interesting voyage he writes:

In 1802 it was resolved to send me with my brother to begin our travels. It was to the United States of America that we were sent, upon several considerations superfluous to state here. This was the period of my real voyages and travels, on the score of importance and novelty, as well as those discoveries which followed my exertions. Before this all my excursions were mere youthful trials in countries well known. I was of course

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 11.
delighted, and eager to begin to see the world. We were provided with an adventure, many letters of introduction, and we departed to roam over the wide world.*

In March, 1802, Rafinesque and his younger brother, Anthony Augustus, left Leghorn on board the American ship, Philadelphia, owned by the Clifford brothers, and commanded by Captain Razer, bound for Philadelphia at which city they arrived after a voyage of forty-two days without a single landing. Of this voyage Rafinesque wrote:

We followed the Spanish shore from Cape Gates, and passed the strait of Gibraltar in a few days. I had the first view of Africa and afterwards of the great Ocean, this famous Atlantic Ocean, which after 4000 years bears yet the name of the first Nations who have crossed it, the Atlas and the Antis! It afforded me a new study by its fishes and mollusca. I drew and described all those that we caught. It was more difficult to procure Birds, but Turtles could be taken while sleeping on the waves. We had a favourable passage, without accidents nor storms. In forty days we obtained the first sight of America, the Capes May and Henlopen forming Delaware Bay. These shores are so low, that the trees are seen before the soil, and give a sylvan impression of this continent. In two days we run up the Bay and River to Philadelphia, where we landed on the 18th April 1802.†

Rafinesque carried letters of introduction to various noted citizens of Philadelphia who received him kindly. The Clifford brothers offered him a position in their counting house; Dr. Benjamin Rush took an interest in the wanderer and offered to become his preceptor. The offer of the Cliffords was accepted but when the yellow fever appeared in the city during the following summer Rafinesque relinquished his position and went to Germantown to live with Colonel Forrest, a horticulturist. Being on a new continent where the productions of nature were very different from those of southern Europe Rafinesque found much for amusement and instruction. In company with Colonel Forrest he made many trips out into the neighboring country and once down into New Jersey through the barrens and along the sea coast. A visit was made to Westchester to Marshall’s bo-

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† Ibid, pp. 13-14.
tanic garden, and Bartram's garden was also visited. The birds, the reptiles, the fishes, and the flowers received attention from Rafinesque. In October after the scourge of yellow fever had passed away Rafinesque returned to his commercial work at Philadelphia. During 1803 he, in company with his brother who had spent the previous year at New York and Newark, returned to Germantown to avoid the dreaded yellow fever. Many excursions were undertaken to neighboring points of interest. A trip was made to Lancaster to visit the noted preacher botanist, Muhlenburg. Rafinesque became acquainted either by conversation or by correspondence with many of the early American botanists whose reputations give them fame even to this day. The circle included Pursh, Barton, Muhlenburg, Bartram, Marshall, Peale, Kin, Logan, Shultze, Gaissen, Vanvleck, Hamilton, Mease, Mitchell, Cutler, Brickell, and the French wanderer, Michaux. The majority of these shining lights in the galaxy of early American scientists have left to posterity classic works, the results of intensive studies in their chosen fields.

In the fall of 1803 Rafinesque returned to Philadelphia and resigned his position with the Cliffords in favor of his brother and occupied his time during the winter as secretary for Mr. Gernon. As the spring of 1804 came he forsook his occupation and betook himself to the woods. He writes:

My pedestrian excursions of the last year had given me a relish for these rambles; I had become convinced that they were both easy, useful and full of pleasure, while they afforded me the means to study every thing at leisure. I never was happier than when alone in the woods with the blossoms, or resting near a limpid stream or spring, I enjoyed without control the gifts of Flora, and the beauties of nature. I therefore resolved to undertake this year longer journeys before I left America, where I foresaw that I could not remain to advantage, as I often threw my eyes towards Greece and Asia, as another field of exertions and discoveries.*

Rafinesque traveled across Delaware from north to south, visiting places of interest, not neglecting to call upon the

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* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 18.
Governor at his plantation near Dover. The return trip was along the Western shore of Maryland. The Great Dismal Swamp was visited, also Cape Henlopen, the downs, the light house, and the sea shore. The animal and plant life of both sea and land yielded toll to the omnivorous collector. Observations on soils, strata, and fossils were taken. A visit was made to Washington where he met President Jefferson, Mr. Madison, secretary of state, and other public men. A deputation of Osages were in Washington. They gave their national dances of which Rafinesque was an interested and a surprised spectator. He collected a vocabulary from the chief Pauska or White Head through the interpreter, Mr. Chouteau. The falls of the Potomac, the cities of Alexandria, Baltimore, Havre de Grace, Westchester, Lancaster, Columbia, Harrisburg, the Alleghanies, Reading, New Lebanon, Easton, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and many other places were visited while collecting natural history objects and calling upon citizens of similar predilections.

Rafinesque was now twenty years of age, in short he was in the formative period of his life. Different forces were exerting their influences and the final results were uncertain. Of this time he writes:

My last excursion this year was a walk to Wilmington in Delaware to visit my friends there. But on my return I received letters from Europe which changed my plans, and induced me to leave America: although then several of my friends wished to detain me, and made me several offers of employment, not quite to my taste. I had once hesitated however when I was told that I might be admitted as Botanist in the expedition which Lewis & Clark were then preparing to survey the Missouri and cross the Oregon mountains. The dangers of this long journey would not have prevented me to join it; but the difficulty was to be admitted as Botanist or learned Surveyor: it appears that Wilson who wished to join the party as Ornithologist or Hunter, could not obtain the permission. The same might have happened with me; but I did not apply: this journey did not promise any reward, while I had the offer of a lucrative situation in Sicily, a country new to me.*

Gathering his worldly possession Rafinesque accompanied by his brother secured passage late in December on the

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ship Two Sisters commanded by Captain Evans. Cutting through the ice the ship passed out upon the ocean on New Year's Day, 1805, bound for Leghorn. A stormy, and for that day, a swift voyage carried them to their destination. In thirty days the straits of Gibraltar were cleared and in six more the ship was on the shores of Italy. At Leghorn a quarantine of forty days was placed on the ship as Rafinesque says "without cause", but which, however, was not very rigid. His mother and sister as well as friends came frequently to visit him during his detention. He says:

I spent this time of leisure in arranging my plants, drawing the new species, writing my travels and letters. I had brought a fine collection of plants, seeds, shells, minerals, &c. My herbal contained nearly 2400 species and 10,000 specimens. I sent many to the Professors Savi of Pisa and Radi of Florence, who gave me Italian plants in exchange.¹

Landing in March, Rafinesque remained in Leghorn and nearby places until into May, when he left on board the Austrian ship Trabacolo for Palermo which was reached after a voyage of eight days. Here a quarantine of twenty days was imposed "because there had been yellow fever in Leghorn one year before!"

On landing at Palermo Rafinesque entered the employ of Mr. A. Gibbs, the U. S. consul, as secretary and chancellor. He remained with him until 1808, living in his palace. Having saved his earnings he secured a house and engaged in mercantile pursuits with much profit. Squills and medicinal drugs among other things engaged his attention in a commercial way. Excursions were made into all the surrounding territory in quest of animate and inanimate objects for purposes of study and of exchange. The fishes of the sea and other sea life attracted his attention. The mines, the quarries, and Mount Etna received the homage of the enthusiastic student, even the ruins of antiquity scattered over the island excited his wonder and admiration. The English botanist and naturalist, Swainson, visited Palermo

and became the friend and companion of Rafinesque in many a ramble. At about this time Rafinesque was a candidate for the chair of botany in the university, and later the chair of agriculture and economy, but was unsuccessful in both attempts. He continued his studies with unabated zeal, collecting, arranging his specimens, preparing plates for prospective publications, writing for journals, and publishing. Ten years were thus spent on the Island of Sicily, years of toil and of hopeful promise, years to which Rafinesque looked back and said:

My first impressions of this lovely Island were delightful: arriving in the month of May, the air was embalmed by the emanations of orange blossoms, carried far at sea in the night by the land breeze. The mountains were smiling with flowers and verdure, they invited me to climb over them. The view of Palermo and the bay is very fine, although not quite equal to that of Naples with the smoking Vesuvius. Here I was then, in Sicily the largest and finest of the Islands in the Mediterranean: a residence of ten years made me perfectly acquainted with it and its natural productions. Few learned travellers can boast to have so long studied Nature in that lovely spot. It was the best epoch of my life. The events of those ten years might afford materials for a romance.*

Rafinesque's opinion of Sicily as he tersely gives it is:

Sicily might be described in a few words by saying that she offers . . . . a fruitful soil, delightful climate, excellent productions, perfidious men, deceitful women . . . . such is the outline of her picture.†

Growing tired of Sicily and its people Rafinesque began to think of other climes. He proposed to Banks an exploring tour of the coast of Australia but his plan failed to meet with favor. He thought of going to Paris where his mother lived but was prevented from fear of the turbulent condition of the country. Mr. Gibbs was sending a ship to New York which circumstance induced Rafinesque to secure passage again to America. Getting together a quantity of drugs and merchandise for trade along with fifty boxes of personal goods, such as a naturalist possesses, Rafinesque resolutely set out for America where as the sequel shows he

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 27.
† Ibid.
was destined to pass the remainder of his life. The story of the voyage as given by him is as follows:

This voyage from Palermo to New York was long and unfortunate: our ship did not sail fast, and we were over 100 days on the way, including our stay in Gibraltar and the Azores. We sailed at the end of July, and only reached Gibraltar in 15 days, after having sailed along Sicily and Sardinia, gone near Bona in Africa on a tack, and followed the Spanish shores from Cape Gates to Malaga and the strait. We often came close to several towns and the island Alboran, in our tacks. At last we entered the strait with a good easterly wind, which might have sent us 600 miles forward in three days, and spared perhaps our mishaps; but we spent these three days of fair wind in Gibraltar, where the ship was to stop on some business. However this allowed me to land in Spain, to visit the famous mount Calpe and to herborize on it. Reaching the ocean, we had for awhile favourable weather with many calms, that allowed me to study again the fishes and mollusca, to catch turtles, &c. But arrived near the Azores, we fell into one of those dreadful squalls frequent there. We nearly perished in it, a Brig in sight disappeared, our ship was thrown on the beams ends, and merely escaped and righted by losing two masts; but thus dismasted we had to seek a harbor in the Id. of St. Michael. Skirting the S. side we reached Punta Delgado the metropolis, where we were well received by the British and American Consuls. * * Having quickly repaired our damage as well as we could, we resumed our voyage; but were nearly two months on the way, being baffled by violent storms, in one we had to throw our guns overboard. We had also to contend against the gulf stream which our Maltese sailors did not know, and crossed improperly. Thus when we reached soundings we were nearly out of provisions. But here a greater misfortune awaited us. The first land in sight was Cape Montauk at the end of Long Id. Westerly winds baffling us yet, we resolved to go to Newport for food and water. We were near it having taken a pilot in the way, when a sudden N. E. wind repulsed us, and being favorable for New York, we turned back towards it through the sound. It was the 2d November 1815, a dreadful day for me. The weather was foggy, at 10 o'clock at night we ran unaware upon the Race rocks, which lay under water between Fisher Id. and Long Id. The wind and tide made us pass over, but we lost our keel. Our ship filled fast and settled down on one side; but without sinking, being made buoyant by the air of the hold. We had merely the time to escape in our boats, with some difficulty; the long boat was too heavy to be hoisted, but floated as the ship fell, entangled in the rigging for awhile. Having left the wreck we rowed towards the light house of New London then in sight, and reached it at midnight: thus landing in America for a second time, but in a deplorable situation. I had lost everything, my fortune, my share of the cargo, my collections and labors for 20 years past, my books, my manuscripts, my drawings, even my clothes . . . all that I possessed, except some scattered funds, and the Insurance ordered in England for
one-third of the value of my goods. For some days after I was in a state of utter despair. I walked to New London in Connecticut. I was flattered with the hope that the floating Ship could yet be saved; but as soon as the masts were cut to tow it easier, it righted and sunk, after throwing up the confined air of the hold by an explosion. Some hearts of stone have since dared to doubt of these facts or rejoice at my losses! Yes, I have found men, vile enough to laugh without shame at my misfortune, instead of condoling with me! But I have met also with friends who have deplored my loss, and helped me in need.*

Within a short time Rafinesque went overland to New York and looked about in search of employment. Doctor Mitchill, the editor of the Medical Repository, with whom Rafinesque corresponded while residing in Sicily, took an interest in the efforts of the stranger and introduced him among his friends and associates. Meeting with Mr. Livingston he arranged to pass the winter at his country residence as a private tutor for his three daughters. This country residence was near Clearmont on the Hudson river, a hundred miles north of New York. Thither Rafinesque journeyed by stage in December and entered upon his duties. His leisure was spent in reading the books in Mr. Livingston's library, sketching the beautiful scenery, and writing his travels and recollections. In midwinter, Mrs. Livingston's health failing, the family removed to Charleston, S. C. Rafinesque not desiring to go to the south returned to New York and shortly after went to Philadelphia to call upon his former friends.*

As spring returned Rafinesque began field work in the natural sciences. His friend Collins lent encouragement by precept and by example. Soon returning by a new route to New York he joined Dr. Mitchill and Captain Partridge in a collecting trip to New Jersey. The mania for roaming was now in full control. A journey was made to Albany in a steamboat. Trips were made out to various points, to the four falls, to Lake George, and the mineral springs at Saratoga, even visiting Ticonderoga in Vermont. These trips enabled Rafinesque to explore and map most of the course

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, pp. 46-49.
of the Hudson river. He was greatly pleased with his tour and returned to New York laden with plants, shells, fossils, and minerals. Long Island and New Jersey were now visited. The insurance on the goods lost in the shipwreck having been received Rafinesque started again in business but the bankruptcy of a New York house and the rascality of a Sicilian caused losses and prevented him from reaping the rewards of his industry. During a business trip to Philadelphia Rafinesque met his former friend, John D. Clifford, who now resided at Lexington, Kentucky, and it was arranged that Rafinesque should go to Kentucky in the spring of 1818. Meanwhile he had helped to found the Lyceum of Natural History of New York and had become a member of the Philosophical Society. Contributions were made to the American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review. A Flora of Louisiana was published and many literary schemes were projected. During 1817 two collecting trips were made to various New York stations, one in company with Doctors Torrey and Knevels, and two trips to various places on Long Island. Rafinesque made his home during the summer in Brooklyn but during the winter he resided in New York.

In May, 1818, Rafinesque set out for the west. The journey to Philadelphia and Lancaster was made by stage. From Lancaster he walked over the Alleghanies through Columbia, York, Chambersburg, Bedford, Greensburg, and on to Pittsburg where he visited awhile, and contracted with Cramer and Spear, booksellers, to publish a proposed map of the river Ohio and his travels in America.

At Pittsburg Rafinesque fell in with a company of gentlemen and together they purchased an ark with which they floated down the Ohio, camping at night along the shore. On reaching Cincinnati, Rafinesque went overland to Northbend and visited with Mr. Short, a fellow student of nature. As the ark came by, the journey was resumed to Louisville, where former friends, the Messrs. Tarascon resided. Here two weeks were spent visiting and studying the fishes and
shells at the falls of the Ohio river, and in drawing the striking objects on the spot. "I was surprised", said Rafinesque, "to find them nearly all new."* After seeing the neighborhood of Louisville passage was taken on a day boat to Hendersonville where some days were pleasantly spent with the famous Audubon. Securing a horse a journey was made to the communistic settlement at New Harmony on the Wabash where a visit was made with Dr. Miller. Crossing the Wabash a trip was made through Illinois to Shawaneetown and on to the mouth of the Ohio river, the return being made back to Hendersonville through Morgantown. From here Rafinesque walked to Louisville, crossing the barrens and meadows of Kentucky. Visiting with the Messrs. Tarascon for a few days and shipping his collections to Pittsburg, Rafinesque then went to Middleton to call upon his friend Bradbury, thence to Lexington to see his friend of former days, John D. Clifford.

Of this visit he writes:

The fine museum of fossils and antiquities already collected by Clifford deserved all my attention, I spent many days in studying them and drawing the rarest. He wanted to increase it and he induced me to come and settle with him in Lexington, promising to procure me a Professorship in the University and to travel every year with me in the vacations to increase his museum and my collections. This project which allowed me to travel and explore all the vast regions of the Mississippi with a friend, and to settle in a healthy and pleasant town, met my approbation. But I had to return to Philadelphia to settle my concerns, and withdraw from trade.†

The return to Philadelphia began with a wagon but it was soon abandoned. At Maysville Rafinesque crossed the Ohio river and traveled on foot across the state of Ohio, passing through Chillicothe, Lancaster, Zanesville, and Steubenville. Of Ohio Rafinesque states:

It was near Chillicothe that I saw the first great monuments and pyramids or altars, of the ancient nations of N. America; they struck me with astonishment and induced me to study them.‡

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* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 55.
† Ibid, p. 57.
‡ Ibid, p. 58.
Rafinesque crossed the Ohio river at Steubenville and took the Virginia road through the hills to Pittsburg, thence on over the Alleghanies for the second time, noting the geology of the country by the way. A stop was made to visit the mineral springs at Bedford. At Lancaster the stage was taken to Philadelphia.

The winter of 1818 and 1819 was spent in drafting a map of the region of the Ohio river, in preparing papers, and making arrangements to emigrate to the west. Of this period our subject writes:

A friend of mine Mr. Michel wanted then to form a partnership with me in trade; but I gave up trade for Ford and the west. I even refused the chair of Professor of Chemistry which he could have obtained for me, altho' many Professors of it are less Chemists than I, because I had a greater taste for botany, zoology and geology. Yet one was lucrative, while that which I chose was less so. I obtained thus the Professorship of botany and natural history, with the addition of modern languages, with lodgings, boarding and casual emoluments.*

Rafinesque packed his library and collections and shipped them to Lexington, Ky., in care of Clifford. In May, 1819, he went by steamboat to Baltimore where a visit was made with the botanist, Hayden. Turning now towards the west Rafinesque crossed the Alleghanies for the third time on foot. The itinerary was from Frederic to the Cotocton mountains, through the gap of the Potomac river, on to Harper's Ferry, along the river to Cumberland, thence over the table-land through Brownsville to Pittsburg. Here Rafinesque delivered his map of the Ohio river to the booksellers, Messrs. Cramer and Spear, and received one hundred dollars for his services.

The journey was resumed by taking passage on a keel boat down the Ohio river. A stop was made at Marietta, Ohio, to study and survey the prehistoric remains. While the boat was running the rapids at Letart, Rafinesque crossed the isthmus in West Virginia on foot, collecting along the way, and later meeting the boat at Parkersburg. Arriving

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 59.

at Maysville Rafinesque left the boat and started overland for Lexington, Ky. The route passed over by him by stage and by private carriage is practically the same as is now followed by the railway from Maysville to Lexington.

It was midsummer of 1819 when Rafinesque reached Lexington. The university was closed for the summer vacation. Clifford was in the hill country to the southward passing the time in search of health, and thither Rafinesque went to meet his friend. There they remained until the close of the season enjoying themselves in communion with nature. As fall approached both returned to Lexington. On the opening of the university Rafinesque began a course of lectures on natural history. In the spring of 1820 a course was given on botany. On the conclusion of the year's work Rafinesque and Clifford were preparing for a journey into western Kentucky and into Arkansas. On the eve of their departure Clifford sickened, and died a few days later. Rafinesque thus speaks of his misfortune:

*This loss of an intimate and zealous friend was blasting to all my hopes and views. I ought to have left the country directly; but finding myself with all my books and collections in a fine unexplored country, where there was much to glean, . . . I thought that I ought to explore it by myself. But instead of traveling in a carriage with Clifford, I had to return to my pedestrian excursions. Horses were offered to me; but I never liked riding them, and dismounting for every flower: horses do not suit botanists.*

The summer of 1820 was passed in Kentucky in the immediate neighborhood of Lexington, exploring the ancient remains or collecting objects of natural history. Much time was spent preparing papers for publication. During the school year of 1820-1821 lectures on botany were delivered to many students and instruction given to large classes in the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. Many friends were acquired but Rafinesque felt that not one was a Clifford to him. Frequent trips were made to Ashland to visit the statesman Henry Clay, also to a country seat near Harrodsburg where

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*Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 61.*
dwelt the genial spirit, Mr. Meade. Dr. Short, the botanist, and the traveler, Bradbury, called upon Rafinesque. These gentlemen were old correspondents of his and had sent him objects of natural history. Bradbury's visit was in 1822.

The chair of materia medica being vacant Rafinesque became a candidate but was not preferred. Times were dull and money scarce. Of these times the following account is given:

The paper money introduced in Kentucky in spite of the Constitution, and which soon fell to 50 per cent, became another cause of displeasure, doubling all my expenses, postages, carriage of goods, &c., preventing me to travel out of Kentucky where it had its only value, and increasing the price of every thing, without increasing my emoluments. My travels were prepared for the press; but the booksellers of Pittsburg would not print them, in spite of their special contract, owing to the general distress, and I could not go to Pittsburg to compel them. All this combined to disgust me, and I could not travel far this year. I had to confine myself to the villages near Lexington.*

A situation in Pulaski college was open to Rafinesque but was refused as he did not wish to go farther inland with his possessions and had resolved to establish a botanic garden or leave Kentucky. The vacation season of 1823 was spent in exploring that state; our subject starting out in May for a two months journey to the Tennessee river and to points in western Kentucky. A visit was made at Bowling Green with General Covington, also at Elkton with Mr. New, with the Shakers at West Union, and at Russelville, thence to Hopkinsville where visits were made with Mr. Campbell and Doctor Short. An excursion was taken to Clarksville on the Cumberland river in Tennessee. A trip to the prehistoric remains at Canton on the Cumberland river was made and across on to the Tennessee river. The country between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers being unsettled Rafinesque regretfully turned back although he desired to go on to the Mississippi river. The return was through Hopkinsville and Russelville to West Union and

Bowling Green, visiting by the way the Cameleon spring, and later the famous mammoth cave. Of it Rafinesque wrote: “I spent one day to survey it, and found it very different from the printed exaggerated accounts, but yet wonderful enough.”*

The return to Lexington occurred in July with ample collections brought in wagons. A short rest and then Rafinesque was away to spend August and September in southeastern Kentucky, going through Danville, Shelby, Somerset, to the falls of the Cumberland river, later to Barbourville and the gap of the Cumberland, the return home being by way of Hazlepatch, Mt. Vernon, Crab Orchard, and Stanford, with the usual load of collections.

During the school year of 1823-1824 Rafinesque gave lectures to the medical students on medical botany, using the modern method of teaching by the exhibition of specimens.

Rafinesque in 1824 went to Frankfort and solicited the legislature for aid to establish a botanic garden at Lexington. The Senate granted the request but the House refused. However, a company was formed and incorporated and subscriptions taken. W. H. Richardson was president of the board of directors and Rafinesque, secretary. The company started out well, secured a desirable plot of ten acres, issued a booklet of twenty-four pages in English and French, then languished and died. Rafinesque claimed that in order to divert him from the garden he was appointed librarian of the university and keeper of the museum, and, according to him, among other calamities he took a bad case of measles but got well in spite of the physicians by refusing to be medicated while many others died although treated.

Rafinesque’s travels during 1824 were mostly for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions for the establishment of the botanic garden and were made through the country within forty miles around Lexington. A few trips were made to prehistoric sites to study and survey.

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 70.
The work for 1825 began as follows:

In March 1825 I began to plant the garden, of which I was the Superintendent; but I soon became aware of a secret hostility to my undertaking, and several subscribers did not pay their instalments. It became impossible to struggle against the influence of the foes of sciences. I became weary of it, and resolved to end these perpetual difficulties, by seeking elsewhere other resources or advantages, undertaking in that view a journey to Washington City, Baltimore and Philadelphia. I left the garden in the hands of Mr. Ficklin, and Lexington at the end of June after the visit of Lafayette.*

Of the garden Rafinesque wrote:

I never owned an acre of ground, this garden would have been my delight: I had traced the plan of it, with a retreat among the flowers, a Green house, Museum and Library; but I had to forsake it at last, and make again my garden of the woods and mountains.†

At the close of June, 1825, Rafinesque left for Washington. The stage was taken to Maysville, Chillicothe, Zanesville, and Wheeling. From Wheeling the trip over the Alleghanies was undertaken as usual on foot. At Winchester he visited with Mr. Barton, a fellow student of nature. Taking the stage from thence to the Shenandoah river, then on foot over the Cotocton or Blue Mountains to Aldie, thence to Georgetown and Washington. Rafinesque remained a month in Washington visiting with old friends, Adlum and Winn. He also met the botanists M’Williams and Brereton and was introduced to President Adams. He states that he “induced Maj. M’Kinney at the head of the Indian department, to print circulars to collect vocabularies of 100 words, in all the Languages spoken by the Indians of the United States.”‡

Some time was spent visiting the vineyard of Adlum who was a successful wine producer. From studies made at this vineyard came in later years the “American Manual of Grape Vines and the Art of Making Wine,” which was published in 1830.

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, p. 75.
† Ibid, p. 72.
‡ Ibid, p. 76.
For some time Rafinesque had devoted his energies to devising various schemes. One of these he called the “Divital Invention,” which is now known as the “Coupon System.” He always claimed to be the inventor of this now widely used system of divisible commercial paper or certificates, and his chief business at Washington was to obtain patents on his various inventions, this one among them. Henry Clay, of Kentucky, being out of the city at the time, delay occurred, but the business was finally concluded. On leaving the Capital the stage was taken to Baltimore where Dr. James Smith became his host. At Baltimore Rafinesque published his plan of divisible certificates. The plan was soon adopted in part or by improvement, but no returns ever came to the inventor, who shunned lawsuits as a plague and allowed the pirating to go on.

After some time Rafinesque took the steamboat for Philadelphia where he met his old friend Collins as well as others. It was now well into October and Rafinesque while desiring to go to New York and Boston felt impelled to return to Lexington to close up his affairs preparatory to leaving the west. The stage was taken to Lancaster, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Chambersburg to the base of the mountains. For the fifth time the Alleghanies were crossed on foot, this time by a new route through Berlin, Somerset, and Washington to Wheeling. From Wheeling the route across Ohio was by stage through Zanesville, Lancaster, Circleville, Washington, Wilmington to Lebanon. The ancient monuments at Circleville were visited. From Lebanon the journey was resumed to Cincinnati where public lectures were given in the museum of Mr. Dorfeuille. A visit was made to General Taylor and Mr. Symes, notorious for his system of concentric spheres and polar openings, who resided in the nearby village of Newport, Kentucky. Shortly afterwards Rafinesque returned to Lexington. How he found matters may be best stated in his own words:

I returned to Lexington by the Ridge road, and proceeded to Frankford, when I found how the President of the University had behaved in my
absence. To evince his hatred against sciences and discoveries, he had broken open my rooms, given one to the students, and thrown all my effects, books and collections in a heap in the other. He had also depriving me of my situation as Librarian and my board in the College. I had to put up with all this to avoid beginning law suits. I took lodgings in town and carried there all my effects: thus leaving the College with curses on it and Holley; who were both reached by them soon after, since he died next year at sea of the Yellow fever, caught at New Orleans, having been driven from Lexington by public opinion: and the College has been burnt in 1828 with all its contents. But Clifford's cabinet was saved (like mine) by being removed previously like mine, and is now partly in Cincinnati and partly in Philadelphia. This was a lucky escape. However I never was deprived of my Professorship and have never resigned it! but in the Winter of 1825-26 I gave my last course of lectures on medical Botany. I published my Neogenyton and other pamphlets. I left the botanic garden to its fate, since the company would not support it properly, and thus it has been destroyed. I had some intention to join Mr. Maclure at New Harmony, but he had friends jealous of me also: it was well for me, since his views and fine College have been abortive.*

Rafinesque's view of President Horace Holley may be a little severe. However, Holley was a learned man of the ultra-conservative school and looked askance at anything of scientific tendency. He no doubt considered collections as mere rubbish, the removal of which was a good riddance. He was not of a mind to appreciate scientific merit and probably gave no thought to the fact that his university had in Rafinesque one of the most eminent scientists in America. President Holley guided the destinies of Transylvania University from November, 1818, to March, 1827, which period is considered the most brilliant in the university's career. By indiscreet words and improper conduct Holley created much public opposition, which fanned by prejudice and religious bigotry, made his position untenable and forced his resignation. During his incumbency there were internal dissensions yet withal he accomplished much, though considerable credit belongs to his predecessor whose wise administration had created favorable conditions. Into such an atmosphere Rafinesque came, stayed nearly seven years, and left of his own accord. The wonder is that one possessing his sensitive nature should have remained so long.

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, pp. 78-79.
Gathering up his books and collections Rafinesque shipped them to Philadelphia. His personal possessions filled forty boxes, according to his account, and had doubled during his residence in Kentucky. After calling upon his friends to bid them adieu, Rafinesque in the year 1826 left Lexington, going by stage to Cincinnati where a public lecture was given. The stage was taken northward to Hamilton, along the Miami river to Dayton, where the ancient remains were studied and observations made of the canal then digging, thence to Springfield. From here Rafinesque walked over to Yellow Springs to visit the community established by Lownes. After the visit Lownes sent the traveler back to Springfield in his carriage. At Springfield Rafinesque took the stage to Columbus where one day was spent. The journey was resumed toMt. Vernon to visit the hills. Rafinesque walked over the hill country through Belleville, Mansfield, and to New Haven, where the stage was taken through Milan to Sandusky on Lake Erie. After waiting three days a steamboat from Detroit came by and passage was secured to Buffalo. Stops were made along the way at Cleveland, Fairport, Erie, and other places.

At Buffalo Rafinesque observed many Seneca Indians. Crossing the Niagara river at Blackrock into Canada gave him opportunity to examine the river and falls from both sides. This phenomenon excited his wonder and admiration. One day was spent on each side studying the botany and geology and making maps and views. The stage was taken to Queenstown. After crossing the river to Lewistown and Manchester the stage was resumed to Lockport, stopping on the way at Tuscarora to visit for a day with Cusick, the historian of the Iroquois. From Lockport the journey to Rochester was made on the canal in a packet. Here Rafinesque by chance met Professor Eaton, of Troy, who was out on a scientific tour with his pupils on the canal, in a boat of their own and were returning from Buffalo. Being invited to join the company he accepted with pleasure. He after-
wards said it “was one of the most agreeable journeys I ever performed.” By easy stages the journey to Troy was continued, many side trips being made to points of interest. At Troy rest was obtained for some days at the home of Professor Eaton. The steamboat was then taken to West Point where Dr. Torrey received the traveler. Later the journey was continued to New York and Philadelphia. The remainder of the summer was spent in visiting Doctor Betton and Mr. Haines at Germantown and in numerous excursions to outlying stations.

In September Rafinesque settled in Philadelphia, devoting the winter of 1826 and 1827 to the giving of a course of lectures on natural history to a class in the Franklin Institute. During the year 1827 he became professor of geography and drawing in the high school of the same institution.

These occupations, Rafinesque states consumed all his time and his collections were left in store and part of them under a mortgage. The transportation charges from Lexington proved very expensive. The vacation of 1827 was spent in research work in the libraries of Philadelphia and of the New England cities. In August a journey was undertaken to Boston, going by way of New York and Troy, where Professor Eaton was again visited. The stage was taken from Troy to Boston, the journey occupying two days. Harvard College was holding commencement on the day after Rafinesque arrived and he was an attendant on this occasion. A week was spent looking through the libraries of Cambridge and Boston and in meeting with learned men. The return to Troy was by way of Worcester where the library of the Antiquarian Society was visited. Various stops were made, but one, especially noteworthy, was at the Shaker settlement of New Lebanon on a visit with the botanist and gardener, Mr. Lawrence. Continuing on to Troy and Albany, the steamboat was there taken to New York. After a brief rest the journey was resumed to Philadelphia, which city was reached in September.
Rafinesque finding his health poor abandoned teaching and looked about for health and enjoyment in study. A volume of his Medical Flora was issued in 1828 and a second in 1830. Having as he thought cured himself of a chronic complaint he devoted much time and attention to the ills of others, choosing as a specialty the diseases of the lungs. A number of vegetable remedies were prepared and placed on the market and success rewarded the efforts from a commercial point of view. A small book called the "Pulmist, or the Art to Cure the Consumption" was issued and distributed in 1829. It is the common way to severely condemn Rafinesque for this episode in his career, yet after all is said it is difficult for an unprejudiced mind to enter anything more than a general censure. One would be rash to assert that his remedies or methods were any less medicinal than many others used during this period, or for that matter at the present time and which pass for respectability. Doubtless they were in many ways superior to some of the methods or remedies then in vogue.

Having noticed the tendency to appropriate the discoveries whenever any patents were secured Rafinesque refused to take out any more patents. He remarks, "Some envious hearts may have blamed me for it:" but he naively adds, "they are probably those who would have been the first to steal them if published."

In 1828 the Alleghanies were again visited, chiefly at new stations. On the return trip Rafinesque passed through Bethlehem and visited with the botanist Schweinitz. A trip was taken to New Jersey, thence on to New York, Staten Island, and to Long Island. In 1829 only two small journeys were taken, one in the spring to the pine barrens in New Jersey, and the second in the summer to New York by steamboat, thence to Norwalk in Connecticut, and to Hempstead on Long Island. In 1830 a trip was made in the spring to New Jersey, and during the summer to the Catskill Mountains in New York. The return was by way
A LIFE OF TRAVELS

AND

RESEARCHES

IN NORTH AMERICA

AND THE SOUTH OF EUROPE;

From 1802, till 1835.

PHILADELPHIA

1850.

PRICE SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

COVER TITLE OF RAFINESQUE'S "LIFE OF TRAVELS."
of Albany where Rafinesque met Doctors Beck and Eights, and at Troy his old friends Eaton and Hales. While here Rafinesque delivered several lectures in the Rensalaer school.

In 1831 the mother of Rafinesque died at her home in Bordeaux, France. She had desired her son to return to France and Rafinesque was inclined to go, but the events of 1830 in Europe made him hesitate and later circumstances removed the opportunity. The only brother of Rafinesque died at Havre in 1826.

In 1831 trips were made to stations in Delaware and New Jersey. At Princeton, where Dr. Torrey was lecturing on chemistry, Rafinesque visited, and the two took to the fields on collecting trips. Later a trip was taken to New York and the Hudson and to New Lebanon to visit with his Shaker friend, Lawrence. In 1832 Rafinesque began publishing a quarterly journal called "The Atlantic Journal or Friend to Knowledge," which he continued for two years. During its publication he secured the enmity of Featherstonhaugh and Harlan.

About this time Baron Cuvier commissioned Rafinesque to collect the fishes of North America and send them to Paris where the museum authorities were to pay all expenses. While details were being arranged Cuvier died and the scheme lapsed.

In 1832 a trip was made to Baltimore on the Newcastle Railway, probably the first trip Rafinesque ever made in that manner. Returning to Philadelphia he took the cholera and finding the cholera approaching the city he left immediately for the mountains by way of Baltimore, taking the Fredericktown Railway through the Patapsco hills. Recovering soon after he spent the season at various places in or near the mountains. When the cholera left Philadelphia he returned by way of Harrisburg where he visited Governor Wolf.

During the year 1833 Rafinesque spent some time exploring the marls in the pine barrens of New Jersey. He
next essayed an extended journey through the southern Alleghanies to at least as far as Alabama. Heavy rains (and being lamed by an accidental fall) prevented the completion of the trip; Leesburg, Virginia, was the most southern point reached. Soon after the return he departed up the Schuylkill river and in July he was along the sea shore in New Jersey. A journey was made to New York and Troy where a course of lectures was delivered at the Rensalaer school. Lectures were also given at various other places, after which Rafinesque explored the country about the sources of the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, and the valley of the Mohawk, returning to Philadelphia in September.

The summer of 1834 found Rafinesque eager for the outdoor life. Trips were made along the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.

For some years Rafinesque had had in mind the founding of a six per cent savings bank. By persistent effort he interested others. The plan was to issue stock of $50,000 in 5,000 shares; depositors to be paid six per cent. Subscribers to the number of fifty took most of the shares; the first of June, 1835, the bank was organized and by September deposits were being received. The plan succeeded. The dividends for the first year amounting to as much as nine per cent. The worry and exertions of Rafinesque over this new business venture impaired his health and he concluded to spend the summer in the mountains. On the fourth of July, 1835, he left Philadelphia on the railway, going to Columbia on the Susquehanna river. Here a boat was secured and the journey continued by easy stages up the canal or river by Harrisburg as far at least as Mahantango, visiting nearby and outlying points, and then up the Juniata river to Lewistown in the mountain region. Here the remainder of the summer was passed amid scenes and surroundings conducive to the health of a naturalist. By September Rafinesque returned by stage to Duncan Island at the mouth of
A LIFE OF TRAVELS

IN NORTH AMERICA AND SOUTH EUROPE,

OR OUTLINES OF
The Life, Travels and Researches of
C. S. RAFINESQUE, A. M. Ph. D.

Professor of historical and natural sciences, member of many learned Societies in Europe and America, author of many works, &c.

CONTAINING
His travels in NORTH AMERICA and the SOUTH of EUROPE; the Atlantic Ocean, Mediterranean, Sicily, Azores, &c. from 1802 to 1835—with sketches of his scientific and historical researches, &c.

Un voyageur dès le berceau,
Je le serais jusqu'au tombeau . . .

PHILADELPHIA
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1836.
PRICE SEVENTY-FIVE CENTS.

FACSIMILE OF THE INNER TITLE OF RAFINESQUE'S "LIFE OF TRAVELS."
the Juniata river, by boat to Harrisburg and Columbia, and by rail to Philadelphia. He felt restored to perfect health and began toiling in the bank as actuary of the institution. The new employment kept Rafinesque from roaming but gave him time to compose his larger works, many of which soon began to appear. In 1836 he published a small book of one hundred and forty-eight pages, entitled: "A Life of Travels and Researches in North America and South Europe." It is a characteristic but interesting, though somewhat crude narrative. This book is now very rare. It contains about all that is known of the inner life of Rafinesque. The fragmentary accounts and sketches of his life now extant are all more or less replete with errors, some of them grotesquely so.

While a resident of Lexington, Rafinesque helped form (in 1822) a literary club which later became the Kentucky Institute. He says:

I became the Secretary of it. We met weekly, to read Essays, discuss questions, &c. But trifles alone were welcome as well as good suppers: my communications were too learned. I had to become a Poet, I read and published some light poetry; . . . The most striking were the Instability of the world, Despondency, the Western flowers, &c., with the Rives de l'Ohio in French.*

The poem, "Instability", was elaborated and published, along with some minor pieces, in 1836, and strange as it may seem, actually passed through two editions during the year. Other publications of the same year were "The American Nations, or Outlines of Their General History," in two volumes; "New Flora and Botany of North America" in four parts; "Synoptical Flora Telluriana." In 1837 Rafinesque published his scheme of banking, in a book entitled, "Safe Banking, Including the Principles of Wealth." Another publication was "The Universe and the Stars." In 1838 there appeared: "The Ancient Monuments of North and South America," "Genius and Spirit of the Hebrew Bible;" "Alsographia Americana;" "Celestial Wonders and Philo-

* Rafinesque, Life of Travels, pp. 72-73.
phy, or the Structure of the Visible Heavens;" and "Sylva Telluriana." In 1839 the publications were "American Manual of Mulberry trees," and "Improvements of Universities, Colleges and other Seats of Learning." While "Autikon Botanikon," three parts, "The Pleasures and Duties of Wealth," and "The Good Book, and Amenities of Nature, or Annals of Historical and Natural Sciences," were issued in 1840.

But the end was at hand. Hard work, close confinement, and disease made inroads upon the once powerful frame and the life of Rafinesque closed on September 18, 1840. Death found the toiler in reduced circumstances, dwelling in a garret, and alone. The immediate cause of death being cancer of the stomach. It is related that Dr. William Mease, a faithful friend, prepared the body for burial. On returning later with the undertaker, Mr. Bringhurst, and a few friends, it was found that the Shylock landlord had removed the remains to an adjoining room and locked the door, with the idea of selling the body to a medical school. The door was forced, the remains taken out by the rear of the building, and conveyed to a little church yard, then outside the city, and buried. The place is now known as Ronaldson's cemetery, Ninth and Catherine streets, a locality obliterated by the growth of the city.

Rafinesque left a will which is on file in the archives of Philadelphia. From it a few items concerning his inner life are revealed. Only here is it found that Rafinesque was married in Sicily in 1809 to Josephine Vaccaro. In 1811, a daughter, Emily; and in 1814, a son Charles Linneus, were born. The son died the following year. The wife and mother, proud and frivolous, in 1815 on receipt of the news of the shipwreck of her husband forgot her allegiance and married a comedian named Giovanni Pizzareone and wasted the remaining property in her hands. The daughter Emily became a stage singer. It is further learned that the brother of Rafinesque left two children, Jules and Laura, and that the sister of Rafinesque died about the year 1834. The
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FACSIMILE OF A BROADSIDE,
19x24 inches, distributed to advertise the sale of the personal effects of Rafinesque.
daughter, Emily, and the children, Jules and Laura, were made the beneficiaries of the will jointly with various philanthropic proposals. Professor John Torrey, Dr. James Mease, Professor James Green, with others were named as executors. The will was probated November 16, 1840, and was signed as executor by James Mease, November 28, 1840.

The will provided for private sale but not much if any attention was paid to its provisions. The personal effects, said to have amounted to eight dray loads, were taken to the auction rooms of the city. Large three-colored posters were distributed announcing the sale. Connoisseurs were on hand and heartily helped themselves much to their liking. The sale was so managed that the estate was indebted to the administrator in the modest sum of fourteen dollars and forty-three cents.

In summing up it may be stated that Rafinesque was no ordinary man. He had rather well defined opinions of the theory of evolution, thus antedating Darwin. He had some idea of the modern germ theory of disease. He was a pioneer in American Archaeological investigation, a pioneer teacher of modern languages, and a pioneer object teacher. He was an earnest advocate of the natural classification in natural sciences while all of his contemporaries held to the old Linnean artificial system. He was also the inventor of the coupon system. What more is needed to distinguish a man from the common lot?

General George W. Jones of Dubuque, Iowa, a student at Transylvania University from 1821 to 1825 has left the following account of his teacher, Rafinesque:

I recollect the learned Professor Rafinesque perfectly well and his physiognomy and general appearance are now visible to my mind's eye. He was in personal stature about the size and appearance of my deceased friend, the late John Quincy Adams, but I think he had a full suit of hair and black eyes. . . . Professor Rafinesque had a room in college proper, and was a man of peculiar habits and was very eccentric, but was to me one of the most interesting men I have ever known.

He often lectured to the students in college and in a most entertaining manner to the great delight of his audiences. His lecture on the ants
was peculiarly instructive and interesting, causing many of the students to laugh heartily when he gave us the history of ants, especially when he described them as having lawyers, doctors, generals and privates, and of their having great battles and of the care by physicians and nurses of the wounded, etc., etc. . . . I would now give any reasonable sum to hear him repeat one of his lectures that I listened to in Transylvania University.*

This was written in 1894, seventy years after the occurrences. Rafinesque evidently made an impression. He is frequently referred to as eccentric, sometimes in a disparaging tone. Critics seem to forget that eccentricity may be found in every university in the land and some of the cases are very pronounced.

President Jordan in speaking of Rafinesque says:

Nevertheless, no more remarkable figure has ever appeared in the annals of science. . . . American naturalists have greater honor now than forty years ago. Rafinesque died unnoticed and was buried only by stealth. A whole nation wept for Agassiz. But a difference was in the men as well as in the times. Both were great naturalists and learned men. Both had left high reputations in Europe to cast their lot with America. Agassiz's great heart went out toward everyone with whom he came in contact. But Rafinesque loved no man or woman, and died, as he had lived, alone.†

The last sentence is not quite correct.

IOWA CITY, IOWA, Sept. 1, 1905.

Lo! the poor Indians.—Two swarthy sons of the forest appeared in the House yesterday morning, and attracted the universal attention of the members. They are a delegation of 43 from the tribe of Pottawattamies, who want the permission of the State to be allowed to settle in Marshall county. The citizens of that flourishing county are willing, and petition the legislature in their behalf. They are very peaceable and intelligent for Indians, and are ready to purchase farms for cultivation.—The Iowa Citizen (Des Moines), Feb. 25, 1858.

* Call, Life and Writings of Rafinesque, pp. 43, 64.